

THE IDEA OF *MILLET*: A COMPARISON BETWEEN NATIONAL
ISLAMISM AND UMMATIST ISLAMISM

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EMRİN ÇEBİ

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Modern Turkish Studies.

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Assoc. Prof. Özgür Kavak (Thesis Advisor)	<u>ACCEPTED</u>	
Assoc. Prof. Hızır Murat Köse	<u>ACCEPTED</u>	
Assist. Prof. Süleyman Güder	<u>Accepted</u>	

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date

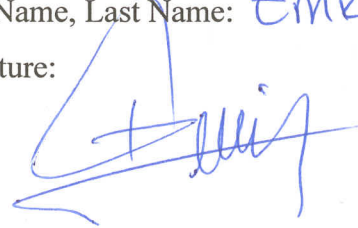
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First Name, Last Name: EMEIN GEBI

Signature:

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ABSTRACT

THE IDEA OF *MILLET*: A COMPARISON BETWEEN NATIONAL ISLAMISM AND UMMATIST ISLAMISM

Çebi, Emrin

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In this research, two forms of Islamism as national and ummatist have been compared through their approach to the concept of *millet* (nation) and other related issues arising from the idea of *millet*. With this purpose four periodicals published in the period between 1970 and 1980 have been analysed and compared. The journal *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (National Struggle Again) has been considered as representative of national Islamism, while three periodicals *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret*, which were published as a continuation of each other, have been considered as representative of ummatist Islamism. Sixty-two issues, which cover a whole year of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* have been analysed, as have ninety-four issues of the other three periodicals.

Through the comparisons, it is clear that national Islamism, which still carried the trauma of the Ottoman collapse, regards the population of Turkey as *millet* and Turkey as the centre of salvation, which it considers unfinished process, and determines a hierarchy of the salvation from the centre toward the Muslim world. The other three periodicals instead described *millet* on a religious basis and defended *topyekûn kurtuluş* (salvation altogether at once) by ignoring the hierarchy that national Islamism idealized. This change from national stance to more ummatist one towards the end of 1970s was underpinned by some other developments that left enormous impact on newly rising Islamism. The flow of translations from the Muslim geography by the mid-1960s, the Iranian Islamic Revolution and developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, internal developments

such as emergence political Kurdishism as an ethnic nationalist movement, political and institutional dismantling of the Turkish Right were other motivations for this change. Consequently, with the effects of these developments, conflicts emerged between the two Islamisms mainly over the issues of identifying *millet* and determining the centre of belonging, whether it is Turkey or the ummah.

Keywords: National Islamism, Ummatist Islamism, Millet, Ideology of Millet



ÖZ

MİLLET DÜŞÜNCESİ; MİLLÎ İSLAMCILIKLA ÜMMETÇİ İSLAMCILIĞIN
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Bu çalışmada millî ve ümmetçi olmak üzere iki farklı İslamcılığın *millet* kavramı etrafındaki tartışmaları ve bu çerçevede işlenen konular üzerinden karşılaştırılması yapılmıştır. Bu amaçla 1970 ve 1980 yılları arasında yayınlanmış dört süreli yayın karşılaştırılmıştır. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* dergisi millî İslamcılığa örneklik teşkil etmesi açısından ele alınırken, birbirlerinin devamı mahiyetinde çıkmış olan *Şûra*, *Tevhid* ve *Hicret* gazeteleri ise ümmetçi bir İslamcılığı temsiliyeti açısından incelenmiştir. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*'nin yaklaşık ilk bir yılını kapsayan 62 sayısı analiz edilmiş, toplam 94 sayı çıkmış olan diğer üç gazetenin ise tamamı taranmıştır.

Bu yayınların *millet* düşüncesi üzerinden karşılaştırmaları sonucu ise, millî İslamcı düşüncenin Osmanlı'nın yıkılışının travmasını atamamış bir İslamcılık olarak *milleti*, Türkiye'deki nüfus olarak tanımladığı ve de sınırlandırdığı görülmüştür. Bu düşüncenin henüz tamamlanmadığına inandığı *kurtuluşa* yönelik reçetesinde ise Türkiye'yi merkeze koyan, sonrasında bunun İslam dünyasına yansıtacağına inanan bir görüş hakimdir. Böylece bu İslamcılık kurtuluşa Türkiye'den İslam dünyasına doğru bir hiyerarşi belirlemektedir. *Ümmetçi İslamcı* düşüncüyü temsil eden diğer üç yayın ise bu hiyerarşiyi ortadan kaldırarak "topyekûn kurtuluş"u dillendirmeye ve *milletin* tarifini *ümmetin* bugün geldiği mana üzerinden vermeye başlamıştır. Yeni bir İslamcılığa evrilen bu değişimin en önemli katalizörü ise 1960'ların ortalarıyla daha çok Mısır ve Pakistan'dan tercüme edilen eserler, İran devrimine giden süreç, Afganistan ve Pakistan'daki olaylar, eş zamanlarda içeride etnik milliyetçilik hareketi olarak ortaya çıkan "Siyasi Kürtçülük", sağda kurumsal ve siyasi çözümler bu yeni

İslamcılıkta inanç temelli yeni bir millet anlayışının öne çıkmasında diğer etkenlerdir. Sonuç olarak tüm bu etkenlerin eşlik ettiği değişim ve ayrışma sürecindeki tartışmaların *millete* verilen anlamlar ve millet düşüncesinde aidiyet merkezinin Türkiye mi ümmet mi olduğu üzerinden geliştiği izlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Millî İslamcılık, Ümmetçi İslamcılık, Millet, Millet İdeolojisi



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Can we talk about clash of Islamisms? In particular can we observe this clash of Islamisms in Turkey? In the beginning of writing this thesis, I aimed to observe the clash of nationalism and Islamism through their understanding of nation (*millet*) by comparing certain influential periodicals of the 1970s. However with the passage of time, I came to realize that the attitudes I focused were national and ummatist form of Islamisms and this brought different dimensions to evaluate within this study.

1.1 Background of the Thesis

The journey of this thesis started with a personal curiosity as “Why Islamists in Turkey paid more attention to translated books of Muslim intellectuals during 1970s, whilst, as next generations, we have not been informed about the late Ottoman and Republican intellectuals?” This question does not intend blaming something, rather carries a curiosity about the course of Islamism in Turkey. Within the course of time, this broad question of mine evolved into a more narrow focus, that of the consequences as a result of the flow of ideas from the Muslim world from these translated books. I often came across the understanding in the interpretations of the result of this process as an emergence of clashes between Islamists and nationalists-conservatists. This inference about rupture between these caught my attention since I was not aware that there existed some sort of correlation/unity of ideology simultaneously in these groups until 1970s. Through further readings, I came to realize that these two attitudes had in fact nestled under the same camp, which was known as the Right. This information posed a challenge to me as I was not aware of this knowledge. In this regard, the process of this thesis manifested another dimension for me as I needed to comprehend the meaning and the context of the Right in relation to this new information and to its historical context.

The democratization process, within the framework of the requirements of the international bipolar system after the Second World War, gave partial freedom to the religious sphere, but state interference in religious affairs continued at different levels in Turkey. The memory of Islamism, which had been silenced specifically in 1924 following the Lauzanne Agreement, started to be revived in the social sphere from the mid-1940s at the emotional level as much as the conditions of those years allowed. During the same years, a newly emerging Islamism converged with a kind nationalism that believed the Republic was acting on non-national (*gayr-i millî*) ground, started to expose their opposition towards the implementations of the Republic under the name of state nationalism. Thus, Islamic segment of the society and more conservatist nationalism were driven by a convergence and brought a merge that resulted in the two strengthening each other on the basis of their opposition to the state's implementations in the way of secularization and westernization.

With the rise of communist ideas and related activities by the mid-1940s in Turkey, this alliance strengthened further. Rising leftist tendencies in Turkey blazed the fear of another process of division as the reflection of memory of the Ottoman's defeats by Russia accompanied with the Soviet threats during 1940s and this strengthened the nationalist ideas in the society. Therefore anti-communist motives halted the opposition of Islamist nationalist alliance towards to the state and the state also partially joined the same ranks to launch a total struggle against communism. This coalition, which had positioned itself on the Right went on to strengthen itself more with *Muslimness* to find a social grounding for its struggle. Thus religiously sensitive segment of the society, which was traumatically deferred and insulted by the state until those years, was given crucial importance in the rightist ranks. Therefore an intertwined process of the Islamization of the right-wing and the rightward slide of Islamism continued until the mid-1970s.

Until these periods, utilization of terms with the adjective *millî* (national) were not limited to certain blocs; they were commonly applied by the attitudes

categorized by today's perception as Islamists, nationalists, conservatives and traditionalists. They did share common values, such as Islam, Anatolia, World Sovereignty Conception (*Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkûresi*) and these attitudes were not necessarily watertight blocs, and the overlaps between them were many. Therefore trying to comprehend the attitudes of those days from now by identifying them as Islamist, nationalist, conservative, and so on via their discourses, is quite difficult.

The crystallization of attitudes as Islamist, nationalist and conservative came during the process of disputes in giving priority to different values like Islam, ethnicity, state, fatherland and etc within the hierarchy of an ideal nation. Notwithstanding the unity between these attitudes, the 1960 military coup and the relatively democratic environment thereafter was the beginning of the process which dissolved this togetherness. One very prominent factor accompanied the process was Turkish translations of Pakistani- and Egyptian-based books by the mid-1960s as a reflection of democratization process in Turkey. Right after these books were translated, the reading sources of young and religious Turkish intelligentsia went beyond Turkey's borders. As a result, new ideas blossomed among the younger generation and the process of strengthening the right-wing Islamizing it failed.

The new ideas which were developed through translations criticized considering Islam as a cultural element and evaluating it within the framework of tradition or history, instead emphasizing that Islam is a worldview and a state order. These ideas brought a separation of Islamism from nationalistic and conservative views, and this reflected massively on the language in publications. Usage of phrases with *Türk* and *millî* (national) slowly disappeared by the mid-1970s in the publications of new Islamist thought, which had developed a negative attitude towards nationalist, traditionalist, and conservative views in accordance with its opposition to the state and rightism. In these publications, terminologies such as *millet* (nation), *vatan* (fatherland), *devlet* (state), *şeriat* (sharia), *din* (religion), *cihat* (jihad), *hakimiyet* (sovereignty), *hilafet* (caliphate), *hicret* (emigration),

tevhid (faith in the unity of God), *dar'ul İslam* (Abode of Islam), *dar'ul harb* (Abode of War) were redefined. New terminologies and expressions such as *ideoloji* (ideology), *tağut* (worshipping other than God), *İslam Devleti* (Islamic State), *İslami Hükümet* (Islamic Government), *İslami Nizam* (Islamic Order), *İslam Ekonomisi* (Islamic Finance), *Kur'an Anayasası* (Quranic Constitution), *Halkı Müslüman Ülkeler* (Muslim Populated Countries), *Türkiyeli Müslümanlar* (Muslims from Turkey) started to be used. The term *millet* was the center of all conceptual discussions and further evaluations, whether national or international. These processes created plenty of divisions and dissociations in the right-wing and left a duality between Islamisms in the wake of emerging social cognition of *millet* and *milliyetçilik* as distinct categories from the concepts of nation and nationalism.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

Within the framework of this subject of duality between Islamisms, I chose four periodicals published between 1970 and 1980. The first periodical I chose was *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (National Struggle Again, YMM), which was published weekly as 528 issues between 1970 and 1980 as the periodical of the movement *Mücadele Birliği* (the League of Struggle). I considered first year of this periodical as national (*millî*) and at the same time Islamist because the movement was a unique synthesis of an Islamist view with a territorial nationalism during the first year while the latter years were considered as evolvement to more nationalistic stance. The movement *Mücadele Birliği* -and its journal *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*- was a dedicated advocate of the right-wing during the 1970s were the Left and the Right clashes were fuelled. This journal, with the aim of an Islamic state after the accomplishment of national state (*millî devlet*) phase, had an Islamist attitude with the motivation of total liberation. At the same time it had undertaken the mission of nationalist associations in the 1950s, which were established to confront rising communism effects in Turkey during those years. In this regard, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* was representative of national Islamism as a result of its coalescence of nationalism and Islamism.

I chose three other periodicals, *Şûra* (Consultation), *Tevhid* (Faith in the unity of God), and *Hicret* (Hijrah; emigration, in the sense of ideas), that were published as a continuation of each other between 1978 and 1980. The late 1970s were the crucial since emergence of new Islamism was more visible thus I preferred the Islamist periodicals published after the mid 1970s to be able to follow differentiation. In addition, I have preferred these three periodicals because I could have accessed to almost all their issues. Their writers' teams were composed of very prominent personalities of new Islamism of the time. I consider them as a single publication because of the editorial continuity between the three and the continuation of discussions from the previous publication. At the same time, I have preferred these three publications because of their distinction with general thinking in the Right, their opposition to utilizing Turkish terms *millet*, *milliyetçilik* as the expressions of English "nation", "nationalism". These three also discussed the concepts of *devlet* (state) and *vatan* (national homeland) within the framework of conceptual discussions for determining their "real meaning" in Islamic understanding and finally I regarded their attitude as *ummatist* Islamism.

In order to provide background in understanding the content of the discussions in the publications, in the first part of the research I examine and give summary of the formation of the right-wing and its political and social disintegration after the 1960 military coup. I also summarize the definitions that were given to the concept of *millet* in major right-wing but mostly in national-Islamic journals published between 1940 and 1980. The importance of this period is due to the crystallization of the rightist attitude, its merger with Islamism and their subsequent dissociation.

In the second part of the research, I analyse fifty-two issues that cover the first year, and ten issues of the second year of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, until 1971 Turkish military memorandum. Because according to most evaluations, 1971 military intervention was a crucial turning point in the course of the journal towards nationalism. And also since the journal's strategy and ideas generally

took on their ultimate form during the first year of the journal, I consider this first year as sufficient to scrutinize the ideas of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* within the context of national Islamism. In this section my main departing point is “the Ideology of Millet” (*Millet İdeolojisi*), which *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* idealized in its unique manner, through the series of articles in which this ideology was constructed. I try to examine the topics I have inferred to, all within the framework of the idea of *millet*. I also consider other articles and news reviews on national /international events which offer an opinion on the ideology of *millet*. I explore in as much detail as possible the journal’s treatment of matters related to Turkey and international events, and the position of religion at the social and political level in their understanding. I also include a section about dispute points of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with other entities within the right-wing.

As for the third part, I follow the same course in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* for the newspapers *Şûra*, *Tevhid*, and *Hicret*, which started publishing in 1978, from the perspective of the meanings they give to the concept of *millet*. Within this context, I review and evaluate a total of ninety-four issues of these three periodicals in the framework of subjects I have determined from the content of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in order to comprehend and analyse the root causes of differentiation of the two Islamisms. Besides, I utilize the secondary literature in order to understand the context of the discussions in Turkey and in the Muslim world.

1.3 Method

In terms of the method, I have applied conventional and summative content analysis based on qualitative research through comparison of the content of the periodicals on the base of certain concepts, conceptualizations. I have collected other data that support the essential discussion on the idea of *millet*, I have categorized data with the portrayal of it within evaluations, inferences and interpretations. First of all, I made a bibliometric search of the articles with the words *millet*, *milliyetçilik*, *vatan*, *devlet*, *İslam* from the publications that are

archived within Islamist Journals Project (*İslamcı Dergiler Projesi*; <http://idp.org.tr>) that has been undertaken and organized by *İlmî Etüdler Derneği* İLEM (Scientific Studies Association). I have listed the articles related to these terminologies and read them. Later I went through the content of the journals, which I have chosen and I have read intensively, and came up with various titles. The oral history interviews that are conducted by İLEM within this project also accompanied my research and helped me to understand crucial points about 1970s' Islamisms. So I determined the content of the dissertation during data analyses. The main concept I considered and organized the titles was the concept of *millet*. Thus I examine interpretation of “fatherland”, “state”, “history”, “religion”, “sovereignty”, “Islam”, “Turkey” and “the Muslim world” under the main concept of *millet* within different points of national and ummatist Islamist discourses. I also went through the footnotes in the journals to see their intellectual sources, however there is very little information about the sources they benefited in the periodicals.

1.4 Findings

The common theme of both Islamisms is to settle a certain understanding of nation, which was left vague since the establishment of the Republic. These pursuits can be considered as indication of uncompleted process of nationhood in Turkey and this created the biggest problem as nation and state dichotomy. While the same dichotomy existed in all new Muslim nation states after their independence from colonial powers, ummatist Islamism and national Islamism were preoccupied with this problem with different solutions in general. As the reflection of similar process in Turkey, while *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* launched its propaganda with the term *mücadele* (struggle), the other three focused on salvation (*kurtuluş*) ideal. While both believed unfinished process of independence, their differences were their consideration to Turkey and the approach towards nation-state. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had acknowledged Turkey as nation state but criticized its denial of Ottoman and Islamic past, the later newspapers were not accepting the nation-state system thus they were rejecting all Muslim nation states because of their secular character. The main

difference also arised from the definition of the nation (*millet*) from whom it consists of. While ummatist Islamism and national Islamism of the 1970s were experiencing the same identity crisis emerged as a result of modern nation-state system, they developed different approaches to the idea of nation (*millet*). While these two considered Islam as the essential in identity building, they clashed about the hierarchy of Islam in the identity whether Islam is component of Turkishness or it is an identity on its own. A number of crucial events such as right-left clashes, Iranian Revolution, Kurdish issue also powerfully affected the new approach and discourses of the new Islamist periodicals and underpinned differentiation points of two Islamisms.

1.5 Research Questions

Main research questions of this dissertation based on the comparisons between these two understanding of Islamisms. This thesis will seek to determine why and where were these two ideas differentiated from each other, what factors affected this differentiation, what the characteristics of *millet* are in these two Islamisms.

1.6 Suggestions for Further Studies

Dilemma of nation-state in the Muslim geography lasted until today from the collapse of the Ottoman state and this dilemma became more concrete with, birth of Pakistan Islamic state and Bangladesh's disassociation as another Muslim nation state from the first declared Islamic state. With the course of time and today many Muslim majority countries are torn apart like Syria, Iraq, Yemen and so on without completing the nationalization process. Besides all, many Muslim majority countries are still dealing with the minority issues in their territories whilst many Muslim communities exist as minorities for years, evacuated from their lands and they are not recognised as being consistent with the national identity of the hosting countries. Today almost 4 million Syrians are living in the territories of Turkey, and many Syrian youth are involved in national education system for sure they are willing to be part of their new fatherland. They are trying to build a future for themselves by aspiring to a Turkish identity of Syrian

origin, within these territories. Therefore comparison between two attitudes is important to observe what the ideas they offered for the nation state problems in Muslim countries. This comparison is also important to comprehend what kinds of Islamisms came out within the course of time what influenced the variety. .

Their understanding of *millet* is crucial to understand deeper about the characteristics of these two Islamisms. In following the journey of Islamism in Turkey as a whole, this study can help to comprehend their process of differentiation and also how all these attitudes affected each other . This comparison also may help to understand what different Islamisms perception of people, nation and state were and how they dealt with concepts, which changed in the meaning according to the world changing conditions. This thesis may also assist for similar studies to compare similar discussions upon nationalism and Islamism their alliance and separation processes in the Muslim world and evaluate the similarities or differences, their intellectual sources, their way of adaption or rejection the ideas of the time according to their point of view. It is also important for Islamism studies about the literature developed on the concept of *millet* in the late Ottoman and in the Republican period by Islamists and may support further studies in terms of mapping the discussions, which came out since Muslims were faced with the nation-state dilemma. Finally comparing the ideas of different Islamisms within the content of these periodicals is significant in terms of observing the evolvement approaches to the concept of *millet* and other supportive concepts such as *milliyetçilik*, *vatan*, *devlet* and *ümmet*.

CHAPTER 2

FORMATION AND DISSOLUTION OF THE RIGHT

2.1 From Right-wing Journals to the New Islamist Periodicals: A Brief Look at the Aftermath of the 1940s.

The first mediums, in which the Islamist thought had found the way to express itself during Ottoman period, were the journals of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilürreşad* that had began to be published by 1908. Afterwards, the other journals *Beyanu'l Hak*, *İslam Mecmuası* and *Volkan* also were other important periodicals, which had represented the Islamist thought of that period. The idea of Islamism, which flourished during this period, was advocating re-establishment of a system in which, Islam would dominate the areas such as “belief, worship, moral, philosophy, politics, law, education” and so on in order to redempt Muslim world. The process of Islamism, which had been hindered after Lausanne Agreement by 1924, began to reappear with the 1940s. The alliance between Islamists and nationalists, conservatives during the 1940s was similar move of Islamism in 1908. While the Islamism of Republican period found way in expressing itself with a nationalist language, Islamism of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilürreşad* focused on “coming together on an intellectual framework of religious-national”.¹

All these publications in the wake of the 1940s, were considering what is national as Islamic and what is Islamic as national while the dominant opinion was the Islam as main complement of national identity. At the same time the common points of these publications were their opposition to official nationalism and the culture, which the authority wanted to impose on the society. Therefore these publications did not feel for any need to categorize themselves as Islamist, nationalist or conservative and so on. When it is looked to *İslamcı Dergiler Projesi* (The Project of Islamist Journals), which aimed

¹ İsmail Kara, “Türkiye’de İslâmcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Üzerine Birkaç Not”, (Ed: İsmail Kara, Asım Öz), Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Sempozyum Tebliğleri, (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, Aralık 2013), p.25.

cataloguing Islamist periodicals that have been published from 1908 till 2010, it is seen that the project considered this opposition as common feature, in cataloguing the journals.² For instance the journals such as *Fedai* (Patriot), *Hareket* (Action), *Türk Ruhu* (The Spirit of Turk), which also can be classified as nationalist, traditionalist, are being included in the project. Another major factor in including these journals under category as “Islamist”, is their being major source of new Islamists, whose thinking had been reshaped after the 1960s.³

The writers, who can be identified as nationalist, conservative, religious, traditionalist, and Islamist from today’s perspective, were very mobile between all these journals, whose number had been increased after 1940. Their application to common concepts in their writings is also an indicator of this transitivity and unity among the right-wing. Moreover, following words are the best identifying this transitivity and the atmosphere, in which boundaries had not been drawn yet by the conceptualizations; “If you look in terms of moral values and religion the ‘right’ was being practiced in Turkey. But no one called it as “right”...it was conservatism. But it also was not called as “conservatism”. Because there was no other thing, which was standing against it. It was the life itself.⁴

It also can be seen from the expressions of Yılmaz Yalçınar who was actively working in the youth wing of *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (the Nationalist Movement party) then became a very hardliner Islamist. He states that the conceptualizations and nomenclature such as *milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı* (*mukaddesatçı* as those who sanctifies the history, prominently Islamic history of Turks), *ülkücü* (idealists) and *İslamcı* (Islamist) had been crystallized after the

² Website of *İslamcı Dergiler Projesi*; <http://idp.org.tr>

³ This view came out from the observations that the same journals as a main sources are being addressed in most of oral history interviewees, which have been made “İslamcı Dergiler Projesi”; <http://sozlutarih.idp.org.tr>.

⁴ Ferruh Bozbeyli, *Yalnız Demokrat, Söyleşi*: İhsan Dağı-Fatih Uğur, Timaş Press, İstanbul, 2009, p.351; Tanıl Bora, “Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık: Ülkücü Yol, Orta Yol, Milli Sağ”, (Ed: İsmail Kara, Asım Öz), *Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi, Sempozyum Tebliğleri*, (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, Aralık 2013), pp.516-517. Turkish version of the citation; “Manevi değerler ve din açısından bakarsanız Türkiye’de sağ yaşıyordu. Ama kimse onun adına sağ demiyordu. (...) Muhafazakârlıktı. Ama muhafazakârlık da denmiyordu. Çünkü onun karşısında bir şey yoktu. Hayatın ta kendisiydi.”

1960s. He dated as earliest date that they had been called as *ülkücü*⁵ first time as 1967, while before youth identified themselves as *milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı*. He states that youth did not comprehend nationalism what it meant; furthermore they did not have time and chance to understand it. He points that the questioning of the youth had started with the influence of new Islamist publications, which put a distance to nationalist tendency of that time and youth had started to feel obliged to express themselves as *Muslim Turk*.⁶

In an article, which was written by Yalçiner as a response to the criticisms for the slogan of *Millî Devlet Güçlü İktidar* (National State and Powerful Government), he had expressed that this slogan was considered as a password or a signal that was being used by the Islamist youth for a certain phase. He had also stated that the slogan was used by the *ülkücü* youth, who were not aware of the essence of it. He said that *Millî Devlet* (National State) was used because of the circumstances of the time and he added that neither communist, capitalist nor ethnicist nationalists (*nasyonal milliyetçi*) would want a *Millî Devlet*. Yalçiner makes differentiation between *nationalisms* according to the different definitions given to the term *millet*. He states that those who are *millî* among nationalists in fact are *milliyetçi* and their demand is a state that follows orders of Islam.⁷ Therefore he mentions in his other articles, that *Millî Devlet*, which was a password usage, had implied a demand of a state that was in accordance with the belief system of Turkish nation that was Islam.⁸

According to the screening of journals, which are archived in The Project of Islamist Journals (*İslamcı Dergiler Projesi*)⁹, the term of *İslamcı* is being used first

⁵ *Ülkücülük* is one of the *Nine Light Doctrine (Dokuz Işık Doktrini)* and has been given as a name to a Turkism which idealized its politics within the framework of Turk-Islam synthesis that formed political line of *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi MHP* (Nationalist Movement party). *Dokuz Işık Doktrini* had been declared by Alpaslan Türkeş in 1966 (or in some sources 1965) and it is composed of nationalism, idealism (*ülkücülük*), moralism, scientism, societalism, ruralism, libertism, progressivism, industrialism and technologism.

⁶ "İslamcı Ülkücü Çatışması", *Vesika*, (1 June 1976), issue 13, p.6.

⁷ Yılmaz Yalçiner, "Millî Devlet Güçlü İktidar Mevzuu", *Vesika*, (15 July 1976), issue 16, pp.30-31.

⁸ Erdem Murat, "İslamcı Parola: Milli Devlet Güçlü İktidar..." *Vesika*, (15 June 1976), issue 14, pp.14-15.

⁹ <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler>

in the journal named *Diriliş* (Resurrection), in 1966, after 1924, in an article, which addresses Mehmet Akif Ersoy and his Islamist attitudes and discourses. In this article, given meaning of Islamism is rescuing the state and the nation by fully grasping İslam.¹⁰ According to the screening again, utilization of *İslamcı* as an adjective has taken place in the journal of *İmanlı Türk Gençliğinin Sesi Seher Vakti* (The Dawn; Voice of Faithfull Turkish Youth) with the date 15 December 1969 in a title of article as *İslamcı Gençlerin Mücadele Metodu* (Method of the Struggle of Islamist Youth).¹¹

The journals, which appeared with the identification of Islamist, had been discussed in periodical with the name *Pınar* (Fountain). The article with the title of *İslamcı Dergiler Derken* (While They Are Being Called Islamist Journals) discusses first cases of publishing, arriving the journal to Ottoman, the aims they had carried. The article makes remarkable comments on the periodicals or other publishings of the time. It is stated that the duty of the journal in the west was declaring the quests, searches, solutions that had been found as a result of these pursuits, and sharing the ideas. Therefore, there is an anarchic environment in intellectual life of Europe “which does not have a sacred” (*kutsalı olmayan Avrupa*) in the pursuit of ideas. It had been stated that while the knowledge, which does not have, a practical aspect, had been avoided in Islam, this was opposite in the case of Europe in which there are glut of opinions and ideas whether it is practical or useless. While truth is being found accidentally in Europe, it is not the case and truth is not coincidental in Islamic societies. While journal publishing brought development of the West, it brought destruction in Muslim geography as a result of this anarchic feature. The new trend of journal publishing, which had based on new values, had acted upon necessity of using this “new weaponry” but could not go beyond reaction. According to the article, those who were publishing the journals had not determined a road map in following certain method accordance with their belief and they did not have time

¹⁰ “Mehmet Akif Hayatı, Aksiyonu ve Düşünceleri”, *Diriliş*, (1 October 1966), volume 2, issue 7, pp.34-44.

¹¹ Sedat Yenigün, “İslamcı Gençlerin Mücadele Metodu”, *Seher Vakti*, (15 December 1969), volume 2, issue 1, p.5.

to draw a process of clarifying a method. Therefore they had launched a “defensive war” with “the technique of the enemy” and with the existing facilities. As a result of this “a national press activity” could not be improved in these conditions in Turkey. In Turkey, no accumulation of knowledge came out because of dealing with “every subject randomly” in journals in general. Because of this, media and press organs cannot identify and claim themselves as hundred per cent national and Islamic in Turkey. These journals are only considered as “a tool for method of Islamic Revolution” by *Pınar*. In this respect, some journals had been criticized upon identifying themselves as “Islamic Press” by emphasizing the meaningless of categorizing each other as Islamic or non Islamic “in a place in which the most essential verdict of Islam had been abolished”. That is absentee of a state that implements Islamic order.¹²

In the early years of the republic, by the end of 1930s, different ideas of nationalism, which were opponent of state nationalism and thus tried to be eliminated, had started to express themselves in the field of journals and periodicals. Redefinitions of the *millet*, which was the focus of nationalism discussions, had been reframed by 1939. However, with the front notion *millet*, discussions on the concepts such as *vatan* (national homeland), *devlet* (state) had protected its actuality in the journals, which had a nationalist, traditionalist, spiritualist, and conservative manner. The journal *Hareket* (Action) that had started its publication life with 1939, had tried to create a “new nationalism” as a reaction against “Rebuplcan Nationalism”. This “new nationalism” had advocated that the Islam and *tasawwuf* (devotion) were the main elements in formation of Turkishness. Afterwards, the journal *Büyük Doğu* (Great East), which started to be published by 1949, had tried to build up Islamist nationalism –or Turk-Islam Ideal (*Türk-Islam Ülküsü*) with the effort of its creator Necip Fazıl Kısakürek.

The name of main periodicals of rightwing and Islamists and their mastheads are like following;

¹² M. Akif Ak, “İslamcı Dergiler Derken”, *Pınar*, (September 1977), cilt 2, issue 69, p.16-17.

- *Serdengeçti; Allaha, Millete, Vatana Koşanların Dergisi* (The Bouncer; The Journal of those who are rushing to God, nation and homeland) by 1947.
- *Sebilürreşad*, (The Road Leading to God or the Path of the Rightly Guided) which had been republished between 1948-1966, and had the belief that “religion is the identifying measurement of national identity”.¹³
- *İslam’ın Nuru; Dini-İlmi-Ahlâkî-Edebi Mecmua* (The Light of Islam; Religiously, Scholarly, Moral and Literal Journal), which had been published between 1951-1953.¹⁴
- *Hür Adam; Siyasi, İçtimai, Müstakil Gazete* (Man of Freedom; Political, Social, Private Newspaper) had been published between 1950-1951 and its content intensively focuses on the criticisms on one party ruling of *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi CHP* (the Republican’s People party).¹⁵
- *İslâm Dünyası, Siyasî, İlmî ve Ahlâk, Türk Mecmuası* (The Muslim World; Political, Scholarly and Moral Turkish Journal). The journal has been published between 1952-1954 with the aim of expanding the idea that Islam is a progressive and superior religion that supports the civilization and morality.¹⁶
- *İslam; Siyasî, İlim, Din, Fikir ve San’at Mecmuası* (The Islam; The Journal of Politics, Religion, Thought and Art). The journal has been published between 1956-1976, with the content of religious information and discussions, history of Islam, introducing Muslim countries, some texts translated from Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutup’s books. In addition, the nationalist and traditionalist attitude of the journal can be seen from the content as it was the case in most of aforementioned journals.¹⁷
- *Türk Ruhu* (Turkish Soul) has been published between 1957-1958. While the journal had a conservative-nationalist cadre, the names such as Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Hasan Basri Çantay, who was a prominent religious scholar of the republican period, can be seen among the writers.

¹³ Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık.....*, p.520.

¹⁴ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/47/islamin-nuru>.

¹⁵ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/41/hur-adam>.

¹⁶ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/41/hur-adam>.

¹⁷ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/94/islam>.

- *Hilâl Dinî-Ahlâkî-İlmî-Edebî-Siyasî Aylık Mecmua* (The Crescent, The Journal of Religion, Knowledge, Literature and Politics) is one of the most interesting periodicals of the period. Cadre of journal was composed of nationalist and conservative writers while there are articles narrated from the various thinkers from the Muslim world such as Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutub in the early years. *Hilâl* was a remarkable publication in terms of achievement in bringing together nationalist, conservative and traditionalist writers and the ideas from the Muslim world's thinkers through translations.¹⁸
- *Diriliş; Siyasî, Fikrî, Edebî Dergi* (The Resurrection; the Journal of Politics, Thought, Literature) has been published between 1960-1992 and was prominent local source of the new Islamist thinking.¹⁹
- *İslam'ın İlk Emri Oku* (Read; The First Order of Islam) was published between 1961-1979 by the graduates of *İmam Hatip* Schools, in Konya, which were the vocational institutions at the secondary level to train government employed imams and their curriculum were different than from madrsasas. Addition to the writings of the graduates, there also are articles from the Muslim world such as Muhammad Asad, Mawdudi, Abdurrahman Azzam were present in the journal.²⁰
- *Selamet; Aylık Manevi Değerler ve Millî Kültür Dergisi* (Peace; Monthly Journal of Spiritual Values and National Culture) is the journal of same period and has been published between 1947-1949/1962-1979 by Ömer Rıza Doğrul, the son in law of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who is the author of Turkish National Anthem and one of the very prominent thinkers of Islamism during Ottoman period.
- *Fedai; Allah'a Vatana ve Hürriyete* (The Patriot; Dedicated To God, Homeland and Liberty) with the beginning of publishment 1963, was one of the conservative nationalist journals of the time.²¹

¹⁸ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/77/hilal>.

¹⁹ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/12/dirilis>.

²⁰ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/92/islam-39-in-ilk-emri-oku>.

²¹ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/35/fedai>.

- *Yeniden Millî Mücadele (The National Struggle Again)*, which had been published between 1970-1980 as a weekly journal, was one of the most important periodicals, which managed to amalgamate nationalism, conservatism with Islamism.²² The cadre, to which journal belonged, was members of the movement *Mücadele Birliđi* (the League of Struggle) and had created tremendous effects throughout Anatolia. While there are various conspiracy theories about the movement such as their being controlled by the state authorities, the method and strategies of it became prominent source of many other cadre movements until 1970s in Turkey.

The measurement in categorising aforementioned journals as “Islamist” is their attributing more importance to Islam from other journals such as *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), *Millet* (Nation), *Orkun* (The name of the journal has been inspired from the name of earliest Turkish alphabet Orhun) which were published during the same periods and apparently paid more attention to pre Islamic history of Turks and Turkishness than Islam. However while those Islamist journals of this period intensively addressed the subjects such as Zionism, communism, there is a common endeavour observed to synchronize nationalism with Islam (or equalizing being national with being Islamist) under existing conditions of Turkish nation state.²³ Another important feature of these journals that differs from the new Islamist thinking, which came out by the mid-1970s, is their avoiding from involving religion in the political affairs and discussions. Therefore their opposition manner was indirect and focusing the issues at the national level.²⁴

The new Islamist thinking, which introduced new concepts as “holistic Islam” (*bütüncül İslam*) or “unification of Islam” (*tevhidî İslam*), became well apparent

²² İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/103/yeniden-milli-mucadele>.

²³ Macide Göç Türkmen, Çok Partili Sisteme Geçerken İslamcı Dergiler-3, Haksöz, issue 28, (July 1993), <http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/cok-partili-sisteme-gecerken-islamci-dergiler-3-434yy.htm>, 9.11.2018.

²⁴ Kara, *Türkiye’de İslâmcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi.....*, p.28.

by the end of 1970s, specifically after 1978 in certain periodicals and publications. There is a departure from the *idea of state of Turkey* heading to the *idea to state of Islam* in this new thinking. As a reflection of this attitude, there can be seen intensity in the completions or discourses with Islam, while completions with *Türk* or *millî* gradually disappears in the journals. The journal of *Düşünce* or sometimes with the name of *İslâmî Düşünce* (Thought, Islamic Thought), which has been published between 1976-1979²⁵ *İslâmî Hareket* (Islamic Movement) between 1978-1980²⁶, *Şûra* (Consultation) in 1978²⁷, *Tevhid* (faith in unity of God) between 1978-1979²⁸, *Hicret* (emigration in terms of moving towards truth) between 1979-1980²⁹ had emerged as the core journals of the new Islamism and had put a distance to the coalition that was under the umbrella of *right*. As a result, this distance gave birth a new thinking of Islamism and Muslimness with the influence of translations from prominent Islamic thinkers such as Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutub, writings of the Muslim Brotherhood members etc.³⁰

2.2 Unity under the Umbrella of the Right: From the 1940s until the 1970s

The phenomenon of the Right was in the agenda of conceptual discussions before right-left clashes or becoming an umbrella of Islamists, nationalists, and conservatives or before becoming a symbol of statism as a result of being contained by the state through the government of Justice party (Adalet partisi AP) by 1960s. Even before 1960s, in terms of given meaning to the right, categorising the political groups in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey TBMM is remarkable in the book which had been published in 1933 by *Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Society of Examining Turkish History); “Those who sit in the far right are the Islamist conservatives and who sit in the right peripheral are moderate conservatives, in the left side a great number of democrats who are in favour of a new Turkish sate, which depends on the people’s sovereignty by

²⁵ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/14/dusunce>.

²⁶ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/48/islami-hareket>.

²⁷ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/63/sura>.

²⁸ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/62/tevhid>.

²⁹ İslamcı Dergiler Projesi, <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/74/hicret>.

³⁰ Kara, *Türkiye’de İslâmîlik Düşüncesi ve Hareketi.....*, p.28.

abolishing institutions of Istanbul and accepting the ideas of Mustafa Kemal with all their consequences and those who are in the far left are impressed by the communist influence.”³¹ It is stated that this classification had been made with the influence of sitting plan in National Constituent Assembly of France. In the early years of the Republic, while there was no right and left polarization, the cultural policies of Kemalist Republican regime, which had positioned itself at the left peripheral, had received criticisms from traditionalist and conservative intellectuals and this became the root cause in the formation of right-wing ideology.³²

Also in the following years, it is seen the same meaning given to “the Right” in the book of Süleyman Demirel, who served seven times as Prime minister of Turkey and was the 9th President. The book with the name *Yazdıkları ve Söyledikleri* (His Writings and Sayings) had been published by the Justice party/AP headquarter in 1965. The journal of *Hicret* has interpreted words of Demirel, who said that no citizen would want caliphate be back, and argued that Demirel pointed the pro-caliphate masses as hard-line rightists. In addition to all these previous comments, there were still interesting evaluations about the right during 1970s, that shows the idea of right had not been totally dismissed from the mindset of new Islamism. One of the evaluations regarded Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı) as a mechanism to eliminate the effects of “far right” by the journals, which represented the new Islamist thinking, such as *Şûra*, *Tevhid*, *Hicret* and etc. *Hicret* had quoted the following words of Demirel in order to support their interpretation on what “far right” meant on that days.

Far right movement that had caused worries in the environment of multi party system, had carried them to the further and had opened a way for the citizens to clash against each other through religion. Is there any such

³¹ Turkish version of citation; “En sağ cemahta İslâmcı muhafazakârlar. Sağ cemahta daha mutedil muhafazakârlar. Sol cemahta çok miktarda demokratlar. Yani Mustafa Kemal’in fikirlerini bütün netayici ile kabul ederek İstanbul müesseselerini kaldırıp halkın hakimiyetine müstenit yeni bir Türk devletine taraftar olanlar. Daha solunda komünist tesirine az çok kapılanlar.”

³² Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık.....*, p.516.

threat and atmosphere today? My belief is that far right threat has been diminished on a large scale compared to the 1950s thanks to democracy. There are faithful and sincere clergymen who are defending Republic and I feel both duty and honour in announcing this.³³

Thus, the perception that *right* and *millî* were equivalent concepts with Islam, continued until the mid-1970s. Necmettin Erbakan, in one of the group meetings of *Millî Nizam Partisi* MNP (National Order party),³⁴ mentioned that there are three paths in Turkey and explained them as; “First is leftism and it will be ended up with communism. CHP is on this way. The second is the way of cosmopolite Mason. There is signboard of Justice party/AP on this road. Third way is the way of *Millî Nizam* (National Order). This way represents the right; the way of Truth, the way of faith.³⁵

Emergence of Islamist thinking by 1940s expressed itself through nationalism especially with the influence of Necip Fazıl. This Islamism emphasized equivalency of the two concepts “Turk” and “Muslim” and argued that these two can never be separated from each other. Thus Islamism used nationalist manner until the 1950s³⁶ or until even 1970s.

³³ Quotation is from Süleyman Demirel’s book “Yazdıkları ve Söyledikleri”. ‘Atatürkçülük’, Demirel ve Şah”, *Hicret*, (10 December 1979), issue 12, p.8. Turkish version of citation; “Aşırı sağ cereyan çok partili hayatta verdiği kaygıları bir ara ileri dereceye vordırmiş ve vatandaşların birbiri aleyhine din yolundan tecavüzlerde bulunmalarına imkan sağlamıştır. Bugün böyle bir ortam ve tehlike var mıdır? Benim inancım ancak demokrasi sayesinde aşırı sağ tehlikesi 1950 senelerine nisbetle büyük ölçüde azalmıştır. Cumhuriyeti savunan sadık ve samimi, muktedir din adamlarımızın bulunduğunu söylemeyi hem görev hem iftihar konusu sayarım(sh.98)”.

³⁴ The founders of *Millî Nizam Partisi* were in the ranks of rightwing parties such as *Demokrat Parti DP and Adalet Partisi* (Justice party). Necmeddin Erbakan and his other 17 friends founded it in on 26 January 1970 by splitting from the rightwing and party had applied more Islamic discourses, paid more attention to Muslimness.

³⁵ Soner Yalçın, *Hangi Erbakan*, (Ankara: Başak Press, 1995), p.58; Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık.....*, p.528. Turkish version of citation; “MNP milletin iman davasını kendine şiar edinmiştir. Türkiye’de bugün üç yol vardır. Birincisi solculuk, sonu komünizm yolu. Bu yolda CHP var. İkinci yol kozmopolit masonluk yolu. Bu yolda AP levhası var. Üçüncü yol Milli Nizam yolu. Bu yol da sağı temsil eder; Hak yolu, iman yolu.”

³⁶ Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık.....*, p.516.

Development of this manner, after 1945, was a result of alliance between Anatolian nationalism (Anadoluculuk)³⁷ and Turkism movements, which came out during Second Constitutionalism (II. Meşrutiyet). These two movements, which were excluded by state nationalism for a long time, made an alliance against the communist idea, which had flourished by the mid-1940s in Turkey. The alliance needed the support of people for their stand against communism and resorted to the power of Muslimness. The best expression for this amalgam is the motto as; “Turk as much as Mountain Tian Shan, Muslim as much as Mount Hira” (*Tanrı Dağı Kadar Türk, Hira Dağı Kadar Müslüman*). This became an important slogan for the nationalist movements emerged as a result of synthesis of Islam and nationalism in following periods.³⁸

Exclusion of the religion, by the one party regime in the early periods of Republic, had been considered as undermining effect on the nationalism by these movements. Therefore debates had been made over the fact that religion was an important element of the national identity.³⁹ Thus, inference as “irreligiosity brings unnational attitude”, came out and the reason for communist rise had been explained with the secular policies that weakened religious feelings and created a spiritual emptiness. Furthermore secularism had failed to create a morality to fill this gap. Therefore Islam had gained more importance, as its being a catalyser power in the fight with communism.⁴⁰ Thus, trying to integrate Islam with the rightism caused endeavor of Islamization of rightism.⁴¹ In addition to this, anti-communism process, which became a strong force by the 1960s, had caused a closer relationship between the AP government and the

³⁷ Anatolian nationalism has been idealized during armistice years 1918-1922. This idea represents a soil-based nationalism relying on the soils of Anatolia rather than a race and involves whole of the people on it. After the collapse of Ottoman state, this idea emerged as a reaction against Ottomanism, Ummatism and Pan-Turkism by their fail of these ideas in protecting the state.

³⁸ Murat Kılıç, *Allah, Vatan, Soy Milli Mukaddesat; Türk Milliyetçiler Derneği*, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2016), p.14.

³⁹ Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmçılık.....*, p.520.

⁴⁰ Ertuğrul Meşe, *Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri; Türk Sağında Antikomünizm İnşası*, (İstanbul: İletişim, Ocak 2017), p.116.

⁴¹ Mehmet Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı-7 Hilal Dergisi (1960’lı Yıllarda Kur’an’a ve Tevhidi Bilince Yönelişin İlk İzleri) (II)”, *Söz* (Ekim 1993), issue 31, p.39.

segments under the Right⁴² and added the government to the ranks of the right. The reason for the process, which had developed in this direction, was the slogan of “left of the center” (Ortanın Solu) that had been attributed to CHP by party leaders. On the other hand criticisms of AP toward this attitude came with another slogan that was “left of the centre is the road to the Moskow” (*Ortanın Solu Moskova'nın Yolu*). Thus, the meaning of rightism started to be confined to the enmity toward left.⁴³

The process that created the language which was used by the journals of the right-wing, had continued until 1970s. However, until those years, usages such as *ahlâk* (morality), *ahlâk nizamı* (order of morality), *dava* (cause), *sorumluluk* (responsibility), *hizmet* (service for the sake of religion/nation), *hakikat* (truth), *vicdan* (conscience), *iman* (faith), *irade* (will), *tarih* (history), *milliyetçilik* (nationalism), *sanat* (art), *kültür* (culture), *millî birlik* (national unity), *maneviyat* (spirituality), *ruh* (spirit), *millî kültür* (national culture), *millî ahlak* (national morality), *millî terbiye* (national nurture), *millî tarih* (national history), *millî dava* (national cause), had been used in the publications of the time, for avoiding from being closed down as a result of radical secular policies. Herewith Islamists of the Republican Era had used the facility of expressing themselves within the framework of the nationalism, which had different nature from Turkism.⁴⁴

2.3 Reflections of the Dissolution of the Right after the 1960 Coup d'Etat

The unity, which was tried to be formed between various nationalist fractions during the 1940s and the 1950s in the right-wing, had continued through cultural institutions and associations. The process of unity, despite the dissatisfactions and disputes on the conduction of it through cultural institutions and associations, managed to exist until the end of the 1960s and went to another split aftermath of those years.⁴⁵

⁴² İsmail Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi 1*, (İstanbul: *Dergah Press*, 4th release, March 2011), p.9-10.

⁴³ Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmçılık...*, p.516-517.

⁴⁴ Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi 1*, pp.9-10.

⁴⁵ Kılıç, *Allah, Vatan, Soy...*, pp.243-248.

The formation of *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi MHP* (Nationalist Movement party) by the conversion of *Cumhuriyetçi Köylü ve Millet Partisi CKMP* (Republican Peasant's Nation party) in 1969, has been considered as the first split in the rightwing. CKMP had been founded with the alliance of *Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi* (Republican Nation Party) and *Türkiye Köylü Partisi* (Republican Peasant's party) in 1958. This was followed by the establishment of *National Order Party MNP* (Millî Nizam Partisi) on 20 January 1970. MNP has appeared as the first "religious and a political movement in Turkey" and had separated itself from the right.⁴⁶ As a result of this, Islamist and nationalist division has been much more concretised with political division.

Finally honorable Necmettin Erbakan founded MNP. Good luck with that. Our utmost hope is its success. But and but. There should be a point here. Are we going to import person in this type by deriving nationalist and conservative man? Our community is apparent. We have a certain amount of water flowing from the fountain. If the water flows to a one point than we can come up with a result. But can we arrive to a conclusion if we separate the water into two parts and disperse the strength? Today there is a party called Nationalist Movement party. A part of Nationalist front devoted to that. And there is no possibility of separation from each other. So what happened? The source has been divided into two. And there is no result gained. **Whereas, we see that both parties are on the same path with the same aim.** Both are the enemy of communism, Zionism and Mason. Both have dedicated themselves to the system of national economy. So why is this separation? Pity and so sad. The news we have received confirms that Alpaslan Turkes approached the division with tolerance. It is sad that people who have the same ideal and walk on the same way, has settled in different parties. However we are not going to lose our hope. In any case, these two parties will unite. The situation of our country, realities will make it necessary for both go for unity. Because, the establishment of a strong right front in Turkey can be possible with unity and punching the fist on one point.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Kamil Yeşil, "Biz İran'dan Nasıl Etkilendik" *Dünya Bizim*, (2011, 27 Eylül), <http://www.dunyabizim.com/mercek-alti/7437/biz-irandan-nasil-etkilendik>.

⁴⁷ Highlights are ours. In the Turkish text, it has been written as "Alpaslan Turkes approached the unity with understanding". But as it is understood from the content that "unity" mistakenly has been used and has been changed in English translation by us. Nihayet Muhterem Necmeddin Erbakan MNP'ni kurdu. Hayırlı ve uğurlu olsun. Başarılı olması en büyük temennimizdir. Yanlız ve yanlız. Evet buraya bir nokta koymak lazımdır. Milliyetçi ve muhafazakar adam türetip dışarıdan bu tipte insan mı ithal edeceğiz? Bizim camiamız bellidir. Çeşmeden akan miktarı, belli bir

The formation of *Millî Görüş* (National Vision) and its depart from nationalist thinking was upon its different approaches to “the method of struggle”. While the Islamists advocated an intellectual struggle with communism, *ülküü* nationalists chose to resort violent acts and this was one the most important reason for the rupture between the two.⁴⁸

An interview, in 1969, was made with Bekir Berk, who was very active in nationalist associations during anti-communism years and was a prominent attorney of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi and his student, had been considered as the turning point of this split.⁴⁹ This interview had been published as a pamphlet with the name “Islamic Movement and Türkes” (*İslami Hareket ve Türkes*) as newspaper supplement of the *İttihad*, which had been published by Risale-i Nur students. The content of this pamphlet was about Türkes’s approach to religion with Kemalist attitude and thus his sincerity about Islam had been questioned. In the interview, Berk often has expressed that “A Turk who abandoned his/her Muslim identity can never be considered as Turk”, Turkishness and Muslimness is a one and inseparable. He also repeatedly directed his criticisms to Türkes in the interview.⁵⁰

Upon the words of Alpaslan Türkes as “nationalism that is hostile to Islam has nothing to do with us”, Berk has criticized him as following;

suyumuz var. Bu su bir yere akarsa neticeye ulaşılabilir. Ama bu suyu iki kısma ayırır kuvveti dağıtırsak neticeye varılabilir mi? Bugün Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi diye bir parti vardır. Milliyetçi cephenin bir kısmı buraya tutkundur. Ve bunların ayrılmasına imkan yoktur. Şu halde ne oldu? Kaynak ikiye bölündü . Ve bir netice alınmadı. **Halbuki görüyoruz, her iki parti de aynı gaye ve aynı yoldadır.** Her ikisi de komünist düşmanı, Siyonist düşmanı, mason düşmanıdır. Her ikisi de millî ekonomi sistemine baş koymuşlardır. Öyleyse bu bölünme niye? Yazık çok acıdır. Aldığımız haberler bu birleşme hususunda Alpaslan Türkes’in anlayış içerisinde olduğunu teyit etmektedir. **Yolları ve idealleri aynı olan insanların ayrı partilerde toplanmaları üzücüdür.** Bununla beraber biz ümidimizi yitirmiyoruz. Her halde bu iki parti birleşecektir. Memleketimizin durumu, realiteler birleşmek yoluna gidilmesini zaruri kılacaktır. Zira Türkiye’de kuvvetli bir sağ cephenin kurulması, birleşmek ve yumruğu bir noktaya vurmakla mümkündür.

“Millî Nizam Partisi”, *Fedai*, (Şubat 1970), year 7, volume 4, issue 54, p.17.

⁴⁸ Bora, *Sol-Sağ Şemasında İslâmcılık...*p.521.

⁴⁹ M.Ali Büyükkara, “Türkiye’de Radikal Dini Siyasi Akımlar”. Z.Dağı. (Ed.). (*Demokrasi Platformu*, 2006), year 2, issue 8, p.138.

⁵⁰ M. Mustafa Polat, Bekir Berk ile Röportaj, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığı Altında İslami Hareket Bakımından Alpaslan Türkes, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, 9 Işık Doktrini Nedir? Ne Değildir?*, İttihad Gazetesi Eki, (1969), p.27-28.

We do not see that it is said; “Our understanding of nationalism depends on Islam. We do not accept nationalism other than Islam. We reject anything that Islam rejects” in these words. What has been seen in these words is: It seems their understanding of nationalism is not hostile to Islam.... It is not the matter of being hostile to Islam or not; the important point is their dependence on Islam.⁵¹

Berk also criticized Trkeş’s concept of “creation of nation itself” from the angle of “divinization of society” and the idea of Ziya Gkalp. According to Berk, Gkalp was influenced by Durkheim who was the source of this idea, as considering the society at the same level with God and so society divinized.⁵² Berk criticized the discourse that Islam is “a national order” (*millî bir nizam*) by emphasizing that Islam is “a universal order” (*beşerî bir nizam*).⁵³

Berk interpreted the collocation in Trkeş’s “the synthesis between honour, consciousness of Turkishness and Islamic morality, Islamic virtue” as his conscious preference. According to him, Trkeş intentionally brings *kavmiyet* (from the Arabic word *qaum*; the word refers to a kind of nationality bases on common descent, ethnic, history and language) before Islam and mentions Islamic morality and Islamic virtue after Turkishness. He stated that considering Islam at a secondary position may bring “permission on accepting some parts of verdicts in Islam and abandoning some part” and this is a reformism in the religion. And Islam cannot be a synthesis of something.⁵⁴ Berk had likened Trkeş to Abdel Nasser, who came to power with the support of Muslim Brotherhood and took a hostile stance toward them. He, therefore, had declared that there can be no relation between Trkeş and Islamic movement.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığında*, p.30. Turkish version of citation; Burada “bizim Milliyetçilik anlayışımız İslam’a tabidir. İslam’ın dışında bir milliyetçilik tanımıyoruz. İslam’ın reddettiği her şeyi reddediyoruz” dendiğini görmüyoruz. Görlen şey şudur: Milliyetçilik anlayışları İslam’a dşman deęilmiř...Burada bizim iin mhim olan İslam’a dşman olup olmaları deęildir; İslam’a tbi olup olmamaları mhimdir

⁵² Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığında*, p. 38.

⁵³ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığında*, p.45.

⁵⁴ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığında*, p.51.

⁵⁵ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığında*, p.29.

In the interview, the events took place after Islamists' acquisition of presidency of *Millî Türk Talebe Birliği* MTTB (Turkish National Student Association) from *Ülkücü* nationalists had been also discussed. In this interview, Bekir Berk had addressed the events in the 49th general assembly of MTTB as another important factor in the split between nationalists and Islamists and accused *Türkeş* for this. Tension came out as a result of Islamist youth's attempt to sing anthem of *hak yol İslam yazacağız* (We are going to write down that Islam is the way of truth) in *Cağaloğlu* following the result of presidency change. *Ülkücü* youth had chanted as *bozkurt geliyor* (grey wolf⁵⁶ is coming) in response. The Islamists youth reacted it with the slogan *Müslüman Türkiye* (Muslim Turkey).⁵⁷ The confrontation between the two groups had reached to the level of violence and unfortunately resulted in the loss of lives.⁵⁸ Hereby the end of the Islamist and nationalist unity reflected at the societal level with the bitterness and horror.

Finally, the article of *Münevver Ayaşlı*⁵⁹ with the title of the *Commando* (Komando) has been placed in the interview. This article was penned about possible harmful consequences of commando formation by *Ülkücü* youth in the form of defence force in confronting Marxist entities, which were blocking the universities as a kind of protest. In the article, *Ayaşlı* had criticized the words of *Türkeş* and his tendency as following; "Unfortunately nationalist movements also have bitter memoirs. Although nationalism must be connected to, depended on Islam, it always stands against that at recent times... We want a nationality within Islam, the nationality of Islam; a Turkishness in Islam".⁶⁰

⁵⁶ A mythical wolf in Turkish mythology.

⁵⁷ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığı Altında*, p.29.

⁵⁸ Büyükkara, "Türkiye'de Radikal Dini Siyasi Akımlar", p.138.

⁵⁹ *Münevver Ayaşlı* (1906-1999) is an Ottoman born prominent Turkish female writer. She is known with her conservative nationalist, traditionalist and spiritualist stance.

⁶⁰ Polat, *Tarihi Vesikaların Işığı Altında*, pp. 86-87. Turkish version of citation; "Ne yazık ki memleketimizde milliyetçilik hareketlerinin de fena bir hatırası vardır. Milliyetçilik İslamiyet'e bağlanacağına, tabi olacağına daima son zamanlarda ona karşı olmuştur...Biz İslamiyet içinde bir milliyet, İslam milliyeti; İslamiyet içinde bir Türklük istiyoruz"

2.4 Departure of New Islamists from the Right

Parallel to these developments in political and youth organizations and in the rapid increase of demand for translated books, there were important factors, which were going to influence new Islamist youth. First of all, the condition that differs this new young religious masses, which appeared by the 1960s, from the previous generations who experienced the Ottoman era, is their being born and grown into the conditions of a new nation-state secular Turkish Republic. This generation, to a large extent, studied in the secular institutions of the state, Imam Hatip high schools, Islamic Institutes (*İslam Enstitüleri*), Faculties of Theology (*İlahiyat Fakülteleri*) or ordinary state universities and started to take part in public space.⁶¹ Hereby they began to differ intellectually from the previous generation and to depart from the control of traditionalist ulamas and thus from tradition. In this atmosphere, the new generation, who were stuck between the values that had been imposed in the education process of state institutions and traditional Islamic values, felt insufficiency and sought new ways to feel capable in standing against impositions of the Republic.⁶² In addition, this generation, who grew up in an environment, in which communist and Marxist movements were intellectually powerful onwards the 1940s, and in the territories, which was stuck between bipolar world order, did not have sources that support them at the intellectual level over against these movements. Therefore translations became new resources and major reference books, which would be relied on as saviour in eliminating the shortage of sources in Turkey's conditions and experience.

İsmail Kazdal, who were the owner of *Hilal* Publications, which published intensively translated books mostly from Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutub etc. by the 1960s, expresses dilemma of the new Islamist generation and their quest for solution as following;

⁶¹ Asım Öz, *Saatçi Musa*, (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, May 2010). p.239.

⁶² Hasan Hüseyin Özkazancıgil, " 'Kaybolan'ın Anlaşılması ve Aranması", *Söz*, (May 1992), issue 14, p.6.

I saw something, which we never met in any book in Turkey, in this book, (Social Justice in Islam by Sayyid Qutub) that was written with the socialist view. **The book was explaining its claim with the verses of Qur'an.** I also intensively was thinking about the reason why nobody talks about **Qur'an** while it **was the constitution of religion.** It had been packaged with the plastic bags and hanged on the wall at any corner of a house or Surah Yaseen from the Qur'an was recited for the deaths sometimes. Whereas there is a verse, which takes places only in Surah Yaseen in Qur'an that "this Book has been revealed for those whosoever liveth".... At that time we decided that we were not able to find by ourselves. We told ourselves that let's give a look at what the condition of thinkers in the Muslim world. We searched by giving priority to Sayyid Qutub.⁶³

Also, from the following lines, it is possible to read the factor, which caused the process of new Islamists' distinguishing themselves from traditional conservatives and nationalists with the purpose of avoiding from being placed in a polarized atmosphere as a result of struggle, which took place between right and left during 1960s and after.

There were some breakthroughs of materialists after 1960 coup d'etat and the constitutional change. Nationalists were stuck with these breakthroughs. Because nationalism was only an emotional attitude. It was not possible to resist the slogan of "social justice", which was popular at that time, with emotions. Nationalists lived in shock condition for three-four years. There were all kinds of fractions in the structure of nationalism. According to the conditions of that time, Islamists were advocating an Islamic understanding, which depends on tasawwuf. But at the same time, this understanding made it felt itself within nationalist-traditionalist structure. **They were not in the position to bring suggestions to social issues with their this understanding.** People of that time were talking with the heroic discourses. Therefore they were advocating an understanding of tasawwuf supported with the literature. In addition to this, historical nostalgia was being kept at the agenda and this was being advocated.⁶⁴

⁶³ Emeti Saruhan, *Zamanın Tanıkları*, (İstanbul: Pınar Yayıncılık, 2015), p.69-71. Highlights are ours. Turkish version of citation; Sosyalist bir görüşle yazılan bu kitapta (İslam'da Sosyal Adalet) **Türkiye'de hiçbir kitapta görmediğimiz bir şey gördüm. İddiasını ayetlerle açıklıyordu.** Ben de zaten için için **bu dinin anayasası Kur'an** ama kimse Kur'an'dan bahsetmiyor diye düşünüyordum. Kur'an muşambalara asılıp evin mutena bir köşesinde saklanır ya da ara sıra ölümlere Yasin okunur. Halbuki Kur'an'da "Bu kitap diriler için indirilmiştir" ibaresi yalnızca Yasin'de vardır....O zaman dedik ki biz kendimiz bulamayacağız, İslam coğrafyasında düşünenlerin durumu nedir bir bakalım. Seyyid Kutup başta olmak üzere araştırdık.

⁶⁴ İsmail Kazdal, "Hilal Dergisi Eski Editörü İsmail Kazdal İle Söyleşi: 'Hilal Dergisi İslam'ın Sosyal Yönünü Gündeme Getirdi'", *Söz* (1993, September). p.45. Highlight is ours. Turkish version of

Towards the middle of 1960s, Nihat Armağan, who worked as manager in Hilal Publishing House, remarks that they were highly impressed by “the views of this reformist (*İslahatçı*) *ulamas* who explain Islam more easily and accurately”. He said that these translations helped in heading towards the essence of religion and systematizing the knowledge that had been acquired till that time in Turkey, in which “Islamic thought became quite blurred”.⁶⁵

The new thought, which has been expressed as “holistic Islam” (*bütüncül İslam*) and has gained a momentum by the mid-1970s, is identified as with its inclusion social dimension rather than prioritizing politics. It is also considered as an “Islamic understanding, which is “Qur’anic centred, conceptual, including dimension of sunnah and takes the life of companions as an example”.⁶⁶ However, those who advocated more “local Islamism” (*yerli İslamcılık*) interpreted this kind of tendency as “intangible Islamism”. They argued that the new Islamist thoughts could not find much attention in the public because of its denial of ethnic identities and attachment to the birthplaces and these denials were considered as attitudes against creation. Local Islamists expressed that new Islamists agenda was far away from the public’s agenda and they dealt with the subjects, which were not directly involved in the life of ordinary people. Therefore new Islamism could not approach the reality because of its Universalist manner and it remained as vague view in the eyes of masses.⁶⁷

citation; 1960 Darbesi ve müteakip Anayasa’dan sonra materyalistlerin bir takım atakları oldu. Bu ataklar milliyetçileri köşeye sıkıştırdı. Çünkü milliyetçilik sadece bir duygu idi. Duygu ile de o zaman popüler olan “sosyal adalet” sloganına karşı koymak mümkün değildi. Milliyetçiler üç-dört sene bir şok içerisinde yaşadılar. Milliyetçilerin bünyesinde her türlü fraksiyon bulunuyordu. İslamcılar da bu bünye içinde bulunuyorlardı. O zamanın ölçülerine göre İslamcılar, tasavvufa bağlı bir İslam anlayışı savunuyordu. Ama bu anlayış aynı zamanda milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı bir yapı içerisinde kendisini hissettiriyordu. **Bu anlayışlarıyla da sosyal konularda herhangi bir teklif getirecek konumda değillerdi.** O devrin insanları hamasî bir takım söylemlerin sahipleriydiler. Bu bakımdan edebiyatın desteğinde tasavvuf anlayışını savunuyorlardı. Bunun yanında tarihi nostalji gündemde tutuluyor ve savunuluyordu

⁶⁵ “Hilal Dergisi Eski Editörü Nihat Armağan ile Söyleşi”, *Haksöz*, (October 1993), issue 31, p. 43.

⁶⁶ İlmî Etüdler Derneği İLEM, Sözlü Tarih Görüşmesi, (Süleyman Arslantaş), (1 July 2018), (56:19-56:33) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=11jSPNgXRk>. 21.10.2018..

⁶⁷ İlmî Etüdler Derneği İLEM, Sözlü Tarih Görüşmesi, (Burhan Kavuncu), (25 Ekim 2018), (53:22-55:28), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l63hq2XgH-0>, 2.11.2018.

The new concepts arrived through the subjects, which were feeding the main theme “Islamic State”, to the agenda of new Islamists. Appearance of the concepts, which were redefined besides the usages such as *Qur’anic Constitution, Islamic Constitution, Islamic Order*, have been considered as the sign of the process separating Islam, which was integrated with nationalism and even considered as an important element of the right, from those mentioned ideas.⁶⁸

Besides the influence on the new generation at the local level, new thought, as interpreted “political Islam”, also prepared a ground for Islamists to participate in political activities in Turkey with the influence of translations.⁶⁹ During the late 1960s, tendency of new Islamists in political activities, has been interpreted as involving the religion in the political affairs, so received many criticisms, while the right-wing had witnessed new discussions. According to the new tendency, Islam had been imprisoned to the rightism that resulted with pacification and utilization of religion by the state. Thus involving Islam in political affairs would reactivate its function.⁷⁰ Hereby, separation of Islamism from the right became more concrete until to the end of the 1970s and with the increasing disintegration and breakaways “attempt to Islamization of the right” had failed. As for nationalism within the right, it has been evolved to racism with the withdrawal of Islamism.⁷¹ This evolvment, which is a factor that increased the distance between Islamists and nationalists, caused even the claims that Islamism has been undertaken and handled by the non-Turks.⁷²

In the journals, the new Islamists started to discuss the stance of rightist conservatives towards religion with severe criticisms and made categorization of the right-wing according to their approach to religion. The evaluations, in the

⁶⁸ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39.

⁶⁹ M. Ali Büyükkara, *Çağdaş İslami Akımlar*, (İstanbul: Klasik Press, 23 November 2016, 4. Baskı). p.35

⁷⁰ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39.

⁷¹ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39

⁷² “Geçtiğimiz Günler; İslamcı Gençlik Arasında Komünistler Olduğu Yalandır!..”, *Tevhid*, (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.12.

serial articles with the title “Islamic Movements After 1960” are quite important in terms of understanding how Islamist movements of the Republican Turkey had been concerned by the new Islamists.

The first movement is the one, which is nationalist that believed in thesis of “Turkish nation” and depended on the cultural values of Anatolia, plus it is ethnicist, spiritualist, and relatively an Ottomanist movement.

Within the tradition of literature, second is a nationalist ethnicist movement “loyal to the root soul of Turk” tries to fit Muslims, who are overflowing with the nostalgia of Great East, and their belief in intangible patterns. They are passionate with the good speech, impressive sentence. The last and third movement, which has a closer connection with Qur’an, bringing the universe, human being to the agenda with the scientific and experimental outputs, defending the rightness of Islam, it is sincere but at the same time close to the west, excited and a living and alive movement.

⁷³

According to the new Islamist thinking, the most important characteristic of the Islamist movements before 1960 was their not having a political consciousness⁷⁴ and as a result of this, Islamist movements have fallen into trap of the Democrat party DP, which, according to them, was established in favor of capitalism. So that, with DP’s implementations, which seemed as religious freedom, religious sensitivity of the people had been abused and they were easily adapted to the system.⁷⁵

The new Islamists accused the people with the “nationalist-traditionalist-spirit-mystical” mind of pre-1960 for making religion failed in realizing its role as “giving direction to the life” and for regarding it as “a passivized mechanism, which is used to bring the masses to directions desired”. According to the new tendency, the religion, which has become a part of the nationalism that

⁷³ Ali Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1”, *Hicret*, (8 October 1979), issue 4, p.2. Turkish version of citation; “Birincisi Anadolu’nun kültürel değerlerine, ‘Türk milleti’ tezine inanmış milliyetçi, kavmiyetçi, ruhçu, maneviyatçı, ve nisbeten Osmanlıcı akım. İkincisi de edebiyat geleneği içinde, Büyük Doğu hasretleriyle dolup taşan Müslümanları inançlarını soyut kalıplara sığdırmaya koyulmuş, güzel söz, çarpıcı cümle tutkunu ve özde ‘Türk’ün ruh köküne bağlı’ bir milliyetçi kavmiyetçi akım. Son ve üçüncü akım da Kur’an’la daha yakın bağlantısı olan, evreni, insanı bilimsel deneysel verilerle gündeme getiren ve İslam’ın haklılığını savunan, samimi ama aynı ölçüde batıya da yatkın, heyecanlı ve diri bir akım”.

⁷⁴ Ali Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 2” *Hicret*, (15 October 1979), issue 5, p.2.

⁷⁵ Ali Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1”, p.2.

constitutes the ideological framework with the formation of the nation state ideology, had been interpreted as cultural elements by these groups. Islam that put an order the entire life, has lost its main function by becoming “a static structure of thought which has become a legacy of centuries” and “becoming traditionalist and mystical identity in which the interpretation of individuals became base instead of revelation.”⁷⁶

In fact the segments, which have been mentioned as conservatives and traditionalists, had tremendously struggled for reviving the religious life in the society before the appearance of new Islamic thinking. They had provided a great support in upbringing of this new generation and had tried to convey the idea of religion despite various difficulties imposed by the state. In their struggle, they had aimed to ensure the re-centralization of Islam with the improvement of the state and society. One of the memoirs, which belong to this process, summarizes these efforts as following;

While despite some wrongdoings of these efforts, which had been stopped from time to time and did not create a satisfaction for following times, they had contributed the consciousness in the society. For example one of them is Great East Association (Büyük Doğu Cemiyeti), which was established in 1950 and opened branches in most cities of Turkey. We were also founder of it. We tried as much as possible in supporting the revival with our publications successively with the names “Revolution With the Spirit”, “Human Being In Pursuit of Self”, “A Light Will Be Born”.⁷⁷

In this process, while the gap between new Islamists and the Islamists of pre-Republican and Republican period was widened, their intellectual accumulations and discourses were ignored with the focus on the ideas in translated books,

⁷⁶ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39

⁷⁷ M.S. Çekmegil, “1960’lı Yıllarda Türkiye’de İslami Uyanış”, *Söz* (1992, May), issue 14. p.11. Turkish version of citation; “Yer yer aksayan, doyurur bulunmayan bu gayretler, bazı yanlışlarına rağmen, Türkiye’de Müslümanların şuurulanmasına pek çok katkıları olmuştur. Mesela 1950’lerde kurularak yurdun pek çok yerinde şubeler açan Büyük Doğu Cemiyeti, ki biz de onun kurucularındanız. O zamanlar genç heyecanlarla arka arkaya yayınladığımız “Ruhla İnkılap”, “İnsanoğlu Kendini Arıyor”, “Bir Nur Doğacak” adlı kitaplarımız gibi neşriyatımızla, karınca kaderince, bu doğruluşlara katkıda bulunuyorduk”.

with the concern to catch up rapid and intense developments in the Muslim World.⁷⁸

Besides the ideas, which saw the translations as main element among the causes that led to the new Islamist/conservative-traditionalist-nationalist disintegration solidified by the 1980s, the issues on the objections toward nationalism, which was the subject of controversy among the early Islamists,⁷⁹ looked inherited by the new Islamists. Therefore this development can be considered as revival of old discussions and intellectual disputes. Much earlier from the translations, discussions on the idea returning to the primary sources and criticisms toward traditional Islam by early Islamists in the Ottoman period were sort of revived. For example discourse of returning to the Qur'an and *tevhid* (faith in the unity of God) and criticisms to superstition as a religious understanding were vocalized powerfully even before 1960s.⁸⁰

Despite all the past accumulations and similarities with the new tendency, one of the reason that made translations attractive, has been interpreted as disconnection of liaison with the Ottoman language and inability to read Ottoman thinkers' works. Besides, it has been also questioned the reason why the efforts in translating the books in Arabic or other languages had not been spent for the work of Ottoman works. The new Islamists' disregard to the works of Ottoman thinkers have been interpreted by Professor Ismail Kara, who is a prominent expert on Turkish Islamism, with a number of reasons. First of all "defeat of Ottoman ideologies and accumulations", tendency for westernization among Ottoman thinkers, alliance and support of some Islamists with the one party regime and remaining silent of others were the main factors for disinterest.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Kara, *Türkiye'de İslâmcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Üzerine Birkaç Not*, p.16.

⁷⁹ Ayşe Olgun, (Vahdettin Işık ile röportaj), "İslamcılık Ezberini Dergiler Bozdu" (March 2017), <http://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/islamcilik-ezberini-dergiler-bozdu-2440023> sitesinden alınmıştır.

⁸⁰ Öz, *Saatçi Musa*, p.144.

⁸¹ İsmail Kara, "Türkiye'de Yerli Bir Dini Yayın Var mı?", *Kitap Dergisi*, p.3, İsmail Kara, "Müslüman Kardeşler Türkçeye Tercüme Edildi mi?", *Dergâh*, (21 November 1991), issue 21, p.15.

As a result, translations, which were mainly from Pakistan and Egypt starting by the mid-1960s and from Iran after the Islamic Revolution in 1979, affected the alliance that continued since years of one party system between Islamism and nationalism. Prof. Kara states that while this new Islamism which is defined as “activist Islamism” by him, did not represent general Islamic understanding; it had a powerful affect with the anti-nationalist stance. This opposition automatically weakened liaison with experience of the previous Islamism which took place during late Ottoman, pre 1924 and early Republican era, with the thought, which has been established through the line of Nurettin Topçu, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Sezai Karakoç the after Republican period.⁸²

2.5 A Brief Look into Debates around the Concept of *Millet* in the Major Right-wing and Islamist Journals

Towards the end of the 1970s redefinition of certain concepts in some Islamic journals and forming new concepts in Islamic literature is interpreted as “purification from national (*ulusal*) definitions and values.”⁸³

Intense flow of translations, which had great impact on the discourses and new language of the Islamic journals, were accompanied by appearance of the young religious people in the literal and cultural life by the 1965. One of the founders of *the League of Struggle* (Mücadele Birliği), which was founded in Konya by a group of nationalist-Islamist students, interpreted this as the “reflection of the Islamic life that *millet* has adapted.”⁸⁴

Rightism was tried to be contained by Islam by redefining the concepts of the *right* and *rightest*. This was, with the influence of translations, within the efforts

⁸² Zeynep Bayramoğlu, Türkiye’de İslamcılık (İsmail Kara ile Televizyon Yayını), (1July 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lt9X3m-YX7I>.

⁸³ Hamza Türkmen, “Basında İslami Muhalefet: Şura-Tevhid-Hicret-1”, *Haksöz Dergisi*, (2000). Sayı 110, (Elektronik Ortam). <http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/basinda-islami-muhalefet-sura-tevhid-hicret-1-2713yy.htm>.

⁸⁴ İrfan Küçüköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi*, (Konya: Alagöz Press, 2005), p.328.

of Islamization of the right, which were driven by a striking convergence of anti-communism by 1965.⁸⁵

However, discussions about the concept of “right and left” started to take place in *Büyük Doğu* (Great East) in 1944 and continued with different contexts until 1970s in many Islamic journals. Discussions in *Büyük Doğu* (Great East) are the reflections of seeking a third way other than the Left and the Right.

While nationalism, which was under umbrella of the right and was identified with it, was a general attitude in Islamic publications and journals, the concept of *millet* was the most discussed term among others. Discussions about *millet* and *milliyetçilik* had taken place from the early years and intensively in the journal *Hareket* (Action) and *Büyük Doğu*. The idea of *millet* and *milliyetçilik* has been idealized, within the framework of “New Nationalism” as an opponent stance against “Republican Nationalism” in the journal of *Hareket*.⁸⁶ The article penned by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek with the title of *Kabuk Milliyetçileri* (Nationalists of Shell) illustrates differentiation with Republican Nationalism as following;

“Nationalists...the second party, who shadow or darken our cause by be seemed or be thought to be from us, those nationalists who are fond of envelop or cover without looking what is inside ...Namely racists. Essence and shell, content and envelop, what the difference between diamond and its covering is, it is the difference between true nationalism and theirs...”⁸⁷

In the following years, the idea of *millet*, which was developed in the pages of both journals, had been evolved as a uniting factor between nationalists, conservatives and Islamists under the umbrella of *Türk Milleti* (Turkish Nation) in order to stand against “threat” of communism. When it is come to the beginning

⁸⁵ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39.

⁸⁶ İsmail Kara, *Müslüman Kalarak Avrupalı Olmak, Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinde Din Siyaset Tarih Medeniyet*, (İstanbul: Dergah Press, November 2017) pp.114-157/295.

⁸⁷ N.F.Kısakürek, “Kabuk Milliyetçileri”, *Hilal Dergisi*, (March 1965), volume 5, issue 50, p.4. Turkish version of citation; “Bizden görünüp veya sanılıp ta davamızı gölgeleyen veya karartan zümrelerden ikincisi, içe bakmaksızın zarf veya mahfaza düşkünü milliyetçiler... Yani ırkçılar. Öz ve kabuk, muhteva ve zarf, elmasla mahfazası arasındaki fark ne ise, gerçek milliyetçilikle bunların ki arasındaki fark o...”

of 1970, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele* (National Struggle Again) came out declaring its mission as undertaking the responsibility of continuation of unity among right and bringing this aim to fruition. *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, which was one of the most important periodical and started its publishing life on 3 February 1970, declared its slogan as “THE JOURNAL OF NATIONAL CAUSE, which is loyal to nation’s faith, morality, culture, history and interests” (*Milletin iman, ahlak, kültür, tarih ve menfaatlerine bağlı haftalık, siyasi MİLLİ DAVA MECMUASI*).⁸⁸ Besides, one of the founders of journal, in one of his interviews states that they used the term *millet* with the intention of whole of Muslim ummah.⁸⁹ However it is observed that emphasis intensively was made on Turkey and the journal’s Turkey centred mind-set has quite obvious from the first issue of the journal. The reason on focusing nationalism can be seen in an article penned in the 258th issue of the journal in 1975. The main theme of the article is evolvement of nationalisms, which differ from one to another, according to the changing factors and their formation in the mind of individuals as natural and spontaneous outcome. The article addresses that if a country remains insufficient in systemizing this naturally developed nationalism phenomenon and mobilizing this national energy, there will be no economic, political, cultural etc. achievements. It had been stated that Turkish nationalism came out as a result of fear of decay and invasion following Treaty of Sévres, while German and Russian nationalisms appeared as a result of Napoléon invasions, which created Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism movements. Nationalisms of French and Britain, which were the colonizing countries, had been described chauvinist as their being unrivalled in social and political arena.⁹⁰

If nationalism is a feeling, should not be told that it is not a system and it is an emotional movement? This question has to be responded in the form of that if there is no way to enhance nationalism to the level of a system of thought, to worldview, it is obliged to remain a mechanism of

⁸⁸ Slogan of the journal with the capital letters as it is written takes place in the third pages from the first issue until 528.

⁸⁹ Hamza Türkmen (Necmettin Erişen ile röportaj), “Yeniden Milli Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1 (Röportaj)” *Haksöz Dergisi*, (June 1994), issue 39, <http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/yeniden-mill-i-mucadele-sorgulanmalidir-1-660yy.htm..>

⁹⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi*, p.339.

one of the existing philosophical, economic and social systems. As much as if nationalism maintains with unconscious education, it will not be sufficient in serving the society and in keeping the nation survive. As such, nationalism remains as an emotion without intelligence, as a tremendous social power deprived from intellectual. If we state that nationalism is being fond of Turkish nation (and we could not go beyond that), that means we still have not ascended from the point of emotional nationalism. The words “we are nationalist and we are determined to protect our spiritual values” also point the same level.⁹¹

The journal of *Şûra* (Consultation), which was published between 5 January- 30 October 1978 and the most important periodical in terms of its content and discourses, discussed some certain concepts including particularly *millet*. Following closing down of the journal, discussions on the concepts continued in *Tevhid*, which was published between 17 December 1978- August 1979 with the same cadre and writers team. Interestingly, it has been observed that the verses of Qu’an, hadiths and prominent classical sources were applied intensively in the redefinition of these concepts. However, while the references were the classical sources, it can be seen reflections of new Islamist discussions and the influence of translations from the content of definitions. For example in the discussions on the concept of *sadaqa* (benevolence), it has been expressed that in the state of non-existence of an “Islamic State” which would have a mechanism and a system in conveying *sadaqa* and *zakat* to the needy, *sadaqa* remained as a matter of people’s conscience and their level of responsibility.⁹²

Particularly in these publications and in other new Islamist periodicals, the terms such as *cahiliyye* (Islamic ignorance), *tevhid* (faith in unity of God), *şirk*

⁹¹ Aykut Edibali, “Milliyetçilik Açısından Dört Parti Liderinin Programının Değerlendirilmesi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (14 January 1975), issue 258, p.3. Turkish version of citation; Eğer bir milliyetçilik bir duygu ise, bu bir sistem değil, hissî bir cereyandır demek gerekmez mi? Bu soruya, milliyetçiliği eğer bir dünya görüşü, bir düşünce sistemi seviyesine çıkarmanın yolu yoksa şüphesiz ki milliyetçilik, mevcut felsefî ekonomik ve sosyal sistemlerden birinin aleti halinde kalmaya mahkum olur demek gerekir....Milliyetçilik gayr-i şuûrî bir eğitim olarak kaldıkça, toplumu yaşatmaya, ona hizmet etmeye yetmez. Bu haliyle milliyetçilik zekadan mahrum bir duygu, akıldan mahrum bir büyük sosyal güç olarak kalır. Eğer milliyetçilik Türk milletini sevmektir dersek (ki şimdiye kadar bu çizgi aşılmamıştır) hâlâ hissî bir milliyetçilik seviyesinden yukarıya çıkamamışız demektir. “Milliyetçiyiz ve millî manevî değerleri korumaya azimliyiz” sözleri de aynı seviyeye işaret eder

⁹² “İslâmî İstihlaklar; Sadaka”, *Tevhid*, (14 May 1979), issue 21, p.6.

(paganism), *rab* (the Lord), *fesad* (mischief), *tağut* (evil), *tuğyan* (tyranny), *maruf* (good action), *münker* (evil action), *fitne* (disorder), *zulüm* (injustice, tyranny), *şehit* (martyr), *daru'l harp* (abode of war), *daru'l islam*, (abode of Islam), *irtidat* (apostasy), *vatan* (national homeland), *millet* (nation), *din* (religion), *muztazaf* (oppressed), *müstekbir* (tyrant, oppressor), *ümme* (Turkish expression of ummah), *kavim* (kin, clan), *kavmiyetçilik* (ethnonationalism), *milliyetçilik* (nationalism), *devlet* (state), *ifsad* (corruption), *fesad* (fraud) have been intensively used.⁹³ Thus the subjects and new literature that has evolved within the framework of “Islamic State”, which was periphery of Islamism discussions, caused a gradual depart from nationalist and traditionalist literature.

Discussions on the concept of *millet* became a determinant factor to the content of other terminologies in the whole conceptual discussions from 1939. In the journal of *Hareket* main motivation of defining of *millet* and *milliyet* was the identity crisis, which came out during the Republican era. While nationalist movements that brought collapse of the Ottoman state, were totally alive in the public's memory, the idea of nation of the Turkish Republic was away from inclusivity with a limited content. Therefore an important reason that the journal of *Hareket* intensively focused on the concepts is to revive the idea of *millet* and *milliyetçilik*, which have been weakened by the imperialism. According to general understanding of *Hareket*, the Muslim World, which declared their independence through their struggles for liberation, can go for a unity only with the revival of their understanding of *millet*. In terms of this claim, in the article titled as *Mehmet Akif ve İslam Dünyası* (Mehmet Akif and the Muslim World), there are remarkable and interesting evaluations take place. It has been stated that the Muslim world needs to spend effort more than ever to be united. While going to a unity, “they have to realize the great project of Akif against material and spiritual imperialism by not being on the wrong track such as removing their

⁹³ Türkmen, “Basında İslami Muhalefet...”.

national characteristics, not being in effort of reviving wounds of the near history by being duped with the game of enemy”.⁹⁴

The process, which brought the collapse of the Ottoman as a result nationalist uprisings within the state, was another important reason in the journal’s idea of reviving the idea of *millet*. Therefore, there is also effort observed in pursuit of a racial unity and kinship. According to this opinion, the reason of the collapse of the Ottoman is violation of the racial unity and kinship.

Today we see many other races that were merged in the body of a nation. **Those, who were merged from outside to the main race, are intoxicating it at any field of its life. Because they do not have responsibility for the past and for the future of the main race. They are bringing catastrophs to the nation.** They treat to the main race as people of colonization in the empire, which they built by conquering the castle from inside. **They are bringing calamities to the nation. These kinds of empires still are being called as *millet*. Especially in this kind of nations (milletler), there is a strict hate to the name of main race. There is a demand of respect for foreignness. Foreigners feel superiority because of their being foreign. The best example for this is Ottoman Empire and its remnants, who have claims on palace and on the reign.** In this empire the children of Serb, Albanian, Arab, Circassian who wrapped in the costume of Muslimness took the most important positions in the palace and at the door of government. They were given rebellion title one by one. **There was need for movement of education, which instils a culture of conscious nationality for the people of motherland to make them able to gain power and superiority over foreigners, who were not villagers and settled in the big cities for their state positions.** With the collapse of Committee of Union and Progress, which were representing the foreignness in the political arena, the national government, which was established in Anatolia after the big war, was taking its name from its being the achievement of Anatolian children. **But it is our biggest weakness that is consideration of those, who are from Sivas to those from Kayseri, those from Adana to those from Urfa as semi foreign with the claim of townsmanship in the nation, which established its eternal sovereignty in Anatolia.**⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Bekir Su, “Mehmed Akif ve İslâm Dünyası”, *Fikir ve Sanatta Hareket*, (July 1967), issue 19, p.10. Turkish version of citation; “millî özelliklerini silip atma gibi bir yanılsa düşmeden ve düşman oyunlarına kapılıp, yakın tarihin yaralarını depreştirme gayretine kapılmadan Akif’in büyük projesini maddî ve manevî emperyalizme karşı tahakkuk ettirmek”

⁹⁵ Nurettin Topçu, “Millet ve Milliyet”, *Hareket*, (May 1943), year 5, issue 12, p.356. Grammar in the Turkish version of the text are taken as it is and highlights are ours. “Bugün bir milletin içinde birçok soylardan insanların karıştığını görüyoruz. **Bazı yerlerde milletin anasoyuna dışardan**

Therefore in the article of Nurettin Topçu, titled as *Millet ve Milliyet* (Nation and Nationhood), he claims that these two concepts had been destroyed with the system of empire and he defined *millet* as the communities whose race, language and religion are similar to each other.

The ideal of *Milliyet* (nationhood) has been established on a **unity base, which grow out of any kind of similarities**, and on individual freedom. The material, which establishes the unity and the elements that depend on the spirit, came together and created the *millet*. These unities are the unities of kin, soil, labor and language, religion and will. These unities existed in the city-states of the first age, in the form of seed. But the unity consciousness was not born yet. When the empires united many city-states by force of warfare or by economic superiority, the unity disappeared at the end of first age. On the other hand, feudalism was disintegration and the period of anarchy in the social structure. After the Middle Ages in Europe, the *milliyet*, which was wished to be built on material and spiritual unities that we mentioned, had shown sincere moves. There were sacrifices in the movements of thought and of will for the sake of this. However most of these unities showed weakness after major industry mobilised the masses, which writhed in interest, anxiety and passion, as waves in Europe. Nations converted themselves to imperial look by corrupting (of their structure) with the merge among each other.⁹⁶

karışanlar onun geçmiş ve geleceğine ait mes'uliyetlere sahip olmadıkları için hayatını her sahada zehirleyici tesir yapıyorlar. O millete felaket getiriyorlar. Kaleyi içinden kazanarak kurdukları imparatorlukta ana soya sömürge halkı muamelesi yapıyorlar. O millete felaket getiriyorlar. Bu nevi imparatorluklar hâlâ millet adını taşımaktadır. Bilhassa böyle milletler içinde soy ismine karşı şiddetli nefret duyulur. Yabancılığın hürmet görmesi istenir. Yabancılar, yabancı oldukları için kendilerinde üstünlük duyarlar, buna en güzel misal, Osmanlı imparatorluğu ve onun artığı olan yabancılardan saray ve saltanat etrafındaki iddialarıdır. Bu imparatorlukta müslümanlık kisvesine bürünen Sırp, Arnavut, Arap ve Çerkes çocukları saray ve hükümet kapılarında en mühim yerleri aldılar. Bunlara ayrı ayrı asilik payeleri verildi. **Bu yabancılar köylü olmadıklarından ve yalnız devlet mevkileri için büyük şehirlerde barınmış bulduklarından kolaylıkla ana vatan halkının bu imparatorluk içinde yabancılara üstün bir kuvvet ve iktidar sahibi olabilmesi için şuurlu bir milliyet kültürü aşıl原因 tahsil hareketine lüzum vardı.** Büyük harpten sonra siyaset sahasında yabancılığı temsil eden ittihat ve terakkinin çökmesiyle Anadolu'da kurulan millî hükümet, bu adını Anadolu çocuklarının eseri olmasından alıyordu. **Devlet merkezinin Ankara'da, Anadolu'nun göbeğinde kurulmuş olmasından gurur duymıyan bir Anadolu'yu yoktur. Lâkin Anadolu'da ebedî hakimiyetini kurmuş olan bu millet içindeki hemşehrilik iddiaları Sivaslı'nın Kayserili'ye, Adanalı'nın Urfalı'ya yarı yabancı gözü ile bakmakta olması bizim en büyük zaafımızdır".**

⁹⁶ Nurettin Topçu, "Millet ve Milliyet", p.356. Turkish version of the text are taken as it is and highlights are ours. Milliyet mefkûresi ferdî hürriyetle beraber **her türlü benzeyişlerden doğan birlik temeli** üzerine kurulmuştu. Birliği kuran madde ile ruha bağlı unsurların hepsi birleşerek milleti meydana getirdiler. Bu birlikler, soy, toprak, emek birlikleri ile dil, din ve dilek birlikleridir. Bu birliklerin hepsi tohum halinde ilk çağın sitelerinde vardı. Fakat birlik şuuru henüz doğmamıştı. İlk çağın sonunda imparatorluklar pek çok siteleri harp zoru ile veya ekonomi üstünlüğü ile birleştiren bir birlik ortadan kalktı. Derebeylik ise ancak bir inhilâl ve içtimaî bünyede anarşi

The Journal of *Büyük Doğu* also discussed and redefined *millet* with some other key concepts with the same aim of standing against Republican nationalism. The journal dealt with these concepts in one of the articles titled as *Din, Millet, Şeriat*, (Religion, Nation, Shariah) by explaining that all these terminologies -as *Din, Millet, Şeriat*- carry same meaning. *Millet* has been defined as “the community who are direct subjects of revelation” (vahye muhatap olan insanlar topluluğu), those who come together on “the denominator of Islam” has been identified as *İslam Milleti* (Nation of Islam). The article with the title *Din, Millet, Şeriat*, (Religion, Nation, Shariah) has took place in different issues of the journal as; in the 51th issue with the date 18 October 1946, the 3rd issue with the date 28 October 1949, the 5th issue with the date 4 June 1954 and the 16th issue with the date 21 April 1971.

For us, the concept of *millet* is being used in the meaning of *kavim* (qaum). What a wrong in terms of actual meaning of the word and its essence! *Millet* is the name of believers who submitted to everything, which was revealed from Allah to His beloved Messenger. It is being seen that the real intention of the concept *millet* goes first for those, who is faithful in the heart and in the mind and second for those, who entered the circle of faith, which was brought by the prophet of prophets, who was solitary and free from anything. Does not the principle in the form of “Al-Kufr Millatun Wahida, in any form all non-believers are a single nation” address the same case from the opposite side? But we are quite skilful in giving a different meaning to a this much wealthy concept of the sources, which we loosened their connection (with us) and in eroding its essential guidance by time in deed! Then there is no *millet* of a Turk, an Arab, a Persian, an Indian, there is only sole and solid *millet* of Islam....As a result religion, which was brought by the prophet of prophets, is a row of faith as a whole; and *millet* is cadre which connected to this row of faith.⁹⁷

devridir. Ortaçağdan sonra Avrupa’da, saydığımız madde ve ruh birlikleri üzerine kurulmak istenen milliyet samimî hareketler göstermişti. Bu uğurda fikir ve irade hareketlerinde kurbanlar verdi. Fakat büyük sanayi Avrupa’da insan kütlelerini menfaat kaygı ve ihtiras ile kıvranan dalgalar halinde harekete geçirdikten sonra bu birliklerin her yerde birçoğu zaafa uğradı. Milletler kendi içlerinde türlü şekillerde karışıp bozularak imparatorluk manzarasını kazandılar.

⁹⁷ Z. Kâtib, “İslam’ın Medreseleri, Din-Millet-Şeriat”, *Büyük Doğu*, (21 April 1971), issue 16, p.5. Turkish version of the text; “Bizde millet mefumu kavim mânasına kullanılıyor. Kelimenin aslı ve öz kaynağı bakımından ne büyük yanlış! Millet, Allah’ın Sevgilisine getirdiği her şeye inananların topluluk ismidir. Görülüyor ki, millet mefhumunda, evvelâ kalb ve fikir yolu ile bir imana bağlı olanlar, sonra da, tek ve müstakil olarak Peygamberler Peygamberinin getirdiği iman halkasına girenler murat edilmiştir. Zaten “Elküfr’ü milletün vahidetün- küfür, her şekliyle tek bir millettir” tarzındaki düstur, yine aynı millet mefhumunun aksi dâvasını göstermiyor mu? Fakat, biz bağlarını

Another citation of *millet* is as following in the form of dialog;

- Oh, I knew *millet* as it means race or *kavim* (qaum).
- You will know many others how they are used to be known and hopefully you will learn their essence and their truth! You are right (in knowing wrong); the concept of *millet* is being used with the meaning of *kavim* in us. What a wrong in terms of the real meaning and essential source of the word! *Millet* is the name of a community, which, believe in whatever Allah revealed to His Messenger....
- Then *Sharia*?
- Sharia* is the code frame of orders and prohibitions in the subject of faith and practice for the row of faith. Palace, named as *Din*... *Millet* those, who are sitting in that palace. *Sharia* is the architect of that palace.⁹⁸

This kind of discussions inspired some of copyrighted works in following periods. As an example the book named as *Millet Anlayışımız* (Our Understanding of *Millet*) and published in 1969, mainly criticized using *millet* in the meaning of clan (kavmiyet), in the usages such as *Türk Milleti* (Turkish Nation) *Arap Milleti* (Arap Nation). According to the criticisms, inclusive meaning of *millet* was changed and thus confined with meaning of race or clan. In this book, *millet* has been emphasized its being belief centred concept with the terminologies of *İslami Millet* (Islamic Nation), *Küfür Milleti* (Nation of Non-believers).⁹⁹

The journal *Fedai* (The Patriot) with the slogan *Allah'a Vatana ve Hürriyete* (Dedicated to God, Homeland and Liberty) dealt with the concept within the framework of historical references and emotional feelings rather than giving philosophical and theoretical description or background of the word.

gevşettiğimiz kaynakların bu kadar zengin bir mefhumunu ele alıp, ona başka bir mânâ çehresi vermekte, onun aslı delaletini zamanla aşındırmakta pek maharetliyiz doğrusu! Öyleyse bir Türk, bir Arap, bir Fars, bir Hint milleti yok, tek ve yekpare bir İslâm milleti vardır.... Netice de din, Peygamberler Peygamberinin getirdiği topyekûn iman manzumesi; millet de bu iman manzumesine bağlananların kadrosu oluyor”.

⁹⁸ Yüceci, “Din, Millet, Şeriat”, *Büyük Doğu*, (4 June 1954), volume 8, issue 5, p.4. Turkish version of the text;

- A, ben milleti ırk ve kavim mânâsında biliyordum.
- Daha nelerin nasıl bilindiğini göreceksiniz ve inşallah asıllarını ve hakikatini öğreneceksiniz! Hakkınız var; bizde millet mefhumu kavim mânâsında kullanılıyor. Kelimenin aslı ve öz kaynağı bakımından ne büyük yanlış! Millet, Allah'ın Sevgilisine getirdiği her şeye inananların topluluk ismidir.

-Ya şeriat?

-Şeriat, işte bu iman manzumesinin itikat ve amel mevzuunda emir ve yasaklarına ait kanun çerçevesidir. Din, isimli saray... Millet, o sarayın içinde oturanlardır. Şeriat ise, o sarayın mimarisidir.

⁹⁹ M.Ö. Mengüşoğlu, *Bilge Bir Terzi, M. Said Çekmeçil*, (İstanbul: Beyan Press, June 2009), p.84.

The people, who are not unified around an ideal, cannot go beyond remaining as an only being a crowd or clusters. The only unity of ideal can convey the community to the achievement of being *millet*. With the unity of religion, language, culture, which we called them as common ideal, the communities are freed from remaining as cluster and able to achieve felicity of being a honourable nation. Protecting characteristics, which come from our race, depends on our loyalty to national culture.... Yes I am Turk. I am not more coward than cruel Jewish who declared its being as the most superior race. Ideal of *Turan* in our heart is the necessity of nobility in the blood, which flows in my vein. The ideal of Turan is eternal in the hearts of Turks and those, who are proud of being their Turkishness. It is a natural, inborn feeling... But we clarify the point; there are political differences between today's understanding of Turanism and Turanism which was developed with the epoch that was marked by Gökcalps (Gökcalplar)¹⁰⁰ of the late imperial period. The target of fifty yeas before Turanism was conquests, triumphs. Today we cannot think this. Yes Anatolia one day can be a second Ergenekon.¹⁰¹ The first has been realized when our ancestors became powerful and did not fit (into the valley). Let's us see a powerful Turkish state with at least 80 million. Let's establish our heavy war industry. Let's unite the generations around national consciousness and nation ideal.¹⁰²

The article, with the title *Menfî Milletin Tehlikesi* (Danger of Millet With the Harmful Meaning) written by Said Nursi and quoted in the journal *Hilal*, explains

¹⁰⁰ Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), Turkish sociologist, is known as the father of Turkish nationalism and was influential in the reforms of Mustafa Kemal. He went for the quest a national identity in the sense of Turkification of the Ottoman state during the process of Ottoman collapse. He systematized the idea of Turkism as a synthesis of cultural and moral uniqueness of Turkis society and Western values. He respectively supported Turanism, Clanism in the sense of Oghuz Turkism, Turkishness of Turkey.

¹⁰¹ It is a legendary about Turkic Khaganate, which was stuck following a military defeat, in the valley Ergenekon. According to legendary, after centuries Turks rebuilt their existence and came out from the valley with the revival. Ergenekon is very powerfull epic in nationalist movements as mythical Turkish place.

¹⁰² K. Fedai Coşkuner, "Gençliğe Verilecek Milli Terbiye; İslam ahlakıyla Müzeyyen Yüce Turan Ülküsü", *Fedai*, March 1969, year 6, volume 4, issue 46, p. 3. Highlights is ours. Turkish version of the text; **Müşterek bir mefkûre etrafında birleşemeyen insanlar sadece bir topluluk veya bir halk yığını olmaktan öteye geçemezler.** Ancak mefkûre beraberliğidir ki, toplumu millet olmak mazhariyetine ulaştırabilir. Müşterek mefkûre diye adlandırdığımız din, dil kültür birliğiyle topluluklar bir yığın olmaktan kurtulur, şerefli bir millet olmanın saadetine erişir. İrkımızdan tevarüs eden hasletleri muhafaza edebilmek, milli kültürümüze olan sadakatımıza bağlıdır.... Evet ben Türküm. Yeryüzünün en üstün ırkı olduğunu ilân eden kahbe Yahudi'den daha alçak değilim. Gönümüzdeki Turan ideali nabzımda çarpan kanın asaleti icabıdır. Türk olanların, Türklüğünün gururunu duyanların kalbinde Turan ülküsü ezelidir. Fıtri bir duygudur....Yalnız şu hususu belirtelim ki, Gökcalplerin açtığı çağırılı gelişen İmparatorluk devri son zamanlarının Turancılık anlayışıyla, bu günün Turancılık anlayışı arasında siyasi görüş ayrılıkları vardır. 50 sene öncesi Turancılığının hedefi fütuhattı. Bugün bunu düşünemeyiz. Evet günün birinde Anadolu ikinci bir Ergenekon olabilir. Birincisini ecdadımız iyice kuvvetlenip sığamayacak hale geldikleri zaman gerçekleştirmişlerdi. Hele şu Anadolu'da en az (80) milyonluk güçlü bir Türk devletini görelim. Ağır harp sanayimizi kuralım. Nesilleri milli şuur, milli ülkü etrafında birleştirelim.

the positive form of nationalism and therefore it is remarkable in terms of observing the accepted meaning of *millet* amongst Islamists. In this article, while *menfi milliyetçilik* (negative nationalism), which was based on racism, is expressed as the plan of Europe to divide Muslim societies, it is stated that total rejection of nationalism, due to the possibility of false perception of the concept, may create unwanted conditions.

The idea of nationalism has greatly advanced this century. The cunning European tyrants in particular awaken this among Muslims in negative fashion so they may divide them up and devour them. Furthermore, in the idea of nationalism is a thrill of the soul, a heedless pleasure, an inauspicious power. For this reason people involved in social life at this time cannot be told to give it up. However nationalism is of two kinds: one is negative, inauspicious, and harmful; it is nourished by devouring others, persists through hostility to others, and is aware of what it is doing. It is the cause of enmity and disturbance....¹⁰³An army is divided into divisions, the divisions into regiments, the regiments into battalions, and companies, and squads, so that all the soldiers may know their many different connections and related duties. In this way, they all will perform properly a general duty in accordance with the principle of mutual assistance, and the collectivity they form will be safe from the attacks of the enemy. The army is not arranged, one battalion being hostile to another, and one division acting in opposition to another. Similarly, Islamic society as a whole is a huge army that is divided into tribes and groups. Nevertheless, it has unity in numerous respects: its groups' Creator is one and the same, their Provider is one and the same, their Prophet is one and the same, their qibla is one and the same, their Book is one and the same, their country is one and the same; a thousand things are one and the same.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Şükran Vahide, The Letters, The Twenty-Sixth Letter, Third Topic, Third Matter, <http://www.erisale.com/index.jsp?locale=en#content.en.202.373>. Turkish version of the text; Fikr-i Milliyet, şu asırda çok ileri gitmiş hususan dessay Avrupa zalimleri "çok aldatıcı Avrupa zalimleri" bunu İslamlar içine menfi bir surette uyandırıyorlar. Ta ki parçalayıp onları yutsunlar. Hem fikr-i milliyette "milliyetçilikte" bir zevk-i nefsanî var. Gafletkarane "gafilce" bir lezzet var. Şeametli "uğursuz, kötü bedbaht" bir kuvvet var. Onun için şu zamanda hayat-i içtimaiye "sosyal hayatla" ile meşgul olanlara "fikri milliyeti bırakınız" "milliyetçiliği bırakınız" denilmez. Fakat fikr-i milliyet iki kısımdır: Bir kısmı menfidir, şeametlidir "uğursuzdur" zararlıdır başkasını yutmakla beslenir, diğerlerine adavetle "düşmanlıkla" devam eder müteyakkız (uyanık) davranır. Şu işe muhasevet (düşmanlık, hasımlık) ve keşmekeşe sebeptir....

¹⁰⁴ Şükran Vahide, Third Topic, Second Matter <http://www.erisale.com/index.jsp?locale=en#content.en.202.372>. Turkish version of the text; Nasilki bir ordu firkalara, firkalar alaylara, alaylar taburlara bölüklere, tâ takımlara kadar tefrik edilir. "Ayrılır" tâ ki her neferin muhtelif ve müteaddit münasebatı "çeşitli sayılardaki münasebetleri" ve o münasebata göre vazifeleri tanınsın, bilinsin... Tâ o ordunun etrafları (fertleri) düsturu teavün "yardımlaşma esasları" altında hakiki bir vazife-i umumiye (kamu görevi) görsün, ve hayat-i ictimaiy-leri (sosyal hayatları) odanın hücumundan (düşmanın saldırısından)

Said Nursi addressed Umayyad Period as an example for negative nationalism in Islamic history. Nationalist attitudes of Umayyads eliminated other Muslims and their trust to the Umayyad governors deteriorated. As a result of this many calamities shocked Muslim world. Said Nursi also gave another example as the process that created First World War, which led millions people dead, as an example to the negative nationalism.¹⁰⁵

The journal of *Diriliş* (Resurrection), which was started to be published in 1969, had emphasized, with the discourse “resurrection of the concept of *Millet*” (*Millet kavramının yeniden dirilişi*), that the meaning of the word has been limited by using it as expression of *nation*, which is in fact should be expressed in Turkish with the word *kavim*.

Our prophet had formed a nation also, as he had formed a state. That nation had continued until 20th century. It survives today also. But it is partitioned and decayed. It has to be re-established....Voyage of Hajj, it is a religious duty, which strengthens the bond between the people of Muslim nation. The heart of this universal nation beats altogether each year. Islamic holidays unite people, as a mine at the same spirit, by melting them in a unity of melting pot.¹⁰⁶

Sezai Karakoç, prominent Turkish thinker, writer, poet and the founder of the journal of *Diriliş*, also has similar views with the views of Said Nursi on the concept of nation. He states that the concept of nation pertains to the Europe and it was built on unity of language and understanding. Europe overcame feudalism with the concept and achieved to realize a state system. However,

masum kalsın. Yoksa, tefrik ve inkisam (Bölünme ve parçalanma) bir bölük, bir tabura karşı muhasemet “hasımlık, düşmanlık” etsin, bir fırka bir firkanın aksine hareket etsin, değildir. Aynen öylede, heyet-i ictimaiyeyi İslamiye “Sosyal İslam Toplumu” bir ordudur. Kabâil (kabileler) ve taraiife (Taifeler) inkişan edilmiş (parçalanmış fakat binbir binbir adedince cihet-i vahdetleri halıkları bir, peygamberleri bir, kibleleri bir, rezzakları bir, kitapları bir, vatanları bir bir, bir bir. Binler kadar bir bir...

¹⁰⁵ “Menfî Milletın Tehlikesi”, p.7.

¹⁰⁶ Sezai Karakoç, “Büyük Millet, Diriliş”, *Diriliş*, (5 January 1990), year 30, period 7, issue 77 , p.2. Turkish version of the text; Peygamber Efendimiz, bir devlet oluşturduğu gibi bir millet de oluşturmuş. O millet, 20. Yüzyıla kadar geldi. Bugün de yok olmuş değil. Ama bölünmüş, parçalanmış. Onu yeniden kurmak gerekiyor...Hac yolculuğu, İslâm milletinin kişileri arasındaki bağı kuvvetlendiren bir din borcudur müminlerin. Mekke’de, bu evrensel milletin kalbi birlikte, bir arada çarpır her yıl. Bayramlar, milleti, aynı psikolojide bir maden gibi birlik potasında eritip bütünler.

when in the case of eastern societies, it had resulted with disintegration. Islamic societies were unified on the bases of religion other than race and language, therefore the system of nation in the form of European one scattered those societies either. Thus, Karakoç identifies European concept of nation as primitive since it is an evolved form of tribalism to a racial unity due to economic, social and historical reasons when it is compared to concept of *millet* in Islam.¹⁰⁷

In the world history, it is the Islam and Qur'an, which were the first in bringing the concept and vision of *Millet* and provided a birth of a millet in the full sense...The nation of Islam is a great community of believers, starting from the first human being until today, that contains all the people who believed in God and His uniqueness, acknowledged all the messengers and holy books, adopted truths of revelations, which were brought by the prophets of their time, and realized an order in the line of their prophets' will.¹⁰⁸

In *Diriliş*, usage of *Islam Milleti* (the Nation of Islam) also resembles with envisagement and description of *Büyük Doğu*. In addition to this, the idea of journal defines *millet* with a content that contains the notion of ummah, which was applied by the Islamists in expressing the community of whole Muslims. According to this understanding ummah is "the name, which is given inner side of fabric of nation" ("ümme", millet kumaşının iç tarafına verilen addır).¹⁰⁹

While inclusivity of *millet* had been explained with its being a community of people, who presented the same attitude toward revelation, *ummah* is defined as the communities who were known with the name of their prophets.

While *millet* is objective name of Islamic community, ummah is the subjective name of it... *Millet* is a concept that had been reached from the point of general characteristic of people, who compose Muslim nation.

¹⁰⁷ Karakoç, "Büyük Millet, Diriliş", p.2.

¹⁰⁸ Hasan Çınaryerli, "İslam'ın Millet Görüşü", *Diriliş*, (1 July 1966), issue 4, p.15. Turkish version of the text; Dünya tarihinde ilk defa Millet kavramını ve görüşünü getiren ve tam anlamıyla bir milletin doğuşunu sağlayan, Kur'an ve İslâm olmuştur....İslam milleti, ilk insandan başlayarak, bugüne kadar, Allah'ın varlık ve Bir'liğine inanan, Peygamberleri ve kutsal kitapları tanıyan, kendi dönemlerindeki peygamberlerin getirdikleri vahiy gerçeklerini benimseyerek onların istediği bir düzeni gerçekleştiren bütün insanların meydana getirdiği büyük inanmışlar topluluğudur. Bu tanımdan da anlaşıldığı gibi, millet, İslâm topluluğunun objektif adıdır.

¹⁰⁹ Karakoç, "Büyük Millet, Diriliş", p.2.

When it is come to Ummah, it is a concept that derives from the attribution the name of prophets as the names of communities, who fall to the periods in the chronological line of this great historical community. It does not mean to mention the communities with the names such as Ummah of Moses, Ummah of Jesus, Ummah of Muhammad that they are separate from each other. It is two names, which cannot be separated from each other since one is supplementary for another. They are same communities, community of Muslims, and community of believers. One refers to believer and faith, another refers to prophet and the era.¹¹⁰

Diriliş tries to clarify the confusion about supplementing the word *millet* with ummah, by pointing insufficiency of relying on belief as only determinant in forming *millet*. According to this, the process of being a *millet* requires guidance of the messengers. At this point, in order to simplify usages of *millet* and *ümme*, author gave the example of a group of questions, which take place in a famous book of Muslim catechism with the name *Mızraklı İlmihali*. It is observed that the slight changes in the original answers of the questions have been made within the conjuncture of discussions of that period.

Question: From which *millet* you are?

Answer: From the *millet* of Islam

Question: From which ummah you are?

Answer: From the ummah of Prophet Muhammad.¹¹¹

The original questions are as following;

Who is your descendant?

My descendant is prophet Adam

From which *millet* you are?

From the *millet* of Abraham

¹¹⁰ Çınaryerli, "İslam'ın Millet Görüşü", p.16-17. Turkish version of the text; Millet, İslâm topluluğunun objektif adı olduğu halde "ümme" sübjektif adıdır... Millet, İslâm topluluğunu meydana getiren kişilerin genel özelliğinden hareket edilerek varılmış bir kavramdır. Ümmetse, bu büyük tarihi topluluğun, kronolojik bir sıra takip eden bölümlerine de denk düşen, topluluk başlarına, peygamberlere izafe edilmesinden doğan bir kavramdır. Hz. Musa'nın ümmeti, Hz. İsa'nın ümmeti, Hz. Peygamberin ümmeti gibi ayrı toplulukların değil, aynı toplulukların, İslam topluluğunun, inanmışlar topluluğunun birbirinden ayrılmaz, biri öbürünü bütünleyen, biri mümin ve inanç, öbürü peygamber ve tarih açısından bakan iki adıdır

¹¹¹ Çınaryerli, "İslam'ın Millet Görüşü", p.17.

Turkish version of the text;

Soru: Hangi millettensin?

Cevap: İslam milletindenim.

Soru: Hangi ümmettensin?

Cevap: Hz. Muhammedin ümmetindenim.

From which *ummah* you are?
From the *ummah* of Prophet Muhammad.

While the prophets are the first members of *millet* and its size expands with the people who believe in their messages. Because their messages do not pertain to a certain race, *millet* increasingly expands and “gains a universal power and reality”. The community, which was formed around a prophet, is a kind of seed and *Diriliş* defines this seed as *ümmet* (ummah). The circles, which are added around *ümmet*, form *millet*. Therefore understanding of *millet* in Islam is not confined to a race and has a frame, which is being drawn by the membership of the same religion. The only criteria in being a member of this community are “conversion and transition in spirit, which will carry characteristic that differentiates the members of *millet* from other people”. This conversion means prioritizing his/her faith and the members of this faith as it was in the period of first Muslims, who resisted against his/her own family for the sake of truth. *Diriliş* used a nomenclature for this characteristic as *open millet* (açık millet) and separated Islamic understanding of Islam from Judaism. Contrary to the Islamic thought, which excludes the process of Islamic history until *Asr-ı Saadet* within the idea returning to the primary sources, *Diriliş* concerns Umayyad, Abbasid Great Seljuk and Ottoman State as the entities that have achieved unity of *millet*. Muslim nation lives in the frame of “neighbouring geographies” and in “togetherness of their homeland” (yurt beraberliği¹¹²) as a result of Islamization during the periods of all these states.¹¹³

¹¹² Originally a Turkic word *Yurt* is generally used as homeland while the English definitions of the word is; a place of habitation, a settlement, a home; tent, hut, house; an estate. <https://www.ingilizceosmanlica.com/osmanlica-ingilizce-sozluk-madde-77065.html>
Yurt, Vatan (National Homeland), *Devlet* (Sate) are very related words while the latter two words are originally Arabic. However while *vatan* and *devlet* imply more political meaning, these three words gained changing new meanings during late Ottoman and in Turkish Republic. Ömer Lekesiz, *Yurt, Vatan, Devlet*, 16 April 2017), <https://www.yenisafak.com/yazarlar/omerlekesiz/yurt-vatan-devlet-2037372>. It has been stated in one of the academic works that usage of *yurt* and *vatan* changes according to the political and ideological stance. While *yurt* is preferred by the Kemalist nationalists as it happens in the usage of *ulus* rather than *millet*, *vatan* is preferred by the conservative nationalists. Üveys Mücahit Turgut, *A Conceptual History of Ulus In the Context of Nation-Building and language Policies in Turkey*, Master Thesis, (İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi, May 2017), p.87.

¹¹³ Çınaryerli, “İslam’ın Millet Görüşü”, p.18-19

The journal of *İlahi Işık* (Divine Light), which started to be published in 1966, defines *millet* within the framework of being member of same race and ummah as being member of same religion. While *millet* and *ümmet* have been regarded different phenomenon by the journal, communism is declared as the enemy of both. Contrary to meaning given by *Diriliş*, *İlahi Işık* gives *ümmet* more inclusive meaning than *millet* and states that nations unite through *ümmet*. However *millet*, which is defined as ethnic affiliation by the journal, is not constrained and aggressive like racialism. According to *İlahi Işık*, *millet* finds its meaning in the creation of humanity as nations and tribes to know one another. As those, who are member of Christian ummah, are called as Englishs, French, Spanis, Italian, German nations, Muslims are “entities who belong to Arab, Turk, Indian races”.¹¹⁴

Şûra, with the publishing year 1978, defines *millet* similarly with *Büyük Doğu* and *Diriliş*. From the first issues of journal the concept of *millet* intensively was discussed. One of the articles from the early issues was titled as “*Millet?*”, gave the meaning of *millet* “as *din* and *shariah* and its plural is given as *milel*”. (El-Millet”: Lügatte, din ve şeriât demektir ki cem’i “Milel” gelir). *Millet* was used in the meaning of sect (mezhep), class, and community. Therefore the general conclusion about the word was all those, who are in same sect or religion, are called as *millet*. The author citated the above definitions from one of the classical sources which is called as *Ahter-i Kebir* that was prepared in the era of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman.¹¹⁵

***Millet* does not mean a social community; it is the belief that community come together around.** That community is called as *jamaat*, *kavim*, *ümmet*, and (community) belongs to *millet* or is from *millet* (ehl-i millet or sahib-i millet). So then *millet*, which is advocated by Jews, Christians and by those who are like them, is not in accordance with truth, it is a falsity, which was fabricated in the line of their passion and desires, ambition in their hearts... **Therefore with the most correct meaning, *Millet* is the name of religion, which messengers received**

¹¹⁴ Elhâc M. Kemâl Pilavoğlu, “Ümmet ve Millet”, *İlahi Işık*, (15 April 1968), volume 2, issue 37, p.2.

¹¹⁵ Celaledin Karakılıç, “Millet?”. *Şura Dergisi*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.8.

from God and conveyed to the people, so it is also being given as a name to those who believe in and gather around it. In this regard, religion -as a concept- implies the belief, sharia implies practice, *millet* implies the community as it is been mentioned above. Such as Religion of Islam, Shariah of Islam, Nation of Islam...When we say Nation of Islam (İslam Milleti) we use the word with its most true meaning and understand the Religion of Islam, which God delivered through His messengers and those who believe in and try to fulfill the requirements of the religion. When we say Turkish nation, Arab nation, English nation, Greek nation, we use the word *millet* in figurative expression and we understand the communities who are from the same race, same genus, same nation, same class, same tribe.¹¹⁶

Şûra points out that in return of *millet*, which is used in the meaning of race, the words in Qur'an as *şuub* (plural of nation, people in Arabic), *kabail* (plural of tribe in Arabic) have to be used. Those communities, who are coming from same nation and tribe, cannot be accepted as *millet* if they are different in terms of religion, practice and morality from each other.¹¹⁷

Sebil (The Road), which is started to be published in 1967, defined *millet* as "community of people who come together on a belief". In an article in the journal, the author emphasizes that *millet*, which is an Arabic word on its own and a neutral word at the same time, should not have any other meaning. Therefore it has to be redefined because of wrong contents, which were given to the word. The author claims that if the members of a belief are not able to compromise on the concepts, the confusions on the meanings will create chaos. He points that as a result of these misconceptions, *milliyetçilik* is misunderstood

¹¹⁶ Karakılıç, "Millet?" s.8. Turkish version of the text and highlights are ours; ... **Millet, içtimâî bir topluluğun kendisi değil, o topluluğun inanıp etrafında toplandığı şeydir.** O topluluğa ise, cemâat, kavim, ümmet, ehl-i millet veyâ sahib-i millet denilir. Şu halde Yahûdîlerin, Hıristiyanlar'ın ve bunlar gibilerin, müdâfasını yaptıkları millet, hakka uygun olan değil, kendi heva ve hevesleri ile, gönüllerinin sevdâları ile uydurmuş oldukları, bir tahrifattır.... **Demek ki en doğru manası ile Millet, peygamberlerin, Allahü Teala'dan vahiy ile alıp insanlara tebliğ ettiği dinin ismidir ki o dine inanıp onun etrafında toplananlara da aynı isim verilmiştir.** Bu bakımdan bunlara-yukarıda da geçtiği gibi-i'tikad yönünden din, amel yönünden şeriat, topluluk yönünden de millet denmiştir. İslâm Dini, İslâm Şeriatı, İslâm Milleti, gibi..... İslâm milleti dediğimiz zaman, millet kelimesini doğru ver gerçek ma'nâsında kullanmış oluruz ve Allâhü Teâlâ'nın peygamberleri vâsıtasıyla bildirmiş olduğu İslâm Dini ile İslâm Dini'ne inanıp onun icaplarını hakkiyle yerine getirmeye çalışan kimseleri anlarız. Türk milleti, Arap milleti, Alman milleti, İngiliz milleti, Rum milleti dediğimiz zaman da, millet kelimesini mecaz ma'nâsında kullanmış oluruz ve aynı soydan, aynı cinsten, aynı kavimden, aynı şu'beden, aynı taifeden gelen toplulukları anlarız.

¹¹⁷ Karakılıç, "Millet?", p.11.

to be in the meaning of nationalism or ethnonationalism (kavmiyetçilik), and the word literally had received hatred.¹¹⁸

Well then!, we repeat that we could not protect our words and others stole our words... Whereas the origin of *millet* is ours either and when the roots of this words is considered, we have the possibility to divide humanity as nation of Islam and nation of non-believers as into two poles. Well then, we persistently have to use this word and put it in its place. It is an action of trover... Consequently, when we look at international realities and realities of Turkey in particular, we are the one who have to use the most accurate meaning of the word *millet*... Thus, by using the statement of NATION OF ISLAM persistently, we should not give the opportunity to those who aim to build another understanding of *millet*. This does not mean rejecting reality of *kavim*. We need to clarify this by the way. But we cannot ignore disadvantage of equating the word *millet*, which bases on unity on the faith, with *kavim*, which bases on unity of language, soil, past, race.¹¹⁹

Millet is a quite important concept in observing struggles of new Islamist thinking in building a new structure of thought. As it is seen in citations, while definitions on the concept, which differentiate or are very approximately parallel to one another from time to time, the concept protects its place in being a hot topic in the agenda of different thoughts of that time.

Millet, which mostly implied in meaning of nation as cultural and ethnic unity in the form of western understanding, was redefined in the context of *ummah*, which is in the form of religious unity or nationality, by the mid-1970s in the journals of new Islamic thought in Turkey. In addition to that there were many developments that accompanied the period, in some major Muslim countries, in many newly independent Muslim and non-Muslim countries and in the regions in

¹¹⁸ Çakırgil, "Biz Milliyetçiyiz, Hem de İslâm Milliyetçisi!", p.7.

¹¹⁹ Çakırgil, "Biz Milliyetçiyiz, Hem de İslâm Milliyetçisi!", p.7. Turkish version of the text; Öyleyse, burada şunu bir daha tekrar edelim ki, biz kelitemizi koruyamadığımız ve başkaları bizim kelimelerimizi çalmışlardır... Halbuki millet kelimesinin aslı da bizimdir ve bu kelime kök olarak ele alındığında, bütün insanları İslam Milleti ve küfür milleti diye iki ana kutba ayırmak imkanına sahip oluruz. Öyleyse, bu kelimeyi ısrarla kullanıp, terminolojimizde yerli yerine oturtmak zorundayız. Bu bir istirdat dâvasıdır... Binaenaleyh, cihanşümul gerçeklere bakarak da, daha dar plânda Türkiye gerçeklerine bakarak da, millet kelimesini en doğru olarak kullanmak durumunda olanlar bizleriz... Böylece de İSLÂM MİLLETİ ifâdesini ısrarla kullanmak, onun yerine bir başka millet anlayışı ikame etmek isteyenlere fırsat vermemek zorundayız. Bu kavim vakiasının reddi manasına da gelmez. Onu da hemen belirtelim. Ama, kavim ile milleti bir tutmanın, inanç beraberliğini esas alan millet kelimesini, lisan, toprak, mazi, soy-sop beraberliğini esas alan kavim kelimesiyle bir tutmak halindeki mahzurunu görmezlikten gelemeyiz.

which Muslim minorities live. These new nation-states, whose borders were drawn by the colonial powers in the past and hence as being an artificial geographies, have been built on the elements of common language, race and immediately started assimilation process of existing differences in their territories in accordance with the understanding of secular nationalism of a modern nation-state. This has created various crises even in the Muslim majority countries and the search for the solutions has reflected on the work of Islamists in these countries.

Thus with the impact of these developments, discussions, which emerged during 1970s, on the “Islamic State”, carry the reflections of the birth of Islamic State of Pakistan, as a result of religion based partition in Indian subcontinent in 1948. Following partition, a Muslim population, which was almost in the size of Pakistan remained in India, had found themselves in a condition, which created huge discussions on how to define their identity in a non-Muslim nation state and about their affiliation to a non-Muslim state. Pakistan, which was a consisted of diverse linguistic, ethnic and religious communities, had experienced a shocking division with the separation of Bangladesh as another nation-state almost after twenty years of establishment. Therefore, Islamists of those geographies had tried to overcome these kinds of crisis, which were/are created by the idea of nation that was built on commonality of language and ethnicity on certain geography, with the concept of *ummah*. These efforts had their reflections on Islamist thinking in Turkey as it happened all over the Muslim world.

The process of modern nation state, with the emphasis on a secular nationalism, gave birth to many harmful consequences within and between the Muslim world. The Islamist thinking idealized thesis of religious unity to get rid off the dismays, which are believed created by nationalism. However in Turkey, the new Islamist thinking, which was heavily influenced in its discourses by translations, could not find ground at the societal level by putting understanding of *ummah* forward and by pushing cultural untiy, historical and geographical commonality

backward. The new Islamist thought, which had aimed a salvation through the ideas as Islamic Unity (*İttihad-ı İslam*), Nation of Islam (*İslam Milleti*), Ummah of Islam (*İslam Ümmeti*) as it was in the movements of thought during late Ottoman period, with the efforts in coming closer to ummah that was imagination of a pre-eminently unity, had received harsh reactions from the right-wing under which nationalist, conservatist, traditionalist ideas. It is important to scrutinise the reason why the idea of new Islamists did not find ground in the society and reacted by right-wing, in terms of understanding the confusion, which was inherited by today's generation, on the concepts of *millet* and *ummah*.



CHAPTER 3
THE JOURNAL OF YENİDEN MİLLÎ MÜCADELE

3.1 The Journal of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and the Ideologization of the Idea of *Millet*

True believers
Conscious patriots
All nationalists
Join the national struggle!¹²⁰

With the effect of political and social atmosphere due to the aftermath of 1960 coup d'état, rising activities of Marxist/communist ideas created nationalist tendencies in the society and these tendencies came together under the safeguard of the right-wing. It is possible to observe these nationalist tendencies in the contents of nationalist, conservative and *milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı*¹²¹ themed journals until the mid-1970s. Moreover, this nationalist tendency was supported with the memories of the Ottoman collapse. The impact of the separatist movements especially those that were supported by Russia, that led collapse of the Ottoman state, memoirs of the National Struggle years (*Millî Mücadele*) were quite alive in the minds of those segments until the 1970s. With this memory and background; religious, nationalist, conservative youth positioned themselves with a nationalist stance that evolved as a siege mentality upon perceiving the Marxist/communist developments of the period as separatist demands.

¹²⁰ "Millî Mücadele Kat'î Bir Zarurettir", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (15 September 1970), year 1, issue 3, p.3. Turkish version of the text;

Gerçek mü'minler,
Şuurlu vatanseverler,
Bütün milliyetçiler,
Millî mücadeleye katılınız!

¹²¹ The term *mukaddesat* derives from *mukaddes* that literally means sacred, holy, sainted. *Milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı* attitude is implying those nationalists, who were advocating Turk-Islam synthesis, glorified the Islamic history of Turks, specifically the Ottoman period, acted with the statist feelings while most of the time they opposed the implementations of the governments by considering them as non-national (*gayr-i millî*).

Yeniden Millî Mücadele (National Struggle Again), as the most interesting cadre journal of the period, was the result of the late 1960s.¹²² The journal founded on 3 February 1970 was a periodical of a movement called the League of Struggle (*Mücadele Birliđi*), which was founded in Konya, in 1967 by a group of university students. The movement and the journal had left a huge impact on the youth of Imam Hatip High Schools and teacher's training schools in general during those years. The journal, which was continuously published weekly between 1970-1978, ended its publication life with its 528th issue on 18 March 1980.

The movement is described as the dream cadre of the journal *Hareket* (Action) and *Büyük Dođu* (Great East).¹²³ This inference has been supported by Nurettin Topçu, the founder of *Hareket*, referred as the "the cultural leader" of the movement in the memoirs of one of the founding members of the league.¹²⁴

While it is severely criticized to consider the league as an "association" (*dernek*), Mücadele Birliđi was defined as a "movement of leaders" (*önderler hareketi*) under the guidance of two leaders.¹²⁵ As for these two leaders and guides, Aykut Edibali and Yavuz Arslan Argun, both born in 1942, had completed their high school in Afyonkarahisar and entered Law Faculty of Istanbul University. According to the memoirs of one of the founders of the movement İrfan Küçükköy, the first leader Aykut Edibali initiated a nationalist structure during his high school years but had failed to realize it.¹²⁶

While Mücadele Birliđi was officially established in 1967, the movement had actually started its activities earlier in 1964. İrfan Küçükköy mentions three critical phases for the movement; the first phase from 1964 to 1967 as the preparatory stage (*hazırlık dönemi*), the second phase from 1970 to 1977 as the

¹²² Hamza Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi ve Mecmuası First Part", (20 February 2017), (19:30-19:33),. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zcGclwHKe78>, 21.05.2018.

¹²³ Hamza Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi ve Mecmuası First Part", (3-3:23).

¹²⁴ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.52.

¹²⁵ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.145/276.

¹²⁶ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.145.

establishment stage (*kuruluş dönemi*), third phase from 1970 to 1970 named as “initiators are in Istanbul” (*ilkler İstanbul’da*) pointing to the period in which the founders of the league had moved to Istanbul. Küçükköy states with a great sorrow that they were never able to write the phase “initiators are in Ankara” (*ilkler Ankara’da*) because when the movement reached this stage, it had dissociated as the result of a mysterious weakness.¹²⁷

The founders of the league were Aykut Edipali, Taha Akyol, Yavuz Argun, Yılmaz Karaoğlu, Necmeddin Erişen, Mevlüt İslamoğlu, Mevlüt Baltacı, İrfan Küçükköy, Hasan Elmas. The first bases of the movement were laid by Mevlüt Baltacı, Mustafa Alptekin ve İfran Küçükköy, who were officially appointed to Afyon as the first graduates of Konya Higher Islamic Institute (*Konya Yüksek İslam Enstitüsü*). The two groups came to know each other via their common friends who was a member of Rifâî Sufi order and also was a student at Higher Islamic Institute (*Yüksek İslam Enstitüsü*).¹²⁸

It has been stated that the cadre in Konya was making academic studies of the Qur’an before they met with Afyon group. However, with the acquaintance of two groups and the formation of the movement, members focused more on social issues. Aykut Edibali was a prominent factor in leading academic works of Mücadele Birliği while common works of the members had emerged over the time. The names of writer cadre of the journal as Aykut Edibali, Yılmaz Karaoğlu, Selim Arkoç, Necmeddin Turinay ve Sabahaddin Eriş, was displayed from the 22th issue and onward. However, while the name of Edibali was displayed in editorial articles from time to time, the writers of the other articles were not stated for a long time.

Necmeddin Erişen, Mevlüt Baltacı, Mevlüt İslamoğlu, İrfan Küçükköy, who are known as Konya team, were the students who had published the journal of *Yeni Ümit* (the New Hope) at Konya Higher Islamic Institute in the beginning of the

¹²⁷ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.145.

¹²⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.19.

1960s. *Yeni Ümit* came out as a result of criticisms toward another journal *İslam'ın İlk Emri Oku* (Read; The First Order of Islam), which had later changed its name to *İslam Medeniyeti* (The Civilization of Islam), as its being excessively local (*yerli*) and Turkist. Thus Konya team had supported the publishing of *Yeni Ümit*, which was told as prepared in more ummahtist and Islamist form. Necmettin Erişen, who was a graduate of Konya Higher Islamic Institute and one of the most prominent members of the movement, was close a friend of Abdülkadir Şener, the one who translated the book of Sayyid Qutb named as “Milestones” (*Yoldaki İşaretler*). It has also been stated that foremost Konya team and later the other members of the league were intensively reading the books translated from the Muslim world. One of the ex-members of the movement Hamza Türkmen stated that Mustafa Kapçı who was an early member, and some other members of the league went to Iraq and Syria for the Islamic studies and met with the prominent members of Muslim Brotherhood and they were influenced by their ideas.¹²⁹ These are interesting information given by the members in observing togetherness of nationalist and Islamist sentiments that did not came apart until the mid-1970s. This can also be observed from the statements of Küçükköy as Konya team considered the idea of national state (*millî devlet*) as a step toward an Islamic state and considered Islam as the main base of nations' salvation.¹³⁰ Moreover, İrfan Küçükköy was in charge of Association of Nationalists in Konya in 1968.¹³¹ Those associations under the name of *Milliyetçi Kültür Birlikleri* (Nationalist Culture Unions) were functioning as the branches of Mücadele Birliği in the cities.¹³²

Aykut Edibali and Yavuz Argan, who were also mentioned as Istanbul team of the league, were told that they were in contact with such people like Rasim Hancıoğlu and Haluk Nurbaki, who were contact with Hizb-ut-Tahrir. Both leaders had read the texts of Hizb-ut-Tahrir, which had newly arrived to Turkey during those years, through these members. However, it is quite interesting that

¹²⁹ Türkmen, “Ulustan Ümmete....., Part 1”, (27:09-29:45)

¹³⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi.....*, p.80.

¹³¹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi.....*, p.74.

¹³² Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi.....*, p.80.

Istanbul team was advocating the understanding of nationalism of Nurettin Topçu and his idea of Islamic Socialism that had a big influence on Istanbul wing's idea of "nationalization" (*millîleşme*). The team was in contact with Turkish intellectuals such as Ziya Uygur, Peyami Safa, Cevat Rifat Atilhan, Mehmet Emin Alpan, Faruk Sükan, who were considered as statist (*devletçi*), while they were respectful towards religion at the same time. Istanbul team was also in contact with prominent nationalist and conservative entities such as *Millî Türk Talebe MTTB* (Turkish National Student Association) and *Aydınlar Ocağı* (House of Intellectuals).¹³³ There is another evidence that suggest Istanbul wing was in close contact with the nationalists that the name of Kemal Yaman, who was another founder of *Mücadele Birliği*, takes place among the members of Association of Turkish Nationalists (*Türk Milliyetçiler Derneği*) during his studentship at the law faculty of Istanbul University.¹³⁴ Moreover, a great number of students from Çapa Turcology Department were among the members of the movement.¹³⁵

While the movement had strong nationalist stance against communism, some former members stated that Marxist literature influenced these leaders and some terminologies such as scientific right (*ilmî sağ*) were developed with this influence. In addition, the ideas of some western intellectuals such as A.P. Sorokin, in his systematization of the culture, the opinions of Ziya Gökalp towards religion, morality, economy, law and art also had a partial effect on Istanbul wing.¹³⁶ Finally Hamza Türkmen and Mustafa Aydın who were ex-members of the movement and opposed nationalist and Turkist conversion of the journal, state that the journal had an Islamic and national form that was prone to Turkism.¹³⁷

¹³³ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete..... Part 1", (30:30-31:13).

¹³⁴ Kılıç, *Allah, Vatan, Soy...*, p.112.

¹³⁵ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.74.

¹³⁶ Mustafa Aydın, *Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni: Mücadelecilik, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, cilt 6, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p. 455.

¹³⁷ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete.....", Part 1, (33:30-34:30).

The need for a journal came upon, the arrest of Yavuz Arslan Argun, who was one of the two leaders of the movement and upon official closure of the Mücadele Birliđi following the events of the congress of Teacher's Union in Kayseri in 1969 because of the accusations about their involvement in the events. The emblem of Mücadele Birliđi that was right fist and star, became the emblem of the journal.¹³⁸ Thus the movement maintained its activities through the journal.

The journal had opened a new page in the fate of the movement since the ideas were shaped in flesh and bone.¹³⁹ It was stated that there were some matters related to the content that Konya and İstanbul wing had not compromised during the early years of the journal. The most important issue was the perception of *millet* concept in the context of ummah by Konya wing, while İstanbul wing limited the concept with Turkish nation. As for Konya wing, while "the Ideology of Millet" (*Millet ideolojisi*) had been conceived as an ideal that includes all Muslims in the world, in the case of İstanbul wing, the ideology was devoted to Turkish nation.¹⁴⁰ For instance while the book in the emblem of the journal was considered as Qur'an by Konya wing, it is argued that it represented knowledge for İstanbul team.¹⁴¹ This clash can be considered from another article named as *Kurtuluş İslam'dadır*. Remarkably, a text, with the name of "Salvation is in Islam" (*Kurtuluş İslam'dadır*) published in the journal on December 1st, 1970 in the 44th issue, was the first article penned with the title that includes the word Islam and with more Islamist content. It was the first text, written out of the context of the movement's salvation formula that was based on "national".¹⁴² This has been interpreted as a sign of oppositional stance within the movement, during the early years of the journal, towards the tendency, which was in the direction from nationalization (*millîleşme*; embracing everything that belongs to the nation) to nationalism (*milliyetçilik*; feeling of

¹³⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi....*, p.108

¹³⁹ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete.....", Part 1, (33:30-34:30).

¹⁴⁰ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete.....", Part 1, (39:10-39:44).

¹⁴¹ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete.....", Part 1, (34:30-35:30).

¹⁴² "Kurtuluş İslam'dadır", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (1 December 1970), year 1, issue 44, p.3.

being proud of everything that belongs to the nation and glorifying, promoting it) and then to Turkism (limitation of the nation with Turkish ethnicity). The interpretations about the reason for the process of conversion to Turkism, point to the coup d'état of 12 March 1971, its aftermath and publishing of another journal, by the movement started in 1975, named as *Gerçek* (The Truth).¹⁴³ Moreover after the article *Kurtuluş İslam'dadır*, there was no any other ascription or article observed in accordance with this kind of content in any other following issues of the first year.¹⁴⁴ While there is no certain evidence about this fracture among the members, it can still be considered as the stance of Konya team who had more Islamist attitude.

Despite differences of opinion and some elimination among the members that spread throughout the years, the journal was continuously published for 10 years with 528 issues. Again despite the differences of opinion, I have not felt any inconsistency among articles according to scrutiny of the first year and the journal to a large extent leaves a nationalist Islamist or *milliyetçi-mukaddesatçı* impression. Most of the articles, during the first year of the journal, were published without author's name, while it was known that the sections such as "scientific right" (*ilmî sağ*), "science of the revolution" (*inkılap ilmi*) were prepared by Aykut Edibali.¹⁴⁵

However, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, with its being journal of a youth team, "realized a systematized intellectual schedule" (*düşünsel tabloyu sistematik olarak gerçekleştirmiş*) that was considered as "necessary for an organization or a movement in the conditions of Turkey rather than being an intellectual movement" by harmonizing successfully methodical texts of Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb-ut-Tahrir etc. It has been emphasized that the journal filled a notable gap in terms of disciplining the attitudes of rightists, according to them,

¹⁴³ Hamza Türkmen, (Necmettin Erişen ile röportaj), "Yeniden Millî Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1", *Haksöz*, June 1994, volume 39, http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/article_detail.php?id=660.

¹⁴⁴ Hamza Türkmen, Ulustan Ümmete, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi ve Mecmuası Second Part (Hilal TV program), (10:35-10:55) 20 February 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U8-6SYuD1So>. 5.07.2018.

¹⁴⁵ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete.....", Part 1, (33:30-34:30).

that did not go beyond reacting against a “systematized worldview of the left”. However, as a result of dissociation in the movement, this dreamed discipline could not be developed and Mücadele Birliđi was buried beneath the dusty pages of the history.¹⁴⁶

The most important subject that had shaped the content of the journal and was emphasized by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, is the idea that the process of being a nation had not been completed yet in Turkey. According to the journal while the obstacle in front of being a *millet* (*millet olma*) was the confrontation between state and people, bringing both together and making them act for the sake of same goal would complete the process. The journal had aimed in building a “theory of millet” for the sake of this ideal and proclaimed that “Here National Struggle Again is being published in order to be the journal of true believers, patriots, for those who would like to set up a life consistent with the magnificent past” by addressing to the Ottoman period. The journal’s role model in fulfilling a national state was Ottoman past because of the consideration that the Ottoman had managed to realize the ideal of being a *millet*.¹⁴⁷

The title of the journal was stated as “THE NATIONAL CAUSE JOURNAL, which is loyal to the interest, history, culture, morals, and belief of *millet*” (Milletin iman, ahlâk, kültür, tarih ve menfaatine bađlı haftalık siyasî MİLLİ DÂVÂ MECMUASI).¹⁴⁸ As for *Mücadele Birliđi*, the movement had described itself as “a movement of ideas and faith, born from the history of great nation, attributed to whole nation, a product of the supreme faith mingled with the prayers of the millet, was kneaded with its sorrow and was full of the memories of the nameless martyred Turkish soldiers”.¹⁴⁹ The aim of the journal was stated as “not only being a

¹⁴⁶ Türkmen, “Ulustan Ümmete,.....”, Part 1, (39:44-52:24).

¹⁴⁷ The capital letters were expressed as it was in the masthead. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), issue 1, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “İşte “Yeniden Milli MÜCADELE” milletin muhteşem mazisine uygun bir hayat kurmak isteyen, bütün vatansaverlerin, gerçek müminlerin mecmuası olmak için çıkıyor”

¹⁴⁸ “Neden İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), issue 1, p.2. Capital letters were narrated as it was in the journal.

¹⁴⁹ “Tabelalar İner, Mücadele Devam Eder, Mücadele Birliđinin Aziz Milletimize İkazı”, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), issue 12, p.9. Turkish version of citation; “..büyük Türk milletinin

protest against the left; but scientification and activation of ideological structure of *millet*".¹⁵⁰

Target audience of the journal was described to be "from the shepherd in Kars, to the workers in İstinye and from the villager, who brought the enemy by his/her own hand to book, to helpless and lonely patient at the corners of hospitals". Moreover, the role which was undertaken by the journal, is defined as "the only salvation of hope for the whole nation".¹⁵¹ When it is looked the core of the salvation, the movement powerfully relies on for identification of Muslimness and points at Islam as the only determinant for salvation of the nation. However, the journal considered all those who are within the borders of Turkey, as the member of *millet*. This can be seen from demonstrations and programs titled National Judgement (*Millî Karar*). *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had declared this national judgement; "to remain as Muslim is the historical decision of *Millet*, and cannot be changed" (*İslam Kalmak Milletin Tarihi Kararıdır, Değiştirilemez*).¹⁵²

The expressions and terminologies are mostly in the manner of national (*millî*) calls and as for the Islamist calls that were hardly observed, are subsidiary to the national ones. In the beginning, while announcement about the name of section, in which letters of the readers were going to take place, was declared as Rostrum of the Nation (*Millet kürsüsü*) in the journal, this section had continued with the name of Voice of the Nation (*Milletin Sesi*) in later issues.¹⁵³

tarihinden doğmuş, yüce imanından zuhur etmiş, milletin duasına karışmış, ızdırabıyla yoğrulmuş, isimsiz şehit Mehmetçiklerin hatırasıyla dolmuş ve bütün millete mal olmuş bir iman ve fikir hareketi"

¹⁵⁰ "Neden İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), issue 1, p.2. Turkish version of citation; "sadece sola karşı bir protesto değil; bizzat millet ideolojik yapısının ilimleşmesi ve hareketlenmesi"

¹⁵¹ "Tabelalar İner, Mücadele Devam Eder...", p.9. Turkish version of citation; "Kars'taki çobandan, İstinye'deki işçiye, Bozkır'da kendi eliyle düşmanından hesap soran köylüden, hastane köşelerinde kimsesiz yatan biçare hastalara kadar bütün milletin yegâne kurtuluş ümidi"

¹⁵² "İstanbul'da Onbinlerin Zafer Yürüyüşü", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 June 1970), year 1, issue 18, p.6-7.

¹⁵³ "Aziz Yeniden Milli Mücadeleciler", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (30 June 1970), issue 22, p.2.

Yeniden Millî Mücadele interprets the idea of “class-consciousness” of communism as fragmentation in the society rather than classifying it. Thus, it offers a unity, which is built by the brotherhood of faith (*iman kardeşliği*) that includes all layers of the society and the state, which is established on national ideals (*milli idealler*) as a challenge to “separationist” (*bölücü*) idea of communism.

Integrity of state and nation, and the brotherhood of faith, which unites the worker, the villager and honourable boss, are being teased everyday. In fact, labour and capital had merged and united for the same sacred aim in our national system, which sustains for centuries. Worker, villager, youth and honourable investor, who sacrificed their life for the sake of guarding of our national ideals, are the children of our ancestor. We are obliged to obliterate hatreds fuelled and such divisions that directed to existence of the nation, as labourer, investor, proletarian, colonizer, progressivist or reactionist, in the fire of love of faith, nation, history and fatherland.¹⁵⁴

3.2 Preference for the Terminology of *Mücadele* (Struggle) and the Hierarchy of that Struggle: From National Struggle to Islamic Struggle

National struggle is the main weaponry in these days that the hole of death of our nation, which is beating heart of our holy religion; fatherland, which is the guarantor of living freely; state, which is the protector of moral and national ideals, are being digged.¹⁵⁵

Discourse that “struggle rises from the clash and contradictions of ideologies”, frequently had been emphasized in review essays written to supply strategy of the ideology of *millet*.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, all other issues are explained on the line of

¹⁵⁴ Ya Devlet Başa Ya Kuzgun Leşe, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (5 May 1970), year 1, issue 14, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “İşçi, köylü ve namuslu patronu birleştiren iman kardeşliği, millet ve devlet bütünlüğü, her gün alaya alınıyor. Gerçekte asırlardan beri yaşayan milli sistemimizde, emek ve sermaye aynı mukaddes gaye için kaynaşmış ve birleşmiştir. İşçi, köylü, gençlik ve namuslu sermayedar, milli ideallerimizin korunması uğrunda hayatlarını feda eden ata çocuklarıdır. Emekçi, sermayedar, proleter, sömürücü; ilerici, gerici gibi sadece millet varlığını parçalamağa matuf ayrımları ve körüklenen düşmanlıkları; iman, millet, tarih ve vatan sevgisinin ateşinde yok etmeğe mecburuz”.

¹⁵⁵ “Millî Mücadele Kat’i Bir Zarurettir”, p.3. Turkish version of citation; Millî ideallerin ve ahlakın koruyucusu devletin, hür yaşamının garantisi vatanın; mukaddes dinimizin çarpan kalbi milletimizin; ölüm çukurunun kazıldığı şu günlerde milli mücadele, milletin baş silahıdır.

¹⁵⁶ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (25 August 1970), year 1, issue 30, p.15.

“all conflicts related to human are the clash of ideologies” (*bütün beşeri hadiseler ideolojilerin çarpışmasıdır*). According to this, the matter, which will change the faith of society, is ideological struggle, which is undertaken by a struggling group.¹⁵⁷ Ideology, by being over everything, makes believers (*müminler*) inseparable revolutionary vanguards and frightens the enemy, puts them in panic.¹⁵⁸

Departing point of the discourse that struggle rises from the clash of ideologies, can be seen in a column in the back cover of the journal. This column includes sort of the news comments and deals with the events that took place in Turkey during the week. It is titled “This Week in the Clash of Ideologies” (*İdeolojiler Çatışmasında Bu Hafta*).

It was stated in the article titled “Why Do We Launch?” (*Neden Çıkıyoruz?*) from the first issue of journal that “on-going struggle of our nation” had started with the Vienna defeat in 1683. After this defeat, “following successive defeats, reformist movements, which were baseless and made without cadre, method, doctrine as a result of corruptions of the ideals and culture, provided opportunity and power to the spies of international Judaism among us”.¹⁵⁹

Yeniden Millî Mücadele considers Tanzimat as another one of the turning points of the decline; “great assassination, which is known as Tanzimat in history but in reality it is a movement of turning Turkish nation over to Greek burglars and Jewish troublemaker. This reform (!) was equalizing Muslim-Turk with Greek hooligan, Bulgarian shepherd, and Serbian snake”.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ “İnkılab İlmi, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.15.

¹⁵⁸ “İnkılab İlmi, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 Mart 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.15.

¹⁵⁹ “Ya Devlet Başa Ya Kuzgun Leşe”, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “ard arda gelen mağlubiyetler kültürün ve ideallerin yozlaşması sonucu köksüz, doktrinsiz, methodsuz, kadrosuz olarak yapılan islahat hareketleri beynelmilel Yahudiliğin içimizdeki ajanlarına imkan ve iktidar temin etmiştir”.

¹⁶⁰ “Akif ve Mücadele Hayatı 2”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 January 1971), year 1, issue 50, p.14. Turkish version of citation; “Tarihe ‘Tanzimat’ adıyla geçen, gerçekte Türk milletini Rum soyguncuya ve Yahudi bozguncuya teslim etme hareketi-olan büyük suikast. Bu reform (!) Müslüman-Türkü, Yunan Palikaryası ile, Bulgar çobanı ile, Sırp yılanı ile bir tutuyordu.”

Another historical process, which was the background for the terminology of *mücadele* (struggle), was Turkish War of Independence. An article penned for the anniversary of the establishment of TBMM on 23 April 1920, with the title “Our National Struggle is 50 Years Old” (*Millî Mücadelemiz 50 Yaşında*), shows that the movement’s belief in the process of *Millî Mücadele* still continues. The movement also considered itself as the entity, that had undertaken the mission of *Millî Mücadele*.¹⁶¹ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* determines the most important characteristic of the *Mücadele* as being national (*millîlik*)¹⁶². *Millîlik* is explained by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as the base of the *mücadele* as *millet* (nation). The concepts that were developed as national will (*millî irade*), will of the nation (*milletin iradesi*), national sovereignty (*millî hakimiyet*) were the expressions of this idea and these expressions developed during those years are remarkable in terms of them being very popular concepts of today’s political language. Moreover, the usage of *millî* was very commonly applied by all fractions including leftists at the time in Turkey.

The journal considered *millet* as the essential of a national struggle. Therefore the journal aimed to eliminate monopoly of personality or of a class as a result of their consideration as saviour. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* considered the masses whose minds are occupied with this idea as miserable in terms of their being the slaves of these monopolies. Because according to this idea, unless each and every individual has the national consciousness, people inevitably would have fallen to the manipulations. Therefore journal declared that the only way for getting rid of this miserable belief is to consider and to believe in *millet* as the source of struggle.¹⁶³ Hereby, as I understood from these expressions of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, achieving the ideal of being a nation can only be realized in the condition of classless society. By the completion of being a nation, the struggle will take the form of national character and will come to a state of “altogether

¹⁶¹ “Millî Mücadelemiz 50. Yılında”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (28 April 1970), year 1, issue 13, p.5.

¹⁶² “Millî Mücadelemiz 50. Yılında”, p.5.

¹⁶³ Aykut Edipali, “Yeniden Millî Mücadele”, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.3.

and limitless struggle” (*topyekün ve sınırsız mücadele*).¹⁶⁴ But according to the journal, altogether and limitless struggle or in other words “nationalization of the struggle” (*mücadelenin millîği*), came to the life and was shaped in flesh and bone, during the Turkish War of Independence.¹⁶⁵ Meaning of altogether struggle is also explained by its being carried out in various fields as full-scale rise. While this is a process, which is conducted at psychological, economic and martial level at once, any achievement in one of the fields of struggle, also paves the way for triumphs at the other fields.¹⁶⁶ While *mücadele* was explained for the conceptualization of Islamic Struggle (*İslam Mücadelesi*) at the same course, it has been stated that Islam has already a revolutionary nature. Therefore one of the most important elements of its revolutionary method is *mücadele*.¹⁶⁷

The movement considers revolution (*inkılap*) and sedition (*ihtilal*) in different contexts. While sedition is regarded as a top down, unexpected and an oppressive process, revolution is regarded as “transformation of society and human being”.¹⁶⁸ In other words, the target of revolution is to form human and society.¹⁶⁹

Mücadele Birliği expresses its aim as “without imposing force transformation of human being, which is the base of the system, and the society, which is composed of human beings” rather than changing the system. Therefore methodology of the movement; the doctrine of scientific right (*ilmî sağ doktrini*) was named as science of the revolution (*inkılap ilmi*).¹⁷⁰ The aim of the article series, with the title science of the revolution (*inkılap ilmi*), was stated as presenting the rules, conditions, principles and methods of transforming the society and people. The articles draw duties, strategies and tactics of cadres in

¹⁶⁴ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.15.

¹⁶⁵ “Millî Mücadelemiz 50. Yılında”, p.5.

¹⁶⁶ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.15.

¹⁶⁷ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.15.

¹⁶⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.161.

¹⁶⁹ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15.

¹⁷⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.161.

this process and how to apply strategies to the social facts, and events.¹⁷¹ The column of *inkılap ilmi* was penned as analysis of the revolutions and movements such as Nazism, Fascism, communism, which were considered as successful revolutions by the journal. *İnkılap ilmi* had considered prophet's era as the first Islamic revolution and therefore aimed to articulate "conditions and strategy of success" of this "revolution".¹⁷²

As for the Islamic struggle, its aim was stated as "building sovereignty of Islam on the earth as a religion and as a regime; destroying the sovereignty of all other understandings other than Islam", "elimination of the powers of all enemies in full scale and ruling of the world with administration of Islam". The journal states that the struggle, which was figured as on the eve of handling governmental power, is not in the meaning of "grasping a castle, invasion of a city, capturing wealth of a country". The journal considers this kind of reductionist approach as limiting the target of the struggle. Target of the struggle "is Islamization of all mankind, in other words their arrival to true freedom".¹⁷³ This process was stated as the inevitable end and the last phase in the struggle. Grounding salvation theory on an inevitable end seems a sort of the reflections of Marx's dialectical materialism.

... An attentively review of history shows that the communities are on the way towards the ideal of real liberation. This judgement also will be enforced for our nation as it is in the case of all mankind. Collapse on the way of perish will be stopped and the real liberation will come. However, this history shows again that **real process of liberation of the nations is step for a more superior and new era**. After this phase, Islam will be the ideal of wellbeing for the free nations. Nations will sail toward the ideal of Islam. This progression is an independent objective ordinance of human will.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.161.

¹⁷² Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.352.

¹⁷³ "İnkılab İlmi", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15.

¹⁷⁴ "Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (15 September 1970) year 1, issue 33, p.9. Highlights are ours. Turkish version of citation; "...Tarihin dikkatli bir incelemesi gösteriyor ki, toplumlar gerçek hürriyet idealine doğru seyretmektedir. Bütün insanlık için olduğu gibi milletimiz için de bu kanun hükmünü icrâ edecektir. Milletimizin yokoluşa giden yıkılışı duracak ve gerçek hürriyet gelecektir. Ancak, gene tarih gösteriyor ki, milletlerin gerçek hürriyet devri, daha üstün yeni bir devir için basamaktır. Bu safhadan sonra

As aforementioned, there is a hierarchy observed between national and Islamic struggle in the understanding of the movement. The phase towards *ittihad* (unity) or *umma* was considered and targeted as the phase of nationalization/nationalism (*millileşme/milliyetçilik*). As for this idea, it is parallel to the idea of Ziya Gökalp, who had advocated that realizing *İttihad-ı İslam* (Unity of Muslims) was not possible in a short term and therefore Muslim nations had to be freed from enslavement through national struggle that should be in the light of nationhood. According to him the idea of nationhood, which would be strengthened during this struggle, would consolidate the idea of *umma*.¹⁷⁵ This can also be considered as a sense remained from National Struggle processes (*Millî Mücadele*) and the continuing reflections of the struggles after the Second World War for independency from colonial powers that were developed in the form of nationalism.

Like *mücadele*, revolution (*inkılap*) was also presented within the hierarchy of national and Islamic revolution supported by some examples and premises in the journal. The journal presented its thesis that transformation of all mankind can only be realized with the Islamic revolution. Here also, Islamic revolution was explained as inevitable phase that comes after national revolution. The journal described “National Revolution” (*Millî İnkılab*), as the first phase of “the revolution”, which is named only as *inkılap* without any supplementary adjective. *Millî İnkılab* is identified as the action of the nation and its capability of being organized.¹⁷⁶ Therefore national revolution was described as the phase of psychological war in terms of raising awareness of the nation against enemy and imperialism.¹⁷⁷ The struggle for awareness against imperialism will be undertaken by “all powers”, which are named as “our own forces” (*kendi kuvvetlerimiz*) and “are respectful to Islam and loyal to reality of nation” (*millet*

İslam hür milletler için saadet ideali olacaktır. Milletler İslâm idealine doğru seyredecektir. Bu ilerleyiş, insan iradesinin bağımsız, objektif bir kanuniyetidir”.

¹⁷⁵ Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Tanrıdağı'ndan Hıra Dağı'na Milliyetçilik ve Muhafazakarlık Üzerine Yazılar*, (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, December 2013, 3. Edition), p.89.

¹⁷⁶ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi-4”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (15 September 1970), year 1, issue 33, p.15.

¹⁷⁷ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi-27”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 February 1971), year 2, issue 56, p.15.

gerçeğine bağlı, İslam'a saygılı, bütün güçler).¹⁷⁸ In addition, there should be an ideology of a movement in order to create the effect of a revolution.¹⁷⁹ *Nizam* (order) that is the aim of the revolution relies on a thought. Thought of revolution (*inkılap düşüncesi*) relies on a creed (*akide*).¹⁸⁰

REVOLUTION; stands for "Great Change"...Revolutionary movement relies on revolutionary thought, such as Islamist, materialist, nationalist thoughts... Islamic thought relies on Islamic creed. As for creeds; they are either appealed to Truth (*Hak*) or doubt. Thought creates method of revolution and order of revolution as it is in the case of Islamic thinking that creates Islamic order and in the case of materialist thinking that creates communism and in the case of communist revolution that gives birth to the method of communist revolution... Each communities rely on a creed and revolutionary thought that is the production of its creeds, and on an order that is result of its thought. Order is an exigency exercise of thought in the society.¹⁸¹

"Order" (*nizam*) has been described as "legalization of revolutionary thinking" (*inkılapçı düşünüşün hukukileşmesi*). As for this legalized order, it was realized in the state that was established in Madinah.¹⁸² Hereby, the journal, points Islam as the only example for the completed revolution.¹⁸³

Embracement of Islam by nations led a total change in their social, economic, political lives. Islam did not become the reason for the economic, political decline of a nation, which embraced it. Political, economic, social condition in the moments that Arabs embraced Islam, was not different from the condition of Arabia 1000 years ago. Despite this, because Islamic revolution could destroy idolatry, Arabia had been

¹⁷⁸ "Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi-27", p.15.

¹⁷⁹ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15.

¹⁸⁰ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue1, p.15.

¹⁸¹ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15. Highlites are considered as they were in the text. Turkish version of citation; İNKILAP; "Büyük değişiklik" manasına gelir... İnkılap hareketi, bir inkılapçı düşünceye dayanır. İslamcı, materyalist, nasyonalist düşünceler gibi... İslam düşüncesi, İslam akidesine dayanır. Akideler ise; ya Hakka, ya da vehme istinaf eder....Düşünce inkılabın metodunu ve inkılap düzenini meydana getirir. İslam düşünüşünün İslam düzenini; materyalist düşünüşün komünizmi ve komünist inkılap metodunu doğurduğu gibi...Her cemiyet bir akideye, akidesinin mahsulü inkılapçı düşünceye ve düşüncenin mahsulü düzene dayanır. Düzen düşüncenin cemiyette mecburi tatbikatıdır.

¹⁸² "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15.

¹⁸³ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15.

Islamized. An unexpected miracle came out from social, economic and political structure.¹⁸⁴

While the journal points the Qur'an as the source of Islamic revolution movement¹⁸⁵, it describes psychological struggle of the movement as *tebliğ* (proclamation) in the light of the Qur'an and Sunnah. *Tebliğ* has been expressed with the term "propaganda" in some articles.¹⁸⁶ In terms of the movement, the function of *tebliğ* is not only an invitation of the people to the religion, but it is also a propaganda process, which is applied in order to reach the masses and to spread the ideas.

Metaphor of the journal that is "vanguard mass" (*öncü kitle*) is another important element in the arrival of the revolutionary goals. This also had been explained by giving some other vanguard mass examples, such as workers given as vanguard mass of communist movements¹⁸⁷, students given as vanguard mass of 27 May Coup D'etat. According to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, as for prophet Muahmmad's (pbuh) movement, it was not composed of a certain social class, therefore it was different from existing revolutionary movements. Inspired by this, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had defined "vanguard mass" for Islamic revolutionary movements that composed of "believers from all sections" (*her kitleden müminler*), "Muslims as a whole" (*Müslümanların bütünü*) and "conscious and faithful believers, who severely was aware of depression that the society had experienced" (*cemiyetin buhranını şiddetle hissedenden şuurlu ve imanlı müminler*).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ "İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 May 1970), year 1, issue 17, p.2. Turkish version of citation; "İslam'ın milletler tarafından kabulü; milletlerin siyasî, iktisadî, içtimaî hayatlarında tam bir değişiklik meydana getirmiştir. İslam, onu kabul eden hiç bir milletin iktisadî, siyasî inkırazının mahsulü olmamıştır. Meselâ: Arapların İslam'ı kabul anlarındaki siyasî, içtimaî ve iktisadî vaziyet Arabistan'ın 1000 sene evvelki hâminden farklı değildi. Buna rağmen, İslâm inkılâbı, putperest ideolojiyi yıkabildiğinden Arabistan İslamlaştı. İçtimai, iktisadi ve siyasi yapıdan beklenmeyen bir harika zuhur etti".

¹⁸⁵ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 March 1970), year 1, issue 8, p.15.

¹⁸⁶ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.15.

¹⁸⁷ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (14 April 1970) year 1, issue 11, p.15.

¹⁸⁸ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.15.

Vanguard mass relies on near and far Muslims with whom it developed a bond of faith, thought, feeling and coalescence of interest. Like the relying of companions on the Muslims of Madinah...**It is called ummah that is a cluster of people, a class of people, who had embraced Islam** and had thought in the same vein with their companions, moved with the same excitement, and their interests was same with them and ummah helped vanguard mass, who were active and functioning.¹⁸⁹

In continuation of the article, while it was stated that this active vanguards were *muhajirs* of the prophet's time, *ansar* also was mentioned as those who had helped the vanguards, and thus they became as vital elements in the methodology of the struggle.¹⁹⁰

The leadership of revolution contains the leadership of military, political, intellectual and religious areas as a whole. When the leadership fails to contain any of them, it remains incomplete. In Islamic revolution, the leader, who is capable to bear all these fields, will also be religious leader of "*millet*, which is the community of people who will realize this revolution". "The leader guides the people by informing their duties towards God".¹⁹¹

Difference between revolution and reformation (*islahat*) was mentioned during the first issues of the journal, and reformation (*islahat*) was described as "retouches in the regime of the country and in its management in the direction desired on the condition of accepting existing order as the base" (mevcud düzen esas kabul edilmek şartıyla memleket rejiminde ve idaresinde istenilen istikamette rötuşlar yapmak). Here the reformation was described as a phase that facilitates the process of revolution. While political, social and action

¹⁸⁹ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.15. Highlights are ours. Turkish version of citation; "Öncü kitle iman, düşünce, his ve menfaat beraberliği kurduğu-yakın ve uzak- Müslümanlara dayanır. Ashabın Medine'li Müslümanlara dayanışı gibi... Ashabı ile aynı tarzda düşünen, aynı his ve heyecan ile hareket eden, menfaatleri onunla birlikte bulunan ve **İslam'ı kabul etmiş olan bir insan yığını, insan zümreleri-ki buna ümmet** denir-aktif ve faal olan öncülere yardım ettiler".

¹⁹⁰ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.15.

¹⁹¹ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.15.

struggles are considered as the efforts within the framework of *islahat*, it is the method that differs struggle from sedition.¹⁹²

In the column of science of the revolution (*inkılap ilmi*), while the texts related to nature of the revolution and the methods/strategies for its realization take place, there is no reference or sources about the background that had shaped all these mentioned subjects stated in the articles.¹⁹³

3.3 Mücadele within the Framework of Conceptualization of the Right and the Left

In practice the right was togetherness of different segments. Their unity under the right-wing continued from the 1940s until the mid-1970s on the basis of opposition to communism. From 1960, Islam was an important element of the trivet of the right and this brought the attempt to integrate it with the right in terms of statism. This brought mutual conversion that resulted with the Islamization of the right. In addition, the process was accompanied by the translation of the books from the Muslim world in 1965 and Islamism had started to absorb the right.¹⁹⁴ The mission of Islamization of the right and integrating Islam with the right had been undertaken by the *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* movement in the 1970s.

Equipped with this mission, the journal places ideologies in two camps in all review essays, which was based on the rhetoric that the struggle comes out as a result of the clash of ideologies. While these two camps are described as the right and the left, according to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the ideology of the right represents *tawhid* and the ideology of the left represents *shirk* in the whole history of mankind.¹⁹⁵ The left ideologies were described as the ideologies that were not adapt with the human structure and had caused abnormal satisfaction or dissatisfaction of human needs. As a result of this, various depressions of

¹⁹² "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15.

¹⁹³ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.15.

¹⁹⁴ Kuşçu, "Türkiye'de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...", p.39

¹⁹⁵ "İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 May 1970), year 1, issue 15, p. 2.

mankind had come out. Hereby “the ideology should be adopted not because of its being logical but because of its being proper to human structure” (*bir ideoloji mantıkî oluşu yüzünden değil, insan yapısının zaruretlerine uygun oluşu yüzünden benimsenebilir*).¹⁹⁶

In the column of the scientific right (*ilmî sağ*), the given meaning to the right and left states that while right relies on Truth (*Hak*) in understanding of the universe, life and in its intellectual methods, left relies on doubts and suspicion.¹⁹⁷ Ideas that consider five senses and intelligence as measurement in understanding universe and human, are categorized as left. Therefore, materialism, Christianity, Judaism are classified in the left creed. As for the right ideology, it systematized the doctrine with the faith that comprehends the reality of the universe, human and life.¹⁹⁸ Hereby the nations, which are integrated with the right ideology will not be eliminated from the scene of the history, and they maintain their existence without any alteration because of their dependence on the truth; “...the depression, in which we swim, is simple but not without cause and it is not aimless. Yet if the depression is not eliminated without the support and the guidance of a conscious cadre that is accompanied by organization and involvement of the nation in the struggle, there is only one end which waits for our Turkey, for our nation, for our religion; that is vanishment!”.¹⁹⁹

The supreme motive that brings people together is the ideology. Throughout the history humanity was circled around, took a stand among an ideology whether it is positive or negative. Even clan members, who make ritual around a totem, are the groups of people, who are gathered by the left ideology, which came out as a result of deviation from the right ideology. If we think simple interest groups, these are the groupings that are composed of people, who have a mind-set that is conditioned with materialism... While nations are formed, it is the subject about

¹⁹⁶ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 June 1970) year 1, issue 18, p.2.

¹⁹⁷ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.3.

¹⁹⁸ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (31 March 1970), year 1, issue 9, p.2.

¹⁹⁹ “Neden Çıkıyoruz”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.3. Turkish version of the citation and gramatical usages have been cited as it was. “...içinde yüzdüğümüz buhran, sebepsiz ve basit olmaktan başka; gayesiz de değildir. Zira içine yuvarlandığımız buhran, şuurlu bir kadronun rehberliğinde bütün milletin teşkilatlanması ve mücadeleye katılması ile yok edilmezse; Türkiyemizi, milletimizi, dinimizi bekleyen bir tek akıbet vardır: Yok olmak!”

coming together on truth or devil. The object that characterizes the nations is the ideology of which they adhere, beyond biological qualifications such as race and language. Turkish nation had always gathered around a certain ideology and had struggled for that ideology. However, because they each had different characteristic in gathering the people, each ideology accomplishes the successes at different levels. Therefore survival of the existence of the nation will change according to the character of the ideology.²⁰⁰

İrfan Küçükköy mentions in his memoirs that the public's perception of the right and the left was quite parallel with the perception of the movement. He states that upon this parallelism the movement had endeavoured to form people's perception toward the right and the left in a scientific way. His following observation is remarkable in terms of what the right and the left had meant in the conditions of Turkey;

The given meaning to the right and the left by sociologists and economists are different (from each other)... While economists regard capitalism as the right and socialism as the left, Turkish people perceived the matter in a completely sociological way. For instance, people used to call those who protect the values of the people, as the rightist and those who resisted to those values, as the leftist. People may refer to someone, who might be one of the richest people in Turkey, as leftist, if he clashes with the values of the society.²⁰¹

Yeniden Millî Mücadele, from the first issues, state the need for building a common understanding among the segments under the right, regarding the

²⁰⁰ "Komünizmin Çöküşü Durmayacaktır", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.7. Turkish version of the citation "İnsanları bir araya getiren en büyük amil ideolojidir. Tarih boyunca insanoğlu müsbet veya menfi bir ideolojinin etrafında halkalanmış, saf bağlamıştır. Bir totemin etrafında ayın yapan klan ferdleri bile sağ ideolojiden inhiraf neticesinde meydana gelmiş sol bir ideolojinin toparladığı insan gruplarıdır. Basit menfaat gruplarını düşünürsek bunlar, materyalizmle şartlanmış kafa yapısına sahip insanların teşkil ettiği gruplaşmalardır....Milletler, teşekkül ederken hak veya batıl bir ideoloji etrafında toparlanış mevzubahistir. İrk ve dil gibi biyolojik vasıfların ötesinde milletleri karakterize eden nesne, mensubu bulunduğu ideolojidir. Türk milleti hep belirli bir ideoloji etrafında toparlanmış ve o ideoloji için mücadele vermiştir. Ama insanları toparlamakta her ideoloji, farklı karaktere sahip olması sebebiyle, farklı muvaffakiyet elde etmektedir. Dolayısıyla milletlerin hayatlarının devamı da ideolojinin karakterine göre değişecektir".

²⁰¹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.345. Turkish version of the citation: "Sağ ve sol terimlerine ekonomistlerin sosyologların verdiği anlam farklı.... Ekonomistler kapitalizmi sağ, sosyalizmi sol görürken Türk halkı ise olayı tamamen sosyolojik algılıyor. Örneğin halkın değerlerine sahip çıkanlara sağcı buna karşı çıkanlara solcu diyor. Türkiye'nin en zenginlerinden biri toplumun değerlerine zıt ise halk ona solcu diyor".

reasons for the usages of the concepts such as right, nation, nationalism (*sağ, millet, milliyetçilik*). In this context, the journal expresses the necessity for giving a scientific meaning to the concept of the right since, according to the movement, the evokes of the terminology are not in accordance with its real meaning;

‘There is no something like the right, this is a complaint of the left’ ‘the Right (undertook the mission) making civilized human respectful toward spiritual values... ‘Rightism is civilizationism...Rightism is to protect order.’ The opinions, which are both in clash with each other and do not rely on an examination of the right in a scientific understanding, are such. Because of these reasons we see benefit in explaining our convictions about right and rightism.²⁰²

However, the journal’s discussions about the right and the left and its effort in giving meaning to the conceptualization of the right, is not the first in terms of debates toward these terminologies that had taken place in other journals. The earliest discussion about the right and the left is seen in the article of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek in 1944, 23rd issue of the journal *Büyük Doğu*. It was complained in the article that how conceptualization of the right and the left polarized the world and other than these two ideologies, a third stance became impossible. Moreover, this polarization was identified as political classification rather than a philosophic one. It has been stated that there is a process in which these concepts are trying “to be entrenched with the sense and the excitement” instead of consolidating themselves with thought. Necip Fazıl declares that there is another third way other than these two and it is described; “...there is no right and left for those who progressed! A world is being born that its name neither right nor left; only forward...”. (... *ileriye erenlerin sağı solu olmaz! Bir dünya doğmaktadır ki, ismi ne (sağ) ne soldur; sadece ileri...*).²⁰³

²⁰² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.3. Turkish version of the citation ‘Sağ diye bir şey yoktur, bu solcuların iftirasıdır’ ‘Sağ, medeni insanı manevi değerlere saygılı kılmak..’ ‘Sağcılık medeniyetçiliktir..’ ‘Sağcılık düzeni muhafaza etmektir.’ gibi hem birbiri ile tezada düşen, hem de Sağ’ın ilmî bir anlayışla tetkikine dayanmayan görüşler, sıralandı. Bu sebepler dolayısıyla sağ ve sağcılık hakkında, kanaatlerimizi açıklamakta fayda görüyoruz.

²⁰³ Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, “(Sal) ve (Sol)”, *Büyük Doğu* (17 March 1944), İbtidai Devre, issue 23, p.5.

In his article titled “About Extreme Right and Extreme Left” (*Aşırı Sağ ve Aşırı Sollar Hakkında*) and written in 1949, Ömer Rıza Doğrul had accused extremist right for bringing blindness and the collapse in the face of advanced attacks of the time and extremist left for causing to be dominated by the foreign power and sacrificing all national and religious wealth. Doğrul had clarified both conditions with their dimension of overdoing and understatement (*ifrat ve tefrit*) and had emphasized the mid-way, which is expressed as the discipline of Islamic morality, as “the way of the Muslim Turk”.²⁰⁴

In the journal of *Diriliş* (Resurrection), the left is defined as the way of the devil for being “a deformation” (*deformasyon*), while the right is a way of life, life itself. According to the journal the right was becoming more powerful and needed more due to the need of eliminating the damages of the left seditions, which heavily cost the humanity.

Adam’s being in heaven tells a life of the right. In other words, it tells ETERNITY. But when devil, who represents the left, inserts the forbidden wheat, the things change and falling starts... The war of the right and the left is like the war of life and death, the war of the day and the night. But, in the course of history people have an impact on the result of this war. How the essence of the devil is fire, the essence of the left is also fire. Its action is to burn. The colour of fire is red. As for the right, its colour is green, which is the colour of peace and security; the colour of surge that is silent and alive... The right chose the soul because it relies on the base of flourishing from within. As for the left, it chose the material...²⁰⁵

In another most important journal of that period *Hilal* (The Crescent), the rightist (*sağcı*) is considered equivalent to Muslim, while those who do not believe in Islam are qualified as the leftist in the article with the title “The Right and The

²⁰⁴ Ömer Rıza Doğrul, “Aşırı Sağ ve Aşırı Sollar Hakkında”, *Selamet*, (22 June 1949), volume 92, issue 4, p.2.

²⁰⁵ Sezai Karakoç, “Sağ ve Sol 1”, *Diriliş*, (1 April 1966), volume 2, issue 2, p.6. Highlight has been taken as it is in the text, Turkish version of the text; “Ademin Cennette oluşu sağ bir yaşayışı anlatır. Yani EBEDİLİĞİ. Fakat, solu temsil eden şeytan, araya yasak yemiş buğdayı karıştırınca iş değişir ve sonsuz bir düşünüş başlar....Sağla solun savaşı, böylece hayatla ölümün savaşı, gündüzle gecenin savaşı gibidir. Yalnız, tarihin akışında bu savaşın sonucuna insanların etkisi olmaktadır....Şeytanın aslı nasıl ateşse, solun da ateş oluyor. Aksiyonu da yakmak. Rengi ateş kıızıdır. Sağın rengiyse baharın, hayatın, sulh ve selametın, sessiz ve canlı bir gelişmenin rengi olan yeşildir....Sağ, içten gelişme esasına dayandığı için birinci planda ruhu seçti. Solta maddeyi...”

Rightist” (*Sağ ve Sağcı*). While, the right is identified by faith and the left is identified by blasphemy, a case, which is mentioned in the article, is quite interesting.

The greatest misfortunes of the true “Rightist”s are the inclusion of some intellectual groups into the meaning of the concept of the right and the effort to consider individuals or classes, whose beliefs are not able to reconcile each other, as in the same category with us, to try to show they are from us. The most important mission of true rightists is to get rid of this confusion, to weed out the concepts and to struggle to convert themselves to their own colour... The right is the row of measurements to be submitted. It is not a concept to be silenced or to be sided! Whereas the idea and understanding of the right, which was defined by Islam, is not consisted in the society we live in. Moreover, those who believe in his/her intelligence, those who stick to such and such philosophical belief, those who stand up for so and so social system, those who claim the greatness of so-and-so qawm (*kavim*) are also considered as the rightist. As long as he/she expresses that he/she is respectful to the religion besides these superstitious beliefs. When he/she declares that, it is okay. That person is the Rightist (!).²⁰⁶

Within the frame of this thesis, it has been observed that positive approaches to the concept of the right in Islamist journals of the previous years, had also took place in the first year of journal *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. According to the journal there is no possibility of reconciliation between the right, which has sustained as *tawhid*, and the left, which has sustained as *shirk*. The journal had emphasized that the initiations of the reconciliation will inevitably damage the right’s characteristic of “being truth”. For this claim, the journal gave examples of the distortion of Christianity and Judaism, and collapse of the Roman Empire as a

²⁰⁶ İsmail Kazdal, “Sağ ve Sağcı”, *Hilal*, (June 1966), volume 58, issue 5, p.6. The usage of capital letters as it was in the text and Turkish version of citation is; Hakiki “Sağcı”ların en büyük talihsizliği bir takım fikir gruplarının sağ deyiminin ifade ettiği mana içine sokulmaları ve birbiriyle telif edilemeyecek inançlara sahip fertlerin veya zümrelerin bizimle aynı kategori içinde mütalaa edilmeye bizdenmiş gibi gösterilmeye uğraşılmasıdır. Hakiki! Sağcıların en büyük vazifesi bu karışık durumdan kurtulması, mefhumları ayıklaması ve kendini, kendi rengine irca etmeğe çalışmasıdır.... Sağ teslim olunacak ölçüler manzumesidir. İlam edilecek ve tarafgirliği yapılacak bir mefhum değil! Halbuki yaşadığımız cemiyette İslam’ın tarifini yaptığı sağ fikri ve anlayışı teşekkül etmemiş aklına inanan da, falan felsefi inanışa bağlanan da filan içtimai sistemin taraftarı olanda ve bilmem hangi kavmin büyüklüğünü iddia eden de “sağcı” telakki edilmiştir. Yeter ki, bu batıl inanışların yanında dine de hürmetim var desin. Bunu dedi mi tamam. O insan “Sağcı”dır(!).

result of their compromise with the outsider ideologies.²⁰⁷ As for the Islamic history, the example given is the influence of Jewish and Iranian ideologies to Islam and the creation of the battle between Islam and falsehood (*batıl*). The formation of the entities such as *Bayt al-Hikmah* (House of Wisdom), *Ikhwan al-Safa* (Brethren of Purity), or rebellions of Sheikh Bedreddin, conversion of Janissaries in becoming a mechanism against the nation and the state, were interpreted as the fruits of these compromises. At the end, all these events were explained within the framework of the right- left compromise.²⁰⁸ Alliance of Islam with the outsider cultures, in other words “Becoming Islamic in terms of religion, custom, folk; becoming western in terms of civilization is a delusion”. (*Din, örf, adet veya düşünce itibariyle İslam; medeniyet itibariyle Batılı olmak hayaldir...*).²⁰⁹ “An ideology can be eliminated by another ideology, which has more dignity than it”. (*Bir ideoloji, ancak çok daha haysiyetli bir ideoloji tarafından tasfiye edilebilir*).²¹⁰

The condition of the marriage of the ideologies that is interpreted as “merging of truth with evil and hope of salvation with malice” (*Hakkın batılla, kurtuluş ümidinin fesatla karışmış olması*) creates “individuals or societies, who are Muslim in terms of his/her feeling, Christian or materialist in terms of his/her intelligence, pragmatist in terms of his/her actions” (*hissi itibariyle Müslüman, akli itibariyle Hristiyan veya materyalist, hareketleri itibariyle faydacı fert ve cemiyetler*). A structure, where there is controversy between faith and thought creates a depression in the society.²¹¹ Hereby, interpreting Islam with the help and the form of socialism, communism and liberalism, is criticized by the journal and it is believed that this kind of synthesis will inevitably bring a breakdown as provided in the examples.²¹²

²⁰⁷ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 May 1970), year 1, issue 15, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 May 1970), year 1, issue 15, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 May 1970), year 1, issue 15, p.2.

²¹⁰ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (5 May 1970), year 1, issue 14, p.2.

²¹¹ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.2.

²¹² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.2.

The idea of clash of ideologies is in contradiction with the background that has been mentioned about the Istanbul wing before. This wing of Mücadele Birliđi was advocating nationalist understanding of Nurettin Topçu and his idea of Islamic Socialism (*İslam Sosyalizmi*) influenced the idea of nationalization (*millîleşme*) of the wing.²¹³ Therefore strong opposition to merging ideologies may be conditional or this situation may be the result of the reflection of conflicting ideas among its own members.

Here during the first year of the journal, the ideas that were knitted through various examples overlap with the idea of returning to the primary sources due to powerful emphasize on the need to purify Islam from any thought, system or ideology.

There is an ideology, which is systematized by the creed (akaid). There is a plan that this ideology drew and that is called method. The sources of Islamic revolutionary movement are the Qur'an and Sunnah. Its exercise is the way of struggle that prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) followed in his life.... Revolutionary thinking is formed in the shape of order and method. The sources of Islamic revolutionary movement, in terms of theory, find themselves in the Qur'an and Sunnah. In terms of deeds, the struggle that continued from the beginning of his prophecy until his departure, orders of the Qur'an and Sunnah are the source of our methodological knowledge.²¹⁴

However, it is understood that the real target here is communism and all these attributions targeted the leftist trends of the time. Yeniden Millî Mücadele exactly carried the same ideas in the article written in 1966 in the journal *Mücadele* (The Struggle).

²¹³ Türkmen, "Ulustan Ümmete...", Part 1, (30:30-31:13).

²¹⁴ "İnkılab İlmî", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15. Turkish version of citation; "...Akaidin sistemize ettiği bir ideoloji vardır. Bu ideolojinin çizdiği bir plan vardır ki; bu da metoddur. İslam inkılab hareketinde metodun kaynakları Kur'an ve Sünnettir. Bunun tatbitkatı da Hz. Muhammed (S.A.S.)in hayatında takip etmiş olduğu mücadele yoludur...İnkılabcı düşünüş nizam ve metod şeklinde şekillenir...İslam İnkılab hareketinin kaynakları; nazari bakımdan Kur'an ve Sünnet'de kendini bulur. Amel bakımından kaynağı ise; Hz. Muhammed'in peygamberliğini başlangıcından vefatına kadar devam eden mücadele Kur'an emirleri ve sünnet metod bilginin kaynaklarıdır".

It is the most bitter but clearest example that coming out tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of opponents of Islam and supporters of communism, which is purely irreligiousness, among the sons of a nation, which perfectly accomplished its mission of being the castle of Islam for thousand years, launched numerous raids in three continents for the sake of Islam and against kufr for centuries... Every individual, who is a Muslim and wants to remain like that, has to know that a person cannot be communist and Muslim at the same time. If he/she wants to remain as Muslim, he/she totally and certainly has to deny communism. If he/she accepts and approves communism he/she should know that he/she is no longer Muslim.²¹⁵

It has been understood that the literature, which was consisted of Associations for the Struggle Against Communism (*Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri*), was among the sources of Mücadele Birliği. The journal emphasizes that the left and the right differentiation in Turkey should not be degraded to a social system and both should be regarded in accordance with their ideologies' consideration of human, universe and life and their method of thought. Therefore, "the capitalist sytem, in which we live is not right, nor the liberalism...". While this division is as old as human history, it has been stated that interpreting the right and the left by relying on the French parliament's sitting position is ridiculous and false..²¹⁶ Perception of the Right as "acknowledging existing order" (*mevcut düzeni kabullenmek*) is strongly criticized in 47th issue of the journal, in the article titled "The Right is Flag of the Nation's Struggle for Life" (*Sağ Millet'in Hayat Kavgasının Sancağıdır*). Moreover, the state officials of the time were also criticized due to their perception and introduction of the events as clash of the right and the left, or battle of the extremists.

Now let's ask our scholar (!) politicians. How and what do you understand from the right and the left? Let us ask to activate your lazy minds. Does

²¹⁵ Nail Papatya, "Müslüman ve Komünist", *Mücadele Dergisi*, (İzmir 1966), volume 27, from p.776 narrated by Ertuğrul Meşe, *Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri*, p.233. Turkish version of citation; Bin seneden beri İslamın kaleliği vazifesini bihakkın ifa etmiş, İslam uğruna, küfre karşı asırlar boyu üç kıtada sayısız akınlar yapmış bir milletin evlatlarında on binlerce, yüzbinlerce İslam muarızının İslam dışı ideoloji, bilhassa, saf dinsizlik olan komünizmin müdafilerinin çıkmış olması, bunun en acı fakat en açık misalidir. (...) Müslüman olan ve öyle kalmak isteyen her insan, şunu mutlaka bilmelidir ki; bir insan aynı zamanda hem komünist, hem de Müslüman olamaz. (...) Müslüman kalmak istiyorsa komünizmi, bütünüyle ve mutlaka red etmesi ve eğer komünizmi iyi görmüş, tasvip ve kabul etmişse; artık Müslüman olmadığını bilmesi gerekir.

²¹⁶ "İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1 issue 16, p.3.

the right and the rightism mean of not being leftist? What do you understand from the leftism? What does extremism of the rightism mean? Does leftism mean not to approve existing order? Does rightism mean not to acknowledge the existing order?".... Rightists are, for the first time in Turkey those who detected the danger that threatens the country. With millet, rightists were the first who saw and who showed the contradiction between nation and coercive system, which was imposed on them. They scientifically related our depression to imperialist effects on our culture and belief; rather than relating it to the clash of classes... Rightists were fighting with international Judaism, which exploited Turkey's wealth, and its servant Masonry, Christian missionary and communism.²¹⁷

Following lines are the criticisms toward inefficiency of the state policies in handling the left-right clashes, which became deadly events towards the 1970s. Moreover, the journal also criticized the attitude of the state by accusing it of using people as shields in accordance with its interest and for exploiting people's religious feelings in the fight with communism.

While communism maintains its damage, the struggle of the people was tolerated based on the condition for them to remain as state gendarmerie. As for the people, they were obliged to protect their property, religion and state against betrayers who hid behind the mask of Turkish Labor party. Therefore, masonry was in an endeavour in forming a people's movement in its control. It achieved this aim to a certain extent. However, it could not prevent increasing awareness of the people. Those who were struggling with communism were not late to understand that communism was an ideological offensive movement of the international Judaism.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ "Çirkin Bir Tahrife Cevap; Sağ Milletin Hayat Kavgasının Sancağıdır", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (22 December 1970), year 1, issue 47, p.3. Turkish version of citation; Şimdi şu allame (!) siyasilerimize soralım. Sağdan-soldan ne haberiniz var ve ne anlıyorsunuz? Uyuşuk zihninizi harekete geçirmek için soralım. Sağ ve sağcılık sadece solcu olmamak mıdır? Solculuktan ne anlıyorsunuz? Sağcılığın aşırısı ne demek oluyor? Solculuk mevcut nizamı beğenmemek midir? Sağcılık, mevcut düzeni kabullenmemek midir?... Sağcılar, Türkiye'de ilk defa vatani tehdit eden tehlikeyi doğru teşhis edenlerdir. İlk defa, Türkiye'de milletle, millete empoze cebrî sistem arasında tenakuzu gören ve gösterenler sağcılar oldu. Buhranımızı sınıf çarpışmasına, menfaat kavgasına değil; inancımız ve kültürümüz üzerindeki emperyalist tesirlere ilmî olarak bağladı... Sağcılar Türkiye'nin varlığını sömüren beynelmil Yahudilikle, uşağı masonlukla, Hristiyan misyonerliği ile ve komünizmle savaşıyorlardı."

²¹⁸ "Yıkılmak İstenen A.P. değil Milletin Ümididir", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.5. Turkish version of citation; "Komünizm tahribatına devam ederken, halkın mevcut sistemin jandarması olarak kalmak şartıyla, komünizme karşı mücadelesine göz yumuluyordu. Halk ise T.İ.P (Türkiye İşçi Partisi) maskesi arkasına saklanan hainlere karşı, din, devlet ve mülkünü müdafaa mecburiyetinde idi. Böylece masonluk kendi kontrolünde bir halk hareketi geliştirme gayretine düştü. Bunda, bir dereceye kadar muvaffak oldu. Ancak halkın

Consequently, it has been explained that positive approach of the journal to the concept of the right, as it was in previous rightist and Islamist journals, and its comments on the concept, are the efforts of *Yeniden Milli Mücadele* to give a scientific meaning to the right in order to form a unity between conservatists, Islamists, and nationalists. According to the journal, the right had to be idealized in order to establish this unity. This is also an indicator for the need to create a sense of the concept in intensive atmosphere of anti-communism. However, by the end of the 1960s, the situation of dissociation of the entities, which came together under the umbrella of the right, was the first agenda of the journal. The journal frequently emphasized differences in understanding of the concepts such as nation, nationalism, and right among the structures under the right-wing. It advocated that in order to establish a unity there was an urgent need to eliminate differences in the understandings before eliminating differences in strategy, tactic and method.²¹⁹ Therefore during the first year of the journal, the articles often focus on emphasizing the need for explanations of the concepts such as nation, nationalism, right and rightism (*millet, milliyetçilik, sağ, sağcılık*). According to the journal the need for the clarification was because of increasing dissolution in the right-wing as a result of misunderstanding of these critical concepts.

3.4 The Ideology of *Millet* (*Millet İdeolojisi*)

While the journal expressed its aim in publication as building an ideology of *millet*, there were not that much conceptual discussions on the word *millet* when it is compared to the premises related to the concept of the right, in first year of the journal. There is also no such examination about the etymology of *millet*, its roots and historical process and so on. However, in the memoirs of İrfan Küçükköy, who was among the first founders of the movement, the ideology of *millet* and the ideology of the right were used in the same meaning: “Each ideology relies on a fundamental doctrine (faith). While evil ideologies or in other

gittikçe şuurlanmasına mani olamadı. Komünizmle mücadele edenler, komünizmin beynelmil Yahudiliğin ideolojik bir saldırı hareketi olduğunu anlamakta gecikmediler”.

²¹⁹ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.3.

words the left ideologies rely on denying ‘absolute existence (God)’” **the ideology of millet, in other words ideology of the right**, relies on believing the existence of God that is the base of our national culture..²²⁰ Rather than conceptual explaining of *millet*, the condition of being a *millet* (*millet olma*) has been portrayed and this has been exemplified through the soul in the process of Turkish Liberation War. Therefore, the name *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* is the best expression for the journal and for the movement itself, which walked the way to build an ideology of *millet*.

The ideology of *millet* was intended to be built in the columns, which were prepared to form a strategy and examination, such as the Scientific Right (*İlmî Sağ*), Science of the Revolution (*inkılap ilmi*), and The Strategy of Our National Struggle, (*Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi*) during the first year of the journal. As for ummah, which I rarely, came across during the screening of the first year, has been defined as a “voluntary group of people” (*iradi topluluk*). There were no conceptual discussions on *millet* and ummah as it was the case in a number of Islamist journals. Moreover, I have understood from the content of the first year issues that *millet* was used in the meaning of a group of people, who managed to realize an ideal.

...Individual; is a human, as well as the smallest unit of a nation, member of a voluntarily group of people (ummah) as well as a creature in his/her own right.²²¹

It is called ummah that is a cluster of people, a class of people, who embraced Islam and thought in the same vein with their companions (ashab), moved with the same excitement, and their interests was the same with them (ashab) and they (ummah) helped vanguard mass, who were active and functioning.²²²

²²⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.345. Turkish version of citation. Highlight is ours; Her ideoloji bir temel doktrine (imana) dayanır. **Millet ideolojisi veya başka bir ifade ile sağ ideoloji** millî kültürümüzün temelini teşkil eden Allah’ın varlığını kabul etmeye, batıl ideolojiler veya başka bir ifade ile sol ideolojiler “mutlak varlığı” (Allah’ı) inkara dayanır”.

²²¹ “Devletimizin Millîliğini Korumalıyız”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 January 1971), year 1, issue 52, p.4. Turkish version of citation; ..Ferd; hem insan, hem bir milletin en küçük parçası, hem iradi bir topluluğun (ümmetin) azası, hem de başlı başına bir varlıktır.

²²² “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.15. Turkish version of citation. Highlight is ours; Ashabı ile aynı tarzda düşünen, aynı his ve heyecan ile hareket eden,

Also, the journal avoids explaining other concepts such as “people” (*halk*) or “mass” (*kitle*) etymologically and refers to a number of events in order to indicate their perceived meaning by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. The journal interpreted these two terms as community of people, who had not realized any ideal contrary to *millet*: “The revolution receives the most significant support with the gathering of masses or people -or **with its ideal meaning millet-**, around a determined program, slogan and organization” (*kitlenin, halkın, yahut ideal manasıyla milletin belli bir program, slogan, ve teşkilat etrafında toplanması ile inkılâb en büyük desteğe kavuşur*).²²³

For instance, the usage of “people’s army” (*halk ordusu*), which was the terminology used by the communist fractions in Turkey and was mentioned within the framework of the events of those years in the journal, had been severely criticized on the basis of conceptual differentiation between people and nation (*halk ve millet*). “National army” (*millî ordu*) is defined as an ideological power, while the journal defines “people’s army” as a vulgar community, “a unity, which consists of those who are useless in the society such as murderers, war deserters, prison breakers etc” (*caniler, savaş kaçakları, hapisane kaçınları vb. gibi toplumun işe yaramaz unsurlarından meydana gelen bir birlik*). As for the national army, it is “community of people, who completed the ideal of becoming a unity, in other words it is *millet* itself” (*bir bütün olma idealini tamamlamış insanlar topluluğu yani milletin ta kendisi*). Here the most emphasized subject is the metaphor of army-nation (*ordu-millet*) that has a historical background based on the meaning that Turkish nation has the characteristics of an army as a whole.²²⁴ The journal, which does not go for an etymological discussion of these concepts and explains them through the events of those years, consciously made a choice between the usages of *millet* and *halk* (people). However, *halk* is considered as oppressed and ruled since they are referred as the lay people in

menfaatleri onunla birlikte bulunan ve **İslam’ı kabul etmiş olan bir insan yığını, insan zümreleri-ki buna ümmet** denir-aktif ve faal olan öncülere yardım ettiler.

²²³ “Millî Mücademizin Stratejisi-4”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (15 September 1970) year 1, issue 3, p.15.

²²⁴ “Halk Ordusu Değil Milli Ordu”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (30 June 1970), year 1, issue 22, p.5.

the leftist literature, while it is considered a mass, which still lacked national consciousness, as a phase in the process of being *millet*.²²⁵

Millet is described by the journal, as a community that lived for the sake of an ideal from the beginning of mankind and still lives for this cause. Thus it is a holistic community from the beginning of the creation. Therefore “being *millet*”, which surpasses time and space, is a process that continues by growing and improving from the time of the prophet Adam. However in this process, “being *millet*” -in other words completion of ideology of *millet*- had failed from time to time.²²⁶ These periods of halt and failure were dated differently by the journal.

According to the belief of the journal collapse of the ideology of *millet* started with Second Vienna Defeat in 1683. The culture and ideals were degenerated with the successive defeats after 1683. While the journal interprets this process as corruption, as a result of this, initiations of reform movements, which were without root, doctrine, method, and cadre, had damaged the ideology of *millet* rather than consolidating it. Furthermore, the journal had interpreted these implementations as “providing opportunities and power to the agents of international Judaism among us”.²²⁷

Another period, that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* offers as the decline of the ideology of the *millet* was the Tulip Age (*Lale Devri*). The Tulip Age is stated as the influence of non-national ideologies (*gayr-i milli ideolojiler*) to areas of economy, politics, thought, and army. This process was interpreted as an indicator of being defeated as a whole nation in ideological war.²²⁸

This is important in terms of observing the influence of Nurettin Topçu, who also considered Tulip Age as the period of decline, on the cadre and the content of

²²⁵ Tanil Bora, “Toplum, Kamu, Halk, Millet”, *Birikim Dergisi*, (12 April 2017), <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/8269/toplum-kamu-halk-millet#.W0cT4a3BKqB>. 12.07.2018.

²²⁶ “Ya Devlet Başa Ya Kuzgun Leşe”, p.3.

²²⁷ “Ya Devlet Başa Ya Kuzgun Leşe”, p.3.

²²⁸ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (5 May 1970,) year 1, issue 14, p.2.

the journal. According to Topçu, climbing tendency of hedonism²²⁹ during that period, in which dissociation reached the peak, led to the damage of national life (*millî hayat*).²³⁰

Another event that was suggested as the reason for decline in the ideology of *millet* was the Treaty of Lausanne; “Finally it they have gathered in Lausanne. The treaty was signed. Whatever happened after the agreement was signed; the course of our nation that had not changed for the centuries, changed. Our ideology was overthrown, the sovereignty of the Truth was shattered”.²³¹

Moreover, in the eyes of the journal, reflourishing of ideology of *millet* starts with the Turkish Liberation War. The journal with the idea that National Struggle (*Millî Mücadele*) was a victory on the ground but was a defeat on the table, considered the ideology of *millet* as still alive and were to reflourish. In addition, the first step of reflourishing has been realized in Liberation War.

Shift in political, economic, and military structure as a result of political, military and economic achievement of an ideology, which is not relying on the Truth, is not able to eliminate totally the ideology of *millet*. In these days of depression, the ideology of *millet* invents all sorts of way of manifestation and forms of struggle in order to survive and not to decline. The ideology of *millet* transforms the nation to an organization of resistance despite officialization of force and coercion. In the atmosphere of misery of depression and defeat, the ideology of *millet* is embraced more, respected and reaches its authority... Our National War of Independence, which will be examined as an example by all Muslim nations and the world nations, shows that what a flourishing ideology can manage, despite declining of the political, military and economic structure.²³²

²²⁹ Turkish Terminology of the concept used by Topçu is “Zevkçilik”

²³⁰ Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Tanrıdağı’ndan Hıra Dağı’na.....*, p.253

²³¹ “Ey Millet Millî Kahramanlarını Unutma! Akif Milli Mücadelemizin Gerçek Kahramanıdır”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (29 December 1970), year 1, issue 48, p.14. Turkish version of citation; “Nihayet Lozan’da toplandı. Antlaşma imzalandı. İşte ne olduysa bundan sonra oldu; Milletimizin asırlarca değişmeyen gidişatı değişti. İdeolojimiz iktidardan düştü, Hakkın hakimiyeti kırıldı”.

²³² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (5 May 1970), year 1, issue 14, p.2. Turkish version of citation; “..Hakka dayanmayan bir ideolojinin siyasi, askeri ve iktisadi muvaffakiyetinin neticesi olarak, bir milletteki siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri yapının değişmesi millet ideolojisini tam tasfiye edemez. Bu buhran günlerinde, millet ideolojisi yaşamak ve yıkılmamak için binbir tezahür yolu ve kavga şekli ihdas eder. Millet in ideolojisi cebir ve tazyikin resmileşmesine rağmen, milleti bir

Important touchstone of the ideology of *millet* is the army. The army was considered as “an inevitable ideological power in protecting existence of *millet*. It is not accidental; not temporary it is a continuous force. The army is a nation with uniform. Therefore it cannot be thought apart from the nation”.²³³ The army was described as “armed force of the nation” “hearth in which a nation gets ready for the survival” (*hayat kavgasına hazırlandığı ocak*) and the most forward, the most disciplined part of the nation in fighting with the enemy.²³⁴ The journal emphasized that even in the war era with the greed of plunder, Turkish nation fought in order to build an order (*nizam*), and these wars were the conquest movements (*fetih hareketleri*), which were far from the invasion of America by Anglo-Saxons. These conquest movements had resulted with the Turkification of Anatolia and foundation of Great Saljuks.²³⁵

It has been criticized to consider pre-Islamic periods of Turks in Asia as the first step in the establishment of the army in the article titled “When was Turkish Army Founded? Our Army in The Course of History” (*Türk Ordusu Ne Zaman Kurulmuştur? Tarih İçinde Ordumuz*). It was stated that the birth of the Turkish army should be traced back to either National Struggle, or 1071 Battle of Malazgirt, or the Conquest of Istanbul in 1453. It was added in the article that these beginning points were not determined scientifically but they were taken into consideration because of their symbolic meanings.²³⁶

While the idea of army reserves a powerful position in the ideology of *millet*, the attitude towards the existed army was quite protectionist against “the threat of

mukavemet teşkilatı haline getirir. Millet ideolojisi, buhranın ve mağlubiyetin ızdırabı içinde, daha çok sevilir, sayılır ve otoritesine kavuşur.... Bütün İslam milletleri ve dünya milletleri tarafından ibretle incelenecek olan İstiklal Savaşımız da; çöken bir siyasî, askerî ve iktisadî yapıya rağmen şahlanan bir ideolojinin neler yapabileceğini gösterir”.

²³³ “Halk Ordusu Değil Milli Ordu”, s.5. Turkish version of citation; Ordu “millet varlığının korunması için vazgeçilmez ideolojik bir güçtür. Tesadüfî değil iradî; muvakkat değil, devamlı bir kuvvettir... Ordu üniformalı millettir. Onun için milletten ayrı düşünülemez.

²³⁴ “Millet ve Ordu”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 August 1975), year 6, issue 288, p.3. “milletin silahlı gücü” “hayat kavgasına hazırlandığı ocak” “milletin düşmanla savaşan en ileri, en disiplinli” parçası.

²³⁵ “Millet ve Ordu”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 August 1975), year 6, issue 288, p.3.

²³⁶ “Türk Ordusu Ne Zaman Kurulmuştur? Tarih İçinde Ordumuz”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (30 June 1970), year 1, issue 22, p.8.

communism". The care, accuracy towards the army had been powerfully felt in the issues of following years. The importance given to the army rooted upon the rise in the leftist tendencies within the army. The leftist discourse "people's army" (*halk ordusu*) as an alternative to the existing army by the leftist fractions and the bloody clashes between the right and the left, were perceived as a crucial threat against the army. The leftist accusations as army's "capitalization" (*kapitalistleşme*) or its "fascitization" (*faşistleşme*) and the other severe criticisms accompanied by the deadly attacks were interpreted by the journal as the efforts in stopping the possible operation of the National Security Council of Turkey towards the army members, who had leftist/communist tendencies. The journal has emphasized that in the countries where the communist dictatorship comes to power, the first target is always the army.²³⁷

Since the army is the unit of thought and sword that heads towards the enemy, it is understandable loyalty of the nation and the nationalists to it. Here it is that, all nationalists are in fight with movements that openly or secretly are in enmity with the army. They fight with anarchism, communism, and anti-militarism and international masonry, which desire to transmit the army to the home of anarchist and club of merchant... This country sooner or later will be the grave of communism that targets to destroy the existence of army itself.²³⁸

The army still is the common and blessed address that struggled for freedom in the eyes of Islamist, nationalist, conservatists and traditionalist in the right-wing. In this respect, perception of the army as "the hearth of prophet" (*peygamber ocağı*), somehow shadowed the memory of coup d'états, while this perception is still the case today. In *Tevhid*, which is ascribed as radical Islamist journal from today's perception, the remarkable evaluations about the army upon the events that took place in Kahramanmaraş, support this reality. Selahattin Eş Çakırgil,

²³⁷ "Orduyu Parçalama Taktikleri Netice Vermeyecektir", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 February 1971), year 2, issue 56, p.4.

²³⁸ "Zaferlerin Ruhü Yolumuzu Aydınlatacaktır", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (25 August 1970), year 1, issue:30, p.3. Turkish version of citation; Ordu milletın düşmana yönelen, iman fikir ve kudret birliğı olunca milliyetçilerin ve milletın ona bağılılığı anlaşılır. İşte bu yüzdendir ki bütün milliyetçiler açık ve gizli ordu düşmanlığı yapan cereyanlarla savaşırılar. Bunun için orduyu anarşist ocağı ve tüccar kulübü haline getirmek isteyen beynelmilel masonlukla, anarşizmle, komünizmle ve anti militarizmle savaşırılar...Ordunun bizzat varlığını yııkmağı hedef alan komünizmle bu vatan er veya geç mezar yapılacaktır.

one of the prominent writers of *Tevhid*, penned that coups damage the structure of army just as they damage the country. The army has lost a huge amount of its potential “war power, capability and war art” (*harb gücü, kabiliyet ve san’atı*) as a result of these coups. Balkan wars were given as examples in terms of army’s tussling with domestic issues. The statements of İsmet İnönü about Cyprus dispute in 1963/1964 was placed in the article to support this idea. İnönü expressed that the army was not able to handle any possible war in Cyprus because of its weakness as a result of its focus on domestic issues in the aftermath of 1960 coup d’état. Before and after Turkish military memorandum on March 12, 1971, developments in the army also occupied its agenda. Therefore, Çakırgil interpreted propagandas for the army’s inclusion in Maraş events, as the intentions of “mortgaging the army”. He stated that coups or army interventions discredited the army’s image in the eyes of the people. He argued that the politicians easily got off the damages of the coup of 26 May and 12 March and all responsibility remained in the shoulders of the army, while the army was left alone with these problems.²³⁹ Hereby, the army was “distanced from the art of war and forced to learn the art of administration”. This brought its destruction and the failure in its essential mission. Çakırgil together with all these interpretations stated that he, to a certain degree, was in favour of martial law in those days, because “existing order was on the brink of bankruptcy”.²⁴⁰ While the call for the coups were interpreted as burdens on the army as a result of failure of politicians, Çakırgil warned the army not to be deceived with this game by hoping that “this institute, to which our nation submit their children with pleasure, will not flout with the belief and life of our nation”.²⁴¹

Yeniden Millî Mücadele had similar ideas with *Tevhid* about the army’s involvement in politics. There are also negative interpretations about 1960 coup

²³⁹ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, “Müslüman Ne Anarşisttir, Ne de Kuvvetperest!...O Ancak Hak’tan Yanadır!...”, *Tevhid*, (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.4.

²⁴⁰ “Katliamın Mes’ulü İslam Dışı Güçlerdir!...”, *Tevhid*, (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.13.

²⁴¹ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, “Müslüman Ne Anarşisttir, Ne de Kuvvetperest!”, p.4. Turkish version of citation; “Müslüman milletimizin evladını seve seve verdiği bu müessesenin milletimizin inanç ve hayatıyla tersleşmeye gitmeyeceğini ümit ve temenni” ederek Maraş olayları sonrası göreve çağrılan orduya “bu oyuna gelmemesi” çağrısı yapmaktadır”.

d'état in the first year of the journal; I observed that positive evaluations regarding the coups take place from time to time. In the 18th issue of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the article states that encouragement of the army for coup is incompatible with patriotism and the army should not be involved in politics, since the bitter example of this condition can be seen through 27 May coup d'état. The warning that army "should stay away from coup initiations in order to maintain the life of the nation" also takes place in the same article. Because in the case of any counter reaction to the coups, the country may go to inevitable process, which Vietnam experienced.²⁴²

Besides the positive perception of the army as a phenomenon, *Tevhid* questions the existing nature of the army in Turkey and its mission through some certain key questions. Çakırgil in his article penned on May 28, 1979, questions whether martial law would allow anniversaries of the conquests (*fetih*) of May 29 or of Makka, with following words; " , From who are we going to take permission for the anniversaries of our conquest of Istanbul or Madina to cheer over? We as Muslims. If the army belongs to the nation, this means we ask permission from ourselves; if there is no such sameness, there is a power, which is against the supreme meaning of Muslims' conquests, then we cannot take permission from that power..."²⁴³

Çakırgil put forth this questioning to create a discussion upon the allowance for annual International Workers Day protests of May 1st , while the anniversaries of May 29 and the conquest of Makka had faced with heavy oppressions. He pointed that those who wanted "people and the state confrontation" were more comfortable and freely acting compared to those who were sensitive to the anniversaries of 29 May and such. Çakırgil in his article states that it is not his

²⁴² "Darbe Teşebbüsü Hakkındaki Görüşlerimiz", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 June 1970), year 1, issue 18, p.11.

²⁴³ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, "Nereden Başlayalım?", *Tevhid*, (28 May 1979), issue 23, p.2. Turkish version of citation; "Biz Müslümanlar olarak, Mekke veya İstanbul'u fethedişimizin yıldönümünde sevinç gösterileri yapmak için kimden izin alacağız? Ordu milletin ise, bu kendi kendimizden izin istemek olur; yok böyle bir ayniyet söz konusu değilse, Müslümanların fetihlerindeki yüksek manaya karşı bir güç var demektir ki, o zaman da biz o güçten izin isteyemeyiz!..."

intention to be “town crier of Haghia sophia” (*Ayasofya tellallığı*), by stating that Muslims were deprived of their all mosques not only Haghia Sophia. He emphasizes that Muslims were convicted to an official religion, which was constructed by the state, and they were converted to those who were in the service of the order. The questions of Çakırgil are important in terms of understanding the departure point of new Islamists, who lost their feeling of belonging to Turkey: “In the fear that ‘I will be against foreign orders, which are capable to replace the existing one’, should I shoulder this wreckage, or should I search for a quest of an order, which is compatible with my own beliefs”.²⁴⁴

While the concern and the support of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* towards the army with the reflection that the army a castle that should not be lost, is not seen in the new Islamists of the late 1970s, who were more hesitant to support the army and distanced themselves. Feelings mentioned by Çakırgil that caused this distance, represent the general atmosphere of the new thinking, which moved away from the right-wing in this subject as well.

3.5 Scientification of the Nation’s Ideologic Structure: The Scientific Right (*İlmî Sağ*)

Due to its being the solid method in terms of comprehending history of mankind, progress of societies and human events, and taking measurements, we admit scientific right.²⁴⁵

The article with the title “Why Scientific Right?” (*Neden İlmî Sağ ?*), is the first text of the column with the title “The Scientific Right” (*İlmî Sağ*). This column starts in the 21th issue of the journal and later the articles were compiled under the book titled “Missions of the Cadres in National Struggle” (*Milli Mücadelede Kadroların Vazifeleri*).²⁴⁶ According to the answer to the question in the title

²⁴⁴ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Nereden Başlayalım?”, p.2. Turkish version of citation; ‘yerine gelmesi muhtemel yabancı düzenlere karşı olacağım’ diye bu yıkıntıyı mı omuzlayayım, yoksa kendi inançlarıma göre bir nizam arayıcılığına mı çıkayım?.

²⁴⁵ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.9. Turkish version of citation; “İnsanlığın tarihini, toplumların ilerleyişini ve beşeri hadiseleri kavramak ve uygun tedbirler almak hususunda sağlam bir metod olarak, ilmi sağcılığı kabul ediyoruz”.

²⁴⁶ Aykut Edibali, *Milli Mücadelede Kadroların Vazifeleri*, (İstanbul: Otağ Press, 1970)

Neden İlmî Sağ, scientific right carries the aim to identify the depression and its causes, which human and society confront, and seeking solutions, taking lessons from these crisis.²⁴⁷ Therefore “while scientific right creates awareness in the belief of true believer; it is a thought that proceeds in order to detect the special state of the whole nation, which is exposed to hidden or evident effects of cultural imperialism” (*ilmî sağ gerçek müminin inancını şuurlandırırken; kültür emperyalizminin gizli veya açık tesirlerine muhatap olan bütün millet özel halini tesbit için yürüyen düşünce*).²⁴⁸ In this column, the nature of materialism was addressed in order to form an understanding against it.²⁴⁹

When intending the scientific rightism, we mean scientific expression of the rules of human and nation’s structure. This, practically, is **scientific explaining of perpetual principles of Islam**, which were settled through revelation and prophecy and the method, **which is needed to discover the rules that national life allegiance to, and building a community that, is convenient to these rules**.²⁵⁰

İrfan Küçükköy stated that the reason that led them to form the usage “scientific right”, was the efforts of the leftist groups in expressing their ideologies within scientific patterns such as historical materialism, or scientific materialism; “here at this moment, in a period when scientific doctrines were effective, our opinions should have been presented in a scientific pattern. I think within this kind of understanding, our leader Aykut Edibali compiled our opinions as a pamphlet, with the name of ‘scientific right’ within the patterns of doctrine and scientific evaluations”.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ “Neden İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.2.

²⁴⁸ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “ilmî sağ gerçek müminin inancını şuurlandırırken; kültür emperyalizminin gizli veya açık tesirlerine muhatap olan bütün millet özel halini tesbit için yürüyen düşünce”.

²⁴⁹ “Neden İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.2.

²⁵⁰ “Neden İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.2. Highlights are our; Turkish version of citation; “İlmî Sağ’cılık derken, insan ve millet bünyesinin kanunlarının ilmî ifadesini kastediyoruz. Bu, pratik olarak, vahiy ve risalet yoluyla sabit olmuş **İslam’ın ebedi prensiplerinin ilmî izahı, millî hayatın tâbi olduğu kanunların keşfi ve bu kanunlara uygun bir toplumun inşası için gerekli metod** demek, olur”.

²⁵¹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.348. Turkish version of citation; “İşte bu esnada, bilimsel doktrinlerin etkili olduğu bir devirde, bizim görüşlerimizin de bilimsel doktrin kabı ile sunulması gerekirdi. Sanıyorum böyle bir anlayış içinde, liderimiz Aykut Edibali görüşlerimizi ‘İlmî Sağ’ ismiyle doktrin kalıpları içinde ve ilmî yorumlarla broşür haline getirdi”.

As for the people, who were convoked by scientific right they were “all cadres those who carry the characteristic of national (*millî*), and all patriots, who feel that they are the children of this nation”.²⁵² For the journal, the cadres, who carry national characteristic, are all of those who are against international Judaism, international Christianity, Communism, Masonry and cosmopolitanism”. While the journal described this opposing stance with their inability, going beyond demagogy due to a lack of systematized and methodological condition, this community, which included those who are loyal to Islam and those who are loyal to nationalism, still was considered as collocutor of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. This group was not homogeneous in their approach towards facts and the concepts such as European civilization, Islam, nation, nationhood, race, and could not develop a compromising content that would be approved.²⁵³

But *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* still considered this community as important because of the common value they shared such as loyalty to nation, fatherland and being respectful to Islam. The journal argued that even if these people have different orientations they will be united and agree on the only solution that is Islam.

Differentiation in doctrine within National Front is a reality. However this certainly might be expressed that those who considered being loyal to Islam as the aim of their life, they will understand better the necessity of national struggle as long as they tend towards the cognition with help of the principle concepts of Islam; as long as they tend towards to comprehend Islam which is the only truth, only complete, absolute system that will not be overpassed, as a whole; as long as they start to relearn Islam, its doctrine, its method, its strategy and the problems that they face in our era. **Those who are mad with the love of a racial opinion, will start to understand when they acknowledged learning Islam as a duty; they will consider Islam as the only thinking method, which is capable to solve - even capable to solve in a correct way-, any event faced.**²⁵⁴

²⁵² “Neden İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.2. Turkish version of citation; “millî vasfı taşıyan bütün kadrolar ve bu milletin evladı olduğunu hisseden bütün vatanperverler”.

²⁵³ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.9.

²⁵⁴ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.9. Highlights are ours, Turkish version of citation; “Milli Cephe içindeki bu doktrin farklılığı bir realitedir. Ancak şu kat’î olarak ifade edilebilir ki; İslam’a bağlılığı hayatlarının gayesi bilenler, bizzat İslâm’ın öz mefhumları ile idrake yöneldikçe; tek doğru, tek tam, zaman ve toplumun aşamayacağı tek kâmil sistem olan

The journal evaluates the atmosphere after 1960, in the light of this nationalist Islamist perspective. Justice party (*Adalet Partisi AP*), which was established in place of Democrat party, was considered as “the art of nationalists who are loyal to Islam” and this had been powerfully emphasized during the first year of the journal.²⁵⁵ There are remarkable comments related to political events of the time, in the 33rd issue of the article which calls “all patriots to be united”. Establishment of AP after 1960 coup and fragmentations inside led other political entities such as establishment of Republican Peasant’s National Party CKMP (later converted to Nationalist Movement Part MHP) to come out. AP's disapproval of the candidacy of Necmettin Erbakan resulted with his independent candidacy. All these events were seen as a nationalist and a necessary breakthrough by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*.²⁵⁶

In the article titled “May Democrat Party Bring Fortune to Our Nation” (*Demokratik Parti Milletimiz İçin Hayırlı Olsun*) formation of the National Order party (*Millî Nizam Partisi MNP*) was declared as another new force that joined the forces of National Politics which was also the case for MHP.²⁵⁷ While the formation of these parties were considered as inevitable because of the prevention of nationalists’ struggle in AP, the characteristic of these new entities were explained as being loyal to the values of the majority of the nation. The reason why the journal approached these parties with “sympathy” and “compassion” was expressed with these parties’ being respectful and loyal to Islam and their goodwill for the nation.²⁵⁸ These opinions of the journal can be considered as the efforts to detect the situation in the right-wing and to convert it to an opportunity. The journal was in favour of converting fragmentation in the

İslâm’ı bir bütün olarak kavramağa yöneldikçe; İslâm’ı doktrini, metodu, stratejisi ve asrımızda karşılaştıkları problemleri ile yeniden öğrenmeye başladıkça millî mücadelenin zaruretini daha iyi anlayacaklardır. **En katı ırk görüşüne meftun olanlar, İslâm’ı öğrenmeyi bir vecibe telakki edince; İslâm’ı karşılaşılan her hadiseyi çözmeğe, hem de doğru olarak çözmeğe elverişli tek düşünce metodu olarak anlamaya başlayacaklardır”.**

²⁵⁵ “AP Millet’in Sesine Kulak Vermelidir”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (27 October 1970), year 1, issue 39, p.3.

²⁵⁶ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.8.

²⁵⁷ “Demokratik Parti Milletimiz İçin Hayırlı Olsun”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (29 December 1970), year 1, issue 48, p.5.

²⁵⁸ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.8.

right to an opportunity and had aimed to form unity as much as possible by putting forward major common targets among these segments. However, the revival of Islamism in the right-wing and newly disputes between new Islamists and nationalists, accompanied with the fragmentation within nationalists itself. The effort of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in building concepts such as scientific right, ideology of nation, science of revolution, was in order to eliminate the fragmentations within the right wing. Because according to the journal these disputes were weakening the power of the right against the left. Aim of the journal in building hierarchies from national struggle to Islamic struggle, from rational revolution to Islamic revolution and so forth, can be considered as the effort to reduce differences in the targets of the groups under the right-wing. The stresses of the journal that a unity after convincing the sides in the right will give birth to an Islamic state, which was stated as the primary object, and the approval of this state by the masses with their own consent, are remarkable efforts of the journal to convince the fractions to be united.

3.6 The Phrase “National Culture” (*Millî Kültür*)

As I have understood from the comments of İrfan Küçükköy, the efforts of the journal in articulation of Islam into the body of ideology of *millet* in the form of a cultural element and keeping Islam at the cultural dimension, were conscious attitudes.

Members of Mücadele Birliği were trying to prevent marginalization of Islamic issues by keeping them at the cultural level. Islam is not a marginalized thought. Islam has been pulled toward political platform by some groups in our front, despite the tremendous efforts of members of the League. It has been represented as marginal for a period with the propaganda power of the opponent as well. Regardless the sincere intention of those who marginalized Islam, their strategies are wrong. Nobody has the right to marginalize Islam, which is a universal religion. It is deficient and false to introduce a religion, which has been embraced by the whole society, as embraced by only a part of the society.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.327. Turkish version of citation; Mücadele Birliği mensupları, İslami konuları kültürel planda tutarak, bu konuların marjinal hale düşmesinin de önüne geçiyordu. İslam marjinal bir düşünce değildir. Mücadele Birliği mensuplarının büyük gayretlerine rağmen, cephemizdeki bazı gruplar tarafından İslam siyaset platformuna çekilmiş ve

Küçükköy stated that national culture of Turks became a row of values, which were sieved by Islam. He also stressed that Islamization, which is the most significant change in history of Turkish nation created national culture (*millî kültür*), that is national life style, our nation's way of life.²⁶⁰

Certain approaches towards the concept of culture, definitions in western and Turkish sources, and discussions on its comparison with civilization have been widely mentioned in 78th issue of the journal in the article "About National Culture" (*Millî Kültür Hakkında*). It was stated that the concept of culture could not be clarified or described with a complete meaning like other concepts. Therefore, it has various meanings. Definition of the concept of culture practically and theoretically is very crucial in the case of the definition of *millet* that was defined as "community of culture" (*kültür topluluğu*). Moreover, it was emphasized that the ways in protecting the culture, which is the most important element in national existence have to be searched. While Ziya Gökalp's distinction between the culture and civilization was approved by the movement, Gökalp considers the culture as national (*millî*) phenomenon and civilization as international (*beynelmilel*). However, it was stressed that defining *millet* as the community which adhered to the same culture might not be approved, because the culture at the same time takes a form of knowledge, ideal, and belief that is consistent with personality of the nation. Therefore it was stated that while the culture is an art of the society in its own style, it is the soul of millet (*milletin ruhu*) that creates this art.²⁶¹

In an article in the 5th issue of the journal in the column of scientific right, it is expressed that Islamic order and Islamic culture were the results of Islamic thought and Islamic aqidah, which builds morality and good deeds in the society.

karşit propagandanın gücüyle de bir süre marjinal temsil edilmiştir. İslam'ı marjinal hale getirenlerin niyetleri ne kadar halis olursa olsun, stratejileri yanlıştır. İslam gibi cihan şümül bir dini marjinal hale getirmeye kimsenin hakkı yoktur. Toplumumuzun tamamı tarafından kabul edilmiş bir dinin, toplumun bir cüzü tarafından benimsenmiş gibi takdimi eksik ve yanlış bir yoldur.

²⁶⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.351/364.

²⁶¹ "Millî Kültür Hakkında", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (27 July 1971), year 2, issue 78, p.3.

Therefore, Islam seems to be considered as a vital determinant of the national culture.²⁶²

However, another prominent figure in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and close friend of İrfan Küçükköy, Necmettin Erişen mentioned following lines in the interview made by Hamza Türkmen.

In 1973, in the journal *Gerçek* (The Truth), which was another periodical published by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the expressions such as Turkish nation, Turkish nationalism were being placed in an ideological pattern and the Great Turkish Cultural System (*Büyük Türk Kültür Sistemi*) was mentioned. This Great Turkish Cultural System was being presented as an alternative ideology. **Islam was being degraded to a subculture of this system.** I do not know that but somehow some friends like Kemal Yaman, Halil Bayrakçı wrote these kinds of things. But Aykut Edibali wove the theory of this thought. Other friends penned the articles in this direction later. I think military coup d'état of March 12 influenced Aykut Edibali and some other people. And there were curtsies being made.²⁶³

The column with the name “National Culture Glossary” (*Millî Kültür Lügatçesi*) dealt with some terminologies and approaches of certain schools in Islamic history towards certain concepts and thoughts. The first concept aqaid was expressed with the term doctrine and the reason for taking it into consideration was explained as following.

Social reality that unites people as in the state of personality is the reality of nation. Nation is an ideological unity beyond its being a biological reality. Material fabric of nation's reality and its ideological structure are two consistent aspects of nation's facts. A nation's being buried to the darkness of history and its withdrawing from the scene of life starts with the damage in the ideological structure and if there is no measurement taken, it can result in an absolute end. **So then the essence of a nation is**

²⁶² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.2.

²⁶³ Türkmen, (interview with Necmettin Erişen), “Yeniden Millî Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1”, Highlists are as in the text and Turkish version of citation; “1973 senesinde YMM ekibince çıkartılan Gerçek dergisinde artık Türk milleti, Türk milliyetçiliği ifadeleri bir ideolojik kalıba dökülüyor ve “Büyük Türk Kültür Sistemi”nden bahsediliyordu. Bu “Büyük Türk Kültür Sistemi”nin alternatif bir ideoloji olduğu ortaya konuluyordu. **İslam bu sistemin bir alt kültürü haline indirgeniyordu.** Onu bilemiyorum. Nedense Kemal Yaman, Halil Bayrakçı gibi bazı arkadaşlar böyle şeyler yazdılar. Ancak bu fikrin teorisini yazılarıyla Aykut Edibali dokudu. Diğer arkadaşlar bu doğrultudaki yazıları sonra kaleme aldılar. Sanırım 12 Mart askeri darbesi Aykut Edibali ve bazı kişilerin üzerine tesir oluşturdu. Ve bazı reveranslar oldu”.

the national culture... By exalting, sustaining and prospering the national culture, we can respond this betrayer war of international Judaism that aims at eradicating our national existence. With this purpose, we begin the movement of protecting and prospering our national culture with **one of the key concepts of national culture that can be regarded as the bases of Islamic belief.** This is aqidah; and by the expression of our time 'doctrine'.²⁶⁴

In these words, I have felt that Islamic belief and national culture was used as equal concepts. Expressions that support this feeling are the ideas stated in the journal that ideologies come out from the culture and the base of the culture is aqida. Materialism and Islamic culture were given as examples to this correlation.²⁶⁵

In the following articles of the National Culture Glossary column, the subject of Islamic Aqidah was explained with a reference to the book *Al-Aqidah An-Nasafiyyah* by Imam Abu Hafs Umar bin Muhammad Nasafi. The reason for starting from the concept of aqidah was explained as follows; "We start with aqidah for the sake of which, Turkish nation let their blood flow like rivers and it is the base of our religion. The first subject of National Culture Glossary is the writer of Aqidah, Imam Nasafi. Annotations belong to famous Imam Taftazani. This book is the book of Aqidah, which was studied in madrasas of our grandfathers for long centuries".²⁶⁶ In this article, the reason for the birth of science of aqidah was given as the invasions of infidel cultures (*kafir kültürler*) and

²⁶⁴ "Millî Kültür Lügatçesi-Akaid 'Doktrin' ve Ehemmiyeti", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.13. Highlights are ours; Turkish version of citation "İnsanları bir şahsiyet halinde birleştiren **sosyal realite** millet gerçeğidir. Millet ise biyolojik bir realite olduğundan ötede, bir ideolojik birliktir. Millet realitesinin maddi bünyesi ve ideolojik yapısı millet vakiasının iki görünüşünden ibarettir. Bir milletin tarihin karanlığına gömülmesi ve hayat sahnesinden çekilmesi, ideolojik yapının tahribi ile başlar ve tedbiri alınmazsa kat'î bir sonuçla sonuçlanır... **Şu halde milletlerin hayat özü millî kültürdür...** Millî varlığımızı yok etmek isteyen beynelmilel Yahudiliğin bu hain savaşına; millî kültürü yüceltmek, yaşatmak ve zenginleştirmekle cevap verebiliriz. İşte bu maksatla milletimizin kültürünü korumak, zenginleştirmek ve yüceltmek hareketine, **İslam inancının temelleri diyebileceğimiz, millî kültürün ana mefhumlarından birisi ile başlıyoruz.** Bu Akaid'dir. Yani zamanımızın ifadesiyle doktrin".

²⁶⁵ "İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (31 March 1970), year 1, issue 9, p.2.

²⁶⁶ "Millî Kültür Lügatçesi, Akaid 'Doktrin' ve Ehemmiyeti"..., p.13. Turkish version of citation; "Millî kültür lügatçesine; Türk milletinin uğrunda dereler gibi kanını akıttığı, mukaddes dinimizin temeli olan; Akaid ile başlıyoruz. Millî kültür lügatçesinin, ilk mefumu Akaid'in yazarı: İmam Ömer Nesefidir. Şerhler, meşhur İmam Taftazani'nindir. Bu kitap muhterem dedelerimizin medreselerinde uzun asırlar okunan akaid kitabıdır".

these cultures were summarized. According to the journal these “infidel cultures” were Qadiriyya, named by the journal as the first deviant sect in Islam, and the schools that founded in the time of the Caliph Al-Mansour until Bayt al-Hikmah.²⁶⁷ According to the journal, the crucial reactions came out against this damage in various places of the Muslim world and these reactions, which aimed at protecting Islam from any blurry interference, are called as Ahl al-Sunnah.²⁶⁸

The article, titled “The 560th Anniversary of Its Textualization; Mawlid and Sulaiman Chelebi” (*Yazılışının 560. yılında Mevlid ve Süleyman Çelebi*) focused on the same context of protecting Islam from outsider beliefs. According to the article, the clash of Timur and Beyazid First stopped the rise of the Ottoman Empire, which did not have any other aim other than “spreading Islam to Rum territories”. The unity of Anatolia had been damaged with the defeat of the Ottomans. Again according to the article, bāṭini ideas of Iran flowed into Anatolia in order to distort aqidah of tawhid on which Ottomans relied, and Ahl al-Sunnah. Mawlid of Sulaiman Chelebi had been written within the struggle of bāṭini movements. It was stressed that Mawlid is not a poem or portrayal book as some assumed, and those considered the text poem or portrayal book, were criticized by the journal.²⁶⁹

The source of the knowledge in Islam was tackled in different parts of the National Culture Glossary. These are sense perception (*selim hisler*), true information (*doğru haber*), and its source mutawatir hadiths- information from the prophets, which are fixed with the miracles, and reason (*akıl*). As for the subject of the reason, the comparison was made between other thinking systems and philosophies such as materialism, rationalism, positivism and logical reasoning (*mantıkî muhakeme*) and some movements such as Rafiziyyah and all these were criticized for being reason oriented.²⁷⁰ While the reason was

²⁶⁷ “Millî Kültür Lügatçesi, Akaid ‘Doktrin’ ve Ehemmiyeti” ..., p.13.

²⁶⁸ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.2.

²⁶⁹ “Yazılışının 560. Yılında Mevlid ve Süleyman Çelebi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (22 September 1970), year 1, issue 34, p.10.

²⁷⁰ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.2.

considered as the most important element of an ideological structure, it was not regarded as the absolute source and this idea was supported with the subjects handled systematically within the National Culture Glossary.²⁷¹

Meanwhile, the journal's approach to Rafiziyyah, which was criticized in terms of its relying on reason, is quite parallel with the ideas in an article written in 1966 by Raif Ogan with the title as "Marriage of Two Evil; Communism and Bâṭiniyyah" (*İki Kötülüğün Birleşmesi; Komünistlik ve Bâtinîlik*).²⁷² While there is no reference made to this article, it is very possible that it was influenced because of the strong nexus of the members of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with Associations for the Struggle Against Communism (*Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri*).²⁷³

In another article of the National Culture Glossary, some attributes of Allah, dimensions of free will as determinant in the actions of humans were mentioned and explained, while Mutazila interpretations of free will were criticized as being deviant belief without going into detail.²⁷⁴ Thereby, with the aim to examine the reason and the results of this rationalism, the journal handled the subjects in a systematic within the framework of ideology of millet and scientific right. According to communism, socialism, liberalism and some other ideologies, which considered the reason as the only source, are the main cause of "the laws of depression of human and society" (*insan ve cemiyet buhranının kanunları*). The roots of these depressions are scrutinized within the article series of "Truth of Human and Nature" (*İnsan ve Tabiat Gerçeği*). The column was sort of a challenge towards the idea of non-existence of God and belief that universe is art of material, and stressed invalidity, absurdness and constraints of materialism, which was stated as the determinant of the modern world. Hereby ideologies limited with reason and senses remain insufficient in explaining the universe and its meaning. While the most important element of an ideological structure is the

²⁷¹ "Millî Kültür Lügatçesi-5", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 March 1970), year 1, issue 6, p.13.

²⁷² Ertuğrul Meşe, *Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri*, p.234.

²⁷³ 1967'de kurulan Mücadele Birliği kurucularından Kemal Yaman, 1951'de İstanbul'da kurulan Türk Milliyetçiler derneğinde de ismi geçmektedir. Kaynak; Murat Kılıç, 2016, *Allah, Vatan, Soy...* p.112.

²⁷⁴ "Millî Kültür Lügatçesi", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 March 1970), year 1, issue 6, p.13.

reason, God sent His “chosen messengers” (*seçilmiş haberciler*) in other words prophets to people to overcome the “defeat of the reason” (*aklın hüsranı*).²⁷⁵

Therefore, while the ideology of *millet* that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* wanted to build, was tackled within various columns, articles. According to my observation these articles and columns complemented each other within the aim of the journal. The National Culture Glossary is one of the important columns that explained the ideology of *millet*, which relied on the idea of the Creator. The subjects that had been handled in the columns during its 52 issues of the first year of journal as follows; “The Importance of Aqid ‘Doctrine’ ” (*Akaid ‘Doktrin’ ve Ehemmiyeti*), “Some Representatives of Science of Aqid; İmam-ı Azam Ebu Hanife” (*Akaid İlminin Mümesillerinden Bazıları İmam-ı Azam Ebu Hanife*), “The Sources of Knowledge in Islam” (*İslam’da Bilgi Kaynakları*), “Attributions of Allah” (*Allah’ın Sıfatları*), Angels (*Melekler*), Books (*Kitaplar*), “Messengers” (*Rasuller*), “Faith” (*İman*), “Prophethood” (*Peygamberlik*), “Servant and His/Her Deeds” (*Kul ve Vazifeleri*), “Saintship” (*Velilik*), “Requirements of Imamate and Leadership in Islam” (*İslam’da İmamet ve Reisliğin Şartları*), “Conditions for Ijtihad” (*İçtihadın Şartları*), “Signs of Judgement Day” (*Kıyamet Alametleri*), “The Reason in Islam” (*İslam’da Akıl*), “Punishment of the Grave in Aqidah of Imam Maturidi” (*İmam Maturidi’nin Akaid’den Kabir Azabı*), the Creation (*Yaratılış*), “Miracles of Saints” (*Evliya Kerametleri*), “the Sinlessness of the Prophets” (*Peygamberlerde İsmet*), “Imamate” (*İmamet*), “Miraj” (*Miraç*), “Bara’a Night” (*Beraat Gecesi*), “Reviving Blessed Nights” (*Mübarek Gecelerin İhyası*), “Bid’ah”, “Qada’a and Qadar”, and “Hajj”.

Moreover, the complexity I felt in the language that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had constructed, was also supported with the expressions by Necmettin Erişen. According to his expression, they believed that the concept of *din* was a worldview, however, the concept had lost its real meaning over the course of time. Therefore, they sought other concepts to replace *din*.

²⁷⁵ “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.2.

...We were using the word ideology to replace *iman*. I was also using this word in my hutbas. Essentially we were considering using the t ideology concept as normal. Because it could imply our concept of *din* in terms of its meaning. Din, at that time, was being utilized in narrow meaning at the intellectual level. We could express with the term ideology that our religion is not only a system of belief, it is a worldview.²⁷⁶

3.7 National State (*Millî Devlet*)

Long live NATIONAL STATE that is the founder and keeping alive National Morality, National Culture, and National Economics.²⁷⁷

I have translated the expression of *Millî Devlet* to English as “National State” because the expression of nation-state was *ulus-devlet* in Turkish. Since *ulus-devlet* and *millî devlet* had different contents in the eyes of the new nationalism, which was against one party state nationalism, and the Islamist, I prefer to use the concept “National State”. The journal, which often used national state (*millî devlet*) as the state of nation (*milletin devleti*), expresses that national state comes out when a community achieves to be a nation (*millet*).²⁷⁸

According to the movement, while the characteristic of the state (*devlet*) is to defend homeland, nation, absolute sovereignty and the flag, its essential mission beyond these are to protect and to carry ideology. This condition was formulized as “*din-ü devlet, mülk-ü millet*” (fusion of state and faith²⁷⁹, state belong to nation) by “our ancestors”. Change in the ideology means change in the practices of the state and that means the change of the whole system.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Hamza Türkmen, (Necmettin Erişen ile röportaj), “Yeniden Millî Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1” Turkish version of citation; “...iman terimi yerine ideoloji kelimesini kullanıyorduk. Ben bu kelimeyi hutbelerimde de kullanıyordum. Haddizatında ideoloji kelimesini kullanmayı normal görüyorduk. Zira muhtevası itibarıyla bir hayat görüşü anlamında bizim “din” kavramını karşılayabiliyordu. O zaman toplumda ve entellektüel planda “din” dar anlamda kullanılıyordu. Bizim dinimizin sadece bir inanç sistemi değil, bir dünya görüşü olduğunu, ideoloji kelimesiyle anlatabiliyorduk”.

²⁷⁷ Kapak manşeti, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 January 1971), year 1, issue 52. Turkish version of citation and highlights are as in the text; “Yaşasın Milli Ahlakın Milli Kültürün Milli Ekonominin Kurucusu ve Yaşatıcısı MİLLÎ DEVLET”.

²⁷⁸ “Devletimizin Millîliğini Korumalıyız”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 Ocak 1971), yıl 1, sayı 52, s.4.

²⁷⁹ Translation of *din-ü devlet* has taken from the book of Kemal Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, (Oxford University Press; 2001), p.8.

²⁸⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.354.

The state was considered as “the state of order of the society” (*toplumun düzen hali*). The order of society can be established by a social power from within the community and this is the indicator of the existence of the will and the power. As for the will and the power, they are the state. Therefore, neither state without society, nor society without state can exist.²⁸¹

By grounding its ideas on the phenomenon of the state, the movement was in an effort to prove and convince its followers and readers that there is no period in the history in which the state had not existed. “Imagination of a society without state is not-scientific as far as envisagement of an effect without cause, material without energy” (*Devletsiz bir toplum tasavvuru, sebepsiz sonuç, enerjisiz madde tasavvuru kadar gayr-i ilmîdir*). Hereby “as much as social living exists that means existence of mankind, state will exist as a part of social way of living” (*sosyal yaşama var olduğu sürece-bu insanlığın yaşama süreci demektir-devlet sosyal yaşamın bir parçası olarak var olacaktır*).²⁸² Both in the journal and by the strugglers (*mücadeleciler*), all justifications about state had been produced as anti-thesis against the ideal of statelessness of communism.

Either individual or family or church or community (*cemaat*) or party or classes in the society are not able to institutionalize material power of force in order to realize their targets. This power of force, which is overt and permanent, pertains to a state. The State does not share this dominance with any other power, nor consigns to some other. If there is such condition, that means we are on the eve of fragmentation and decline of the old state and birth of a new state.²⁸³

As for the leader of group, Aykut Edibali, defines state as “a system of culture”. As for this cultural system; it is defined as the “emergence of administrative and

²⁸¹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.357.

²⁸² Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.357-358. Turkish version of citation; “Devletsiz bir toplum tasavvuru, sebepsiz sonuç, enerjisiz madde tasavvuru kadar gayr-i ilmîdir” “sosyal yaşama var olduğu sürece-bu insanlığın yaşama süreci demektir-devlet sosyal yaşamın bir parçası olarak var olacaktır”.

²⁸³ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.357. Turkish version of citation; “Toplumda ne fert, ne aile, ne kilise, ne cemaat, ne parti, ne de zümreler hedeflerini gerçekleştirmek amacıyla, maddî zorlama gücünü müesseseleştiremezler. Alenî, daimî bu zorlama gücü sadece devlete hasır. Devlet bu gücünü hiçbir güçle ne paylaşır, ne de başkasına tevdi eder. Böyle bir durum varsa yeni bir devletin doğumu, eski devletin parçalanışı ve zayıflayışı karşısındayız demektir”.

founder power of the society”, and this system continues from generation to generation. “In real terms, nationalness (*millîlik*) of Turkish state system, is being measured with whether it is in accordance with historical Turkish state system or not. Today our state system, although not in accordance with Turkish state system, it is not a western state system either”.²⁸⁴

The journal stresses that the thing that differentiates the states from each other is the ideologies, which empowers the states with the supremacy and it is the powerful state (*iktidar devlet*) that fights with the enemies of the ideology. Thus powerful state functions in maintaining the ideology.²⁸⁵

The state is omnipotence, which is composed of organized groups of people, who are delimited themselves with an ideology... If we express the state as an ideological power, it is understood that the particular aspect that characterizes the state is power. The particular aspect that differentiates it from others is the ideology. The state is being differentiated from the others with the ideology it practices. Such as communist state, democratic state, Islamic state.²⁸⁶

Since the creation of the world, this struggle of the ideologies of truth and evil (*hak ve batıl*) between the people takes place in the presence of the state which is the utmost organized system.²⁸⁷ It was stated that while political power might not represent the ideology of the society all the time, the society will continue its struggle with the enemy culture in the absence of guardianship of the state. If this culture of society relies on the truth, society’s ideology will win, and will also use the political vehicles in direction of its own faith. In the case of no

²⁸⁴ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.358, Turkish version of citation; “Bizim için Türk devlet sisteminin gerçek anlamda millîliği tarihî Türk devlet sistemine uyup uymadığı ile ölçülür. Bugün devlet sistemimiz, Türk devlet sistemine tam uymadığı gibi, bir sistem olarak Batılı devlet sistemini de gerçekleştirmiş değildir”.

²⁸⁵ “Millî Kültür Lügatçesi-Akaid “Doktrin” ve Ehemmiyeti”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.15.

²⁸⁶ “Millî Kültür Lügatçesi-Akaid “Doktrin” ve Ehemmiyeti”, p.13-15. Turkish version of citation; “Devlet; kendini bir ideoloji ile tahdit etmiş teşkilatlı insan gruplarının meydana getirdiği kudrettir... Devleti ideolojik iktidar diye ifade edersek devleti karakterize eden hususun iktidar olduğu, ayıran hususun da ideoloji olduğu anlaşılır. Devlet tatbik ettiği ideoloji ile diğerlerinden ayrılır. Komünist devlet, demokrat devlet, İslam devleti gibi”.

²⁸⁷ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15.

development, the culture of political order and norm will dominate the society.²⁸⁸

The war of the doctrines in overtaking of the society, will take the form of a struggle to takeover the state at utmost level. The struggle made with the cultural plan, may take militarily form at its political phase. At the movement of Islamic revolution, the first years of Makka phase are the war of faith and the culture. Final years of Makka phase and the phase of Madina shows that a military stance had joined the political struggle. The war of ideologies in the capture of state comes out as a result of the efforts in using the biggest humane power under their own command and completing the revolution.²⁸⁹

The journal interpreted the process of imposition of the culture of political order on the society as Turkey being dragged along non-nationalism (*gayri millîliğe sürüklenme*). It was added that this imposition would cause transition of the state, which was built on the blood of martyrs of Turkish War of Independence (*İstiklal Harbinde dökülen şehid kanları karşılığında kurulan devlet*), “to a force that international powers are getting ready to utilize it” (*beynelmilel kuvvetlerin kullanmaya hazırlandıkları bir kuvvet*).²⁹⁰

In this process, thinking systems that relied on reason, are considered as obstacles in forming a national state (*millî devlet*). Because these systems, which relied on reason rather than revelation, prevent formation of *millet* by creating classes in the society. Therefore, according to the journal, the revelation (*vahiy*) is the sole source in the process of national state formation. The ideologies, which proceed through the reason and remove the idea of God such as liberalism, nationalism (in the journal the word *nasyonalizm* was used)²⁹¹,

²⁸⁸ “İnkılab İlmî”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15.

²⁸⁹ “İnkılab İlmî”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15. Turkish version of citation; “...Akidelerin cemiyeti ele geçirme savaşı en büyük ölçüde devleti ele geçirme mücadelesinde bariz bir hal alır. Kültür planında yapılan mücadele, siyasi safhasında askeri bir mahiyet de kazanabilir. İslam inkılabı hareketinde Mekke devresinin ilk seneleri bir kültür ve iman savaşıdır. Mekke devrinin son seneleri ve Medine devri siyasi mücadeleye, askerî bir vaziyetin karıştığını gösterir....İdeolojilerin devleti ele geçirme savaşı, en büyük beşeri kudreti kendi emirlerinde kullanmak ve inkılabı tamamlamak cehdinden doğar”.

²⁹⁰ “Neden Çıkıyor?”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.3.

²⁹¹ The word nasyonalizm was Turkish pronunciation of nationalism but implied the negative meaning. Therefore nazyonizm and milliyetçilik were used differently. .

communism, replace God with individuals and the society. Therefore these ideologies are being formed according to desires of superior race whose order of life becomes divine.²⁹² Thus while main target of the struggle is “the Real Imperialism”, the most important target of their strategies is *Millî Devlet* that is the only mechanism, which would destroy imperialism.²⁹³

National State; is representative of a *qawm*'s (*kavim*) conclusive character, progress of which continued for centuries and it is protector, developer and trainer of material and spiritual characters of *qawm*. This is the measurement that made distinct the characteristic of nationalness of state... Target of the national state: in Turkey's struggle of freedom from depression, at the same time, is a social reality apart from its being a politic, economic, religious and social struggle, which were necessarily undertaken by accumulated power in our country. In other words, national state both is a target and a compulsory phase of Turkish nation. Target of national state is not only aspiration of national powers. At the same time, target of national state is living style of society at the glad moment, in which society achieved being a nation, in the history of societies. If divine fate gave society a privilege to be a nation, either its having a national state is an absolute necessity, as like the necessity of its having characteristic of being a nation.²⁹⁴

Metaphor of national state carries equal meaning with the concept of *vatan* (fatherland) in the religious and *mukaddesatçı* journals of pre-1970. For instance, in the journal *Hilal*, given meaning to the concept of *vatan* is very parallel the one *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* described.

²⁹² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.2.

²⁹³ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejik Hedefleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (26 January 1971), year 1, issue 52, p.3.

²⁹⁴ “Devletimizin Millîliğini Korumalıyız”, p.4. Turkish version of citation; Millî Devlet; yalnız kavmin asırlar süren tekâmülü ile kat'ileşmiş şahsiyetinin temsilcisi ve kavmin maddi ve manevi hususiyetlerinin koruyucusu, geliştiricisi ve terbiye edicisidir. Devletin millîliğini ayırt eden ölçü budur... Milli devlet hedefi; Türkiye'nin buhrandan kurtuluş mücadelesinde, ülkemizdeki kuvvet birikiminin zaruri olarak gösterdiği politik, ekonomik, dini ve sosyal bir mücadele hedefi olmasından başka ifade ettiği taktik özelliklerinden ayrı olarak, aynı zamanda sosyal bir realitedir. Yani millî devlet hem bir hedef hem de Türk toplumunun zaruri ilk merhalesidir... Millî devlet hedefi, sadece millî kuvvetlerin bir özleminden ibaret değildir. Millî devlet hedefi aynı zamanda toplumların tarihinde, bir toplumun millet olma haysiyetine eriştiği mesut anda, toplumun yaşayış şeklidir. Eğer yeryüzünün belli bir parçasında, ilahi kader bir topluluğa millet olma imtiyazını vermişse, o topluluğun millet olma vasfı kadar, millî bir devlet sahibi olması da kesin bir zarurettir.

Fatherland is town in which endband of the measurement of oneness is not slackened and holds the line and consistency rules the questions with their answers, which are infinite as the distance between the earth and heaven, towards all the problems that were said or will be said, were heard or will be heard, were thought or will be thought. In short it is a hearth that people, who became a nation at the utmost level with accuracy and completely and escaped from remaining as a herd, come together around it. When this order of unity and coalescence fails to keep the rope of sovereignty, the soil loses its meaning of being fatherland even its territorial integrity does not suffer with lose... Because like many disasters, it is certain that in a country in which unrest run wild, a flood of hatred would come out and the concept of loyalty would be strangled, it might be replaced by cowardice of self-interest. Therefore, a soil, which does not favour honesty, will lose its identity of being vatan. Because the one, which will nationalize the soil is nation (millet). When the nation loses its essence, it can be considered this can be considered the perish of vatan.²⁹⁵

The journal considers *millî devlet* (national state) as a necessary footstep for an Islamic life to be practiced.²⁹⁶ Here the important thing is the similarity between *vatan* or *millî devlet* and *Dar-ul İslam* that was the new concept of new Islamist journals of 1978. The idea of the left and the right polarization, which *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* tried to explain within the context of ideological clash and a theoretical base, also carries similar perception with the concepts of Dar-ul Harb and Dar-ul İslam. According to this new idea, Dar-ul Harb was explained as the territories of the order (*düzen*) which relies on reason, while Dar-ul İslam was considered as the territories of the order, which relies on the revelation, and the world only consists of these two... “Being able to declare that ‘the world is divided into two, Dar-ul Harb and Dar-ul İslam’...Our cause is this! While evaluating all spaces and social orders, we determine our responsibilities and

²⁹⁵ M. A. İnan, “Nizam Çerçevesi Vatan”, *Hilal*, (October 1962), year 3, volume 3, issue 32, p.1. Turkish version of citation; Vatan: (bir)likler ölçüsü şirazesinin tavsamayıp safını bozmadığı...yerle gök arası kadar sonsuzluk misâliyle söylenen veya söylenebilecek, duyulan veya duyulunabilecek veya düşünülen yahut düşünülebilecek bütün problemlerin sualleriyle birlikte cevaplarında yeknesaklığın hüküm sürdüğü beldedir. Kısacası, kesin ve eksiksiz manasıyla, milletleşmiş, sürü'lükten çıkmış insanların halkalandığı (ocak)tır vatan. Bu (bir)lik, beraberlik düzenininin, hâkimiyet ipini elden kaçırdığı zaman, velev sınır bütünlüğüne hâlel gelmese bile toprak, vatanlıktan çıkmıştır...Zira, huzursuzluğun cirit attığı bir ülkeyi, bir çok âfetler gibi kin seli de basacağından sadakat mefhumu boğulacak, yerine belki şahsi selâmet alçaklığı geçecekti. Dolayısıyla kayırılmıyan bir namus mevkiine düşen toprak, vatanlıktan çıkmış bulunacak.... Zira toprağı, vatanlaştıracak olan millettir. Milletin asliyetini kaybettiği zaman vatan, yok olmuş sayılsa yeridir.

²⁹⁶ “Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır”, p.9.

obligations, all of our actions according to this main differentiation".²⁹⁷ However, understanding of *vatan* in the new Islamist journals was described as any space in which Islam can be practiced.

Along with *vatan's* taking place in the glossaries in the meaning of place of living (*yurt*), today this kind of definition with the blurred structure of it, caused different definitions provided by all kind of movements. According to some it is the territories, which are dominated by any state, as it is known in this way today. As for some –for communists– *vatan* is the name of a country in which Soviets of the workers were established. Our belief is that *vatan* is the territories, in which commands and prohibitions of God, without sacrificing any of them, are being practiced. Peculiarities of those who are living in these territories such as race, thought, language and others do not shadow our explanation of the issue. The name of space, which is established in accordance with the proclamation of the last messenger of God, is considered as homeland of Islam (İslam Vatanı). **For a Muslim wherever he/she lives, his/her fatherland is the fatherland of Islam.**²⁹⁸

Yeniden Millî Mücadele did not intend any idealization of *vatan* beyond borders, as it was the case in new Islamist thinking and considered Turkey as the only fatherland. According to the journal a national understanding, which will be built in Turkey, will automatically bring a fatherland of Islam. This concrete idea of *vatan* can be seen in the words of İrfan Küçükköy. He criticized the statement "my homeland is whole earth and my nation is the whole humanity" (*Vatanım rûy-i zemin (bütün yeryüzü), milletim nev-i beşer*) by considering this usage as masonic expression and terminology. Küçükköy states that while this expression

²⁹⁷ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, "Seçmeler", *Tevhid*, (August 1979), issue 32, p.2. Turkish version of citation; Darul-İslam" vahye dayalı düzenin topraklarıdır ve dünya bu ikisinden müteşekkildir; ... "Dünya ikiye ayrılır, Dar'ül Harb, Dar'ül İslam!" diyebilmek.. Bütün mekanları ve sosyal düzenleri değerlendirirken, tavırlarımızı mesuliyet ve mükellefiyetlerimizi, bütün fiillerimizi bu temel ayırımına göre yapmak, meselemiz bu".

²⁹⁸ "Beyânname 1398 Efendiler, Hakimiyet Allah'ındır!...", *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.8. Turkish version of citation and highlights are ours; Vatan yaşanılan yurd mânâsıyla lügatlerde yer almakla birlikte, bugün bu türlü bir târif muğlak yapısı itibarıyla her cereyanın "vatan"ı kendince yorumlamasına yol açmıştır. Kimine göre vatan, doğup büyüüp yaşanılan yerdir. Kimine göre-ki zamanımızda maruf olan şekliyle herhangi bir devletin hakim olduğu topraklardır. Kimine göre ise, -komünistler- vatan, işçilerin Sovyetlerinin kurulduğu ülkenin adıdır. İnancımız odur ki; vatan, Allah'ın emir ve yasaklarının bir zerresinin dahi fedâ edilmeksizin tatbik olduğu topraklardır. Bu topraklarda yaşıyor olanların ırk düşünce, dil ve sair hususiyetleri mes'eleyi izahımıza gölge düşüremez. Meğer ki Allah'ın hakimiyetinin son Resulü'nün tebliğleri doğrultusunda tesis olunmuş nizam üzere yaşanan yer adı, **İslâm Vatanı'dır. Yine bir Müslüman için dünyanın neresinde yaşıyor olursa olsun vatani, İslam Vatanı'dır.**

is completely opposite understanding of nationalism, the expression also targets Islamic identity exists within nationalism. These words, which belong to Tevfik Fikret, were used by the leftist discourse at the time, and as I have understood the journal indented to eliminate understanding of an international homeland in communist discourse with national state phenomenon.²⁹⁹ Moreover, Namık Kemal who had severely criticized the words of Tevfik Fikret, had built his criticism on the claim that the nation will fail in resisting against invasion by other nations upon moving away from the love of *vatan* with this internationalized love of a territory and nation. This matter is important in terms of understanding the sources that were applied by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, which advocated a similar approach to Namık Kemal.

3.8 The National State -or Turkey- Oriented Attitude of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and a Turkey-Centred Salvation Ideal

Glorious nation, glorious nation
Please wake up, it is late
Your Cyprus, Quds, Turkistan became full of
your enemies
Your revenge, your revenge definitely will be
taken
History, nation be witness
We swear to God...³⁰⁰

The ideology of *millet* that was an initiation in the way of freedom from imperialism, had hierarchized its targets of salvation as Turkish states and the Muslim world respectively.³⁰¹ In the first issue of the journal the article titled “Why Do We Launch?” (*Neden Çıkıyoruz ?*), attributed specific importance to the salvation of Turkey and Anatolia within the ideology of *millet*. This thinking

²⁹⁹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.337.

³⁰⁰ “Mücadele Bursa’da”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 May 1970), year 1, issue 17, p.14. Turkish version of citation; “Aziz Millet, aziz millet, Uyan artık geç oldu, Kıbrıs-Kudüs-Türkistan’ın Düşmanlarıyla doldu, İntikamın, intikamın alınacak mutlaka, Tarih, millet şahid olsun, Yemin ettik Allah’a...”³⁰⁰

³⁰¹ “Milli Mücadelemizin Stratejisi!”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (12 January 1971), year 1, issue 50, p.15. Turkish version of citation; “Bütün bir İslam alemi ve Türk alemi yapılan savaşın hayaliliğine, emperyalizmin zulmüne ve yıkılmağa mahkum olduğuna candan inandırılmalıdır.... Bütün İslam alemi ve Türk beldeleri bir milli Mücadele sahası haline gelince, bu büyük kuvveti yenecek güç bulamaz.”

appears more in forthcoming issues of the journal. Therefore, according to the journal, there is a national movement that takes its power from the people and has the mission to uncover real imperialism and its plans against all nations of the world. It was stated that Turkey is a spiritual value for enslaved Turkish states as the symbol of hope and for the Muslim world as the historical leader; “Muslim world and Turkish world as a whole have to be convinced by heart and soul that existing war is imaginary, imperialism is a tyrant and it is obliged to collapse... When all Muslim world and Turkish countries become a field of national struggle, there will be no power, which is able to defeat this strength”.³⁰²

In 51th issue of the journal, in the column named “Strategy of Our National Struggle” (*Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi*) a section with the subtitle as “Examination of Forces” (*Kuvvetlerin Tahlili*), stated that in the liberation movement of nations, essential force is the Turkish nation and reserve forces are the Muslim nations. Other likely powers are all the oppressed nations and those nations who struggle against imperialism. It was expressed that a central organization that is an essential force, will activate these mentioned powers and forces. Furthermore this central organization was introduced as Turkish nation, as the people within the borders of Turkey.³⁰³

The struggle, which is given in Turkey, will give birth to its absolute result along with the national struggle of Turkish states and joining of Muslim nations in the struggle against imperialism and by destroying the bases of imperialisms in their own fatherlands. From that way, the struggle given in Turkey will be the beginning of true liberation of the world nations, particularly our nation and Muslim nations and enslaved Turkish regions.³⁰⁴

³⁰² “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi!”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (12 January 1971), year 1, issue 50, p.15. Turkish version of citation; “Bütün bir İslam alemi ve Türk alemi yapılan savaşın hayalîliğine, emperyalizmin zulmüne ve yıkılmağa mahkum olduğuna candan inandırılmalıdır.... Bütün İslam alemi ve Türk beldeleri bir milli Mücadele sahası haline gelince, bu büyük kuvveti yenecek güç bulamaz.”

³⁰³ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi!”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (19 January 1971), year 1, issue 51, p.15.

³⁰⁴ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi-27”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 February 1971), year 2, issue 56, p.15. Turkish version of citation; Türkiye’de verilen Mücadele, esir Türk illerinin Milli Mücadelesi ile, Müslüman milletlerin emperyalizme karşı mücadeleye iştiraki ile, bütün milletlerin kendi vatanlarında emperyalizmin dayanaklarını yıkması ile kat’î neticelerini verecektir.

When the content of the journal is considered, Turkey centred position of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* is absolutely a nationalist attitude, this nationalism, however, was built on the principle of loyalty and commitment to the people as a whole. The ideology of *millet* that the journal tried to idealize during its first year was an ideal, which was dedicated on loyalty and integrity. This integrity was believed to be realized as a result of this loyalty. The emphasis on loyalty seems to be the reflections of “betrayals” that brought the Ottoman decay. Responses of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* toward the accusations of the newspaper *Ulus*, which accused pilgrims with the imputation of their making secret meetings in declaring King Faisal as the Caliph are remarkable in observing these reflections. The response of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with declaring King Faisal as the enemy of Ottoman Empire, is important in terms of observing this memory of decay.³⁰⁵

We are in the position that we took refuge in the lands of Turkey by leaving and leaving behind a part of land that was ten times bigger than Turkey, and the mosques which were the heirlooms from our ancestors, masjids, madrasas, and any kind of wealth and the graves of millions of martyrs. **It is not possible to come to an end by telling and telling sneaky English policy and the betrayals of politics of international Judaism which this policy took its poison from, honed the tribes (kavim) as infidelity dagger against our great state that were fed with the blessings of our nation ...**³⁰⁶

While nationalism is considered as a liberation mechanism from dependency on imperialism, this also can be regarded as the reflections of nationalist literature from the colonized world in which nationalist movements against colonizers continued until the mid-1970s; “... The history shows again that **the real freedom of nations is a footstep for a more superior new phase.** After this phase, Islam

Bu yönden Türkiye’de verilen Mücadele, Dünya Milletlerinin-hususen Milletimizin-, esir Türk İllerinin ve İslam Milletlerinin gerçek kurtuluşunun başlangıcı olacaktır.

³⁰⁵ “Ulus’un İrtical”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (17 March 1970), year 1, issue 6, p.6.

³⁰⁶ “Neden Çıkıyoruz?”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (3 February 1970), year 1 issue 1, p.3. Highlights are ours, Turkish version of citation; “Türkiye’nin on misli toprak parçasını, ata yadigârı camilerini, mescidlerini, medreselerini, her türlü zenginliğini ve milyonlarca şehidin mezarını biraka bıraka Türkiye topraklarına sığınmış vaziyetteyiz...**Milletimizin nimetleri ile beslenen kavimleri, büyük devletimize karşı bir hıyanet hançeri olarak bileyen sinsi İngiliz politikasının**, zehrini aldığı Beynelmîlel Yahudi politikası ihanetleri anlatıla anlatıla bitirilemez...”

will be the ideal of blessedness for free nations. Nations will sail towards ideal of Islam. This journey towards (to ideal of Islam), is independent from the will of human, it is an objective legality".³⁰⁷

The article with the title "Kirkuk As a Touchstone of Friendship Between Turkey and Iraq" (*Kerkük Türk-Irak Dostluğunun Mihenk Taşdır*) published in October 20, 1970 in 38th issue of the journal, is quite remarkable in terms of understanding the centrality appraised to the Turks and Turkey within the frame of Turkish and the Muslim World. The article tackled Iraq and Kirkuk disputes that appeared during those years, and stressed that Muslim Turks in Iraq should have given the right to express their identity while this was considered as the critical point in terms of friendship between Iraq and Turkey. In the article while Turks was declared as the founder nation of Ottoman state, which included a lot of nations under its rule, it was emphasized that Muslim subjects of the state were also involved in state affairs. However, according to the article, Muslims Turks were the ones who carried out the real burden of the state. The article stresses that since the integrity between the ruling cadre and Muslim people diminished, foreign powers prepared the conditions for those non-Turkish nations to leave the empire. While this process had also influenced Muslim Arab intellectuals, their separatist ideas did not represent the Muslim Arab society.

.... Those who attacked innocent Turkish soldiers (Mehmetçik) and stabbed them in the back, neither represent Muslim Arab people nor constituted the majority of people... Besides, during the World War First and our National Liberation War, material and spiritual help of Muslim Arab people both were a lot and meaningful... Existence of those Arab leaders like Shaikh Sanusi is masked without any shamelessness beside the betrayers such as Sharif Abdullah... It does not suit to their interest to talk about sympathy towards Turks in the Arab world and such as the existence of a party in Libya which kept the plan of integration with Turkey as the first article of the party's program until 1952. This only means the destruction of the way, which Turkey has to follow for the

³⁰⁷ "Bütün Milliyetçiler İçin İlk Vazife Milli Cephenin Kurulmasıdır", p.9. Usage of capital letters in the original text is taken as it is, highlights are ours; "...gene tarih gösteriyor ki, **milletlerin gerçek hürriyet devri, daha üstün yeni bir devir için basamaktır**. Bu safhadan sonra İslam hür milletler için saadet ideali olacaktır. Milletler İslâm İdealine doğru seyredecektir. Bu ilerleyiş, insan iradesinin bağımsız, objektif bir kanuniyetidir".

sake of humanity, Islam and Turkish world. While Europe is in search for a unity against Russia, which madly plays games in the Middle East, Turkey, for sure, cannot remain without doing anything. It will be forced to be the leader of Muslim world that has to form a bloc. Kirkuk dispute is another part of the plan taken by the enemies of the nation in order to stop this compulsory evolvment. **Kirkuk dispute can be solved quite easily between a powerful Turkey and a true nationalist Arab government.** However a so-called nationalism that Michel Aflaq, an enemy of Islam, formed, does not provide any benefit for Arabs.³⁰⁸

In this article, it was stated that Turkey considers friendship of Arab Muslims due to the honourable mission, which will be undertaken in the future by it. However, the journal expresses that apart from the Arab Muslims, violations of the rights of Turkman community by the puppet rulers of Iraq, should be stopped. While the journal defines assimilation as extermination of a nation by another one, it regards it as equal as Turkfication of a nation, which does not identify itself as Turk, with Slavication or Sinicization of Turkish minorities in other territories. According to the journal this does not mean any other than “polluting on the art of God on earth” (*Allah’ın yeryüzündeki eserini telvis etmek*).³⁰⁹

While the slogan “blood, blood, blood, Cyprus, Quds, Turkistan, there are 150 million enslaved Turks and those who do not feel their pain, are cowards!” (*kan kan kan Kıbrıs Kudüs Türkistan, Yüz elli milyon esir Türk var acımayan alçaktır*) often takes place in the journal and these three regions are always mentioned

³⁰⁸ “Kerkük-Türk-Irak Dostluğunun Mihenk Taşdır”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (20 Ocotber 1970), year 1, issue 38, p.3. Turkish version of citation and highlights are ours; “....masum Mehmetçiğe hücum edip, arkadan hançerleyenler, ne Müslüman Arap halkını temsil ve ne de halkın çoğunluğunu teşkil ederler...Ayrıca gerek 1. Cihan Harbi esnasında ve gerekse İstiklal Savaşımızda Müslüman Arap halkının maddi ve manevi yardımları hem çok, hem de mânâlı olmuştur... Şerif Abdullah gibi hainler yanında, Şeyh Sunusi gibi Müslüman Arap liderlerinin varlığı utanmadan gizlenir... Arap alemindeki Türk sempatisinden, mesela 1952’ye kadar Libya’da Türkiye’ye bağlanmayı programının birinci maddesine koyan bir partinin varlığından bahsetmek ise işlerine gelmez. Bu, sadece Türkiye’nin insanlık, İslam ve Türk alemi için takip etmesi gerekli olan yolun bozulması demektir. Ortadoğu’da kudurganca oyunlar oynayan Rusya karşısında Avrupa bir birleşme yolu ararken, elbette Türkiye boş oturamaz. Rus, Çin, Amerikan ve Avrupa Birliği karşısında bloklaşmaya mecbur İslam aleminin lideri olmağa zorlanacaktır. Bu zaruri gelişmeyi durdurmak için millet düşmanlarının aldığı tedbirlerden biri de Kerkük meselesidir. **Kuvvetli bir Türkiye ve gerçekten milliyetçi bir Arap hükümeti arasında Kerkük meselesi son derece kolay çözülebilir.** Ancak Mişel Eflak gibi bir İslam düşmanının ortaya koyduğu sözde milliyetçilik, Araplara hiç bir şey kazandırmaz”.

³⁰⁹ “Kerkük-Türk-Irak Dostluğunun Mihenk Taşdır”, p.3.

together.³¹⁰ While Cyprus, Turks in Bulgaria East, Turkistan, and Crimea were the main regions tackled in the beginning of the journal, other different Muslim geographies started to be mentioned in forthcoming issues. Embracing the Muslim countries or societies, which suffered from the colonial past and communism process of the time, is important in terms of the journal's anti-imperial and anti communist stance.

Moreover, the Marxist conduction of the struggle in Palestine and Middle East was criticized by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. The journal criticized discourses of Palestinian resistance groups by declaring them neither anti-imperialist nor anti-communist. Besides, discourses of the Palestinian resistance were considered as non-national and non-Islamic manifestations because of their communist influence. The tendency toward communist ideas of these resistant movements, and maintaining their struggle under the umbrella of communism, was regarded as equivalent with to being a "puppet of Jews". Noteworthy, the pictures used for the article were the pictures of Palestinian Liberation Organization members who were holding the books of Mao and of women soldiers of Al-Fatah who were holding portraits of Stalin. The captions for the pictures criticized these groups as being non-national and non-Islamic and also the journal criticized those Islamists in Turkey who were supporting the resistance movement in Palestine, as also being non-national and non-Islamic.³¹¹

In another issue, the journal claimed that evolvment of anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-Zionist, Islamic and national resistance of Palestine into a communist movement, aimed at eliminating Palestinian national liberation struggle through transforming it to a class struggle and all Muslims had been warned through this "example" in facing the same fate.³¹²

³¹⁰ "Millî Karar Mitingi ve Kanla İmzalanan Kararlar", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (29 September 1970), year 1, issue 35, p.8.

³¹¹ "Düşman Silahlanmakta Uyanınız", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (17 February 1970), year 1, issue 3, p.7-14.

³¹² "Müslümanları Bekleyen Tehlike Arafat'ın Düşen Maskesi", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.11.

In a short article titled “Participation to Islamic Conference is Necessity of National Politics” (*İslam Konferansına Katılmak Milli Politikanın Zaruretidir*), it was stated that it is important for Turkey to follow the problems of “Muslim brethren countries” (*kardeş İslam Ülkeleri*) and to mention its own problems. However, it was stressed that there are common problems in general that wait for a solution. Thus Turkey’s participation in the conference was to contribute to “nationally proceeding positively” (*milleten müsbet yol*) as a whole.³¹³ Here, the journal’s consideration of all Muslim countries as a single nation, is remarkable in terms of the discussions of the *millet* concept.

.... Our Turkey is the most valuable part of the Muslim, and Turkish world, in which blood, religion and geography forced them to be united. How an injury in one organ, affects the whole body, depression that covers all Muslim and Turkish world deepens the pains of Turkey.³¹⁴

Besides the Muslim nations, the journal necessitates that Turkey should follow a different foreign politics in countries such as Greece, Bulgaria, Syria and Russia due to a huge Turkish population in these countries.

Common point with all these neighbouring countries is the existence of a huge Turkish population in their territories. The first mission is fortifying the elements that ensure the continuation of this mass as a nation. In other words, protection of their language, religion, custom, history, literature and ensuring their involvement in administrative, political mechanisms of the countries in which they live, is necessary. Protecting cultural unity of whole Turkish world is essential base... Ensuring the necessary opportunities for Turkish nation is vital. The nation should be reminded that how it is a great nation with Turkish world and with its conditions in order to give a national direction to the politics. Giving national and religious consciousness to Turks is a vital and necessity mission. There is no government that will oppose to the right of self-determination or principle of which nations cannot be persecuted, regardless to the agreements, which will be made with the Greek, Bulgarian, Iranian, Iraqi, Syrian, Chinese Russian governments. It is

³¹³ “İslam Konferansına Katılmak Milli Politikanın Zaruretidir”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* , (22 December 1970), year 1, issue 47, back cover.

³¹⁴ “Millî Mücadele Kat’i Bir Zarurettir”, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “...Türkiye’imiz kan, din ve coğrafyanın ayrılmaz bir birlik olmaya zorladığı İslâm aleminin ve Türk dünyasının en kıymetli parçasıdır. Bu vücudu teşkil eden organlardan birinin yaralanması, nasıl bütün vücudu tesir altına alırsa, İslâm aleminin ve Türk dünyasının içinde bulunduğu buhran da Türkiye’nin ızdıraplarını derinleştirmektedir”.

necessary to establish an organization to protect and to take care of our own nation. Turkish governments' sincere observance of its own nation in international politics will lead the governments, which need our friendship, to behave more benign towards enslaved Turks. This will provide loyalty of all Turkish to Turkey.³¹⁵

In the first issue of the journal, the article titled "From National Front" (*Millî Cepheden*), refers to a drama in the "Lasting Struggle" (*Bitmeyen Mücadele*) article. The article, which was inspired with this drama mentions Muslim Turks, who were beneath "tyranny of communism". Drama is about the persecution of Bulgarian Turks in the Second World War and it is important in terms of observing the concern of the journal towards these regions. In the drama, a young Turk, who once tried to be "Bulgarized" and became amnesiac, introduces himself to a Turkish girl as *hakan*. *Hakan* carries a symbolic meaning in the drama in representing the boy's regaining his memory. The interpretation about the drama in the journal is remarkable in terms of this symbolic meaning; "Today both in Bulgaria and in Western Thrace and Cyprus and in Turkistan not only thousands, but millions of *Hakans* exist. Destruction network, which was built on the existence of our nation, functions treacherously. Tyrant states still have not given up their old targets....".³¹⁶

³¹⁵ "Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 January 1971), year 1, issue 50, p.15. Turkish version of citation; Bütün bu komşu devletlerle müşterek olan husus, büyük bir Türk kitlesinin mevcudiyetidir. İlk vazife, bu kitlenin millet olarak devamını temin eden unsurların tahkimidir. Yani dil, din, örf, tarih ve edebiyatlarının muhafazası buldukları memleketlerin idari, siyasi, mekanizmasına geçmelerinin temini gerekir. Bütün Türk dünyasının, kültürel birliğini korumak, vazgeçilmez esastır... Türk milletine gerekli imkanların temin edilmesi hayati bir meseledir. Politikaya milli bir istikamet vermek üzere, millete Türk dünyası ve hali ile nasıl büyük bir millet olduğu hatırlatılmalıdır. Türklere milli ve dini şuuru vermek ve yükseltmek hayati bir vazifedir. Ve zarurettir. Yunan, Bulgar, İran, Irak, Suriye, Çin ve Rus hükümetleri ile yapılacak anlaşmalar ne olursa olsun milletlerin kendi kaderlerini tayin hakkı, insanlığa zulüm yapılamayacağı prensibi gibi hakikatlere karşı gelecek hiçbir hükümet yoktur. Kendi milletimizi korumak, onlarla meşgul olmak üzere bir teşkilat kurulması zaruridir. Türk hükümetinin, beynelmilel politikada kendi milletini candan gözetmesi, bizim dostluğumuzu temine muhtaç hükümetleri, esir Türklere karşı daha mülayim davranmaya sevk edecektir. Bu ise, bütün Türklerin, Türkiye'ye daha fazla bağlanmalarına vesile olacaktır.

³¹⁶ "Mücadele Millî Cepheden; Son Ayların Başarılı Piyesi Bitmeyen Mücadele", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.13-14. Turkish version of citation; "Hakan" kullanımını hafızasını kaybetmiş bu gencin kimliğini yeniden kazanması konusunda sembolik bir mana taşıırken dergide piyese dair yorum ise; "Bugün gerek Bulgaristan'da gerek Batı Trakya ve Kıbrıs'ta, gerekse Türkistan'da bin değil, milyonlarca "Hakan" vardır. Milletimizin varlığı üzerine kurulmuş olan yıkım şebekesi haince işlemektedir. Zalim devletler eski gayelerinden hâlâ vazgeçemediler...."

It was stated that while drama was played by nationalist higher teachers, heroes in the drama was not representing only Muslim Turks in Bulgaria, they were representing all oppressed nations and the Muslim world. Also, an excerpt from the drama that attributed to the Ottoman past as savior, mentions the conquest of Istanbul (Fetih), and shows the strong *mukaddesatçı* attitude of the journal.

This wisdom, this sight had toppled down eras. But I am far away from you, and spent years without you. For years I was the enemy of your justice and victories. I could not declare even once that “I am yours, you are mine”. I wish to be a stone. I wish the first hand, which climbed to the city walls, could have taken my hand. But I wish I would not have been Halinkow, while I was Halil. I wish I would be water. The ships coming through the mountains to the seas, would be wetted by me. Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha would crack my back in Preveza. But I wish I would not have been Halinkow while I was Halim.³¹⁷

3.9 Emphasis of “Turkish Nation” and “Muslim Turks”

Glorious Nation, Great Turkish Nation; The real owner and master of the state and the country.³¹⁸

The journal designates “Turkish Nation” as “guiding spirit of nations” (*Milletlerin yol göstericisi*)³¹⁹ while the utilization of *millet* with *Türk* created discussions among the members of *Millî Mücadele*. In the issues of the first year, however the movement considered Turkish Nation as a community, which realized an ideal rather than referring to an ethnicity. An important point here is the conversion of the concept of *Türk* from being a concept that was limited with a

³¹⁷ “Mücadele Millî Cepheden; Son Ayların Başarılı Piyesi Bitmeyen Mücadele”, p.13-14. Turkish version of citation; “Bu zekâ bu bakış çağlar devirdi. Ama ben senden uzak, sensiz yıllar geçirdim. Yıllarca senin adaletine ve zaferlerine düşman oldum. Bir defa olsun seninim, menimsin diyemedim. Taş olaydım. Surlara tırmanan ilk el benden tutaydı. Ama ben, Halim iken Halinkov olmayaydım. Su olaydım. Dağlardan denize inen gemiler bende ıslanaydı. Preveze’de Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa benim sırtımı yaraydı. Ama ben, Halim iken Halinkov olmayaydım”.

³¹⁸ The original sentence was “The real owner and master of the religion, state and the country” and it has been corrected with aforementioned sentence in the following issue with the statement of its being incorrect. “Aziz Millet; Devletin, dinin ve memleketin gerçek sahibi ve efendisi Büyük Türk Milleti”, “Devletin ve memleketin gerçek sahibi ve efendisi”, “Milletin Sesi Köşesi’nde Özür parafı”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 March 1971), year 2, issue 57, p.2.

³¹⁹ “Tabelalar iner, Mücadele Devam Eder, Mücadele Birliğinin Aziz Milletimize İkazı”, p.8.

certain history, language and ethnicity to an “expression of common identity relied on loyalty to Islam and solidarity” during the years of National Struggle. In the wake of the First World War, parallel to drawing apart of the Arabs from the Ottoman, identity of *Türk* had been used to identify Muslims in Anatolia and Thrace.³²⁰ Again with the population exchange that started in 1923, Muslims in Rumelia and Crete Island were considered as *Türk* and given Turkish citizenship while their ethnicity was totally different.³²¹ While the source of inspiration of the journal and movement was certainly the period of National Struggle, there is not that much attribution to it and its characteristics. However, it is understood from the concepts that the period was still very alive in the mind of the movement.

While “Islamization of Turkish qawm” was pointed as the last phase in the ideology of *millet*, this process was exemplified with the example of a seed. Like inevitable end of a seed is to become sycamore, inevitable phase of this qawm in the process of being a personality (*şahsiyet*) is to “become millet” (*millet oluş*). Idealization’s inevitable end process resembles dialectic materialism of Marxism that seems to be applied to the ideology of *millet*. I have observed that foremost the concept of scientific right,³²² other concepts of Yeniden Millî Mücadele seem to be grounded on this theory.

While individuals carry common material and spiritual characteristics of the same clan (qawm), they are different in terms of their individualistic features. As in accordance with this, while clans are composed of same species -that means mankind-, they have different racial characteristics. For instance, Saxon, German, French, Slav, Turk, Arab clans are different from each other materially and spiritually. **Here, this difference is in the basis of being a nation at the historical moment when a community becomes conscious of its difference from other human communities and completes its characteristic.** There is an absolute law that lively beings adapt. This law is instinct of continuation of species. This instinct more or

³²⁰ Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları 1919-1938*, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2013, 5. Edition), p.129.

³²¹ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene...*, p.133.

³²² Hamza Türkmen, 20 February 2017, *Ulustan Ümmete Yeniden Millî Mücadele Hareketi ve Mecmuası Part III* (TV Program), 9.35-11:00, dakikaları arasında Mustafa Aydın’ın konuşması. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0cXhqLkuDXs>.

less exists in all living beings, which are living as *gemeschafts*. This is the instinct that leads a chicken to fight with hound in order to protect a chick. If this strength that God has bestowed whole living beings, begins to decline, social consciousness weakens...Here, the quantity of this feeling and its becoming or not becoming an absolute will, prevents a society to be herd, and upgrades to state of millet. **Millet is born when desire of living together between individuals who are the member of the same clan, becomes an ideal...** Millet is the state of personality when material and spiritual characteristics of the clan takes an absolute form with belief, culture, custom and action and crystallizes... Clan turns material and spiritual characteristics it has, into belief, culture, custom and institutions and the feeling of allegiance to the same ancestors, creates a consciousness of being indivisible parts of the same body in all individuals. Thus clan reaches perfection by becoming millet...³²³

Islamization is sort of induction in the understanding of *millet* of the journal. Becoming a nation (*millet olmak*) is the final and inevitable phase at the end of maturation which is the condition that suggests a community is ready to incorporate Islam in its structure. This process was exemplified through Islamization of Turks.

While commune obtains the opportunity to become millet in a certain moment of historical formation, a problem also that should be solved, waits for it. This problem is the question that a community, which became millet, will evaluate its belief, thoughts, and movements according to which basic determinant. This question, can be considered as absolute bend and it could be said that; for instance, Turkish qawm reached to the level of becoming millet during the time of Oghuz Khan.

³²³ "Devletimizin Milliliğini Korumalıyız", p.4. Turkish version of citation and highlights are ours; Ferdler aynı kavmin müşterek maddi ve manevi hususiyetlerini taşıdıkları kadar, kendilerini fert olarak var kılan hususiyetler itibariyle farklılıklar arz ederler. Buna uygun olarak kavimler de, aynı nevinin (yani insanın) vasıflarını taşıdıkları kadar, birbirinden ayrı kavmi hususiyetlere malik bulunurlar. Mesela; Saxon, Cermen, Fransız, Slav, Türk, Arap kavimleri bir birinden maddi ve manevi hususiyetleri itibariyle farklıdırlar. **İşte bu farklılık, bir toplumun diğer insan topluluklarından farklı bir varlık olduğu şuurunun yerleştiği, şahsiyetin tamamlandığı tarihi anda millet olma hadisesine temel teşkil eder.** Canlı varlıkların uyduğu kesin bir kanun vardır. Bu kanun neviin devamı içgüdüdür. Topluluk halinde yaşayan bütün canlılarda bu iç güdü az veya çok vardır. Bir tavuğu, civcivi korumak üzere, av köpeği ile pençeleşmeye sevk eden bu iç güdüdür. Allah'ın bütün canlı mahlukuna verdiği bu kuvvet, cemiyetlerde kaybolmağa yüz tutarsa toplum şuru zayıflar...İşte bu hissin azlığı veya çokluğu, bu hissin kesin bir irade haline gelişi veya gelmeyeşi, topluluğu sürü olmaktan çıkarır, millet haline getirir. **Aynı kavme mensup olan fertler arasında beraber yaşama arzusu bir ideal haline gelince millet doğar...** Millet, kavimde mevcut maddi ve manevi hususiyetlerin inançla, kültürle, örfle ve aksiyonla kati şeklini aldığı ve belirlediği, şahsiyet halidir... Kavim kendisinde var olan maddi ve manevi hususiyetleri, inanç, kültür, örf ve müesseseler haline getirir ve bir cedde mensubiyet duygusu, bütün fertlerde aynı vücudun ayrılmaz parçaları olduğu şuru haline gelir ve millet olup tamamlanır...

Turkish millet did not make a positive preference towards international living orders such as Christianity, Buddhism from that time heretofore. However, they had chosen Islam as their living order. We immediately have to state that **Islam**, which its success is certain in solving depressions of mankind, nations, individuals, and does not recognize priest and is only rightful living system, **constitutes the final target of nations.** Nations are busy to confirm the truth that Islam has declared without they are aware of the process. As a summary; there are two inevitable successive perfection (tekamül) processes in the history of qawms and nations (milletler), which fell in depression. First is total nationalization, second is Islam... The first brings independence and democracy in the proper meaning of the word. Second brings true salvation.³²⁴

However, the ideas about a qawm's becoming a nation, or a qawm which deserves to be a nation, are quite parallel with ideas in the journal Hareket. Prof. Hilmi Ziya Ülken in his article titled "The Nation" (*Millet*) dated as May 1949 in 27th issue of *Hareket*, defines the nation as a phenomenon that is based on modern civilization. He needed to explain some other concepts within this frame to make the concept of *millet* more understandable. These are the supplementary concepts such as race (*ırk*), qawm (*kavim*), culture (*kültür*) and civilization (*medeniyet*). The main concepts that he related to concept of *millet* are homeland (*vatan*), population and ethnic. After all, he explained the nation as the result of a historical process in which tribes or races come together.

Millet is a modern social unity, which is based on ethnic units in order to unite a few ethnic groups or for the purpose to rely on one of the branches of a qawm. These three concepts are established on each other. Nation stands on qawm, qawm stands on race. Or race stands on qawm. Qawms are divided to nations. But three concepts are not concentric circles all the time. Most of the time they are in the state of overlapping

³²⁴ "Devletimizin Millîliğini Korumalıyız", p.5. Highlights are ours, Turkish version of citation; "Komün Tarihi oluşumun belli bir anında millet olma imkanına kavuşurken, kendisini çözülmesi gerekli bir başka problem de bekler. Bu problem millet haline gelen toplumun inanç, düşünce ve hareketlerini hangi temel ölçüye göre değerlendireceği soruludur. Bu soru, kavimlerin hayatında kesin bir dönemeç sayılabilir, denebilir ki; **Mesela Türk kavmi Oğuz Han zamanında millet olma seviyesine gelmişti. Türk milleti o zamandan bu ana kadar, Hristiyanlık, Budizm v.s. gibi enternasyonal hayat nizamları karşısında müsbet bir tercihte bulunmamıştır. Ancak İslamı kendi hayat nizamı olarak seçmiştir.** Hemen belirtmeliyiz ki; insanlığın, milletlerin ve ferдин bütün buhranlarını çözmekte başarısı sabit olmuş, rahip tanımayan, yegane haklı bir hayat sistemi olarak **İslâm, milletlerin nihai hedefini teşkil ediyor. Milletler farkına varmadan İslam'ın ilan ettiği gerçeğe tasdikle meşguller.....**Özet olarak; kavimlerin ve buhrana düşen milletlerin tarihinde bir biri arkasına iki zaruri tekamül süresi bulunmaktadır. Birincisi tam millilik, ikincisi İslam...Birincisi, kelimenin gerçek manasında istiklal, demokrasiyi getiriyor. İkincisi gerçek kurtuluşu..."

circles. Races constitute qawms by mixing with each other or unity of qawms may constitute nations. However, characteristics of superior race or tribes have a prevailing role in the birth of a nation. Sometimes a nation can be established despite the differences in language. There is a **unity of culture** that even combines different roots in countries such as Belgium, Switzerland, and America. Differentiation of nations from the races and qawms in this way is due to them being more complex from these societies and being equipped with multi factors as new societies. Therefore, we have to examine the factors, which consist essential social cohesion of modern culture and civilization. 1. Nation relies on a fatherland of which the borders were drawn in the historical process... 2. The second factor that constitutes nation is the population.... population is not an issue of amount like fatherland, it is an issue of social conviction and belief at the same time. 3. Third factor that prepares a nation is ethnicity. Those, which constitute the nation, are the customs and mores of qawm. There can be other ethnic elements that might join it later on the condition that if they become a unity in a historical cohesion, which is not indissoluble, or if they completely melt in the customs and mores of prevailing tribe.³²⁵

Yeniden Millî Mücadele seems influenced by the idea of Nurettin Topçu that coalescence of Oghuz Turks and Islam constituted Turkish nation. Consideration of Nurettin Topçu for the unification of these two as “greatest revolution realized in Turkish history is the revolution that Islam made on the soul and morality of Turk” (*Türk tarihinde yaşanan en büyük evrensel inkılâbın, İslâm*

³²⁵ Prof. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, “Millet”, *Hareket-Fikir-Ahlak-Sanat* (May 1949), year 3, issue 27, p.3. Highlights are ours, Turkish version of citation; Millet, ya bir kaç etnik birliği birleştirmek yahut bir **kavm**’in dallarından birine dayanmak üzere, etnik birlikler üzerinde kurulan modern içtimâî birliklerdir. Bu üç mefhum birbiri üzerine kurulmaktadır. **Millet kavm’e, kavm ırka dayanır. Yahut ırk kavm’lere, kavm’ler milletlere ayrılır. Fakat, üç mefhum her zaman tek merkezli daireler halinde değildir. Çoğu kere birbirini kesen daireler halinde bulunur.** Irklar bir birine karışarak kavm’leri veya kavm’lerin birleşmesi milleti meydana getirebilir. **Bununla beraber milletin doğuşunda üstün bir ırk veya kavmin vasıfları hâkim rol oynar....**Bazan da dil farkına rağmen bir millet kurulabilir. Belçika, İsviçre, Amerika gibi, bunlarda bile tecanüssüz menşe’leri birleştiren bir **kültür birliği** vardır. Milletlerin ırklar ve kavmlerden bu suretle ayrılması, onların bu eski cemiyetlerinden daha karmaşık çok âmilli yeni cemiyetler olmalarından ileri geliyor. Bundan dolayı millet dediğimiz modern kültür ve medeniyetin esaslı içtimâî bütünü meydana getiren âmilleri gözden geçirmeliyiz. 1-Millet her şeyden önce sınırları tarih içinde çizilmiş olan bir Vatan’a dayanır....2. Milleti meydana getiren ikinci âmil nüfustur...nüfus da vatan gibi yalnızca bir miktar meselesi değil, aynı zamanda içtimâî bir kanaat, inanç meselesidir...3.Milleti hazırlayan üçüncü âmil, etnik esastır. Bu milleti teşkil eden başlıca kavmin örf ve âdetlerinden ibarettir. Buna sonradan katılmış olan başka etnik unsurlar da girebilir. Şu şartla ki onlar tarihî bir kaynaşma içinde ayrılmaz, bir birlik haline gelmiş olsunlar, yahut hakim bir kavmin örf ve adetleri içinde ötekiler tamamen erimiş bulunsunlar”.

dininin Türk'ün ruhu ve ahlâkına yaptığı inkılap)³²⁶ is quite parallel with the revolution ideal of Yeniden Millî Mücadele.

On the occasion of 607th anniversary of establishment of ground forces, the journal tackled the importance of the army in terms of Turkish nation with an article titled “When had Turkish Army been Founded? Our Army in the Course of History” (*Türk Ordusu Ne Zaman Kurulmuştur? Tarih İçinde Ordumuz*). In the journal, with the mention of understanding of army nation, Islamization of Turks and their becoming “sword of Islam” (*İslam'ın kılıcı*), Great Saljuq commanders, victory of Malazgirt, the Ottoman army order, the army of Fatih, finally focuses on the reforms of the army organization that caused the decline, are indicators that the journal had placed the army in one of the central positions.³²⁷ While it was stated that Turkish army would support a national struggle against “masonry cosmopolitanism and communist anti-militarism” (*mason kozmopolitizmi ve komünist anti-militarizmi*), it was stressed that the army is nationalist, patriot and respectful towards Islam. While all these historical explanations and examples were reminded, the journal criticized army's ignoring these characteristics of previous Turkish armies and interpreted as to betray to the nation.³²⁸ These evaluations can be considered as criticisms toward existing army's secular characteristics.

Introduction article penned with the title “Being Worthy of Fatih” (*Fatih'e Layık Olmak*) in 17th issue of the journal, with the occasion of approaching anniversary of conquest of Istanbul, considers the conquest as a symbol of the national ideals and the peak of history of the Muslim Turk. The article points at the necessity of “heading towards the beginning of national history” (*milli tarihin başlangıcına doğru gitmek*) to completely comprehend the era of Fatih which summarizes national ideal. The article adds that the ideas and the characteristics of Turks in

³²⁶ Kılıç, *Allah, Vatan, Soy...*, p.45.

³²⁷ “Türk Ordusu Ne Zaman Kurulmuştur? Tarih İçinde Ordumuz”, p.8.

³²⁸ Aykut Edibali, “Millî Mücadelemiz ve Parlamentarizm”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.3.

pre-Islamic period was consistent with Islam. These characteristics prepared them to embrace Islam with satisfaction.³²⁹

According to the journal, the ancient Turks who were not materialist, and believed in the idea of God, eternity of spirit, and were living almost in an Islamic, in fact they were like a Muslim in their daily transactions. When Turks arrived to Fatih era, the state became an entity that was loyal to national ideals with its all units. The journal patterns during this period reflect the ideal state of a nation. All units of the state had united for the sake of continuation of religion, survival of nation, and protection of homeland.³³⁰ These ideas and interpretations indicate the influence of the Turkism ideas on the forthcoming issues of the journal. The sentence best exemplifies the merge of Islamism and nationalism in Turkist sense as follows; “Ayub was a vision that Turkish armies dreamed in the spring of 875th year of hijrah in front of the city walls” (*Eyüb İstanbul’u fethetmeye gelen Türk ordularının hicretinin 857. senesi baharında surlara karşı gördükleri bir rüya idi*).³³¹

Ideals are ancient as Prophet Adam. Ideal seeks the idea of sovereignty by stopping at nothing. Limitlessness of the wars should not be understood as a change in the characters of the wars in the wake of 1789... limitlessness of war necessitate mobilizing material and spiritual wealth of the whole nation... Muslim Turks who comprehended the characteristics of limitless war in a perfect way, became superior over three continents. The conquest of Istanbul, Battle of Mohacs, Victory of Sırp Sındığı are the great victory monumentes that should be examined in depth.³³²

³²⁹ “Fatih’e Lâyük Olmak”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 May1970), year 1, issue 17, p.3.

³³⁰ “Fatih’e Lâyük Olmak”, p.3.

³³¹ “Bir Rüyada Gördüğümüz Eyüb”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 June 1970), year 1, issue 8, p.10. Turkish version of citation; “Eyüb İstanbul’u fethetmeye gelen Türk ordularının hicretinin 857. senesi baharında surlara karşı gördükleri bir rüya idi”

³³² Aykut Edibali, “Yeniden Milli Mücadele”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (10 February 1970), year 1, issue 2, p.3. “İdealler Hz. Adem kadar eskidir. İdeal hiç bir mania tanımaksızın hakimiyet idesi peşinde koşar. Harplerin sınırsızlığı, 1789’dan sonra harplerde bir karakter değişikliği manasında anlaşılmalıdır... harbin sınırsızlığı bütün milletin maddî ve manevî varlığını, harbe sürmeyi gerekli kılar... Harbin sınırsız mahiyetini en mükemmel bir tarzda kavrayan Müslüman Türkler, üç kıtaya hakim olabilmişlerdir. Bir İstanbul Fetih hadisesi, Bir Mohaç Meydan Muharebesi, ve bir Sırsındığı zaferi inceden inceye tetkik edilmesi gerekli büyük bir zafer abideleridir”.

Alparslan, Fatih, Salahaddin Ayyubi, Ulubatlı Hasan was presented as role models in the article “the Soul of Conquest” (*Fethin Ruhü*) in its 18th issue. Another article, which was penned on the anniversary of the Battle of Malazgirt and titled “Conquest of Anatolia Victories and Our Glorious Army” (*Anadolu’nun Fethi Ordumuzun Şanlı Zaferleri*) mentioned Islamization phases of Turks and the wars continued until their arrival to Anatolia. Like other texts on the same subject, it is emphasized that Turks were “in search of true faith” (*hak inanç arayışı*) before their Islamization.

Since the prophet Adam, the same ideology of truth has been taught to mankind and many false beliefs, which filled the world history, emerged as a result of deviations from this true way. Mankind that was stuck in these false beliefs from time to time, always sought true belief. Here, Turks were in this kind of search, before they were honoured with Islam.³³³

There is an article penned on the occasion of declaration of Turkish as official language titled “Turkish’s Becoming the State Language, and Yunus Emre” (*Türkçe’nin Devlet Dili Oluşu ve Yunus Emre*) for 693rd anniversary celebration of the declaration of Turkish as the state language on June 6, 1970 in Karaman. The article emphasized that these celebrations since 1960, were important in terms of eliminating influence of Iran in art and literature. According to the article, Iran’s (Persian) influence, which was considered as negative, on the language and on the literature in Anatolian Seljuks State, was removed by Karamanoğlu Mehmed in the 17th century. After this, Islamic-Turkish literature slowly started to influence the Anatolian beyliks. In addition to that, transfer of the tomb of Yunus Emre to Eskişehir was regarded as “a fortunate coincidence” with the celebrations of this anniversary.³³⁴

³³³ “Anadolu’nun Fethi Ordumuzun Şanlı Zaferleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (25 August 1970), year 1, issue 30, p.8. Turkish version of citation; “Hz. Adem’den beri aynı Hak ideoloji insanoğluna telkin edilmiş; zamanla bu doğru yoldan sapmaların neticesinde dünya tarihini dolduran pek çok yanlış inanış şekilleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Zaman zaman bu batıl inanışlara saplanan insanlık, kendi bünyesine uygun olan hak inancı devamlı olarak arayıp durmuştur. Türkler İslâm ile müşerref olmazdan evvel işte böyle bir arayış içindedirler”.

³³⁴ “Türkçenin Devlet Dili Oluşu ve Yunus Emre”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (9 June 1970), year 1, issue 19, p.3.

3.10 Turkism and the Eastern Question in the Concept of *Millet*

In the 8th issue of the journal published on March 24, 1970, the article titled “A Kind of Vietnam War Appeared in the Middle East and Danger Waiting for Turkey” (*Türkiye’yi Bekleyen Tehlike Ortadoğu’da Beliren Vietnam Harbi*), points at the possibility of another problem for Turkey with Kurdism that would be feasible for manipulations in the future, as much as Cyprus had in the past. The article is a text that consists of the disputes in Iraq, historical processes and manipulations of these disputes by foreign powers. The article starts with a comparison between the Ottoman and its integrity among its units and the existing Turkish state with its problems and “disintegration”. “The Ottoman state, which was representing the ideological, political, economic and military unity of the Islamic nations, was the target of enemies of all nationalities”.³³⁵

Our Kurdish brothers, who we had common belief, culture, history under the fabric of the Ottoman Empire, with the ideology of millet steadily resisted against the Crusaders, Armenian massacres, and any kind of international plans. In this respect in the period of the Ottoman Empire, we do not come across racial disputes in the East in history book... **When the concept of race has been tackled, the East became worried and upset.** Sheikh Said rebellion was irresponsibly retaliated by the Recep Peker cabinet, which resulted in the loss of many innocent sons of the nation, only for the desire of the international powers.³³⁶

The article with the title “How the Eastern Question Can Be Overcome?” (*Doğu Meselesi Nasıl Halledilir?*) stresses that the problem cannot be solved by sending troops, armies to the region, the only solution was given to settle on the definition of *millet*. While there is no etymological definition of the concept

³³⁵ “Komünist Baasçıların Yeni Hazırlığı: Kerkük Faciası”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (20 October 1970), year 1, issue 37, p.5. Turkish version of citation; “İslam milletlerinin, ideolojik, siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri bütünlüğünü temsil eden Osmanlı devleti, bütün beynelmilel millet düşmanlarının boy hedefi olmuştur”.

³³⁶ “Türkiye’yi Bekleyen Tehlike Ortadoğu’da Beliren Vietnam Harbi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (24 March 1970), year 1, issue 8, p.7. Highlights are ours, Turkish version of citation; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun bünyesinde iman, kültür, tarih beraberliği yapmış olan Kürt kardeşlerimiz Haçlı seferlerine, Ermeni katliamlarına, her türlü beynelmilel oyunlara sarsılmaz “millet ideolojisi” ile karşı koymuştu. Bu bakımdan Osmanlı imparatorluğu zamanında Doğu’da ırk yüzünden ihtilafların çıktığına tarih kitaplarında rastlamamaktayız. **Ne zaman ki “ırk” mefumu ele alınmıştır, o zaman Doğu tedirgin olmuştur, üzülmüştür.** 1925 yılı Şeyh Said isyanı bahane edilerek, Recep Peker kabinesi tarafından Doğu’da girişilen sorumsuz misilleme hareketleri, birçok günahsız millet evladını sırf beynelmilel güçlerin isteği için toprağa vermişti.

during the first year of the journal, in this article it was defined as something beyond the unity of language and blood. It is the coalescence of faith, culture, morality, and history.³³⁷

It was stated that Kurdish population is attached to their faith and Islam. Therefore, they intentionally were ignored by the state. As a result of this ignorance, they were exposed to influence of communist groups. In the articles related to east or Kurdish people, terminologies such as “the eastern cities” (*doğu illeri*), “our eastern brothers” (*doğulu kardeşlerimiz*) “Eastern cities, which are the hope of nation, unique faith castle” (*milletin ümidi, eşsiz iman kalesi olan Doğu illeri*) were often used during the first year of the journal.³³⁸ The sequels of the articles started with the title “Eastern Question” (*Doğu Meselesi*), the interpretations of Sheikh Said Rebellion were remarkable f regarding the ineffective stance of the state in handling the problem, as the effort to create unrest in the region.

The rebellion could have been prevented. Herewith, we could not have lost the innocent eastern sons of the nation. It was indented that, the rebellion becomes widened and a reprisal would be initiated in the east. Indeed, it happened in that way. Declarations were distributed from the airplanes to the places in which eastern sons of the nation, that did not know Turkish, resided. In these declarations it was written that their living places would be bombed soon after, therefore they were warned to leave these areas. But the people because theywere illiterate, they did not understand the meaning of the declarations. After a while, when bomber aircrafts were spitting blood, many innocent sons of the nation were being buried into the earth. Despite the fact that wealready were tired and had lost a lot of blood...³³⁹

³³⁷ “Türkiye’yi Bekleyen Tehlike Ortadoğu’da Beliren Vietnam Harbi”, p.7.

³³⁸ “Doğu Artık İstismar Edilmeyecek, Milli Mücadele Batman’da”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*,(30 March 1971), year 2, issue 61, p.14.

³³⁹ “Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (26 May 1970), year 1, issue 17, p.13. Turkish version of citation; “İsyanın önüne geçilebilirdi. Böylelikle masum birçok doğulu millet evlâdını kaybetmezdik. Fakat gaye bu değildi. İsteniyordu ki, isyan iyice genişlesin ve doğuda bir misilleme hareketine girişilsin. Nitekim öyle oldu. Türkçe bilmeyen doğulu millet evlâdlarının meskûn buldukları yerlere uçaklardan beyanname dağıtıldı. Beyannamelerde buldukları yerlerin biraz sonra bombardıman edileceği, dolayısıyla buraları terk etmeleri yazılı idi. Fakat halk, okuma yazma bilmediğinden beyannamelerin mânâsını anlayamadı. Biraz sonra avcı bombardıman uçakları kan kusarken birçok günahsız millet evlâdını mübarek topraklara gömüyordu. Yorgun ve çok kan kaybetmiş bir millet olmamıza rağmen”.

In another serial of the articles e titled “Activities of Partition of Homeland in Turkey” (*Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri*), Hamidiye Regiments were given a crucial example of the ideology of *millet* by the statement that nation is not “a biological fact, it is an ideological recovery” (*biyolojik bir vakıa değil, ideolojik bir toparlanış*), and these Regiments were addressed as powerful examples in this recovery. In this article sub title is stated as the “The Concept of Race in the Revolutions” (*İnkılablarda Irk Mefhumu*). In the article, the emphasis that those Revolutionaries of Islam (*İslam inkılapçıları*) who gathered around the Prophet (Pbuh) belonged to different races, was supported by provided prominent names of the companions. Preference of the photograph and the caption used for the article is rather meaningful; “it is seen Kurdish soldiers those who are under Communist Molla Mustapha Barzani and fight against their co-religionists Arabs”.

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We also have to add some other things in solving the eastern question. For us there is no difference between Mihal Ghazi, who was a Rum before, and Osman Gazi. That hadith of our prophet (pbuh) should always ring in our ears. Those who are Arab, are not superior to those who are not Arab. Only criteria for superiority is the level of respect to God.”. We have to explain immediately that those falsity methods, which settle the nation on the unity of blood and language, are extremely harmful and they became provocation tools at the hands of communists... The one that frightens the enemies of the nation is the stable ideological characteristic of the East. The enemy tried to destroy this characteristic and will try some more. We should not forget that we promised our ancestors who became martyred in the streams of Bitlis, in the wild deserts of Yemen, in Hungarian plains during spring days, in order to shoulder such heavy burden that international plans laid on our back and recorded in history. Otherwise our conviction is certain in trial of consciousness of history and nation.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ “Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (16 June 1970), year 1, issue 20, p.12.

³⁴¹ “Türkiye’yi Bekleyen Tehlike Ortadoğu’da Beliren Vietnam Harbi”, p.14. Turkish version of citation; “Doğu meselesinin temelden çözümü için şunları da eklemeliyiz. Bizim için –daha evvel Rum olduğu halde-Mihail Gazi ile Osman Gazi arasında fark yoktur. Peygamber Efendimizin (S.A.S.) şu hadis-i şerifleri kulağımızda her zaman çınlamalıdır. “Arabın Arap olmayana –Allah saygısı ölçüsünden başka-hiçbir üstünlüğü yoktur”. Hemen izah etmeliyiz ki, milleti kan ve dil birliğine oturtan yanlış izah metodları son derece zararlıdır ve komünistlerin elinde birer tahrik vasıtası olmaktadır.... Millet düşmanlarını korkutan Doğu’nun sağlam ideolojik karakteridir. Düşman bu karakteri darbelemeye çalışmıştır ve çalışacaktır. Vazifemiz buna müsaade etmemek olacaktır. Unutmamalıyız ki, beynelmilel oyunların sırtımıza yüklediği, tarihin kaydettiği böylesine ağır yükü kaldırmak için, Bitlis derelerinde Yemenin ıssız çöllerinde bahar günleri Macar

The ideas of the journal, which were being mentioned within the framework of the eastern question, clash with the idea of *millet* from time to time in other articles. In this point, the journal's regard to Turkish nation as a "guiding spirit of nations" (*milletlerin yol göstericisi*), "founding nation" (*kurucu millet*) and Muslim Turks who undertook all the burden of founding a nation, contradict with the statements of non-superiority of any race. This is important in terms of understanding different approaches and the attitudes of Istanbul and Konya teams in the movement and its reflection on flux and reflux of the journal. While the journal stresses that the nation is a community of people who gathered for a unity of the ideal, there is confusion and obscurity about what Turkishness (*Türklük*), which realized this ideal, accounted for.

The war of European nations in history gained a victory against false order of Christianity through *Nasyonalizm* (racialism). However, this thought also collapsed like other corrupt thoughts because it did not depend on an absolute truth... How capitalism is an individual materialism and communism is a social materialism; nationalism is a biological materialism... Race is a reality. It exists. But there is no superiority of races over each other. Because nationalist movement does not depend on truth, it led Hitler to commit suicide and Mussolini to be lynched.³⁴²

In an article, which deals with the eastern question, there is an interesting implication that Kurds are a branch of Turks. The article confesses that this implication is not scientific by adding that anthropology already will not be able to build scientific phenomenon of *millet* because nation is not a biological fact. Moreover, the intend of the journal in addressing Turkishness (*Türklük*) identity is quite parallel with the identity of the Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*), therefore Turkishness can be considered as the continuation of the Ottomanism. It is very

ovalarında şehit düşen ecdadımıza verilmiş sözümüz vardır. Aksi takdirde tarih ve millet vicdanı muhakemesinde mahkum olmamız mukadderdir".

³⁴² "Türkiye'de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (23 June 1970), year 1, issue 21, p.12. Turkish version of citation; "Tarihte, Avrupa milletlerinin, Hristiyanlığın batıl nizamına karşı savaşları Nasyonalizmle (ırkçılık) zafere kavuştu. Ancak bu fikir de diğer sapık fikirler gibi tam bir hakikate dayanmadığından yıkıldı....Kapitalizm nasıl ferdi bir materyalizm, komünizm, nasıl bir içtimâî materyalizm ise, Nasyonalizm de biyolojik bir materyalizmdir....İrk bir realitedir. Vardır. Ancak ırkların birbirine üstünlüğü yoktur. Nasyonalist hareket hakka dayanmadığı için, Hitleri intihara, Mussolini'yi ise linç olmaya götürdü".

meaningful that this article ended with the verses of Mehmet Akif Ersoy ; “Is there a superiority of Arab over Turk; of Laz over Circassian, or Kurd; of Pers over Chinese? Where is it? Can there be racism in Muslimness? Never exists! Prophet curses the idea of racism” .³⁴³

Our opinion is that; Kurdish *kavim* is a branch of Turks. However, we are not anthropolog. There are many books written on the subject. Our main issue is not to search the root. It also does not matter if we are wrong. **Kurds might be another *kavim*. It is not important. Because we do not consider millet as a biological fact. We consider that a unity of ideal beyond unity of blood and language.** Today our brothers, who are living in the Eastern region of our country, speak a different language from Turkish. This is a reality. However Kurdish alphabet did not exist before as it is claimed. Because there is no letters X, W, Q in the vernacular of Kurdish. These letters were added later. Nobody can deny it... East is an inseparable part of this nation. Easterners are our brothers/sisters. For us, Mihail Ghazi, who was Rum before, is same with Osman Ghazi... We met with an easterner Anatolian who was captured for three years in Russia between 1915-1918. ‘We were captive for thee years in Russia. Russians used to call all of us ‘Osman’. Son, we are really Ottoman...³⁴⁴

In the article series of “Attempts for Partition of Fatherland in Turkey” (*Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri*), the movement of “Turkism” (*Türkçülük*) was addressed as the idea that disturbed “sons of nation” (*millet evlatları*) in the East. While the creator of this movement was addressed as Mustafa Celaleddin, he was often mentioned that he was originally a Polish Jewish and his original name was Konstantin Borzecki. Moreover, Mustafa Celaleddin was frequently

³⁴³ “Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 June 1970), year 1, issue 21, p.12. Turkish version of citation; “Arabın Türke; Lazın Çerkese, yahut Kürde; Acemin Çinliye rüçhanı mı varmış? Nerde! Müslümanlıkta “anasır” mı olurmuş? Ne gezer! Fikr-i kavmiyyeti tel’in ediyor Peygamber”.

³⁴⁴ “Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 June 1970), year 1, issue 21, p.12. Turkish version of citation; “Kanaatimiz şudur ki; Kürt kavmi Türklerin bir koludur. Ancak biz antropolog değiliz. Bu hususta yazılmış bir çok eser vardır. Esas mevzumuş menşein araştırılması değildir. Kanaatimizde yanılmış olmamız da bir şey ifade etmez. **Kürtler belki başka bir kavim olabilir. Bu mühim değildir. Zira biz milleti biyolojik bir vakıa olarak kabul etmiyoruz. Kan ve dil birliğinin çok ötesinde, bir ideal birliği olarak kabul ediyoruz....**Bugün memleketimizin Doğu bölgesinde yaşayan kardeşlerimiz, Türkçeden ayrı bir lisan konuşmaktadır. Bu bir gerçektir. Ancak iddia edildiği gibi bir Kürtçe alfabe eskiden beri cari değildir. Zira Kürtçenin konuşma lisanında X, W, Q harfleri yoktur. Bu kelimeler sonradan yakıştırılmışlardır. Bunu da kimse inkar edemez...Doğu bu milletin ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Doğulular bizim kardeşlerimizdir. Bizim için daha evvel Rum olduğu halde, Mihail Gazi ile Osman Gazi arasında bir fark yoktur....1915-1918 yılları arasında Rusya’da esir kalmış Doğu Anadolu ile görüşmüştük. –Rusya’da üç yıl esir kaldık. Ruslar hepimizi “Osman” diye çağırıyorlardı... Biz gerçekten Osmanlıyız evladım...”

addressed as the grandfather of Nazım Hikmet in most Islamic, nationalist and conservatist journals. In addition to his Polish Jewish origin, according to the statements in the journal, Mustafa Celaledin was mentioned with his participation in Paris Commune Revolution that forced him to come to Istanbul. Targeting Mustafa Celaledin in creating the ideology of Turkism, which was often stated as the main destructor, by combining his Jewish and communist background, was interesting in terms of observing the effort of the journal, and similar approach of other Islamist, nationalist periodicals, in addressing anti-communist and anti-zionist stance as the reason of the all dissolutions. According to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, “Borzecki”, -or Mustafa Celaledin-, was an advocator of Turkish unity rather than Ottoman unity in his book named “Les Turcs Ancient et Modernes” (The Ancient and The Modern Turks) published in 1870, in Paris. Therefore he was regarded as the first person who “sowed discord among Ottoman”. Again in this article, Turcolog Moiz Cohen -or Tekin Alp- whose Jewish heritage was strongly stressed, was introduced as a theoretician of this separatist movement with the emphasis of his great impact on Turkism. Thus, emphasizing the Jewish root of these personalities is quite in accordance with hatred that regarded the main reason of the Ottoman collapse as international Judaism.³⁴⁵

3.11 Relations with Traditional and Other Structures, Accusations towards *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*

Community that composed **the** significant part of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, were the youth who came from MTTB or were affiliated with the movement. Some disputes between these two came out after a certain period that MTTB started to act more Islamist with the new ideas. As I have understood from some articles in the journal, MTTB accused *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as being pantheist, believers of hulûl (sort of incarnation), *hurufism*, Wahhabi, pro-Hizb-ut-Tahrir, or pro-Fatah (Palestinian National Liberation Movement).³⁴⁶ These accusations took enormous and severe criticism from the movement and was rejected with

³⁴⁵ “Türkiye’de Vatan Bölme Faaliyetleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (9 June 1979), year 1, issue 19, p.12.

³⁴⁶ “Kardeş Kavgasını Söndürmeye Kararlıyız”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (9 June 1970), year 1, issue 19, p.11.

the statement; “Executives of the League of Struggle declare that; we might pull the tongue that implies Muslims as green Communist, we might knock-back those who want to dismantle National Front... Ghazwa with the thing that prevents *ghazwa*, is the biggest jihad”.³⁴⁷

While MTTB had more Islamist discourses compare to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the movement also severely criticized the same points and beliefs, which were attributed to them by MTTB. This is quite interesting in terms of their clashes with each other. The point has to be examined that while Mücadele Birliği presented a very strong nationalist stance and inspired by the Islamist literature, they were accused with these very large scale of beliefs from *hurufism* to *Wahabism*.

İrfan Küçükköy states in his memories that the movement carried out their activities in MTTB headquarter, when its head was İsmail Kahraman. According to Küçükköy, their contact with MTTB was weakened when the National Order party members took strong position in the organization.³⁴⁸ While animosity between the two groups had augmented, it was stated that Necip Fazıl Kısakürek tried to reconcile the two groups but had failed. Küçükköy stated that he could not be sure until today whether there was a contribution to this hatred by provocateurs or the process was developed naturally. There is no such information that I came across about the reason for the opposing of the two groups with each other whether it was because of clash of ideas. However, the dispute seems to be rooted on the methodology in fighting with communism. The objection and criticisms of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* upon the method of struggle and discourses were apparent by the 1970s, during the period of the

³⁴⁷ “İftira İmâlcilerinin Boş Gayreti”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (2 June 1970), year 1, issue 18, back cover of the journal. Turkish version of citation; “Mücadele Birliği yetkilileri açıklıyor, Müslümanlara Yeşil Komünist Diyen Dili Koparır, Milli Cepheyi Parçalamak İsteyenleri Kahrederiz... Mani-i gaza ile cihad, cihad-ı ekberdir”. Green Communist (Yeşil Komünist) is a metaphor which was used by ülkücü movement to adress new Islamist political tendency which came out 1970s during. The new tendency was accused of not being part with pysical fight against communism and they are considered as Muslim communists”.

³⁴⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi*, s.81.

National Salvation party.³⁴⁹ These years were the period that new Islamic ideas and discourses gained momentum.

In 11th issue of the journal, the subject about closure case of Mücadele Birliği is remarkable in terms of the accusations made towards the group. Statements of Necmettin Erişen who defended the movement against these accusations are interesting in terms of observing how Yeniden Millî Mücadele was perceived;

There is mention of a centre of organization that we belong. It is being said that our leader is Sayyid Qutub or Mawdudi. In your court we wish to give a dignity lesson to the spy, who slandered this scandal and we wish to unmask this vulgar emissary who tarnished honour for the sake of money. We did not get this opportunity. Unfortunately, this accusation gave opportunity to rags to attack on us, which are published by means of international Jewish funding. We shout out with all of our power. We are loyal to this nation. We are loyal to magnificent history of this nation, to its divine religion, to its high morality and to its vital benefits. There is no external dependency for us, unlike those who accused us of belonging to foreign roots... How bitter are those accusations that make us shiver because of their reminder that the same accusations were made towards Osman Batur Islambay, who is a national hero of the East Turkistan, and towards his followers.³⁵⁰

However the statements of Necmettin Erişen in following years about the great tendency among the members of the movement in reading translated books such as “Milestones” (*Yoldaki İşaretler*), which was translated by his close friend Abdulkadir Şener, indicates the hesitancy of the movement to be mentioned with these names during that period.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi*, s.90.

³⁵⁰ “Necmeddin Erişen tarafından Mücadele Birliği’nin Davası”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (14 April 1970), year, 1, issue 11, p.14. Turkish version of citation; “Bizim bağlı olduğumuz bir teşkilat merkezinden bahsediliyor. Liderimiz Seyyid Kutub veya Mevdûdi imiş. Biz mahkemenizde bize bu iftirayı savuran ajanın, para karşılığı şeref lekeleyen adi casusun, paçavrasını çıkarmak ona bir haysiyet dersi vermek isterdik. Bu imkanı da bulamadık. Ne yazık ki, bu itham beynelmilel Yahudiliğin sermayesi sayesinde çıkan bazı paçavralara bize hücum imkanı temin etmiştir. Bu konuda bütün varlığımızla haykırırız: Biz bu millete bağlıyız. Bu milletin muhteşem tarihine, ulvi dinine, yüksek ahlakına ve hayati menfaatlarına bağlıyız. Bize yabancı kök uyduranlar gibi hiçbir dış bağlılığımız yoktur....Bu ithamlar ne acıdır ki, Doğu Türkistan’ın millî kahramanı Osman Batur İslâmbay’a ve taraftarlarına yapılan suçlamaları hatırlattığı için ürperiyoruz”.

³⁵¹ Türkmen, “Ulustan Ümmete....”, Part 1, (27:09-29:45).

Hamza Türkmen stated that Yeniden Millî Mücadele benefited from the texts of Hizb-ut-Tahrir, since there are many similarities and analogies between the texts according to his comparison.³⁵² While it is accepted that Hizb-ut-Tahrir was the main source that the movement benefited from, there is no information or reference about these sources neither in the journal nor in the memories of Küçükköy. However, the name of Hizb-ut-Tahrir was first mentioned in the 40th issue of the journal under the column “Strategy of Our National Struggle” (*Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi*). The part under this column with the subtitle “Free Muslim Nations” (*Hür Müslüman Milletler*) dealt with the Islamic movements and where they were all mentioned as opponents of Zionism except Hizb-ut-Tahrir.³⁵³ While this condition is in contradiction with the existing information, Küçükköy mentions Hizb-ut-Tahrir as “treating the ideas of Westernist Islam” (*Batıcı İslam görüşlerini işleyen*) and states that their only connection with this group was the meeting with the deputy who was a member of this organization. What is more, Küçükköy states that under the Association of Nationalists they wrote articles and texts against the organization declaring them as a vitiating movement the roots of which were outside (*kökü dışarda ifsat edici bir hareket*).³⁵⁴

In the 16th issue of the journal, an incident in Adana Imam Hatip High School between students, who were sympathiser of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, and the school administration, which were stated as sympathiser of MHP took place. This is interesting in terms of observing the clashes of two nationalist movements. The tention between the two came out upon aggression of school administrator to a question that came from the movement sympathiser student who asked; “Which illusory organization is this that you related them to Wahabism?” (*Vehhabiliğe bağladığınız bu muhayyel teşkilât hangi teşkilattır?*). According to the news in the journal, this question had received a harsh respons and aftermath of the event, the students who were reading the journal also became

³⁵² Türkmen, “Ulustan Ümmete...”, Part 1, (29:49-30:26).

³⁵³ “Millî Mücadele Stratejisi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 November 1970), year 1, issue 40, p.15.

³⁵⁴ Mustafa Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.455.

the target of school administration.³⁵⁵ Moreover, Küçükköy mentions MHP as among the opponent organizations against the movement and the party declared *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as artificial group as created by British intelligence.³⁵⁶

There were other accusations for *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, in the same manner of other periodicals, made by the journal *Devrim*, a Kemalist leftist periodical. *Devrim* was accusing *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as being “maid of Aramco of Saudi Arabia” (*Suudi Arabistan’ın Aramco beslemesi*). However *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*’s approach to King Faisal as the enemy of the Ottoman was in clash with these accusations.³⁵⁷ Therefore accusations towards the movement and its nationalist attitudes are heavily contradicting with each other. These accusations show general tendency of the time that rejected each other on the based on prejudiced information.

The subjects that were mentioned under the title as “Conscious Struggle Against Modernists and Bid’ahists” (*Modernistlere ve Bid’atçilere Karşı Şuurlu Mücadele*) at the back cover of the journal in the section named titled “Echoes from the Struggle of Ideologies in Turkey and in the World” (*Türkiye’de ve Dünya’da İdeolojiler Kavgasından Akisler*), are quite remarkable. This was about a boycott in Kayseri Higher Islamic Institute and the closure of the school as a result of this boycott. In the article, school administrator and literature teacher who was a member of Rifâî Sufi Tariqa, were accused because of “spreading batiniyya and panteist ideas”. According to the expressions in the article, “the students, who properly believe in aqidah of Ahl al-Sunnah” (*ehli sünnet akidesine hakkıyla inanan talebeler*), struggle against “the nation’s and religion’s enemy, who lean their back against ministry” (*bakanlığa sırtını dayamış...din ve millet düşmanları*). According to the article Rifâî ideas were trying to seduce Kayseri Higher Islamic

³⁵⁵ “Adana’da Zulüm, Zalimler Mazlumların Gözyaşı İçinde Boğulacaktır”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, p.7.

³⁵⁶ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.40.

³⁵⁷ Ulus’un İrticarı”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (17 March 1970), year 1, issue 6, p.6.

Institute and Kenan Rifâî was accused of being a British agent.³⁵⁸ While İrfan Küçükköy mentions that their friends who introduced Konya group to Istanbul group, was a member of Rifai Sufi order, they had good feelings towards this tariqat. He mentioned that they considered Rifâîyye as a social movement with tariqat appearance (*tarikât görünümlü bir sosyal hareket*). Küçükköy also states that they had read all novels of Semiha Ayverdi, who was a member of this order, with the influence of their teacher who also belonged to this tariqat. However, he also expressed that they did not agree with all their ideas and Rifâî Sufi order's understandings would not be approved by the classical Islamic thinking.³⁵⁹ However, I was not able to fully comprehend the causes that created harsh criticisms towards Rifâî tariqat. This tendency can be read as the effect of intensification of negative ideas towards the traditional way of Islamic life in higher Islamic institutes.

Clashes between traditional sections and the movement can also be followed through the accusations made by Tahir Büyükkörükçü who was born in Konya and worked as a mufti in various cities of Turkey. Büyükkörükçü was also elected as MP to the National Salvation party in 1977 and was arrested during 1980 coup d'Etat with the accusation of demand in establishment of a state, which is based on Islamic rules. Student members of the movement from higher Islamic institute in Konya were strictly criticized by Tahir Büyükkörükçü and he accused those students by identifying them with Kadızadeler, a movement which was claimed to reform the religious life during the Ottoman period. This accusation was the result of students' criticisms towards Masnawi and Ibn Arabi. However, this condition has to be examined to understand whether it was a general negative approach towards the students or the graduates of higher Islamic institutes or towards the movement in general because of their stance against traditional Islam. In the memoirs of Küçükköy although he expresses some opponents with a statement "some certain tariqat circles or lovers of Mawlana

³⁵⁸ "Yeniden Milli Mücadele Bütün Beşeri Hadiseler İdeolojiler Kavgasından Dođar, Türkiye'de ve Dünya'da İdeolojiler Kavgasından Akisler, Modernistlere ve Bid'atçilere Karşı Şuurlu Mücadele", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (19 May 1970), year 1, issue 16, back cover.

³⁵⁹ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.20.

Muhyiddin Al-Arabi” (*Belli tarikat çevreleri ya da Mevlana Muhyiddin Arabi severler*) in the section about opponents of Mücadele Birliği, he does not mention the exact names of those tariqats or organizations.³⁶⁰

While Necip Fazıl was one of the inspiring figures of the movement, I have not come across any quotation or article by him during the first year of the journal. Only announcement related to republishment of *Büyük Doğu* was given with a great excitement in the issue dated 22nd of December 1970, with the statement ; “we offer our love and respect to Büyük Doğu which, for years, contributed in elimination of the fake heroes and preparation of a faithful youth cadre in flourishing national consciousness”.³⁶¹ While Hamza Türkmen expresses that the movement was also influenced by Nurettin Topçu, who was mentioned as “the cultural leader”, like in the case of Necip Fazıl, there was no excerpt from Topçu either in the journal during examination of the first year. While the most of the articles were anonymous, most of the relevant texts, editorial articles, and article serials were penned by Aykut Edibali.

3.12 *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* between Nationalization and Islamization

All these happened within the frame of traditional Islamic understanding. Islamism, which was unique, remained within the frame of nationalization, in other words within the frame of reading nationalization as Islamization, which we have talked about before. When it is also said “ideology of millet”, most people had understood it as Islam... But afterwards, it was crystallized day by day that this ideology of millet was not identical with Islam, and nationalization was not signifying Islamization in all extents. Because Islamicity was one of the arguments of nationalism... The League of Nations did not improve a direct Islamist discourse. Even it can be thought that theme of nationalism had a tactical function. Mustafa Aydın.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.40.

³⁶¹ “Büyük Doğu Çıkıyor”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (22 December 1970), year 1, issue 47, p.16. Turkish version of citation; “Senelerden beri millî şuurun gelişmesi, sahte kahramanların tasfiyesi ve imanlı bir gençlik kadrosunun hazırlanmasında büyük hizmeti geçen ‘Büyük Doğu’ya’ yürekten sevgiler ve saygılar sunarız”.

³⁶² V. Işık, A. Köroğlu, Y.E. Sezgin (ed), “İslamcı Yayıncılık Bağlamında Mücadele Birliği ve Dergileri”, *1960-1980 Arası İslamcı Dergiler Toparlanma ve Çeşitlenme*, (İstanbul: Nobel Akademik Press, February 2016), p.363-364. Turkish version of citation; “Bütün bunlar geleneksel İslam anlayışı çerçevesinde olup bitti. Kendine özgü bir İslamcılık daha önce söz konusu ettiğimiz “millîlik” çerçevesinde, yani millîleşmenin zımnen İslamlaşmak olarak okunması çerçevesinde

While nationalist discourses obviously was observed in the first year of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, it is uncertain what caused different opinions between the members throughout the years whether it was because of organizational inefficiency or influence of new Islamist ideas and which one triggered the other. As I understood from the interviews of the former members, who broke their tie with the movement that fragmentation came out as a result of breakdowns in the management process of the movement. The reasons for eliminations of the prominent figures in the movement are not well known. More than this, the leader cadre's abandonment in sustaining the movement can be the main reason that has caused the fragmentation of the group rather than ideological changes.³⁶³ As a result of these fragmentations, members were scattered to different channels. Developments at the national and international level created change in the course of nationalism towards ummatism. In their interviews, while former members are accusing *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* -or Mücadele Birliği- as not being Islamist, it seems that their accusations had developed during the years of their conversion from nationalism to Islamism in the following periods. Utilization of the phrase "Turkish nation" (*Türk millet*), which was considered as an indicator of change of the journal's national (*millî*) language to Turkist one and its replacement the utilization of *millet* alone, are the important mentions made by Necmettin Erişen, who questioned this change in the course of the years. However, in an interview, which was made with Erişen in July 13th, 1976 and published in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with the title "Brotherhood of Nationalists" (*Milliyetçilerin Kardeşliği*), he often used the phrase "Turkish nation". He defined *Mücadele Birliği* as an organization that "was born from the historical tenure of Turkish nation and was rooted in nation's exalted faith. It was kneaded with sorrow and pain, and it was filled with the memories of unknown Turkish soldiers.... it became the guide of struggle for salvation of our nation"

kaldı. "Millet ideolojisi" dendiği zaman da çoğu kişi İslam'ı anlıyordu....Ama daha sonra bu "millet" ideolojisinin İslam'la özdeş olmadığı, millîleşmenin her haliyle İslamlaşma anlamına gelmediği gittikçe belirginleşti. Çünkü İslamilik, millîliğin argümanlarından sadece birisi idi... Mücadele Birliği doğrudan bir İslamcı söylem geliştirmedir. Millîlik temasının oyalayıcı bir işlevi yerine getirdiği bile düşünülebilir. Mustafa Aydın"

³⁶³ I have obtained these impressions from discussions in tv programme "'Ulustan Ümmete, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi ve Mecmuası"' and from the memoirs of Küçüköy.

(*Türk milletinin tarihî akışından doğmuş, yüce imanından kaynaklanmış, acı ve çilelerle yoğrulmuş, isimsiz şehit Mehmetçiklerin hatırasıyla dolmuş...milletimizin kurtuluş mücadelesine rehber olmuş*). While the question was asked about whether they had an intention to establish a party or not, he answered the question with the statement that they did not have any intention to form a party at all and they were in an effort to unite nationalist parties and organizations by eliminating all disputes among them.³⁶⁴

From the first issue, the journal's emphasis on a roadmap that was Turkey oriented, created unrest in the later years. However, this in fact, was a dominating idea until the mid-1970s in all Islamist, conservatist and *mukaddesatçı* journals. It seems that this general change from nationalism to Islamism among the youth had reflected on the members of the movement towards the end of the 1970s as well. The words of Mustafa Aydın who was from the movement are remarkable in terms of observing this process;

Whatever the thing was that form the backbone of the movement is vague, whether it was religion or society? In other words, it is difficult to give the answer to the question about where the movement could be placed, whether on an Islamic ideology or on a nationalism that includes a social struggle. Because in the discourse of League of Struggle these (two) exist for each other.³⁶⁵

The statements of Küçükköy supports the argument of Mustafa Aydın on the intermingled condition between nationalism and Islamism; "We did not consider Islam and Turk or Turk and Islam as different. The youth of these two parties (MHP and MSP) were fighting with each other for two concepts that (from time to time) were being used for each other's place. The fight was not sloganistic, it was clash of the thoughts".³⁶⁶ These expressions were the general thoughts of the movement during those years. Another memory that Küçükköy mentioned in

³⁶⁴ "Milliyetçilerin Kardeşliği", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (20 July 1976), year 7, issue 337, p.5.

³⁶⁵ Aydın, "Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...", p.452. Turkish version of citation; "Burada hareketin kaburgasını oluşturan şeyin ne olduğu biraz belirsizdir; din mi toplum mu? Yani hareket(in) nereye yerleştirebileceği sorusuna, salt İslamcı bir ideolojinin ikamesi cevabını da toplumsal bir mücadeleyi içeren bir milliyetçilik cevabını da vermek zordur. Çünkü Mücadele Birliği söyleminde bunlar birbiri için vardır"

³⁶⁶ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.173.

his book is remarkable in terms of understanding the atmosphere of the years within which the concepts Turk and Muslim, *millet ve ümmet* started to imply different meanings with different contents. In an occasion that Küçükköy came across, he was asked for help to solve a debate between two young teachers who were discussing Turkishness and Muslimsness and he was also asked whether he identifies himself with Muslimness or Turkishness first.

While we were drinking tea, I took a sugar cube and asked whether this sugar cube should be identified sweet or white first? In fact, the answer to the question was understood. In the meanwhile, music teacher who was one of the sides in discussion also came in. I continued my explanation as such. "Islam and Turkishness are two different concepts. Islam is a belief system and an ideology. Turkishness is a race. It is an implementation of space of the ideology."³⁶⁷

Küçükköy states that understanding of nationalism prior to 1970, was adopting the rightist understanding with the ideological meaning of word, while nationalism itself was advocating and sustaining national morality, national understanding, customs and mores. While he expresses that nationalism was not considered as a concept in favour of racism at that time, he stresses that "advocating the history of Muslim Turkish nation, who unflappably carry out the guardianship of Muslimness for thousand years, was among the principles of nationalism" (*'bin seneden beri Müslümanlığın sarsılmaz bekçiliğini yapan Müslüman Türk milletinin tarihini savunmak da milliyetçiliğin umdeleri içinde'*). He emphasizes that even MHP, which, according to his statements, became the target of the accusations based on criticisms towards nationalism was advocating cultural nationalism rather than racial one. He also states that nationalism was degraded to racism in the course of the years by the 1970s.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.173. Turkish version of citation; "O esnada çay içiyorduk. Elime bir kesme şeker aldım. Ve sordum. Bu kesme şeker önce tatlı mı, yoksa beyaz mı? Aslında sorunun cevabı anlaşılıyordu. Bu esnada ihtilafın tarafı olan müzik öğretmeni de geldi. Açıklamayı şöyle sürdürdüm. " İslam ve Türklük, iki ayrı kavramdır. İslam bir inanç sistemi, bir ideolojidir. Türklük bir ırktır. İdeolojinin uygulama alanıdır' ".

³⁶⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.337-336.

Another example that triggered the tension between the movement and MHP or other nationalist fractions, can be seen in the statements of Necmettin Erişen. He states in his interview that they applied the concept of *millet* in the meaning of ummah and therefore they were exposed to harsh reactions of many Turkists.

They were telling that “why do you not say Turkish nation and only say “nation” “? We were responding to them by saying that there is only one ummah in Islam, other than that there are qawms. However, it is the millet that the word is assembling all of them (qawm) and is used in the meaning of ummah. The concept of millet really could bring everyone together. We believed in the nation of Ibrahim that they were hanif as it was said in the Qur’an. And we were not saying this to make politics. Using millet in the meaning of ummah was a good act. Using the concept of millet was also not a sin. We were using both of them in the same meaning.³⁶⁹

On the other side, Erişen states that in the forthcoming issues of the journal, this time the reactions came out against the increase usage of *Türk Milleti* (Turkish nation) instead of using *millet* alone.

Then only then, the bomb exploded. Our friends who were non-Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian started to show sensitivity. I was still asking myself how could it be? The League of Struggle was an organization that serves Islam. Islam existed in the hearts of most of our friends whatever Aykut Edibali wrote. These people (the members of the movement) did not consider the expressions emphasizing Turkishness as in the meaning of racism.³⁷⁰

It was believed that crystallization of the conversion of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* to Turkism and occurrence of some ambiguities within the movement, came out in

³⁶⁹ Türkmen, (Necmettin Erişen ile röportaj), “Yeniden Millî Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1”, Turkish version of citation; “Diyorlardı ki, neden siz Türk milleti demiyorsunuz da, millet diyorsunuz? Biz de onlara İslam’da bir ümmet vardır. Onun dışında kavimler vardır. Ama hepsini toparlayıcı olan ümmet anlamına gelen millettir (diye karşılık veriyorduk). Millet kavramı gerçekten herkesi toparlayabiliyordu. Kur’an-ı Kerim’de geçtiği gibi hanif olan İbrahim milletine inanıyorduk ve bunu politika olsun diye de söylemiyorduk. Milleti ümmet manasında kullanmak sevaptı. Millet kavramını kullanmak da günah değildi. Her ikisini de aynı anlamda kullanıyorduk”.

³⁷⁰ Türkmen, (Necmettin Erişen ile röportaj), “Yeniden Millî Mücadele Sorgulanmalıdır!-1”, Turkish version of citation; İşte o zaman bomba patladı. Kürt olan, Çerkeş olan veya Türk olmayan arkadaşlarımız hassasiyet göstermeye başladılar. Ben de hala nasıl diyordum? MB İslam’a hizmet eden bir teşkilattir. Aykut Edibali ne yazarsa yazsın kahr ekseriyetteki arkadaşlarımızın gönlünde İslam var. Zaten bunun içinde Türklük vurgusu yapan ifadeleri onlar ırkçılık anlamında anlamadılar”.

the wake of military memorandum of March 12.³⁷¹ Signals regarding March 12 military memorandum was supported by the journal, and this intervention was advocated “as preventing the seditions caused by communism, which, according to the movement, was protected by Jewish agents “who clung to our state structure and desired to throw the last independent Muslim Turk nation into the claws of Russian Soviet imperialism”.³⁷² Küçükköy still carries the same ideas after years, as he stated in his memoirs. He says that March 12 military memorandum was a nationalist intervention by the army and this can be understood from the names who were consulted by the military commissions. The names given by Küçükköy were Prof. Ayhan Önder, Prof. Nevzat Yalçıntaş, Prof. Selçuk Özçelik, Prof. Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu, Prof. Sabahattin Zaim.³⁷³

The headline of the 50th issue of the journal published on 12 January 1971 was “Nationalists Stand by Precautions that will protect the Homeland” (*Milliyetçiler Vatanı Koruyacak Tedbirlerin Yanındadır*). In the same issue, 1960 military coup which was criticized in previous issues, was defended as; “Communists have clamoured when the army drew attention to the communist offenses and brutalities, which threaten the nation. But when the army staged 1960 military coup, which aimed to prevent fighting between brothers, the communists made it a mask for themselves.”³⁷⁴ Moreover, he claimed that 1960 military coup had politicized the students and thus the opposition toward Democrat party was directed to nationalism and *mukeddesatçılık* intentionally. This had also caused the emergence of political Kurdishism. He says the constitution prepared after

³⁷¹ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.456.

³⁷² “Büyük Türk Milletine”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (23 March 1971), year 2, issue 60, p.3. Turkish version of citation; “Müslüman Türk milletinin son müstakil devletini, Rus Sovyet emperyalizminin pençesine atmak isteyen ve devlet bünyemize yapışmış Yahudi ajanlarının himaye ettiği, komünizmin sebep olduğu ihtilatlara mani olmak”.

³⁷³ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi*...p.44. These names that Küçükköy mentioned in his memoirs were; Prof. Ayhan Önder, Prof. Nevzat Yalçıntaş, Prof. Selçuk Özçelik, Prof. Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu, Prof. Sabahattin Zaim.

³⁷⁴ “Milliyetçiler Vatanı Koruyacak Tedbirlerin Yanındadır”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (12 Ocak 1971), yıl 1, sayı 50, s.5, Turkish version of citation; “1960 yılında kardeş kavgasına mani olmak için ihtilâl yapan orduyu kendilerine maske yapan komünistler; şimdi ordu komünist tecavüzlerine ve milleti tehdit eden canavarlıklara dikkati çekince yaygarayı basmışlardır.

the 1960 coup d'état was prepared on purpose to prevent the rightists to rise to the power forever.³⁷⁵

Besides March 12 military memorandum, another factor in the change of the movement was stated as the journal *İlim Kültür ve Sanatta Gerçek* (The Truth in the Science, the Culture and the Art) as one of the supplementary publications of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. The journal, motivated by Turk-Islam Synthesis, started to publish by January 1973. It is expressed that another supplementary journal *Bayrak*, published between 1976-1978, had greatly supported the process of progressing towards statism (devletçilik). Through these periodicals the culture was presented within a Turkish nationalist frame with the examples of the states of Saljuks and Ottoman, and the phrases composed of *Türk* had increased. *Millî*, which had sailed between Islamism and nationalism, evolved toward nationalism that was in the form of Turkism.³⁷⁶

In the memoirs of Küçükköy, which is almost the only major source about Mücadele Birliği, there is no attribution to ideological divergences or oppositions within the movement, while the absence of centralization, inefficient management of the branches in Anatolia, elimination of important key figures within the movement, were given as the main reasons for fragmentation of the movement. İrfan Küçükköy considers these inefficiencies as the reason for failure of the movement in forming a political unit.³⁷⁷

Küçükköy defines Mücadele Birliği, which created *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, as the movement of an action, which is based on a fundamental case and thesis, rather than being an anti-thesis, reaction, or animosity against a movement or ideal. He again states that Mücadele Birliği was a movement in training a leader cadre.³⁷⁸ While this leader cadre was highly valued by Aykut Edibali as being “qualified man for the country” (*ülkeye yetişmiş insan*), this consideration was criticized by

³⁷⁵ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.52-54.

³⁷⁶ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.456/459.

³⁷⁷ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.145.

³⁷⁸ Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.328

the former members of the movement. The former members argued that attributing this kind of mission to the cadres of the movement had limited the mission of the movement.³⁷⁹

Mücadele Birliđi also considered traditionalism as static with the atmosphere of the 1960s and indicated more activist tendency, benefited from the sources of the Muslim World such as Sayyid Qutub, Mawdudi, Hizb-ut-Tahrir and so on. However, while its way of organization and activity resembles the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-i Islami, Mücadele Birliđi did not have Islamist discourses as much as those entities and created an amalgam on the bases of nationalism that was far from racism.³⁸⁰

While Mücadele Birliđi that had declared and characterized itself as the rightist, and undertook the mission of ascribing an ideological meaning to the right, its most important departing point was still Islam. However as a result of the clashes between the segments in the right-wing, disturbances came out on the base of questionings that asked why Islamic truth should be represented under the umbrella of the right.³⁸¹

As a result, Mücadele Birliđi functioned on a distinctive point somewhere between absolute nationalism and pure Islamism. It was Islamic in terms of feelings/tendencies, and a nationalist movement in terms of its cultural discourses. The movement tried to create an amalgam between statist national stance and Islam within the Republic of Modern Turkey.³⁸² Therefore the attitude of the movement can be best characterized with “national Islamism” (*millî islamcılık*). While the movement’s unique idea of nationalism was different from the one Ziya Gökalp had envisioned and from nationalism that MHP represented³⁸³, it still had adhered to Turkey and its people within. Contrary to

³⁷⁹ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.456.

³⁸⁰ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.454-456.

³⁸¹ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.459.

³⁸² Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.452.

³⁸³ Aydın, “Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...”, p.452.

other Islamist publications, the journal's approach to Iranian revolution and other international Islamic movements with a nationalistic stance and not embracing them like other Islamist journals, is an important indicator of this nationalist stance. However while the effort of the movement to remain somewhere between nationalism and Islamism could not be maintained by the movement, this finally had resulted with its adherence from "one of two sides" that was Turkism from time to time or ethnicity-based secular nationalism (*ulusalci*) and Turk-Islam culture based nationalism (*milliyetçi*) from time to time.³⁸⁴



³⁸⁴ Aydın, "Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni...", p.461.

CHAPTER 4

THE NEWSPAPERS *ŞÛRA*, *TEVHİD* AND *HİCRET*

4.1 “The Nation of Islam”: The Idea in the Newspapers *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret*

Our name is human, our order is sharia, our fatherland is the world, our ideal is to die in the path of God.³⁸⁵

Şûra was a weekly political periodical that was declared as a newspaper and published first on 5 January 1978 and continued until 30 October 1978 with a total of 41 issues. After the newspaper shut down, the editorial and writers team continued with a new newspaper *Tevhid* between 17 December 1978 and August 1979 a total of 32 issues were published. *Tevhid* followed the same fate of *Şûra* with its closure, the writer's cadre this time, started a new newspaper titled *Hicret*; published on 17 September 1979 and the newspaper continued until 21 April 1980 with a total of 21 issues.

Chief editor and founder of *Şûra* was Yılmaz Yalçiner, who was a son of a civil servant in Ankara. Yalçiner was an active nationalist during his youth. In his early life, he was a member of a prominent nationalist organization called Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*). After Alparslan Türkeş's designation as inspector general to the party, he became in charge of the youth branches of Republican Peasant's Nation Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Köylü ve Millet Partisi* CKMP) in the foundation. With the party presidency of Türkeş, Yalçiner this time took active role in the establishment of the Hearths of Ideal (*Ülkü Ocakları*) in the faculty of political sciences in Istanbul. In an interview conducted in 2014, he states that he was in the conservative wing of CKMP, which was identified by him as the composition of racist and conservative wings. They, as a conservative wing, had published the journal National Movement (*Millî Hareket*). Again, in the same interview Yalçiner states that he was the one who had suggested the emblem of CKMP, to include three crescents inspired by the navy flag of Ottoman Empire, after the party had

³⁸⁵ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Türkiyeli Yiğit Müslümanlar”, *Şûra* (3 July 1978), issue 25, p.10.

converted to Nationalist Movement (*Milliyetçi Hareket*) in 1969. According to his statements, figure grey wolf (*bozkurt*) was used as an emblem of the youth branch of the party to balance the racist wing within. He expresses that with the progression of time, he could not stand the ideas of MHP anymore and moved away from the party. He later started working in *Millî Gazete* (National Newspaper), which, at that time, he depicted it as the “green tomb” (*yeşil türbe*). According to his own statement, change from a national stance towards a more Islamist one had started by his involvement in the writers’ cadre of the journals *Vesika* (The Document) and *Sebil* (Road) respectively.³⁸⁶

Other major writers of *Şûra* were Ahmed Selami, Hüsnü Aktaş under the pseudonym of İbrahim Taha Emre, Ali Ünal under the pseudonym of Fatih Selim and Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, whose articles were mostly cited from other journals. Other than these, there were news interpretations or other anonymous articles in the newspaper.

In the beginning of the publication, *Şûra* declared that the newspaper should not be considered as a cadre publication because the newspaper was not in aim of building an ideology or thought. Therefore, there was no aim of training or composing leader cadres like Mücadele Birliği and the newspaper did not go for systematizing theories, as it was the case in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*.³⁸⁷ The team that published the newspaper was introduced as “the people who fully grasp the idea of *sharia*, which establishes and puts Islam in every phases of life and in most unthinkable narrow points of worldly and otherworldly life, and the people who accept Islam as the only order, which is constant, unchangeable and free from deceit”. And also this team has grasped the declaration that “believers are brothers and sisters, so Muslims are a single nation”. The team was also declared as being “aware of **the pain of their brothers, in other words their nation, which**

³⁸⁶ Emeti Saruhan, *Zamanın Tanıkları*, (İstanbul: Pınar Press December 2014), p.177.

³⁸⁷ “Beyanname 1398”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8.

is enslaved beneath cultural and political oppression of ‘nation of non-believers’”.³⁸⁸

While *Şûra* had emphasized the function of the newspaper as a tool for propagation -or *tabligh* in Islamic term-, it stated that this propagation aimed at mobilizing and provoking the thoughts, through creating some discussions.³⁸⁹

This idea can also be seen with another meaning ascribed to *Şûra* as “the press which has the force of a weapon for protecting and defending Absolute Order that is believed by it” (*inandığı Mutlak Nizâmın muhafaza ve müdafaası için bir silah mesabesinde olan matbuat*).³⁹⁰ According to the team this newspaper had undertaken the mission of “...a frontal assault and resistance in the struggle of liberation from the slavery” (“...esaretten kurtulmanın mücadelesinde bir direniş, bir taarruz cephesi”).³⁹¹

It was stated that publishing team followed the way of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaa. Another statement was about a column titled “Declaration 1398” (*Beyanname 1398*) where the conceptual discussions took place in the newspaper. According to the expressions, the opinions made in the column were made according to the main sources of Islam as the Qur’an, Sunnah, Qiyas, and Ijma. However, in this column, which included the subjects related to Islamic jurisprudence, there was a little mention about the sources and the reason for this was explained as the newspaper’s not being a scientific publication. It is stated that because of this reason, the articles carried the aim of exposing an attitude rather than being technical texts. According to *Şûra*, this publication being a newspaper was not allowed more than this.³⁹²

³⁸⁸ “Bu Gazete”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.2. Highlights are ours. Turkish version of the citation; “İslam’ı dünyevi ve uhrevi hayatın her safhasına aklın idrakinden uzak en cüz’i noktalarına kadar tesis ve tanzim eden şeriata malik, noksandan münezze, değişmez ve değiştirilemez yegâne nizam kabul eden”, ‘müminler kardeşler, Müslümanlar tek millettir’ tebliğlerinin şuuruna vakıf olarak, zamanımızda ‘küfür milleti’nin kültürel ve siyasi baskısı altında **esarete düşmüş olan kardeşlerinin yani milletin** ızdırabını”n bilincindedir.

³⁸⁹ “Beyanname 1398”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8.

³⁹⁰ Ahmed Selami, “Bu Hale Nasıl Getirildik”, *Şûra*, (16 March 1978), issue 9, p.3.

³⁹¹ “Bu Gazete”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.2.

³⁹² “Beyanname 1398”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8.

All the process for determining the name for the newspaper was explained in the newspaper's first issues. According to the explanations the name *Şûra* was chosen after *es-Selam* which was the name of another publication. Another alternative name was stated as *Ezan* (Azan) and this name was also found not suitable for the newspaper. Another interesting explanation was about the font of the header. According to the statements, the name of the newspaper was mixed with Arabic letters and this had created some confusions. *Şûra* explained the way the name is written as mingling the aesthetics of "perpetual alphabet" (*ölümsüz elifbâ*) of Arabic with Latin alphabet. However, the newspaper needed to make some explanations about the confusion upon the readers attempt to read the name of the newspaper from right to left as they would do, when reading something in Arabic. At the same time, newspaper tried to shed light on the matter because it was being accused of publishing a newspaper with Arabic letters.³⁹³ Another interesting explanations during the first issues were about removing the *basmala* upon the possibility of positioning the newspaper in inappropriate places.³⁹⁴ This can be considered as the cultural reflexions of the newspaper and its cadre. Because the habit of placing the Arabic texts over waist level, is a very cultural reflexion because of its consideration as something religious. Beyond this, there is another interesting indicator of this reflexion in the newspaper, it was warning about not writing phrases that newspaper considered as "propagation of the cause" (*davayı tebliğ*) such as "Sharia is Islam" (*Şeriat İslam'dır*), "Sovereignty Belongs to God" (*Hakimiyet Allah'ındır*) under waist level.³⁹⁵

Şûra, stressed the importance of the publications, like itself, in general, as their being new mechanisms to function in the absence of "the caliph" and "Islamic State". *Şûra* stated that "the caliph" and "Islamic State" were the mechanisms to implement "enjoining good and forbidding wrong" (*emri bil maruf nehyi anil münker*). In an environment in which the evil was not prevented, this prevention

³⁹³ Yılmaz Yalçiner, "Şeriatçı Gazete...ci...", *Şûra*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.14.

³⁹⁴ Yılmaz Yalçiner, "Şeriatçı Gazete...ci...", p.14.

³⁹⁵ "Dikkat", *Şûra*, (17 July 1978), issue 27, p.5.

is limited to the hatred in heart towards it (*kalplerde buğuz*). Moreover the mission of salvation from the evil was left in the hands of publications. These publications were considered as they were not in any compromise with “polytheist orders” (*müşrik düzen*). The publications such as *Şûra*, *Düşünce*, *Yeni Ölçü* were given as the examples with this mission. Therefore according to *Şûra* these kinds of publications should be supported and their power of propagation (*tebliğ*) should be strengthened.³⁹⁶

The article of a prominent writer Ismet Özel is important in terms of observing the ascribed meaning toward the newspaper upon official recall of its second issue’s from the market and upon the arrest of Yalçiner. Özel in his article that was published in another newspaper *Yeni Devir* (The New Era) and had been cited in *Şûra*, stated *that* the newspaper carried a dynamism and accuracy in terms of its appearance. According to him, the reason of *Şûra* being the only target despite the other journals that focused on the same issues as *Şûra*, was because it was not permissible by “the soul of regime” (*rejimin ruhu*) or by “any guarantor group of the regime” (*rejimin garantörü olan herhangi bir grup*). Ismet Özel expresses that the newspaper chose “fighters of Islam and Muslim reader” (*İslam savaşçılarını ve Müslüman okuyucu*) therefore it would have alarmed even an organization like CIA; “Before you know it, they arrest someone before we would have arranged a dual session and would have examined many intellectual and political developments. Struggle is waiting new, alive, constructive and executive initiations. The one *Şûra* initiated is one of these”.³⁹⁷

After years, Özel in the same article pictured their first meeting with Yalçiner in 1965 in Ankara as “two young who were ready to scratch one another’s eyes out” (*biri diğèrinin gözünü oymaya hazır iki genç*), as they became two people,

³⁹⁶ İbrahim Taha Emre, “İyilikte Birleşmek, Kötülükleri Yok Etmek”, *Şûra*, (26 June 1978), issue 24, p.11.

³⁹⁷ İsmet Özel, “Konuşmak”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p. 5. The article had been cited from the newspaper *Yeni Devir* and had been published with the title “An Anxious Essay” (*Sıkıntılı Bir Yazı*). Turkish version of the citation; “Daha ikili bir oturum düzenleyip birçok fikrî ve siyasî açılımların tahlilini yapmamışken bakıyorsunuz birini tutukluyorlar. Mücadele bizden her gün yeni, canlı, yapıcı ve yürütücü atılımlar bekliyor. *Şûra*’nın giriştiği bunlardan biri”.

“who approached to the responsibility of the religion of God by departing from the ideologies that were seemed like two opposite poles but in fact were the fruits of the same seed” (*iki kutup gibi görünen ve aslında aynı tohumun meyvesi durumundaki ideolojilerden kalkarak Allah’ın dininin sorumluluğuna yaklaşan*). He emphasized that understanding the adventures of these two people were important in terms of understanding the plans and “games imposed on Turkey”.³⁹⁸ It can be deduced from these words that the right and the left polarization lost its previous power and the effect of new Islamism gained momentum by mid-1970s. This new thought, which was also identified as “holistic Islam” (*Bütüncül İslam*), was described by the later Islamists as “Islamic understanding, which is “Qur’anic centred, conceptual, including dimension of sunnah and takes the life of companions as an example” rather than being an Islamic understanding that prioritizes only the politics.³⁹⁹

Tevhid as the continuation of *Şûra* started its publication life with the financial accumulation of the previous newspaper. Yalçiner was also among technical and administrative cadre of this new newspaper under the pseudonym of “Abdullah Birisi” while other administrators were Mekki Yassıkaya and Ali Galip Vural.⁴⁰⁰ Writing committee of *Tevhid* was composed of Ali Bulaç, Hüsnü Aktaş, Mehmed Mengüç Yenigün, Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil. The short text in the first issue, that summarized the publishing process stated that launching day of the newspaper would be December 1st, 1978 since it corresponds to Muharram 1st of Hijri New Year. The launching date was delayed, upon demand of MSP leader Necmettin Erbakan about meeting with the administrators of the newspaper. In addition to this explanation, it was stressed that *Tevhid* did not belong to any association or political party but they were glad to see the concern of MSP and Raiders (*Akıncılar*) towards this new newspaper.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ İsmet Özel, “Konuşmak”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p. 5

³⁹⁹ İlmi Etüdler Derneği İLEM, Sözlü Tarih Görüşmesi, (Süleyman Arslantaş), 56:19-56:33

⁴⁰⁰ “Tevhid Gazetesi ile İlgili Açıklama”, *Tevhid*, (August 1979), issue 32, p.3.

⁴⁰¹ “Bir Teşebbüsün Hikayesi...Tevhid”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.2.

It is stated that the name of *Tevhid* was chosen as a result of a consensus between the owner of the newspaper, executive editor, and the writers. In the first issue of the newspaper Ali Bulaç had penned an article about the concept of *Tevhid* (tawhid). The article was generally about the absence of unity in understanding Islam in any place in the “Country of Islam” (*İslam Ülkesi*), in which the term was used in place of “the Muslim World” by Bulaç. He stressed that while there are many meanings given to the phenomenon of religion (*din*) by the Muslims, essence of the message of this universal religion Islam was based on *tawhid* that is the faith in the unity of God.⁴⁰²

Explanations made in the last issues of the newspaper about the closure of *Tevhid*, are remarkable in terms of observing disputes that occurred between technical and writers cadre. According to the explanation, dispute was based on different interpretations of sharia between the newspaper’s owners, who were accused of being loyal to the state, and the writing. Another reason for the disagreement was assumed to be the conversion of formal ownership of the newspaper by Yalçınar and his circle to actual one. There is no detailed explanation made about the content of basic disputes in these different understandings of sharia. Along with the explanation of writers’ cadre, the statement of technical team was also placed on the same page and it was stated that they did not have intellectual or doctrinal dispute with the writers of the newspaper.⁴⁰³

The last newspaper of the range *Hicret* was launched with the slogan “from congregation toward the state” (*cemaatten devlete*). While the owner of the newspaper was stated as “S. Coşar”, “the person in charge and accountable in terms of criminal responsibility from the content to the reader and to the state” (*bu gazetenin muhteviyatından okuyucuya ve cezai mes’uliyet bakımından da düzene karşı mes’ulü*) was declared as Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil. *Hicret* provided a brief explanation about the closure of *Tevhid* stating that there was no aim of

⁴⁰² Ali Bulaç, “Tevhid’in Manası”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.7.

⁴⁰³ “Tevhid Gazetesi ile İlgili Açıklama”, *Tevhid*, (August 1979), issue 32, p.3.

closure from the side of the writers team and the closure of the newspaper happened after their breakup from *Tevhid*. Explanation of the writer cadre, which was also published in *Tevhid*, first emerged in the newspaper *Millî Gazete*, in the column of Sadık Albayrak. As I have understood from the explanations in the first issue of *Hicret* major dispute between writers and technical team in *Tevhid* emerged about the functioning and the property of the journal. Details of dispute were not shared with the readers with the explanation that this could create inconvenience in terms of the main cause (*dava*). These explanations were accompanied with a call to send income of *Tevhid* to Afghanistan; “We have seen a serious controversy with which we cannot coexist together. When we dare to practice sharia that we enormously demanded in our own structure, we saw the monuments of nafs, who owned in compliance with the order, stood up in front of us, and we withdrew”.⁴⁰⁴

There are conceptual discussions observed, from the first issues of *Şûra*, with emphasis on conceptual confusions. *Şûra* tried to draw attention by interpreting international developments on the measurement of “Islamic state- polytheist state” (*İslam devleti-Müşrik devlet*), “nation of Islam-Nation of non-believers” (*İslam milleti-küfür milleti*). The newspaper states that its only target with these discussions was to declare the meanings of these concepts “to friends and enemies” in their Islamic content.⁴⁰⁵ The column with the title *Beyanname 1398* discussed the concepts through current issues. This column was, replaced in *Tevhid* with the name “Islamic Terms” (*İslami İstılahlar*) which were prepared more scholarly and technically. Through internal and international developments, *Şûra* indented to portray the confusion in the minds of Muslims towards the most crucial concepts such as state, fatherland, nation (*devlet, vatan, millet*) as it was the aim of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. Dilemmas that the nation-state phenomenon created were exemplified through a question about

⁴⁰⁴ “Bir Hikayenin Hikayesi ve Hicret’in Gerçekleşmesi”, *Hicret*, (17 September 1979), issue 1, p.19. Turkish version of the citation; “Bir arada bulunamayacak derecede bir ciddi ihtilaf meydana geldiğini, çok talepçisi olduğumuz şeriati, kendi iç bünyemizde tatbiki kalkıştığımızda düzene göre sahip olanların nefis heykellerinin önümüze dikildiğini gördük ve çekildik”.

⁴⁰⁵ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.8-10.

the status of the Moroccan Muslim soldiers, who were stated as fighting against Muslims in Chad and the Western Sahara in the ranks of French army. The powerful question was about whether they would be considered martyr or not in the case of their death.⁴⁰⁶

As for *Tevhid*, the newspaper had argued that contradicting concepts, which caused many dilemmas, occupied the agenda of Muslims more than before. Therefore, the newspaper states that the aim of the column “Islamic Terms” (*İslami İstilahlar*) was to clarify “a set of distorted analogies between Islam and the west for one and half era” (... *bir buçuk asırdır İslam ile batı arasında, çarpık bir takım benzetmeler*). According to *Tevhid*, as a result of “compulsory westernization” that started with Tanzimat, Muslim society and state, their social life and world of thought were fashioned like that of a westerner. As a result of this, “Qur’anic concepts and terminologies were deviated from their original meanings or non-Islamic new concepts and expressions were introduced to replace the functions of the former concepts in the lives of Muslims”.⁴⁰⁷

As for *Hicret*, “martyr” (*şehit*), “martyrdom” (*şehadet*), “legitimate” (*meşru*), “illegitimate” (*gayr-ı meşru*), “nation” (*millet*), “rightism” (*sağcılık*), “leftism” (*solculuk*), “the lesser of two evils” (*ehven-i şer*), “legitimacy” (*şeriyeye*) were given example for terms that were emptied from their Islamic contents. *Hicret* states that these words are completely Islamic, and are often used in the Qur’an and Sunnah, but they were deviated from their original meaning by the intellectuals who were influenced by the West. The concepts such as civilization (*medeniyet*), nationalism (*milliyetçilik*), humanism (*hümanizm*), democracy (*demokrasi*), idealism (*idealizm*), universalism (*üniversalizm*) and realism (*realizm*) were given as the examples, which were also declared as non-Islamic and used incorrectly based on their meanings by Muslims. It was emphasized that while these words

⁴⁰⁶ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.10.

⁴⁰⁷ “İslami İstilahlar”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.16. Turkish version of the citation; “Kur’ânî olan mefhum ve ıstilahlar ya asıl manalarından saptırılmış veya onların Müslümanların hayatında yükledikleri fonksiyonları ifa edecek yeni ve İslami olmayan kavram ve deyim türetilmiştir.”

do not have a place in Islamic terminologies, they were given Islamic contents and were utilized in order to distract the Muslims.⁴⁰⁸

All these newspapers were advocating that all problems in the Muslim world came out as a result of the fragmentation of Muslim countries and societies. Therefore, the newspapers *Şûra* and *Tevhid* were advocating full-scale rise in all Muslim countries at once. According to new understanding, this was the only way to overthrow the hegemony of “evil order” that continued for hundreds of years, and to eliminate disunity in the political geography rather than physical geography among Muslim countries, or in other words in “the Country of Islam” (*İslam Ülkesi*). Here, the hierarchy that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* idealized and was the concern of the right-wing in general, was blurred. As I understood from the content of these three, developments in the Muslim geographies such as; Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other Muslim regions distracted the attention of Turkey’s young Islamists. So the concentration and consideration on Turkey as the first salvation ideal was dispersed. It seems that enthusiasm for these victories shadowed Turkey centred salvation strategy –or aim-. Again developments in these geographies inspired new Islamist thinking in Turkey about the possibility of mass salvation. The new Islamist youth who were considerably impressed by these developments, had highly emphasized to join this rise altogether by trying to draw attention of Turkish public toward these geographies. In this respect, these efforts went to eliminate centrality of the idea of Turkey. This tendency or need of connection with the Muslim world can be read as the effort to eliminate lack of a sense of belonging. The formula of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in coping with the lack of belonging created by identity crisis was building a nation with the motivation of completing the nationhood process.

4.2 From National Struggle to Islamic Movement

Long live the Way of the Prophet
Muhammad, Long live Independent

⁴⁰⁸ Ali Bulaç, “Millet Kelimesi Etrafında”, *Hicret*, (10 December 1979), issue 12, p.6.

Şûra brings to the agenda the need of reformation of that period's Islamic understanding and Muslims' way of living through and often voicing some vital concepts. According to the newspaper being a Muslim and being a man with a cause (*dava adamı*) are different things. Thus, *Şûra* had emphasized its publication aim as clarifying the difference between "Muslimness" and "Muslimness that undertakes the case of the sharia" (*davası şariat olan Müslümanlık*), and focused on the characteristic of "the man of cause", who aimed to place "the order of Islam" (*İslam Nizamı*). Approach to "Muslimness" and to "the Man of Cause" (*Müslüman/Dava Adamı*) in different context, can be observed best through the criticisms toward the institution of Diyanet. According to *Şûra*, Diyanet was a mechanism, which undertook the mission to impose a materialist construction of mind and separating Muslims from their identity of a man with a cause.⁴¹⁰

Şûra had settled all its arguments on inevitable victory of the Islamic movement as re-creation of Islamic society and returning to Islamic life again. The newspaper emphasized that the first essential aspect for an Islamic movement is a Muslim generation based on the premise that "if those who believe in socialism are able to realize socialist society, then only those who believe in Islam, can realize a Muslim generation". Important characteristics of this generation included Islamic culture, knowledge of psychology and strategy, which indicate the existence of doctrinal bond, rather than having a sense of nationalism (in the sense of racialism), regionalism, classism (*sınıfçılık*) and a sense of belonging to a superior family, which were stated as fragile bonds. According to *Şûra*, the nature of Islamic movement is being accessible to whole stratum of the society. A congregation, which is far from the people or remained isolated or looking down on the people, even it has *ikhlas*, is not

⁴⁰⁹ "Okuyucularımız Yazıyorlar Hicrî-1400 Ne Yapabiliriz?", *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.12, Turkish version of the citation; Yaşasın Hz. Muhammed'in Yolu, Yaşasın Tüm Dünya Müslümanlarının Bağımsız ve Ortak Mücadelesi.

⁴¹⁰ Ahmed Selâmi, "Şer'i Da'va ve Şûrâ", *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.7.

capable of fulfil the requirements of Islamic movement. Therefore, Islamic movement is obliged to go to the people rather than waiting for the people to find it.⁴¹¹ While *Şûra* makes these inferences as its own, the newspaper also questions the nature of growing Islamic movement in Turkey and opens the discussion “whether those information, opinions, understandings which were presented with the patent of Islam and shielded with attractive covers are, Islamic or not?” (*İslam patenti ile sunulan ve bazen cazib kılıflara büründürülen bilgiler, görüşler, anlayışlar... İslâmî midir?*).⁴¹²

In the column *Beyanname 1398*, one of the aims of this column was stated as criticising traditional Islam or in other term given by the newspaper “folk Islam” in Turkey. The reason for this was explained as that folk Islam was open for any outside manipulation because of its weak nature and thus the state is able to manipulate it. For example the conditions; such as a person, who performs *salah* five times a day, can support a politician, who believes in the idea that “religion is opium”, or equalizes the obedience to the ruling *Emir* with the leader of secular state, were presented as great contradictions. According to *Şûra*, these contradictions were rooted because Muslims were deprived of the idea of “order” (*nizam*) in their minds.⁴¹³

Cultural differences that were interpreted as folk Islam are considered as obstacles in reaching a unity in this new Islamist thinking which was in the belief that cultural differences of Muslims accompanied with political borders, contributed fragmentation of the ummah. According to this idea, these cultural differences became a functional tool in “othering” one another and strengthening statist thought and attitude in direction of ambitions of colonizing order in the context of new nation state system.

⁴¹¹ Yusuf el Kardavi, “İslami Hareket ve Başarı”, translator, Ş. Duman, *Şûra*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.15.

⁴¹² Mehmet Kerem, “İslâmî Hareket’i Nasıl Kavramalı”, *Şûra*, (17 July 1978), issue 27, p.4.

⁴¹³ “Beyanname 1398”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8.

It is almost impossible to speak about an existing unity of understanding Islam, in various regions of the country of Islam. Other than a distinguished class, who acquired pure Islamic knowledge, understanding and opinion of crowded clusters, who call themselves or being called as Muslims, related to Islam has been composed from the influence of civilization that the society in which they live in and value judgement of permanent worldview of social system and philosophical considerations. Straightforwardly it is certain that this understanding style, which does not use the revelation as source, is different from what God desires.⁴¹⁴

As for *Tevhid*, the newspaper also targeted folk Islam while becoming a functional tool by exemplifying a meeting carried out in Tatvan. In this, the newspaper pointed out the difference between folk Islam and Islam of order (*nizam İslami*). The newspaper questioned the reason that why “cries of Allahu akbar” (*Allah’u ekber nidaları*) create anxiety in “the system” and amongst certain segment of the society, while *azan* from the minarets are met with silence.

...What is the difference between your cries in this square and with this *azan* that does not frighten those who were afraid of Arabic? If it will be told that “we could not determine how we are going to treat those (cries) in the streets yet”, then it is suited to talk about existence of a system that exercises its power over Muslims. In fact those who extort or dare to extort the things on members of community to act other than their beliefs, has enslaved that community.⁴¹⁵

As aforementioned, while all of these newspapers were not in aim of establishing a strategy or drawing a road map like *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, *Şûra* had

⁴¹⁴ Ali Bulaç, “Tevhid’in Manası”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.7. Turkish version of the citation; İslam ülkesinin çeşitli bölgelerinde İslam hakkında bir anlayış birliğinin var olduğundan söz etmek hemen hemen imkansız gibidir. İslâmî saf bilgileri edinmiş seçkin bir zümrenin dışında kendilerine Müslüman diyen veya denilen kalabalık yığınların İslam’a ilişkin görüş ve anlayışları, içinde yaşadıkları toplumun bağlı olduğu medeniyet ve sosyal sistemin yerleşik dünya görüşünün din konusundaki değer yargılarından felsefi telakkilerinden etkilenerek oluşmuştur. Doğrudan doğruya vahyî bilgilerden kaynağı almayan bu anlayış şeklinin de Allah’ın murat ettiğinden ayrı olduğu kesindir”.

⁴¹⁵ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Doğu’da Yangın Var Naraları” Arasında, *Tevhid*, (23 April 1979), issue 18, p. 2. Turkish version of the citation; “...Arapça diye korkanların korkmadıkları bu ezan ile, sizin bu meydanda Allah’u ekber nidanız arasında ne fark vardır? “Henüz meydanlardakine nasıl bir tavır takınacağımızı tesbit edememiştik” denilecek olursa, o zaman Müslümanların inançları üzerinde baskı kurmuş olan bir düzenin varlığından bahsetmek yerinde olur ki, bir cemiyetin mensuplarına inançlarının dışındaki işleri zorla yaptırıyorlar, yaptırmaya kalkışanlar gerçekte, o toplumu esir almışlar demektir”.

addressed the subject of building a method for an Islamic order only in an article, which was questioning the necessity of the formation of a party by Muslims. In this article, it was stated that the success of ideological efforts is possible with a “believer man, discipline and organization” (*inanmış adam, disiplin ve teşkilat*), while the most important of these three was stressed as believer man. According to *Şûra*, ability and power of a believer man can come out only in an organizational structure (*teşkilat*) that works with a certain discipline. In this idea, centrality of organization (*teşkilat*) carries quite importance since all road map is drawn/should be drawn by this central entity. Therefore, only a “movement” equipped with an organization will be able to realize its target. Those, which were determined as subsidiary forces such as “political structures, local organizations, youth organizations, various profession associations, unions, mass media tools, intelligence and propaganda organizations, provocation groups, various purposed teams and so on” should not act on behalf of themselves and apart from the knowledge of the centre. The reason for the Muslims’ failure was stated to be their disperse and sudden actions, their lack of ability in becoming organized, that arises because of being unaware of the importance of organization (*teşkilat*). It can be seen here that while *Şûra* had advocated similar method of struggle with *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in the form of an organized structure with all units of educational, psychological, social struggle, it does not clarify the nature of it more than these explanations. However, *Şûra* argued that the need for an organization should not be thought be limited to forming a political party. This argument may also have arisen because the newspaper did not have a supportive force movement like *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and did not need to go further than functioning as a newspaper.⁴¹⁶

As for *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the journal did not consider *Şûra*’s explanations about organization as sincere because *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* accused the newspaper for making propaganda that “*sharia* will prevail” (*şariat gelecek*) and for provoking the masses and the administration. The way of bringing *sharia* was

⁴¹⁶ Erdem Murat, *Şu Mesele, Şûra*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.12.

ironically asked by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* to *Şûra* whether the method in bringing *sharia* would be “writing the slogan on the walls?” or “with a democratic way?” or “with coup d’état of the government?”.⁴¹⁷ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had criticized obsessive use of the word *sharia* in *Şûra*. The journal argued that an average Muslim is aware that *din-şeriat-Islam* are the same and Islam is not limited only to morality and worship. However these people still did not need to write *sharia* or other words on the walls or in the newspapers like *Şûra* did as for declaration of their awareness.⁴¹⁸

Şûra responds to these accusations based on the circumstances of the time that forced them to write discourses such as “*sharia* will prevail” on the walls or to declare them in publications. According to *Şûra*, these criticisms of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* about writing the slogans on the walls or on the press, are the same as the criticisms of hundred years before such as; “are you going to make Islam dominant by publishing journal, newspaper?”.⁴¹⁹ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* that interpreted emphasises of *sharia* in *Şûra* as provoking the people advocated, that there is no such kind of method in Islamic history. Furthermore, the journal states that the order of Islam (*İslam Nizamı*), which was realized only during the period of Madina, cannot be implemented immediately in these conditions of Turkey. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* mocks in criticisms by stating that if Islam would remain as only a word in the streets or in the pages of newspapers, it might be enough to say “*sharia* is Islam” (*Şeriat İslam’dır*). Moreover, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* interpreted *Şûra*’s not having a cadre of spreaders of faith and inviters (*tebliğci/davetçi*) as a big contradiction with its claims in bringing *sharia*.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ “Provokasyonlar ve Kutta-î Tarik”, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, (5 September 1978), year 9, issue 448, p.3.

⁴¹⁸ “Provokasyonlar ve Kutta-î Tarik”, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, (5 September 1978), year 9, issue 448, p.3.

⁴¹⁹ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere; Müslümanım Diyene Yakışan Küfre Karşı Allah’ın Son Şeriatı İçin Dövüşenlere Yardımcı Olmaktır Karalamak Değil”, *Şûra*, (2 October 1978), issue 37, p.10.

⁴²⁰ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere...”, p.10.

As a result of these argumentations *Şûra* published and shared with the readers some questions for Yeniden Millî Mücadele to respond. The newspaper also gave its own answers to these questions in the same pages.

Q; Are you going to limit your struggle with the salvation of Turkish *qawm*?

Şûra; Never! As a Muslim we wish the salvation, which we understand in the meaning of submission of all *qawms* to Islam. Our struggle cannot be limited with the name of the tribe.⁴²¹

Emphasis towards the concept of *jihad* is quite intense in the first issues of *Şûra*. In these articles *jihad* was addressed as battle (*kıtal*) and the nature of a battle in Islamic jurisprudence and in Islamic history were given in some other articles. The titles of the essays related to *jihad* were respectively titled as “Jihad Against non-Believers” (*Müşriklere Karşı Cihad*), “Jihad Against People of the Book” (*Ehli Kitaba Karşı Cihad*), “Jihad Against Apostate” (*Mürtetlere Karşı Cihad*), “Jihad and Guarding the Borders of Islamic Territories Against Rebels” (*Asilere Karşı Cihad, Ribat*).⁴²² Military order in Islamic country, the authority and the structure of an army, were addressed within the frame of *jihad*.⁴²³ In the third issue of *Şûra* the article titled “In What Conditions and Why Muslims Fight?” (*Müslüman Hangi Hallerde Savaşır Niçin Savaşır*), collocates the conditions of the war that Islam requires. In this alignment of the conditions, it was referred to the book of Abdurrahman Azzam Pasha “Everlasting Prophecy” (*Ebedi Risalet*). The first two conditions that require *jihad* are stated as any attack on the property or on honour and territory of a nation whether Muslim or not. These kinds of conditions require engagement of the Islamic society in repulsing these attacks. As for the third condition, it is ensuring the “Absolute Truth” (*Mutlak Doğru*) that is “the only tool” (*yegane vasıta*) of worldly and otherworldly peace, on earth within the frame of “enjoining the good and forbidding the wrong” (*emri bil*

⁴²¹ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere...”, p.10.

Turkish version of the citation;

Soru; Mücadelenizi “Türk Kavmi”nin kurtuluşu ile sınırlandırmakta mısınız?

Şûra: Asla!. Bir Müslüman olarak, her kavmin İslam’a teslim olması manasında anladığımız kurtuluşu bütün kavimler için isteriz. Mücadelemiz kavim ismiyle sınırlandırılmaz.

⁴²² Macid Hadduri, “Cihad”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.12.

⁴²³ Macid Hadduri, “Askeri Düzen”, *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.10.

maruf nehyi anil münker). It is also about making a true universal system and making it acceptable to all of humanity. However the whole struggle in this process may end up with a possible battle.⁴²⁴

While *Şûra* emphasized the idea of Islamic struggle beyond boundaries, the newspaper regarded Islamic movement in Turkey as trapped in a number of national anxieties. According to *Şûra*, as a result of this, 90% of Muslims had embraced nationalism. For *Şûra*, the idea of Islamic struggle beyond boundaries is quite in accordance with the method and implementation of prophet of Islam.⁴²⁵

Ali Bulaç in *Tevhid*, considered *milliyetçilik* (nationalism) or *ulusalcılık* (ethnicity-based secular nationalism) as a hindrance for Islamic movement and interpreted it as another stage in imperialism's colonization process. This stage starts with pushing mobilizations, which were against imperialism and social injustice in the country of Islam in which struggles took place, into the influence of Marxist ideas. Therefore, Marxism and capitalism in cooperation brought Muslim world under control. Thus, people "who broke the capitalist circle, could not obtain their real independence because of their containment in Marxist circle". Nationalism, ethnic nationalism and principles of self-determination that were put forward by Marxism, were considered as another method in preventing Muslims to gain their independence. According to this new Islamist thinking, "a society is sentenced to domain of magnetic field of the West as long as it becomes modernized and it is sentenced to domain of magnetic field of colonizers as long as it is nationalized. As for self-determination, it is a pitfall for dividing a society to hundred pieces".⁴²⁶ From this point, Iranian revolution was

⁴²⁴ Seyfullah Fethi, "Hangi Hallerde Savaşır? Niçin Savaşır?", *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.12.

⁴²⁵ Mehmet Kerem, "İslâmi Hareket'i Nasıl Kavramalı", p.4.

⁴²⁶ Ali Bulaç, "Herkesin Telaşı", *Tevhid*, (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.6. Turkish version of the citation; "bir toplum çağdaşlaştıkça batının manyetik alanına, millileştikçe sömürgecilerin nüfuz sahasına mahkum olmuştur. Halkların kendi kaderini tayin etmeleri ise bir toplumu yüz parçaya ayırmak için bulunmaz bir tuzaktır".

considered as a big blow that would affect the systems and thoughts in most places in “the Country of Islam” (*İslam Ülkesi*).⁴²⁷

I have not observed hierarchical formula in *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* like the one Yeniden Millî Mücadele idealized. Because these newspapers strongly believe in en masse salvation in the Country of Islam as a whole at once, rather than completing a national salvation first. Therefore, with the motivation of this belief, these publications were considering the nation-state identities as divisive factors and they were in an effort to surpass these identities determined and crystallized with political borders. The source that inspired these ideas and justified the process of the Muslim World’s struggle altogether in the minds of new Islamists, were the movements and mobilizations that occurred at the same period in the Muslim world. Developments, which were embraced as victories such as Russia’s defeat in Afghanistan, Iranian Islamic revolution and so on left huge impacts in the new Islamists of the period. The excitement in catching up victories of other Muslims highly bolstered the new Islamists who did not want to lose time with the nationalization phase and considered nationalism as an obsolete ideal. Thereby “National Struggle” of Yeniden Millî Mücadele, which can be regarded with its representation of Islamists in the right-wing, had evolved into “Islamic movement” towards the end of 1970s.

4.3 Understanding of Dar-al Harb and Dar-al Islam

I have observed that content of the meaning that was ascribed to the right and the left by Yeniden Millî Mücadele was equivalent with the meaning ascribed to *Dar-al Harb* and *Dar-al Islam*. According to *Şûra*, in the world, there are two communities as those who are allegiant to divine message and those who deny it therefore the World is divided as *Dar-al Harb* on which non-believers are sovereign and *Dar-al Islam* on which believers are sovereign. “Therefore in practice, community of people who fulfil Islamic orders, are called as those, who live in Dar-al Islam” and those who live in Dar-al Harb are considered as in the

⁴²⁷ Bulaç, “Herkesin Telaşı”, p.5.

same group even if they might belong to different religions, they are considered as the People of the Book. These include; Sabians, Majus, Dahri, polytheist, apostate, almost all of them”.⁴²⁸

While *Şûra* brings this division of world territories into agenda, the newspaper does not declare Turkey literally as *Dar-al Harb*. However, it obliquely addresses its belief in this direction with the statements such as “Muslim populated countries” (*halkı Müslüman ülkeler*), “Muslims from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli Müslümanlar*). The question that *Şûra* asked Yeniden Millî Mücadele to answer within the frame of quarrel between Yeniden Millî Mücadele and *Şûra*, can be given as an example to this indirect implicitly.⁴²⁹

Q: How do you consider the conditions of Muslims from Turkey in the country they live in?

Şûra: Turkish Muslims are under oppression of a regime, which is non-Islamic and an enemy of Islam. They are sort of in politically enslaved position.⁴³⁰

As for *Tevhid*, the newspaper avoids approaching Turkey in the same way *Şûra* did. According to *Tevhid*, “Muslims from Turkey” “will enable nationalization (*millîleşme*) of the fatherland by quitting all foreign ideologies with their enduring and determined struggle, which acknowledges God’s unconditional right of dominating the earth without all asserting any provision and requirement”.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Maverdî, “İslam’da Devlet İdaresi, El-Ahkamu’s Sultaniyye,” çev. Ali Şafak, *Şûra*, (2 March 1978), issue 7, p.8.

⁴²⁹ “Rejim Kapı Kulluğuna Yeltenenler Hüsrana Uğrar”, *Şûra*, (2 October 1978), issue 37, p.16.

These questions that *Şûra* asked Yeniden Millî Mücadele, are taking place in the paper according to the subjects in different titles in order to compare these two thinkings.

⁴³⁰ “Rejim Kapı Kulluğuna Yeltenenler Hüsrana Uğrar”, p.16.

Turkish version of the citation;

Türkiye Müslümanlarının buldukları ülkedeki vaziyetlerini nasıl görüyorsunuz?.”

Şûra: Türkiye Müslümanları, gayr-ı İslami ve İslam’a düşman bir rejimin baskısı altındadır. Bir nevi siyasi esaret halindedir

⁴³¹ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Tevhid Mücadelesinin Tarihi Temelleri 2”, *Tevhid*, (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.6.

Turkish version of the citation; “Türkiyeli Mü’minlerin” bütün ideolojileri bırakıp “Allah’ın yeryüzündeki tasarruf hakkını hiçbir kayıt ve şart ileri sürmeksizin kabul eden sabırlı ve azimli mücadeleleri, bu coğrafyanın vatanlaşmasını sağlayacaktır”.

By ascribing holiness to some regions of the world other than having geopolitical and strategic importance, we are not able to consider some parts of the earth as “here is our land there is not!”. Every single territory, which was once conquered by the Muslims, submitted to the sovereignty of God, is fatherland of the Muslims, if not it must be fatherland of Muslims. Muslim has to reveal his/her value and judgement about each territory by having this understanding. In this respect, we are the guardians of Anatolian territory and we believe that as natural consciousness of our guardianship we cannot avoid thinking (the condition) that the most violent war will take place in our hold.⁴³²

The same thoughts can be seen in the pages of *Hicret*.

Brothers, in so many words, one more corner of our fatherland, fatherland of Islam has been occupied. In reality, today almost each corner of Islamic territories is under occupation. (We judge as occupation) because, when it is mentioned Islamic territories the first thing should be understood that Islamic jurisprudence is sovereign on life. A place, in which Islam prevailed once in any period in our 14-century-old history, afterwards even if it might be occupied and implementations of our sharia rules might be totally prevented, it is still considered as territory of Islam. However it is considered as under occupation.⁴³³

In these words, it is understood that *Tevhid* avoids the idea of *Dar-al Harb* because of the fear of causing ignorance toward these territories that according to the newspaper, must be considered as fatherland of Islam. Moreover *Tevhid* believes that Turkey should not be ever ignored by the “Muslims from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli Müslümanlar*), other Muslims in other territories should also be in the agenda of Muslims here.⁴³⁴

However, the questions in the column started from 3rd issue and titled as “What is its true answer?!” (*Doğrusu Ne?!*), are important in terms of comprehending the logic behind the newspaper’s perception of fatherland (*vatan*). It is stated for one of the questions that was asked to be given the “truest answer” rather than “closer answer a true one” (*Doğruya yakın” değil “en doğru*), is as follows.

⁴³² Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Yeni Bir Asrın, 15. Hicri Asrın Eşiğinde”, *Tevhid*, (25 December 1978), issue 2, p.6.

⁴³³ “Hicret’ten okuyuculara....Afganistan’a Nasıl Gidelim?”, *Hicret*, (12 March 1980), issue 8, p.2.

⁴³⁴ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Yeni Bir Asrın, 15. Hicri Asrın Eşiğinde”, p.6.

Fatherland of a Muslim...?

- a- His/her birth place.
- b- Entire earth.
- c- Arabia.
- d- Turkey.
- e- The place, in which laws of God holds sway over.⁴³⁵

An interesting interview took place in *Hicret* is remarkable in terms of observing the perception of *vatan*. The course of this interview with a person, who was told as to be from Morocco and a member of a society named "Association for Dawah of Allah", (*Cemiyet-i Davet-il Allah*) indicates *vatan* as an understanding of new Islamist thinking.

Hicret: In which country were you before Turkey?

M. Umrani: I was in my own country.

Hicret: You mean?

M. Umrani: I mean I was in the territories of Islam... aren't all these territories not ours?

Hicret: Both, as ours and as not...

M. Umrani: Yes (our territories) are under occupation; under occupation of tyrant, deviant and non-believers... but are we going to surrender because they are under occupation? Are we going to give up our right? If a thief steals my bag, is the bag supposed to belong to the thief? If everywhere is the territory of Islam, we do not have right to renounce our right... In that case, even in a hard-pressed condition, despite the obstacles that were laid by non-believers, I am traveling around in my own country, in other words in fatherland of Islam which is occupied...⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ "Doğrusu Ne?!", *Tevhid*, (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.14.

"Bir Müslümanın vatanı...

a-Doğduğu yerdir.

b-Bütün yeryüzüdür.

c-Arabistan'dır.

d-Türkiye'dir.

e-Allah'ın hükümlerinin hakim olduğu yerdir".

⁴³⁶ "Mescid-ül Haram Hadisesinin İçyüzü", *Hicret*, (10 December 1979), issue 12, p.3.

"Hicret; Türkiye'den önce hangi ülkedeydiniz?

M. Ümrani; Kendi ülkemde..

Hicret: Yani?

M.Ümrani; İslam topraklarında... Her yeri bizim ülkemiz değil mi?

Hicret: Ama hem bizim hem de değil...

M. Ümrani; Evet işgal altında: zalim, fasık ve kafirlerin işgali altında...ama bu böyle diye teslim mi olacağız? Hakkımızdan vaz mı geçeceğiz? Benim çantamı bir hırsız çalsa, çanta onun elindeyken onun mu sayılacaktır? Her yer İslam toprağı ise orası üzerindeki hakkımızdan feragat salahiyetimiz yok... Öyleyse kendi ülkem içinde, yani işgal edilmiş İslam vatanı üzerinde kafir ve zalimlerin koyduğu sınırlamalarla güç bela da olsa dolaşıyorum..."

While these three newspaper interpreted the events within the context the polarization of “believers” (*inananlar*) and “deniers” (*inkar edenler*) in the context of *Dar-al Harb* and *Dar-al Islam*, *Şûra* interpreted “the right-the left” or communism-anti communism polarization as artificial agenda created by the right-wing. *Şûra* believed that those two camps were in fact “permitted thoughts” (*icazetli fikirler*) by the system. According to the newspaper the root of the right-left clashes, which were transformed to quite bloody combats towards the end of the 1970s, was “oligarchic” state order. While the leftist groups came together under the umbrella of Ecevit’s CHP, those who were “capitalist, racist, gallivanter and also Muslims” gathered under the roof of AP, so they turned out to be “more controllable by the system”. The stirring started by 1965 in the right-wing and symptoms of fragmentation were regarded as a “revival” (*şuurlanma*) by *Şûra*. The first outbreaks of this “revival” were interpreted as splitting of both MHP, in which ethnonationalists (called in the article as *kavmiyetçi*) came together, and MSP to which Muslims showed tendency, from the right wing as well as from each other. According to the newspaper, the state did not react against these political parties, MSP and MHP, with the fear of possibility of causing more tendencies towards the two, and formed “a big cluster” with the discourse of Nationalist Front. According to *Şûra*, the state desired that racists be remained in the right-wing with “the tale of ‘The Last Turkish State’. The same desire for the Muslims was in the form of convincing the hype of “the lesser of two evils” (*ehven-i şer*) stay in a well-behaved manner” (*sağ kampta ırkçılar ‘Son Türk Devleti’ni’ muhafaza hikayesiyle, Müslümanlar da ‘Ehven-i Şer’ yutturmacası ile uslu uslu otursunlar*). Moreover, according to the newspaper, the right and the left camp were kept under control by letting them vanquish each other. “Oligarchic order” was being entrenched at every turn by declaration of the martial law during the periods in which the clashes became critical. Therefore “the pain of Turkey is captivity... the cause for this is oligarchic order. A decayed official ideology lies on the base of Oligarchic order” (*Türkiye’nin sancısı hürriyetsizlik... hürriyetisizliğin sebebi, oligarşik düzendir. Oligarşik düzenin temelinde ise çürümüş bir resmi ideoloji yatmaktadır*).⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ Remzi Şahinoğlu, “Sebebi Ne?”, *Şûra*, (30 March 1978), issue 11, p.16. Turkish version of the

According to *Şûra*, those who found a place under the right-wing, was coherently developing a capitalist front in the name of anti-communism as much as the regime allowed. These segments under the right-wing assumed these efforts under fighting with communism as holy jihad, (*cihad-ı mukaddes*).⁴³⁸ *Şûra* showed its criticism against this stance by refusing to join the campaigns of “redemption of the state from the decline”.⁴³⁹ While these ideas represented a general attitude among the new Islamist thinking, this new tendency had distanced itself from the right at the same time.

The questions that *Şûra* addressed to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* are important in terms of how *Şûra* interpreted and considered the rightism and its functions.

Q: Would you be a partisan or in other words do you support and defend this non-Islamic and polytheist regime that you consider as an enemy of Islam?

Şûra: Never!

Q: Would you collaborate with polytheist regime against those who aimed to destroy polytheist regime and are also an enemy of Islam such as communists?

Şûra: No! There can be no collaboration neither with communists against polytheist regime nor can there be a collaboration with polytheist regime against communists. Even if it would be temporary, there cannot even be a mention of our cooperation with both of them, with blasphemy and tyranny that plagues Islam.⁴⁴⁰

According to *Şûra*, continuing a common action with the classical right-wing and the secular right-wing for years, created some kind of illness among the Muslims.

Discourses of the right-wing into which “the believers from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli*

citation; “Türkiye’nin sancısı hürriyetsizlik... hürriyetsizliğin sebebi, oligarşik düzendir. Oligarşik düzenin temelinde ise çürümüş bir resmi ideoloji yatmaktadır”.

⁴³⁸ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Adım: Müslüman”, *Şûra*, (14 August 1978), issue 31, p.2.

⁴³⁹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁴⁴⁰ “Rejim Kapı Kulluğuna Yeltenenler Hüsrana Uğrar”, p.16. Turkish version of the citation; Türkiye’deki bu gayr-ı İslami ve İslam düşmanı olduğunı söylediğiniz müşrik rejime “yandaş” olur musunuz, yani onu destekler, onun müdafaasını yapar mısınız?.

Şûra: Asla!

Müşrik rejimi yıkmayı hedef almış İslam’ın da düşmanı olanlara (komünistler gibi) karşı müşrik rejimle işbirliği yapar mısınız?

Şûra: Hayır! Ne müşrik rejime karşı komünistlerle ve ne de komünistlere karşı müşrik rejimle işbirliğimiz olamaz. Her ikisi de, küfür ve İslam’a bela olan zulümlerle, bizlerin -geçici-dahi olsa, işbirliğimiz söz konusu edilemez”.

Mü'minler) were pushed, had transformed the Muslims. While the character of the state ideology was equipped with communist hatred, worrying about the national problems of Turkey, supporting the interpretation that state ideology demanded with historical legendary, adding new pages to the glorious Turkish history, judging that "there is no other jihad" other than this... all these understandings are criticized by *Şûra* and it is believed that "common front of the right" against communism is a planted "story".⁴⁴¹

The reason for this kind of perception of the Muslim community as unconsciously transformed masses can be seen more clearly in interpretations of *Tevhid* and these interpretations represent the general perception in the new Islamist thinking. The newspaper points to Muslim communities' role in making religion as assisting factor in realization of the targets of Republic's secular way of living.⁴⁴² The column "Islamic Terms" (*İslami İstihlalar*) specifically deals with the concept of "the rightist" (*sağcı*) in one of the essays. It was emphasized that while Muslims were the "othered" by insults and called reactionist (*gerici*), zealot (*yobaz*) amulet maker (*muskacı*) exorcist (*üfürükçü*) for years, now they were categorized as "the rightist" with the effort of integrating them into the capitalist order. According to *Tevhid*, while Muslims had not named themselves as the rightest or the leftist in none of the periods in their history, during that period Muslims were supposed to be rightist in Turkey. This condition was vice versa among Arabs, who were supposed to be leftist by the world order. Thus, according to *Tevhid* deployment of the Muslims to these countries in the leftist and the rightist camps was compulsory enforcement of the world order.

Interpreting of *ashab al-yamin* as "the rightists" by referring the Qur'an was severely criticized by the newspapers. Tendency of Muslims to consider themselves rightist while naming those other than themselves as leftist also had

⁴⁴¹ Hüsnü Aktaş, "Resmi İdeoloji ve Ücretli Köleler", *Şûra*, (30 October 1978), issue 41, p.2. "Resmi ideoloji'nin komünist düşmanı bir karakteri bulunduğuna göre, Türkiye'nin milli meselelerini mesele edinmek, gece-gündüz resmi ideolojinin istediği yorumu, tarihi menkıbelerle desteklemek, şanlı Türk tarihine yeni sayfalar eklemek..."

⁴⁴² Ali Bulaç, "Tevhid'in Manası", p.7.

received harsh criticisms from these periodicals. *Tevhid* had questioned the reason why these rightist Muslims were not reacting to America, France, Britain as it was the case for Soviets and others. According to *Tevhid* Muslims should have regarded America, France, Britain as leftist as well. While *Tevhid* marks this condition as very illogical, it stressed that Muslims should be the enemy of capitalism and other “ism”s as much as they were an enemy of communism.⁴⁴³

The review of a book *in Tevhid*, named as “From Sociological Aspect Tasawwuf and Laicism” (*Sosyolojik Açıdan Tasavvuf ve Laiklik*), is very remarkable in terms of these ideas. In the review, the explanation made about the writer of the book Prof. Amiran Kurtkan as “classical, rightist-*mukeddesatçı*” and “nationalist” indicates the process of crystallisation of the new Islamist identity by heavily applying these mentioned categorizes. While the book was considered as an effort to reconcile laicism and tasawwuf, the book’s *wahdat al-wujud* approach was also condemned by the newspaper with claims of its distortion in the way of *Ahl al-Sunnah*. Moreover, explanations in the book regarding the consistency of the life of the Turks with *tawhid* in their pre-Islamic period, were found and criticized as ironic:⁴⁴⁴ “That means Islam accidentally came once, if it had not arrived otherwise, Shamanist ancestors of Turkish *qawm* would have already fulfilled the doctrine of *tawhid*....If the old Turks were like that, how come the Turks of modern era would have fallen behind them?”.⁴⁴⁵

However, while these criticisms toward glorifying the Turks were strong symptoms of new Islamists, there is an interesting detail I came across in the 4th

⁴⁴³ “İslami İstilahlar; Sağcı”, *Tevhid*, (2 April 1979), issue 15, p.6.

⁴⁴⁴ “...İslamiyet’e ilk girdikleri çağda Türklerin tevhidden ibaret İslami hükümlere değil, kendi törelerine sadık kalmaları, Türk töresinin tevhid’i zaten çok ileri bir seviyede gerçekleştirmiş olmasından ileri geliyordu (sh.136)”, page number in original book given in citation and English version is; The fact that Turks remained loyal to their own mores rather than Islam which is nothing more than *tawhid*, from the first era that they had embraced Islam, is because of their utmost realization of *tawhid* by Turkish mores already. This citations was in *Tevhid* and was the center of whole essay “Kitaplar...Hatun Kişi Niyetine!...”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.17.

⁴⁴⁵ “Kitaplar...Hatun Kişi Niyetine!...”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.17. Turkish version of the citation; “yani, İslâm arzî olarak bir defa gelmiş bulunmuş...Yoksa gelmeseydi de, Türk kavminin Şamanist ataları zaten tevhid akidesini gerçekleştirmişler imiş... Eski Türkler öyle olur da, modern çağın Türkeri bundan geri mi kalır?”.

issue of *Şûra* in the footnote that explains the concept of millet. The paragraph which was about valuing people according to their devotion rather than their ancestries, tribes or clans had a footnote that valued Turks. In this footnote Turks were praised with embracing Islam and serving this religion as their utmost aim. They are defined as the community that is free from pursuit of any heresy, deviance, eager and ambition. It is also noted in the footnote that Turks' role in the Islamic history has the most enourmous because of their service to the Qur'an and Islam. The footnote ends with the wish: "Hopefully we as descendants of them, may also continue to hold the same honour and superiority after this" (*İnşâellâh, onların ardından gelen bizler de, bundan sonra da aynı şeref ve üstünlüğü elden bırakmayız*).⁴⁴⁶ There are also some other indicators regarding the footprints of previous nationalist and *mukadessatçı* attitude in an article, in the 5th issue, that is written regarding the confiscation and closure of the *Şûra*. The words of Othman Ghazi as "our cause is not solely about the world conqueror " (*davamız kuru cihangirlik davası değildir*) and the Ottoman philosophy *Din-ü devlet, mülk-ü millet* (the state was an indivisible part of the faith)⁴⁴⁷ was mentioned in the article. "Our ancestors" who abandoned everything and ran from one front to another by declaring that "if I die I will be martyr, if I am alive I will remain as ghazi," (*Ölürsem şehid kalırsam gazi*) were conveyed as examples for Turkish dedication.⁴⁴⁸ While these kinds of evaluations are not intense in the newspapers, I have come across some of these, from time to time, which may provide that contradictions in these kinds of evaluations among the pages of the same publication can be the result of opponents stance of the writers and technical team, or still an indication of the existing national stance.

As a result, in practice the right that was an umbrella of any kind of nationalists who were against communism, was described by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as the

⁴⁴⁶ Celâleddin Karakılıç, "Millet?", *Şûra*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.11. Turkish version of the citation; "İnşâellâh, onların ardından gelen bizler de, bundan sonra da aynı şeref ve üstünlüğü elden bırakmayız".

⁴⁴⁷ Expression is taken from the book of Kemal Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, p. 409

⁴⁴⁸ "Toparlanmak, Tutuklanmamak İçin Ne Yapmak Lazım?", *Şûra*, (16 February 1978), issue 5, p.8.

segment that theoretically represented tawhid. As for the left, they were considered as the representatives of polytheist thoughts and orders that came together from the beginning of human history. This kind of interpretations of the right and the left are quite similar with the 1970s' idea of *Dar-al Harb* and *Dar-al Islam*. Here, in the 1970s, identifying the representation of the right and left in the form of *Dar-al Harb* and *Dar-al Islam*, in other words identifying them in more Islamist way, is interpreted as the efforts for Islamization of the rightism.⁴⁴⁹ According to the later evaluations of the period, in practice this condition was interpreted as rightization of Islamists as it was the case for *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. The new Islamists, who started to appear by the end of the 1970s tried to idealize a third stance by avoiding the concepts of “the right” and “the left” with a reaction to this rightization process. Therefore, it seems that they went to define the world with the old concepts of *Dar-al Harb* and *Dar-al Islam* in a new content and nature that is in accordance with the condition of the time.

4.4 The Nation of Islam (*İslam Milleti*)

Long live faithful and brave wars of the Muslims that were for the sake of being a single nation...⁴⁵⁰

A salutation in a program titled “Protest for Massacres Toward Muslims” (*Müslüman Katliamlarını Protesto*) on 27 April 1978 is important in terms of observing the increasing change in the perception towards the concept of millet in Islamist movements at the time. The person who talked to the crowds, called them out as “the children of a Muslim nation, you are the generation of the belief of Islam that started with the first human being” (*İslam milletinin çocukları. Siz ilk insanla başlayan İslam inancının bugünkü nesliniz*).⁴⁵¹

Compared to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, *Şûra* had focused on the conceptual discussions on the term *millet* and gave more technical and extended

⁴⁴⁹ Kuşçu, “Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı...”, p.39.

⁴⁵⁰ “Müslüman Katliamı Protesto Edildi”, *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, p.4. Turkish version of the citation; Yaşasın Müslümanların tek millet olabilmek yolunda verdikleri yiğit ve imanlı savaşları...

⁴⁵¹ “Müslüman Katliamı Protesto Edildi”, p.4.

explanations of it. In addition to this, Şûra gave the etymology of the word mostly by relying on the classical sources. While Şûra, characterized *millet* as “a term of our own essential culture” (*öz kültürümüzün bir tâbiri*), severely criticized using it as translation of the English word “nation”. Because according to the newspaper, while *millet* is used as nation, it narrows the eternal meaning of “community who are members of the same religion” in the “glossary of our own essential culture” (*öz kültürümüzün lügatinde*). Şûra states that there was no other definition given to *millet* other than religious unity until that time. According to this definition, mankind is divided as “Nation of Islam” (*İslam Milleti*) and “Nation of Non-Believers” (*Küfür Milleti*). “The Nation of Christ” (*İsevi Milleti*) and “Nation of Muses” (*Musevi Milleti*) are religious categories under *Küfür Milleti*. But for the nation of Islam, it contains all Muslims, who live under the hegemony of Muslim or non-Muslim country. Therefore, the content of *millet* should not be narrowed by race. Racial belonging should be expressed by the word *qawm* (*kavim*) such as *Türk kavmi*, *Alman kavmi*, *Japon kavmi*.⁴⁵² Moreover as I have understood, Şûra refers to Islam with the usage of “essential culture” (*öz kültür*) in the first issues. This manner seems very similar to the one Yeniden Millî Mücadele did by using the term national culture (*millî kültür*). Therefore, lasting confusion about religion whether it is a culture, an ideology or a worldview, can be observed from the reproduction and re-identification of the concepts accordingly. However, Şûra stated that no ideology is acceptable by Muslims including an Islamic ideology by arguing that presenting Islam as an ideology creates doctrinal deviations. While the ideologies are systemized forms of human thought according to human needs, all these ideologies such as capitalism, communism, fascism and nationalism are tools to rule the society. It aims to master human over human and is not different from idol worshiping in terms of sharia law”. Therefore each ideology is idolater and it is a big mistake to still insist in considering Islam as an ideology.⁴⁵³ Because “Islam is a system of belief rather than a system of thought”.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² “Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.8.

⁴⁵³ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Yaşasın Kur’an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler”, p.7.

⁴⁵⁴ Emre, “Yaşasın Kur’an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler”, p.7.

The article titled as “*Millet?*” in the 4th issue of *Şûra*, explains the content of the word in religious literature by relying on classical sources and the verses of the Qur’an. According to these explanations, while *millet* also is defined as religion sent to the prophets, it also implies the communities of people who believe in these religions. Moreover, it is stated that *millet* also means *qawm* or Arabic word *sha’ab* (plural *shuub*) which is a figurative expression. Therefore, the word in fact was used with its figurative expressions such as nation of Arabs (*Arap milleti*), nation of Japan (*Japon milleti*), nation of Rum (*Rum milleti*). There are other usages that are derived from the word, stated in the article as “*Millî*” and “*Milliye*”. While “*millî*” and “*milliye*” were defined as adjectives related to the religion and nation, national religious festivals (*millî bayramlar*), festivals belong to millet (*millete ait bayramlar*), national morale (*adâb-ı milliye*) were given as examples for these adjectives. It was also stated that the Arabic word *milliyet* (nationality) connotes those from the same nation, the same lineage, the same clan, the same branch, the same faction. “As for nationalist, those who are conservative by attachment to things that belong to the nation or related to the nation, are called as such. Such people always try to practice and defend those things that they believe in”. “Nationalism is to protect and defend those things that belong to the nation or related to the nation”. After all these explanations about *millet*, *millî*, *milliyet* and *milliyetçilik*, exact Turkish expressions of the nation, national, nationalist and nationalism were stated as they should be expressed with the concepts of *ulus and ulusal, ulusçu and ulusçuluk*.⁴⁵⁵

In other issues of *Şûra*, it was emphasized that the term *ulus* should replace the word *millet*, the meaning of which had been distorted, and *millet* should rejoin with its original meaning. By highlighting the principle that “sovereignty belongs to the nation” (*hakimiyet milletindir*), *Şûra* answers the reason why the concept of *millet* deviated from its original meaning that was often explained by the newspaper as a community who came together with Islamic faith. According to

⁴⁵⁵ Karakılıç, “*Millet?*”, p.11. Turkish version of the citation; “*Milliyetçi ise millete ait olan, milletle ilgili bulunan şeylere bağlanarak muhafazakar olan kimselere denir ki böyle kimseler, daima, inandığı o şeyleri yaşamaya ve müdafaa etmeye çalışırlar*”. “*Milliyetçilik: millete ait olan, milletle ilgili bulunan şeyleri koruyup onların müdafaasını yapmaktır*”.

Şûra, the word was intentionally deviated from the original meaning because the principle of “sovereignty belongs to the nation” meant “sovereignty belongs to the Muslims” (*Hakimiyet Müslümanlarındır*).⁴⁵⁶

From the first issues of *Şûra*, the concepts that were discussed in the column *Beyanname 1398*, are generally nation (*millet*), fatherland (*vatan*), state (*devlet*), tarih (*history*), hürriyet (*liberty*), mülkiyet (*property*), hakimiyet (*hegemony*). Besides, *Şûra* had quite provocatively discussed the idiom “sovereignty belongs to the nation”. According to *Şûra*, the idiom “sovereignty belongs to the nation” is trickery and in fact it is used as a tool in the process of oligarchic order.⁴⁵⁷ All the roots of depression in Turkey are based on the concept of sovereignty. Therefore, according to the newspaper, the concept immediately has to be given a new and its own meaning with the free will of *millet*.⁴⁵⁸

The meaning and identity of “nation” in the principle of “sovereignty belongs to the nation” (*Hakimiyet milletindir*), was questioned in *Tevhid*. If this “nation” is the nation used in the meaning of qawm, this time *Şûra* questions the content of “Turkish qawm”.

Are those such as Mordehays, Dimitris, Mıgırdichs, who says that “I am also Turk”, shareholders of the sovereignty, which is told that it certainly belongs to the nation? And to what extent? Or else, in reality, in terms of economic power and cultural sources, does de facto sovereignty completely belong to non-Muslims and their collaborator masses, groups, who are only Muslims in name? Or let’s assume that sovereignty belongs to the nation but is this right because of the love of hegemonizing the nation by saying “such group use on behalf of the principles of such”, with a number of personal principles, which were composed through crossings of the dark and long passages, political combinations which are beyond nation’s ken?⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁴⁵⁷ “Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.8.

⁴⁵⁸ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Güya ‘Hüküferma’ Olan Millet, Şaşkın!...” *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, p.11.

⁴⁵⁹ “Fasit Daire Veya İççe Sualler!..”, *Tevhid*, (30 April 1979), issue 19, p.2. Turkish version of the citation; “Ben de “Türk’üm” diyen Mordehay’lar Dimitri’ler Mıgırdıç’lar da kesinlikle millete aid olduğu bildirilen Hakimiyet hakkına ortak mıdır ve hangi nisbette? Yoksa, gerçekte hakimiyet, iktisadi güç ve kültürel kaynak bakımından bütünüyle fiilen gayrimüslimlere ve onların işbirlikçisi,

The process about conceptual discussions and explanations that *Şûra* initiated had evoked its echoes in official authorities. The report prepared by the chief public prosecutor's expert related to manners of explanations in the column of *Beyanname 1398*, had emphasized that secular contexts of the concepts were rejected in this column by theological explanations. Explanation of the concept of sovereignty (*hakimiyet*), which the first concept handled in *Beyanname*, as belonging to the Creator, was interpreted by the report as *Şûra's* attempt to explain the concept on religious bases. Also explanation of the concept of fatherland (*vatan*) as being territories, on which religious law is sovereign, was also considered as religion based explanation.⁴⁶⁰

Explanations and review articles of *Şûra* about basic concepts had created shocking effects on the readers as well. A reader's interpretation, which was shared in the 3rd issue of the newspaper in the section "Questions Over *Beyanname 1398*" (*Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular*), accuses *Şûra* for creating ambiguity by replacing the meaning of *millet* with *ummah*. While the reader emphasizes *Şûra's* aim in creating this ambiguity as to hinder nationalism movement, he had defined *millet* as "community of people, who have a common ideal, belong to the same religion and same culture, and speak the same language". *Şûra* answered these accusations by emphasizing that ambiguity over the concepts was intentionally created by imperialism. The newspaper stated that its aim as giving the original meaning back to these concepts. *Şûra* also referred to the sources for these explanations as the glossary of *Kamus-i Turki* of Muallim Naci and glossary of Ferit Devellioğlu.⁴⁶¹

As for *Hicret*, *millet* is used in Turkey as a community of people who have certain characteristics and togetherness, and underpin the bases of "doctrinaire nationalism", which is a political and ideological movement. *Hicret* expresses

sadece ismi Müslüman olan kitle ve gruplara mı aiddir? Veyahut da, hakimiyet milletindir ama, bu hakkı "Falanın prensipleri adına filan ekip kullanır" diye millete, milletin aklının ermediği siyasi kombinezonlar ve dehlizlerden geçilerek teşekkül ettirilen bir takım şahsi prensipler mi tahakküm etmek sevdasındadır?"

⁴⁶⁰ "Rapor; Bilirkişi Diyor ki", *Şûra*, (26 January 1978), issue 4, p.4-5.

⁴⁶¹ "Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular-Cevaplar", *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.8.

that it is acceptable if nationalism is based on this kind of definition. However, building nationalism on the concept of *millet* literally in modern context is an immense absurdity when its traditional meaning is considered. In another article in *Hicret*, Ali Bulaç expressed that Muslim community started to reinvent the use of *millet*, which was used as the name for a non-Islamic doctrine, in its original meaning with Islamic concerns. Moreover, on the other side Bulaç interestingly emphasizes re-correction of the term in order to prevent the possibility of its prevailing over the concept of *ummah*. In this frame Bulaç explains his method of scrutiny with the word *millet* as focusing on its lexical meanings and on its usages of the word in Qur'an and sunnah. Within this scrutiny he had mentioned some explanations of *millet* in a number of prominent classical dictionaries as following;

- “The Religion (*din*) and sharia” in the dictionary of Al-Mu'cemu'l-Vasî
- “Tariqat and sharia” in Al-Munjid and in Tafsir al-Nasafi
- “The Religion and qibla” in the Tafsir of Ibn Abbas
- “The Religion” with its utilization as “nation of Islam” (*millet-i İslamiye*), “nation of Jewish” (*millet-i Yahudiyye*) according to Kamil Miras,
- “The Road and legislation” (*yol ve teşri*) according to Ghazali's Al-Munkizu Mine'd Dalal
- “The Religion” (*din*) according to Shahrastani,
- The Road followed whether it is truth or devil (*hak ya da batıl- takip edilen yol*) according to Zamakhshari.

Meaning of the word in tafsir of Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır is quoted as following;

Nation is sovereign principles, around which a social structure gathers, and a followed way, on which they walk on, or in other words to which social soul of community is loyal social body of community is devoted. That means it does not mean the social structure itself. It (social structure) is called as *qawm*, *ummah* or as those of nation (*ehl-i millet*). Jewish and Christians are a nation but they are the people of a nation.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² Ali Bulaç, “Millet Kelimesi Etrafında”, p.6. 1935 Dersiamdan Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili Yeni Mealli Türkçe Tefsir*, cilt 1, İstanbul: Matbaai Ebuzziya, 1935 T.C. Diyanet İşleri Reisliği Neşriyatından) s.484. Turkish version of the citation; “Millet bir heyet-i ictimaiyenin

While explanations of Elmalılı regarding the word *millet* were given, his usage of *ehl-i millet* as figurative expression was also stated and shared with the reader. After all these explanations Ali Bulaç stresses that they prefer to use *millet* as meaning of a “belief system”, “sharia”, or “tariqat” rather than using as a “community of people”. After excerpts from Elmalılı, ideas of Ragip al-Isfahani and Abu’l- Baka were also narrated regarding the word *millet*. While Isfahani’s definition of *millet* as “sharia and religion that were revealed for mankind through messengers of God in order to head towards Him” was given, it is stated that Abu’l- Baka also used the word with the same meaning with Isfahani. Besides, while Abu’l Baka explained *millet* in the meaning of religion and sharia, he called the community who united on this sharia as *ummah*. Ali Bulaç finally stated the right utilization was Abu’l Baka’s.⁴⁶³

While the “nation”, which is expressed with *millet* in Turkish, is explained as referring to a group of people who has common characteristics, it is stated that neither *ummah* nor *millet* can be used as Turkish expressions of the word “nation”. Because while both of these words express communities who united around a prophet, it is stressed that the most appropriate term for the nation is *qawm*.⁴⁶⁴

Şûra refers to an old usage that is *Millet-i İslâmiye* in order to imply a society, which is composed of those who embraced Islam. Again another reference to the concept of *millet*, pointed in the categorization of *millet-i erbaa* (four nations) that included Jewish, Armenian, Greek and Muslims and was made in accordance with the religions. Also explanation of Sharistani about the meanings of *din*, sharia, *millet* as he stated in “Milal and Nihal” that they are synonyms, was mentioned in the article. *Şûra* in response to the accusations of its being *ummatist*, discussed the concept of *ummah* briefly. *Ummah*, which is defined as

etrafında toplandığı ve üzerinde yürüdüğü bir başka ifadeyle ruh-i ictimâisinin tâbi olduğu ve cism-i ictimâisinin merbut bulunduğu mebâdi-i hâkime ve tarikat-i meslûkedir. Demek ki millet, heyet-i ictimâiyenin kendisi değildir. Ona (yani heyet-i ictimâiyeye) kavim, ümmet ve ehl-i millet denilir. Yahudiler ve Hristiyanlar bir millettir ve fakat ehl-i millet sahibi bir millettirler”.

⁴⁶³ Ali Bulaç, “Millet Kelimesi Etrafında”, p.6.

⁴⁶⁴ Bulaç, “Millet Kelimesi Etrafında”, p.6.

“those who follow the way prophet demonstrated”, was also defined as the concept that is used to express the communities of all the prophets starting from prophet Adam. Those communities were used to be called by the name of their prophets. Such utilizations as “ummah of prophet Musa”, “ummah of prophet Isa” were provided as examples of this.⁴⁶⁵ Moreover, ummah is also stated as “the term that expresses coalescence of the world Muslims under a political unity”.⁴⁶⁶ Again in the same issue, the question of a reader asking; “are we from the same nation with Arabs, Chinese Muslims and Muslim negros?” (*yani şimdi biz Müslüman zencilerle, Araplarla, Çinlilerle aynı milletten miyiz?*), was answered, as Islam has been sent to all mankind and it considers all as brothers, those who are subject to this belief. The ideas of another reader, who accused the newspaper of making “political ummatism” (*siyasi ümmetçilik*) and interpreted *Şûra*’s definition of millet as betrayal to Turkism and alleged it to be the “spy of the Arab”, was shared in the pages of the newspaper. *Şûra* responded the reader’s interpretations as the perception that the Western imperialism wished to create. *Şûra* stated that if the intent with “political ummatism” is the unity of Islam, “they side with an Islamic unity against any kind of imperialism.”⁴⁶⁷

Moreover, *Şûra* states that those, who claim they are nationalist by using the concept of milliyetçilik derived from millet, are in fact ethnonationalist (*kavmiyetçi*) because, according to *Şûra*, *milliyetçilik* as a term has the same content with Islamsim. The newspaper equals nationalism with Islamism by relying on the original meaning of millet and declares that this kind of nationalism “has undertaken the sympathy of those who are members of Islam” (*İslam’a mensub olanların sevgisini dava edinmiş*). Therefore, according to *Şûra*, those who claim that they are *milliyetçi* and in fact they imply it in the meaning of nationalism, have to express themselves with the concept of *Türkçülük* (Turkism) or *Ulusçuluk* (ethnicity-based secular nationalism), and they should not

⁴⁶⁵ “Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular-Cevaplar” (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.8.

⁴⁶⁶ “Hiç Kimse Şeriatımızdan Kaynaklanmayan Bir Selahiyeti Kullanamaz”, *Şûra*, (16 October 1978), issue 39, p.10.

⁴⁶⁷ “Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular-Cevaplar”, *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.8.

damage the universal inclusivity of faith based concept millet and “nation of Islam”. *Şûra* emphasizes that the concept of *ulus* that was already derived with the aim of expressing ethnicity-based secular nationalism should immediately replace the concept of *millet*.⁴⁶⁸

As I understood from the comments in the newspaper that these explanations highly disturbed nationalists at large extent and these statements were considered as betrayal to Turkishness. However *Şûra* responds to the accusations by pointing Turkism as the real betrayer by giving the example of the process of “nationalism unrest” (*kavmiyetçilik fitnesi*) that was sometimes titled as *milliyetçilik fitnesi* in the newspaper.⁴⁶⁹ *Şûra* over and over stressed that the first mastermind of Turkism was Mustafa Celaledin Pasha and mentioned that he was a “ Polish Jewish convert”. In addition to him, Moiz Cohen Tekinalp, as his Jewish heritage was mentioned, and Leon Cahun were stated as mentors of Ziya Gökalp in the same article. *Şûra* stressed that the Republic of Turkey had been governed until 1946-1947 with Turkist mindset to point the reason behind the disturbances of the period. *Şûra* wanted to come to the point that all those who had formalized Turkism was non-Muslims and they converted to Islam later. However, another prominent figure, who is pointed as initiator of Turkism movement by *Şûra*, was stated as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and interestingly he was among those who received harsh criticisms from these newspapers.⁴⁷⁰ In another article, another prominent figure in Turksim Mehmet Emin Yurdakul was mentioned with his impressions of Afghani’s ideas in opposing to Islam with the idea that Islam is an obstacle of progress.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, Afghani interestingly again was pointed as an Arab in the newspaper and his words “survival and continuity of race definitely is more lasting compared to religion” were quoted by *Şûra* from *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland). Finally the newspaper declared this

⁴⁶⁸ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁴⁶⁹ Fatih Selim, “Şu Türkçülük II”, *Şûra*, (26 June 1978), issue 24, p.12.

⁴⁷⁰ “Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular-Cevaplar”, *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.8-9.

⁴⁷¹ Selim, “Şu Türkçülük II”, s.12.

situation as the absurdity of embracement of Turkism movement that was conducted by non-Turks, on behalf of Turkism.⁴⁷²

Şûra raised another phenomenon to discuss in the context of nationalism as claiming that devotee (*dindarlık*) is a movement like “nationalism” and the newspaper had compared these two “movements” according to their approach to the word *millet*. The newspaper states that religiouses, devotees, in fact, are those who are using the word *millet* in its actual meaning: “They believe in God, the Prophet, the Qur’an, and the Religion of Islam in the strict sense and gather around the religion and try to fulfil its requirements with sincerity and submission. These devotees embrace the way of Ahl al-Sunnah as “true way of Islam”, in their belief, practise, morality, and transactions”.⁴⁷³ Therefore for *Şûra*, these people were nationalists in real sense. As for another group, who distorted *millet* from its original meaning, they were not aware of their deviation from the way of Ahl al-Sunnah, in their belief, practise, morality, and transactions. They had taken up part of Islam and interpret it according to themselves. This tendency existed in the Muslim world as it happens in Turkey. As for the third group, they misunderstood the word *millet* and misused it. They did not believe in any principles and accused the Muslims of being reactionist and bigots.⁴⁷⁴

However, interestingly the newspaper considered *ulusalcılar* (ethnicity-based secular nationalism) and *milliyetçiler* separately, and categorized *milliyetçiler* as those who use the word *millet* its figurative meaning, and considered them more faithful to religion and cultural values compared to *ulusalcı*.

They gather around and act according to the Constitution of Republic of Turkey, which predicates human rights that rely on the Western civilization on the basis of principle of separating affairs between the state and religion, and predicates the main principles that take place in

⁴⁷² “Beyanname 1398 Üzerine Sorular-Cevaplar”, *Şûra*, (19 January 1978), issue 3, p.8-9..

⁴⁷³ Turkish version of the citation; “Allah’a Peygambere, Kur’ân’a ve İslâm Dini’ne tam manasıyla inanıp onun etrafında toplanırlar ve İslam Dini’nin icablarını tam bir ihlas ve teslimiyetle yerine getirmeye çalışırlar. İtikadda, amelde, ahlakda ve muamelatda ‘Ehl-i sünnet yolu’ dediğimiz hakiki İslam yolunu tutarlar”. Bu kişiler “hakiki manada milliyetçilerdir”.

⁴⁷⁴ Karakılıç, “Millet?”, p.10.

the introduction of the Constitution, and adopts the principles of national, democratic, laic, social and a constitutional state. But they are also different from each other in terms of their belief and understanding regarding doctrine system and thoughts of the right and the left.⁴⁷⁵

It is understood from these statements that Şûra considers *milliyetçi* who were deployed by the right with more sympathy than Turkists, and *ulusalcı* who were considered to be in alliance with the left wing.

While Şûra regarded *Türk kavmi* (intentionally used in replacement of Turkish nation) as part of the Nation of Islam (*İslam milleti*), it stated that *millet* incurred fragmentation in two dimensions.

In the first place the Nation of Islam was divided into pieces with artificial borders according to qawms and countries. After that Muslim qawm in each country of Islam was divided into two parts, one piece of which belongs to the Nation of Islam and one piece of which belongs to the Nation of Non-believer. Thus the crescent threat, in the eyes of the Europeans lasted for centuries, had been stove off by letting these two opposites to combat with each other in each Muslim country. **As it is seen, at first they divided our millet into qawms, later they initiated a second division, consisting of believers and non-believers in these qawm and regions.**⁴⁷⁶

In the 16th issue of Şûra, Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil had summarized vital points about the understanding of millet with the statements in the form of questions. It had asked that “with which belief and with which unity consciousness, was this homeland conquered?” and “around what belief is it going to be freed from

⁴⁷⁵ Karakılıç, “Millet?”, p.11. Turkish version of the citation; “Bunlar da, din ile devlet işlerini birbirinden ayırma prensibine göre batı uygarlığına dayanan insan haklarını ve Anayasa başlangıcında belirtilen temel ilkeleri esas alan ve millî, demokratik, laik, sosyal bir hukuk devleti ilkelerini benimseyen ‘Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası’na göre hareket edip onun etrafında toplanırlar. Fakat bazı sağ ve sol doktriner sistem ve fikirlere yönelik inanç ve anlayışları ile de birbirinden farklıdırlar”.

⁴⁷⁶ Ahmed Selami, “Bu Hale Nasıl Getirildik”, Şûra, (16 March 1978), issue 9, p.3. Highlights are ours. Turkish version of the citation; “İslam milleti evvela kavimlere ve ülkelere göre sun’i hudutlarla parça parça edilmiş; sonra da her İslam ülkesindeki Müslüman kavim, bir kısmı İslam milletinin diğer kısmı ise küfür milletinin bir parçası olmak üzere ikiye ayrılmış; ve bu iki zıd, her İslam ülkesinde birbiri ile mücadeleye sevk edilerek, Avrupalılar için asırlardır devam eden (hilal) tehlikesi de böylece bertaraf edilmiştir...**Görüldüğü gibi evvela milletimizi kavimlere göre ayırıp böldüler, sonra da bu kavim ve bölgelerde, inananlar ve inanmayanlar olarak ikinci bir bölmeye giriştiler**”.

partition?”, “what does the state understand from the idea of millet and around what, will this nation be united?”. The question mirrors dilemmas of the atmosphere of the period: “in that case if this nation lost its characteristic of being millet, in other words if it lost characteristic of being a community of people, who come together around the same belief, and become an ordinary public (*halk*), what should be done to reunite this mass?”. The remedy for this fragmentation that emerged as believers and non-believers in Turkey, “is to gather under the flag of testimony of tawhid”.⁴⁷⁷ However, distinction made by *Şûra* between the nature of people -or masses- and the nature of *millet* is very similar to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*'s approach to the idea of *millet*. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* also defined people (*halk*) as a community, who could not realize an ideal yet.⁴⁷⁸

Şûra argued that without clarifying the term *millet*, relying on nationalism's shifty position can be considered neither nationalism nor Turkism. The newspaper insisted that real nationalism and patriotism is to be loyal to Islam. *Şûra* based its claim that nationalism and Turkism cannot be considered as patriotism (*vatanperverlik*) by arguing again the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a result of nationalist movements. *Şûra* also argued that while these ethnic nationalist augmentations destroyed empires, and immediately after the collapse of the empires the nation-states developed some sort of blocks. The newspaper gave example of the European Common Market of the time. As for the case of Turkey, ethnic groups such as Kurdish, Circassian, Armenian were provoked to revolt specifically by the Russians and destroyed a huge empire.⁴⁷⁹

While all the emphasis was made with the concept of millet on the bases of religious commonality, there is not much discussion about the condition of non-Muslims in the concept of millet. However in one article in *Şûra* titled “The State

⁴⁷⁷ Çakırgil, “Güya ‘Hüküferma’ Olan Millet, Şaşkın!...”, p.11. Highlights in Turkish version quoted as it is; “O halde bu millet MİLLET olmak yani aynı inanç etrafında birleşen insan topluluğu olmak vasfını kaybedip HALK olmuşsa bu kitleyi yeniden birleştirmek için ne yapmalı?”.

⁴⁷⁸ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejisi-4”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (15 September 1970) year 1, issue 3, p.15.

⁴⁷⁹ Fatih Selim, “Şu Türkcülük III”, *Şûra*, (3 July 1978), issue 25, p.14.

and Administration in Islam” (*İslam’da Devlet ve İdare*) in the 7th issue, it was stated that practically *millet* is not only composed of Muslims but it contains People of the Book as semi-citizen.⁴⁸⁰

The conceptual discussions of the period were highly intense thus created some sort of confusion in defining the concept of *millet*, which already became a notion of the nation-state. The article of Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil as a response to an article penned by Fehmi Cumalıoğlu in *Millî Gazete* is remarkable in terms of observing the level of obsessive stance related to the concepts. Fehmi Cumalıoğlu targeted the criticisms on the establishment of MSP by some “nationalist writers” of the newspaper *Tercüman* (Translator). Here, Cumalıoğlu did not consider the negative stances of the writers as an accordance with nationalism. Cumalıoğlu also does not find it suitable to include the writers’ ideas in the “rightist” newspapers because of their reaction against MSP. This shows that *milliyetçilik* and *sağcılık* were still the address of all nationalist, conservatist, and *mukaddesatçı* segments and were still carried importance. Cumalıoğlu in his article defends *National Vision* (Millî Görüş), which was represented by MSP, against these criticisms as follows.

National Vision is a mind-set, which is loyal to our glorious history, to our honour, to the vision and belief of our blessed ancestors, who had distributed golden civilization, justice, and virtue to the World of humanity for centuries. National Vision is the belief and the vision with which Sultan Alparslan defeated Emperor IV Diogenes and Byzantine army composed of 250.000 people with, 60.000 mujahid in Malazgirt. Here National Vision is the vision, with which our blessed ancestors vanquished and ruined the Crusaders in Anatolia. National Vision is the belief and the vision, with which they overpowered armies of occupiers in the rivers of Tuna, in Çanakkale, in the War of Independence.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Ali Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, *Şûra*, (2 Mart 1978), issue 7, p.8.

⁴⁸¹ Fehmi Cumalıoğlu, “Hak Gelince Batıl Zail Olur”, *Şûra*, (25 May 1978), issue 19, p.13. This article had been published in *Millî Gazete* on 9.05.1978 and had been quoted by *Şûra*; Turkish version of citation; “Millî Görüş, bin yıllık şanlı tarihimize, mefahirimize, asırlarca insanlık alemine üstün medeniyet, adalet fazilet dağıtan mübarek Ecdadımızın görüşüne ve inanışına bağlı bir zihniyettir. Sultan Alparslan 1071’de altmış bin mücahitte 250.000 kişilik Bizans ordusunu ve İmparatoru Diyojenes’i Malazgirt’de hangi görüş ve inanışla yendi ise Millî Görüş, o görüştür. Haçlı ordularını mübarek ecdadımız Anadolu’da hangi görüş mağlup ve perişan etti ise işte o Millî Görüşdür. Kafkaslarda, Tuna boylarında, Çanakkale’de ve İstiklal Harbi’nde müstevli ordularını hangi görüş ve inanışla tepeledi işte o Millî Görüşdür”.

Cumalıoğlu had written in his article that nationalism was a thought that came from the West and a movement targeted to destroy our national structure. Besides this, he also stated that Ziya Gökalp, who was the father of Turkism concept, also constituted principles of Kurdism and he was influenced in these ideas by masonaries.⁴⁸² In the case of Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, he had penned an article in the journal *Sebil* titled “We Are Nationalist! Nationalist of Islam!” (*Biz Milliyetçiyiz! İslam Milliyetçisi*). In this article while Çakırgil pointed out that Cumalıoğlu had in fact targeted ethno-nationalism (*kavmiyetçilik*) however his anger toward *kavmiyetçilik* was expressed with the word *milliyetçilik* and so he had wrongly used that terminology in his essay. Then Çakırgil defined the word *millet* and added, that ethnicity based nationalist movements appeared in the form of Turkish nationalism, Kurdish nationalism, and Arab nationalism in Turkey. In addition to these, he stated, that there were other nationalist movements such as economic nationalism in the meaning of historical materialism and Çakırgil argued that it was propagated in Turkey by Ecevit. He also gave another example to the nationalisms as the one Atatürk nationalists propagated. But he did not clarify the characteristics of these nationalisms in the article. He explained the reason for not being able to produce different concepts other than using and distorting *millet* and *milliyetçilik* as being unable to resist the beauty of the word. He concluded that therefore every movement tended to name itself as *milliyetçi*. According to Çakırgil, while the meaning of Arabic word *millet* refers to a community of people, who has gathered around a certain belief, because of its neutral characteristic, the word can be given different meanings. Muslims failed to protect this word and “some others had stolen it”. He emphasized that the idea of *millet* does not mean to ignore the reality of qawm and as long as the Muslims protect the unity of belief, the love of qawm is permissible; “We are eager for an understanding of nationalism that considers anyone, who regards as holy the success and exaltation, at world-wide level, of a

⁴⁸² Cumalıoğlu, “Hak Gelince Batıl Zail Olur”, p.13.

Nation of Islam, which is united around Islamic belief, as nationalist of Islam. And our nationalism is this!”⁴⁸³

Çakırgil condemned Cumalıoğlu on his usage of the term *milliyetçilik* literally while his intention was to critique ethnonationalism. Çakırgil accused Cumalıoğlu by stating that he applied the word *milliyetçilik* as if it belongs to “secular and racist regime of Turkey”. He criticized the words of Cumalıoğlu that portrayed “nationalism (as stated *milliyetçilik* in the text) arrived from the West”, by arguing that the idea that had arrived from the West was ethnonationalist (*kavmiyetçilik*) or in other words ethnicity-based secular nationalism (*ulusçuluk*) but not *milliyetçilik*. However, the mind-set that carried *kavmiyetçilik*, preferred to use the concept of *milliyetçilik* instead of *ulusçuluk* and *nasyonalizm* (with Turkish accent of nationalism). Moreover, Çakırgil argued that MSP intended to camouflage the understanding of nationalism of Islam by using the concept of *Millî Görüş*. Therefore according to him, the concept of *Millî Görüş* was applied as a temporary usage and it should also have been temporarily applied by MSP.⁴⁸⁴ I have felt during my readings that these discussions, which focused on only the words rather than the content, brought confusion, contradictions and led the readers also into confusion. The commentary of Çakırgil about the temporary usage of *Millî* in *Millî Görüş* is also another contradiction with the effort of explaining *millet* in the meaning of religion, belief, or as the members of Islam. This indicates that while there was an effort to “rescue” these terminologies, the word *millet* and other derivations were almost accepted as the literature of nationalists subconsciously by new Islamists.

In the 30th issue of *Şûra*, an article penned with the title “Nationalism Understanding of the League of Struggle” (*Mücadele Birliği'nin Milliyetçilik Anlayışı*) had quoted some definitions of *millet* that were used in *Yeniden Millî*

⁴⁸³ Çakırgil, “Biz Milliyetçiyiz, Hem de İslam Milliyetçisi!”, p.14. Turkish version of the citation; “İslam inancı etrafında birleşmiş bir İslam Milletinin cihanşümül planda muvaffakiyeti ve yücelmesi yolundaki bir gayeyi aziz bilmiş herkesi İslam milliyetçisi bilmek manasındaki bir milliyetçilik anlayışına talibiz ve bizim milliyetçiliğimiz budur!”.

⁴⁸⁴ Çakırgil, “Biz Milliyetçiyiz, Hem de İslam Milliyetçisi!”, p.14.

Mücadele. While interpreting the definitions of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, *Şûra* wrote its comments in the form of a dialogue with the readers, and declared its conflicting opinions with the movement.⁴⁸⁵ While *Şûra* considered nationalist understanding of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as not equal to Turanist understanding, which was stated as understanding it in the Western sense which is controlled by Masonary, the newspaper considered assertions of the movement as not comprehensible by the Muslims because the Strugglers (*Mücadeleciler*) did not have Islamic understanding either. Therefore, it was stated that definition of *millet* made by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, lost its validity in the eyes of the Muslims. At the end of the article, there was a call to “Muslims” who were stated as “mistakenly” involved in this movement, by reminding that there are two nations that exist in the world; as nation of Islam and nation of non-believers. Nation of Islam is not limited with the elements such as language, colour, ancestry, geography, and history. In another issue, the question, which targets *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*'s understanding of *millet*, and its own answer given by *Şûra* is as follows;

Q: For you, how many nations exist in the world?

Şûra: There are two nations, one is the nation of Islam the other is nation of non-believers.

Q: And so are you going to use expressions such as Turkish nation, Arab nation, French or Jewish nation in your newspaper?

Şûra: We did not use it and we never will use it. We can only speak of those as qawm.⁴⁸⁶

However, in one of the issues, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* answered this question as;

“We are from the nation of Halil Ibrahim. If you are asking about our qawm we are Turk. We are Turk because God created us like this. And we feel honoured for becoming member of Turkish nation (or qawm), who

⁴⁸⁵ “Mücadele Birliği'nin Milliyetçilik Anlayışı”, *Şûra*, (7 August 1978), issue 30, p.11.

⁴⁸⁶ Rejim Kapıkulluğuna Yeltenenler Hüsrana Uğrar, *Şûra*, (2 October 1978) issue 37, p.16, Back cover. “Turkish version of the citation; Soru: Size göre dünyada kaç millet vardır? Şûra: İki millet vardır, biri İslam milleti, diğeri Küfür Milleti.

Soru: O halde, “Türk millet, Arab Millet, Fransız yahud İngiliz Milleti” vs. gibi tabirleri yazı ve gazetenizde kullanacak mısınız?.

Şûra: Kullanmadık ve asla kullanmayacağız. Bu saydıklarımızdan ancak “kavim” diye bahsedebiliriz.

became vexillary and the sword of Islam and served it for centuries. We commemorate services of our glorious ancestries for Islam by yearning, with our heart be proud and with cutting our hearts to the bones. And like all the prophets, and like our prophet who was the last of all prophets, we declare to our qawm that worldly and otherworldly salvation is only in Islam.⁴⁸⁷

Yeniden Millî Mücadele used the word “qawm” in parenthesis as “*Türk milletine (kavmine)*”. This interestingly was matching with the reactions of *Şûra* in using qawm as ethnicity based nation. This is another indicator about the confusion in general about the concepts like millet and this confusion is created by the usages and the content of the concepts.

Şûra, supported its millet definition with understanding its history that started with the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and tried to distance itself from nationalists perception of history and from time to time from *mukaddesatçı* understanding.⁴⁸⁸ The newspaper denied discourses of “our thousand years history...” by putting the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) forward as “our” beginning. The newspaper interpreted hijrah as the first phase of being a community (*cemaat*) and building a state.⁴⁸⁹ *Şûra* declared the end of this “self-history” (*öz tarih*), which started with the birth of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and continued with hijrah, as the collapse of the Ottoman state, which was characterized as the state that was built on *ilâ-yı Kelimetullah* (exalting the word Allah).⁴⁹⁰ While *Şûra* here once more centralized the idea of the Ottoman state, the newspaper believed that, within the context of *millet* and *vatan*, concentration on Central Asia as the Turkish past and as the beginning of their

⁴⁸⁷ “Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-î Tarik”, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, (5 September 1978), year 9, issue 448, p.3. Turkish version of the citation; “Halil İbrahim milletindeniz. Kavmimizi soruyorsanız Türk’üz. Allah bizi böyle yarattığı için Türk’üz. Ve biz İslam’a büyük hizmetler yapmış, asırlarca İslam’ın kılıcı ve sancaktarı olmuş Türk milletine (kavmine), mensup olduğumuz için şeref duyuyoruz. Mübarek ecdadımızın İslam’a yaptığı hizmetleri, göğsümüz kabarak, içimiz yanarak ve hasretle anıyoruz. Ve kavmimize dünyevî ve uhrevî kurtuluşun ancak İslam’da olduğunu söylüyoruz. Kavimlerini kurtuluşa çağıran bütün peygamberler gibi, ve peygamberlerin sonuncusu Efendimiz gibi”

⁴⁸⁸ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁴⁸⁹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁴⁹⁰ “Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978) issue 1, p.9.

history, was the plan of orientalists. Therefore the newspaper rejected starting the history of Turks with the conquest of Anatolia or with Hittites and so on.⁴⁹¹

This attitude can be observed from its effort to draw attention through the announcements about anniversary of “Hijri 1400” (*Hicrî 1400*) since Şûra’s first publication. The newspaper that had launched its preparation for the celebrations of “Hijri 1400” two years back, had made announcements for graphic, composition and poetry competitions related to Hijrah. In an article in Şûra, some ideas were given to convey the meaning and the importance of Hijrah, and also requested ideas from the readers on the same issue. One of the suggestions emphasized providing examples from Islamic history and telling the lives of people such as İskilipli M. Atif, Sayyid Qutb, Mustafa Şükrü, who were accepted as martyrs of Islam. The reader explained that the aim of his/her suggestion was to persuade and to give evidence that Islamic civilization still exists and it is not only limited to worships (*ibadet*).⁴⁹² In the 20th issue of the newspaper, the essay about the suggestions related to “Hijra 1400 celebrations” again, some readings were advised for the importance of this event to be understood again by Muslims. While the suggestion stressed that the readings should be in accordance with the belief that Islam is a worldview rather than composed of some worships, the readings were proposed respectively based on following subjects; in the case for opposing the idea of socialism “Social Justice in Islam” (*İslam’da Sosyal Adalet*), and the idea of capitalism, “Property and Acquisition in Islam” (*İslam’da Mülkiyet ve Kazanç*), against civil code The Place of Woman in Islam and The Place of Human in Islam” (*İslam’da Kadının yeri ve İslam’da İnsanın Yeri*). All these were considered as vital and necessary in explaining that Islam is not an obstacle for progress and has an answer for all ideologies, and angles of life.⁴⁹³ According to the essay, while this celebration aimed to remind many sentimental values in the presence of hijri calendar and hijri new year, the event had to have declared “return of the nation of Islam to

⁴⁹¹ “Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, Şûra, (5 January 1978) issue 1, p.9.

⁴⁹² Muammer Çetin, “Hicî-1400 Ne Yapabiliriz?”, Şûra (29 May 1978), issue 20, p.10.

⁴⁹³ Çetin, “Hicî-1400 Ne Yapabiliriz?”, p.10.

itself" (*İslam milletinin kendine dönüşü*).⁴⁹⁴ In one of the readers' letters, the suggestion about public recitation of *mevlid* in the cities among the activities for "Hijri 1400" celebrations,⁴⁹⁵ is remarkable to see. It is an existing indicator of *mukaddesatçı* or traditional attitudes in Islamists of Turkey.

4.5 From the Phrase of "National Culture" to "Sharia" Emphasis

Yeniden Millî Mücadele's tendency of replace the term "Islam" literally with "National Culture" also appears in *Şûra* as they use Sharia to imply "Islam". *Şûra*'s persistence on using the term sharia was explained as to remind people legislative function of Islam. The slogan of "Salvation is in Islam" (*Kurtuluş İslam'da*) was replaced in *Şûra* with "Salvation is in Sharia" (*Kurtuluş Şeriat'ta*).⁴⁹⁶

In the "questionnaire campaign" titled as "Three Questions" (*Üç Soru*) that started in the 34th issue of *Şûra*, one of the questions that was asked to the readers, was about the meaning of Islamic Shariah. Some readers regarded Sharia and Islam as two different things as stated in the answers.⁴⁹⁷ The newspaper shared interesting array of answers, some of which stated sharia as reactionism (*gericilik*), and some as "the Order of Qur'an" (*Kur'an nizamı*). From the first issue of the newspaper, the word "sharia" was intensely used in titles and headers of the articles. From the second issue, the newspaper had faced prosecution many times because of the use of sharia in concepts and essays. The title of the header of the first issue was "Can There Be a Shariatist Newspaper?" (*Şeriatçı Gazete Olabilir mi?*). The header of the 7th issue "Sharitativists Are Coming" (*Şeriatçiler Geliyor*) was written with the small font. In the 9th issue header was "God Has not Educated and Disciplined a Person Who is not Trained and Disciplined by Shariah" (*Şeriat'in Terbiye ve Edeb Vermediği Kimseyi Allah Terbiye Etmemiş ve Ona Edeb Vermemiştir*). In the cover it was stated that this sentence was quoted from Muqaddimah, which was among the publications of

⁴⁹⁴ Çetin, "Hicrî-1400 Ne Yapabiliriz?", p.10.

⁴⁹⁵ "Okuyucularımız Yazıyorlar Hicrî-1400 Ne Yapabiliriz?", *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.13.

⁴⁹⁶ Ahmed Selami, "Ya Allah'ın Yoluna, ya İblisin Yoluna Gideceksiniz...Üçüncüsü yok! Kurtuluş Şeriat'ta", *Şûra*, (23 October 1978), issue 40, p.3.

⁴⁹⁷ Üç Soru, *Şûra*, (23 October 1978), issue 40, p.14.

the Ministry of National Education, by indicating the page number in the book.⁴⁹⁸ Another similar heading takes place in the 9th issue. Header in the cover is “Do Not Leave the Way of Sharia, If You Step Out It You Deviate and Go Astray” (*Şeriat Yolundan Ayrılma, Şeriat Yolundan Dışarı Ayak Basarsan Sapkınlığa Izdıraba Düşersin*). It also stated that this sentence was quoted from *Pendname* of Feriduddin Attar, which again was the publication of Ministry of Education in 1958. The page number of quotation was also given in the essay.⁴⁹⁹ The sentence from the book of Piri Reis *Kitab-ı Bahriyye* (Maritime Book) published in 1973, “The order of Sharia must be followed, because there is no meaning beyond it” (*Şeriatın emrine hep uymalı/çünkü ötesi boştur...*) was quoted by Şûra. While it was stressed that the book was an official publication like other mentioned books, Şûra stated with sarcastic manner that the book contains criminal usages such as “sharia”.⁵⁰⁰

In order to criticize official authorities’ continuous prosecutions toward Şûra because of the usage of sharia and the content of the newspaper, Şûra attributed classical books, which contained the term sharia and were published by Diyanet and Ministry of Culture. The newspaper had challenged the official authorities by claiming that if the use of sharia was forbidden, the state also commits the same crime by publishing these books.

Some other fundamental headings, which contains the word in the cover pages as following;

- “Sharia and Anarchy” (*Şeriat ve Anarşi*) cover heading of the 11th issue dated as 30 March 1978.
- “Practice the Law of God and Sharia” (*Allah’ın Kanunlarını, Şeriatı Tatbik Edin*) cover heading of the 12th issue dated as 6 April 1978.
- “Sharia As the Constitution of Muslimness” (*Şeriat Müslümanlık Yasası*) cover heading of 15th issue dated as 27 April 1978.

⁴⁹⁸ Şûra, (9 March 1978), issue 8, cover page.

⁴⁹⁹ Şûra, (16 March 1978), issue 9, cover page.

⁵⁰⁰ “Önemli ihbar var! Şeriat’ın Emrine Uymalı’ Diyen Kitaba Korutürk İmzasını atıp, Gençliğe Tavsiye Etti”, Şûra, (25 July 1978), issue 28, p.16.

- “Shaira Eid” (*Şeriat Bayramı*) cover heading of the 17th issue dated as 11 May 1978
- Trouble of Kurdishness; Nationalism Has Been cursed. Not Only Kurd’s But Salvation of Turk, Arab, All Nations are in Islam. (*Kürtçülük Belası; Kavmiyetçilik Lanetlenmiştir. Sadece Kürd’ün değil, Türk’ün, Arab’ın ve bütün kavimlerin Kurtuluşu Şeriat’ta!*) a paragraph in the cover page of the 28th issue dated as 25 July 1978.
- “Sharia Remunerates the Elbow Grease of the Workers” (*İşçinin Alın Terini Şeriat Verir*) cover heading of the 29th issue dated as 31 July 1978.
- “Sharia will Prevail, Savagery will End!” (*Şeriat Gelecek, Vahşet Bitecek!*) cover heading of the 30th issue dated as 7 August 1978.
- “Be Aware of Your God, Observe Your Sharia” (*Rabbini Bil, Şeriatına Uy!*) cover heading of the 32nd issue dated as 21 August 1978.
- “We Will Not be Watchman of the Regime, Victory is for Those Who Fulfil Sharia” (*Rejimin Bekçiliğini Yapmayacağız, Zafer, Şeriatı İçin Yaşayanlarındır!*) cover heading of the 35th dated as 18 September 1978.
- “Salvation is in Sharia” (*Kurtuluş Şeriat’ta*) cover heading of the 40th dated as 23 September 1978.

As for *Tevhid*, as I observed, the newspaper had tried to create a discussion through the meaning and content of sharia, rather than solely voicing the word itself, which had immense controversy even by its articulation. As a word, *tevhid* is explained as no other authority recognizable other than God. *Tevhid* is also explained as the right of legislation that merely belongs to God. Therefore, whoever and whatever suggests a social system for the communities of people, is considered as *mushrik* system and order. Within the context of this approach, even though one declares that there is no God but Allah, if he/she ascribes the right of legislation to those other than Allah, he/she is not saved from being a *mushrik*. Therefore, the systems such as capitalism, communism, fascism, each one of them are in fact religions because they offer a life style and a social structure. Because these systems have their own legislations, in other words

their own sharias. These systems control, they direct, they form social, political, economic and moral fields of life. Therefore *Tevhid* had defined the community of people who regulate their life style according to the revelation as Muslims, and the masses, who base their life on sources other than revelation as “ignorant, ignorance” (*cahiller, cahiliye*).⁵⁰¹

The first question in “questionnaire campaign” titled *Üç Sual* (Three Questions) is; “Do you believe that Islam is not only one’s worshipping to his/her God, it is an ‘Order’ (Nizam) that has to be followed and practiced by the state and society, rather different from other religions?”. *Şûra* added an additional question when the answers were not in accordance of its expectations, and they were shared with the reader. The answers, which were given to this additional question, as “are you Muslim?” were also shared with the readers. Many answered this additional question with astonishment and replied as “of course I am Muslim”.⁵⁰² Therefore discussions on this question are quite interesting in terms of observing the approaches of both society and the newspaper to religion.

In an article, titled as “‘The Council’; As the Enemy of Sharia” (*Şeriat Düşmanı ‘Kurul’*) in *Şûra* penned by Ahmed Selami and mostly targeted Diyanet, it was argued that there was a second Islam that “laic-materialist philosophy” desired, that existed in Turkey, and this Islam targets to replace true Islam, in other words sharia. It was stated that this second Islam had inauspicious and hateful desires such as spreading the movement of ignoring *madhahib*, creating sectarian controversies among Muslims and setting them at odds, or with the books of masonry al-Azharians creating *talfiq* commotion (*telfik fitnesi*) by combination of the rules of different law schools, shaking the confidence toward mujtahid imams.⁵⁰³ While these tendencies can be regarded as the reflections of traditionalists, it is quite interesting to see criticisms and condemnations toward Afghani, Abduh and such personalities in such radical periodicals.

⁵⁰¹ Ali Bulaç, “Tevhid’in Manası”, *Tevhid*, (17 December 1978), issue 1, p.8.

⁵⁰² Üç Sual, *Şûra*, (11 September 1978), issue 34, p.14.

⁵⁰³ Ahmed Selami, Şeriat Düşmanı ‘Kurul’, *Şûra*, (18 May 1978), issue 18, p.3.

In *Şûra*, while the reason (*akıl*) or common sense (*akl-ı selim*) were considered as necessary tool in comprehending sharia, truth only can be found with the help of sharia that is also stated as *din*. While *din* is interpreted as an external reason (*dıştan gelen bir akıl*), that reason is considered as internal religion (*içten gelen bir din*). It is also stated that, the verses of the Qur'an that state "they do not think" (*onlar akletmezler*) was the main inspiration in this evaluation.⁵⁰⁴ This evaluation is similar to the idea of Yeniden Millî Mücadele that characterized the reason as the most important element of the ideological structure. However the movement also emphasized the reason's need for the assistance of the revelation by still being insufficient enough to comprehend and explain the universe.⁵⁰⁵

According to *Şûra*, the episode that took place from the beginning of mankind, occurred in current periods. Human made systems such as communism, capitalism emerged as a result of the process of evaluation of economic, social and all events within the frame of reasoning that does not rely on the divine message.⁵⁰⁶ Relying on this point, the ideas of Islamic philosophy or movements were criticized by *Şûra*. According to the newspaper, inclusion of Islamic philosophy in the curriculums was a great mistake. Here the reason about hesitancy toward Islamic philosophy is very interesting. According to *Şûra*, philosophical movements, source of which are reason, might abolish each other with the course of time. However, Islam is not a philosophy, thus it cannot be abolished with the collapse of an ideology. Besides, another reason for this hesitancy was given as the believers' fragmentation with the influence of these ideologies that emerged as a result of these philosophies.⁵⁰⁷

Şûra states that the thing which differentiates sharia from intellectual movements, is its reliance on the sources such as "Qur'an, Sunnah, ijma al-

⁵⁰⁴ "Akıl İle Şeriat'ın Birbirlerine Yardımcı Olduğu ve Birinin Diğerine Muhtaçlığı", *Şûra*, (3 July 1978), issue 25, p.14-15.

⁵⁰⁵ "İlmî Sağ", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 March 1970), year 1, issue 5, p.2.

⁵⁰⁶ "Beyanname 1398", *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8.

⁵⁰⁷ İbrahim Taha Emre, "Yaşasın Kur'an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler", *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.7.

ummah, qiyas of jurists” other than reason. Şûra expresses that there were movements in the history of mankind, including the Islamic history, that they relocated reason to centre by ignoring these essential sources. Then they had caused emergence of invalid sects. Thus Şûra emphasized its aim as pursuing and fulfilling the commands of the Era of Bliss, of Ahl al-Sunnah imams, on the one hand as preaching these commands.⁵⁰⁸ The points that Şûra had emphasized upon *akıl* as a source, are parallel to the discussions and reviews of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* about its being the source of “human made systems” such as communism, capitalism that were discussed within National Culture Glossary (*Millî Kültür Lügatçesi*).⁵⁰⁹

Şûra had given the reason for its stress and intensive persistence on the use of *sharia*, as its aim to prevent dichotomy that emerged as a result of confusion with deviation and corruption of the concepts in the minds of Muslims. According to Şûra while *sharia* and Islam carry the same content, they were perceived as different concepts because of the confusion regarding both and this had reflected on everything. Thus it created a terrible smack down in the minds of Muslims.⁵¹⁰ As a result of this smack down, faith and worship side of Islam had been embraced and the perception of it as a life style was prohibited. Şûra explained the reason for its continuous prosecution with the word *sharia* as to draw the attention to this side of Islam. Şûra states that opponents in fact were also well aware of this nature of Islam. According to Şûra, fragmentation of Islam and its identification based only on worship started with enforcement of the Civil Code in 1926. According to the newspaper while the youth, who considered Islam or *sharia* as the order of life, was very few in number, they were more powerful in creating an impact in Turkey compare to other ideologies.⁵¹¹

With the help of true norms, you compare between the one, which is desired to be injected, and true Islam!... It can be said that “in Islam,

⁵⁰⁸ Beyanname 1398”, Şûra, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.8

⁵⁰⁹ “Provokasyonlar ve Kutta-î Tarik”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (5 September 1978), year 9, issue 448, p.3.

⁵¹⁰ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p. 8

⁵¹¹ “Bu Küfürnâmeden sonra Bu Gençlik... Hayret!”, Şûra, (27 April 1978), issue 15, p.8.

which is desired to be injected on you, worship is separate, transaction is separate, penalties are separate!”. As such, you pray salat here, commit haram over there... You talk about the fear of Allah here, and get usury by saying “how can a thing, which is discharged by the government, be haram?” ...⁵¹²

4.6 The Sharia State versus the National State

Territory of Islam is a LIBERATED TERRITORY, FREE TERRITORY. Only the law of God is sovereign in this liberated territory.⁵¹³

According to this new Islamist thinking, the Muslims are not able to call a secular state as “my state”⁵¹⁴ because “Islamic state cannot be established by relying on the literatures of others...”⁵¹⁵ Furthermore a state should not have been considered as something “sacred” in this new thinking.⁵¹⁶ Şûra challenged the idea of a secular state from the first day of publication. The announcements related to celebrations of Hijri 1400 had been shared as the anniversary of establishment of Islamic state, sometimes with the mention “Sharia State” in newspaper.⁵¹⁷ Furthermore the newspaper mentioned the Ottoman state as “the Ottoman Sharia State” (*Osmanlı Şeriat Devleti*).⁵¹⁸ One of the questions in the column *Üç sual* was stated as “Can Islamic Sharia be performed in Turkey as it happened in the period of the Ottoman?” (*Türkiye’de İslam Şeriatı Osmanlı döneminde olduğu gibi tekrar devlet ve cemiyet planında yaşanabilir mi?*). Interestingly this question received criticisms from the readers as pointing the Ottoman state as a sharia state. Moreover, Şûra had explained the reason why Ottoman state was given as an example of sharia and defended its Ottoman

⁵¹² “İbadet, Beden Hareketi Değil; Allah’tan Başka ilah Kabul Etmeme Eylemidir!”, *Hicret*, (12 March 1980), issue 18, p.2. Turkish version of the citation; “Müslüman! Bugün sana öğretilmek istenen ve kafanda yerleşmiş bulunan ölçülerle, gerçek İslam’ı bir karşılaştır!...Sana öğretilmek istenen İslam’da “ibadet ayırır, muamelat ayırır, ukûbat ayırır!...denilebilir. Böyle olunca da sen burada namaz kılarırsın, ötede haramlık yaparsın... Burada Allah korkusundan bahsedersen, ötede “hükümetin yasak etmediği, serbest bıraktığı şey haram mı olurmuş?” diye faiz yersin...”

⁵¹³ “Hiç Kimse Şeriatımızdan Kaynaklanmayan Bir Selahiyeti Kullanamaz”, *Şûra*, (16 October 1978), issue 39, p.9. Turkish version of the citation, highlights are cited as in the text; İslam devletinin toprağı bir KURTARILMIŞ TOPRAK’tır. HÜR TOPRAK’tır. Bu hür toprak’ta ancak Allah kanunu hükümfermadır

⁵¹⁴ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Devlet Nedir, Ne Değildir”, *Hicret* (1 October 197), issue 3, p.5.

⁵¹⁵ Emre, “Yaşasın Kur’an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler”, p.7.

⁵¹⁶ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Devlet Nedir, Ne Değildir”, *Hicret* (1 October 197), issue 3, p.5.

⁵¹⁷ “Hicrî 1400”, *Şûra*, (13 April 1978), issue 13, p.2.

⁵¹⁸ Yılmaz Yalçın, “Osmanlı Şeriat Devleti’nin Katili de Siyonistlerdendi...İşte Mason Ziya Gökalp”, *Şûra*, (23 March 1978), issue 10, p.8.

state example with its being best known as a tangible example of sharia oriented state by the ordinary people, since the questions were directed to general public. In response to the reader's comment as such that the Ottoman state should not be indicated as sharia state because of its several non-Islamic implementations, the aim by mentioning Ottoman state in the question was given as to exemplify it rather than making a final judgement that Ottoman state was the utmost example of sharia order.⁵¹⁹ This is also another indication of old *mukaddesatçı* attitude that did not totally disappear in the minds of the new Islamists while the newer generation seemed more daring to overlook the Ottoman past. In the later issues of the newspaper, I have also observed from the lines of the articles on which Şûra had tried to base the idea of "Nation of Islam", the Ottoman idea was still in the centre of the newspaper's mind-set. Mentioning of the Ottoman State with the nomenclatures such as "the Ottoman Islam Society" (*Osmanlı-İslam Cemiyeti*)⁵²⁰, "the Ottoman Sharia State" (*Osmanlı-Şeriat Devleti*) and demonstrating it as an example, can be considered as an indicator of Şûra's attempt to synthesize the past with the new Islamist thinking. Şûra that rejected ethnicity based nation idea, had stated that the Ottoman history is not only the history of "Turkish qawm" and it is the common history of "ummah of Muhammad" (*ümmet-i Muhammed*).⁵²¹ In the 41st and the last issue of the newspaper, the territories of the Ottoman Empire was described as the territories that were acquired by the believers from the non-believers through battles.⁵²² Selahattin Eş Çakırgil had described Anatolia as Turkey, which was "entrusted us as an Islamic fatherland by the soldiers of our great ancestor Alparslan on 1071".⁵²³ Hicret's mention of Turkey as "the nation of Islam" in defending it against the debates on Armenian massacre accusations are quite interesting in terms of observing continuing centrality of these territories. While the newspaper emphasized that apologising from Armenians on behalf of the Muslims were unacceptable, it stated that Turkey had already offered its apology

⁵¹⁹ "Haşiye Üç Sual, Önemli Hatırlatma", *Şûra*, (16 October 1978), issue 39, p.14.

⁵²⁰ Fatih Selim, "Ütopyacı Batı'nın Aradığı: İslam", *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, p.8.

⁵²¹ Hüsnü Aktaş, "Resmi İdeoloji ve Ücretli Köleler", *Şûra*, (30 October 1978), issue 41, p.2.

⁵²² Aktaş, "Resmi İdeoloji ve Ücretli Köleler", p.2.

⁵²³ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, "Güya "Hüküferma" Olan Millet, Şaşkın!...", *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, s.11.

by embracing laicism. Again the newspaper expressed that “the Nation of Islam” that implied Turkey and the Ottoman, did not oppress *Ermeni kavmi* (as stated in the text in the meaning of Armenian nation), and the events came out as a result of revolts and outbursts of Armenians.⁵²⁴

However, in later years, as I felt the historical and geographic centrality of Turkey started to die away with the effect of international developments. For instance, in *Hicret* the “emphasis on Ka’bah as “the centre of fatherland of Islam” (*İslam Vatanının merkezi Kabe*)⁵²⁵, and the citation of the slogan as “united Islamic Country without border and class” (*sınırsız ve sınıfsız tek İslam Devleti*) that was stated as the target of Iranian Islamic Revolution and written with large fonts in *Hicret*, are the indicators of this process.⁵²⁶

According to *Şûra*, since a neutral concept like *millet*, the concept of *devlet* also develops an “identity through judicial system on which it has been based”.⁵²⁷ Therefore categorization as the State of Islam and *Mushrik* State, were made according to the legislations they were built on and, this can be considered as a reflection of the idea *İslami Milleti* and *Küfür Milleti* (the Nation of Non-believers). According to *Şûra*, while modern state had been described as “organization of societies” (*cemiyetlerin teşkilatlanması*), they were categorized as capitalist, fascist, and communist according to the judicial system they followed. Besides, the modern states had been named with the ethnic majority within the borders. In another issue, while *Şûra* described the state as an organization of nation, with a bound of legal order which makes the nation (*bir milletin onu millet yapan hukuku istikametinde teşkilatlanması*), the newspaper declared that it considered all nation states as one since they depend on the

⁵²⁴ “İslam Milleti Ermeni Kavmine Zulmetmemiştir”, *Hicret*, (29 October 1979), issue 7, p.11.

⁵²⁵ “İslam Milleti Ermeni Kavmine Zulmetmemiştir”, *Hicret* (29 October 1979), issue 7, p.11.

⁵²⁶ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, “Hedefimiz Sınırsız ve Sınıfsız Tek İslam Devleti”, *Hicret*, (1 April 1980), issue 20, p.12.

⁵²⁷ Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, s.9.

same legal order. Here the main intention was to point that capitalist, communist or other state orders are not at all different from each other.⁵²⁸

Şûra stressed that the citizen (*vatandaş*) or citizenship as the most important element that constitutes the state in the modern period. Moreover, the newspaper considered equivalence of citizenship as *ummah* or *millet* in the context of the Islamic State. Thus, Şûra based the citizenship in Islamic society or –İslam milleti- on the unity of faith rather than ethnic or language identities.⁵²⁹

Şûra recognized the existence of a “government” (*hükümet*) for the administrative affairs of the state, while it considered “the Caliph” as the leader in Islamic state. The newspaper stated that the position of the caliph might have been named based on the terms such as *malik*, *sultan*, *Amir al-Muminin*, *Imam-ul Muslimin*.⁵³⁰

In the 4th issue of the journal, in the translated text from the book titled as “Law of Peace and War in Islam” (*İslam’da Barış ve Savaş Hukuku*) under the subtitle “Islam and the State” (*İslam ve Devlet*), it had been stated that the phenomenon of the state (*devlet*) might have equal meaning with the concept of society (*toplum*) in Islam. Because according to Şûra, *devlet* as a concept or terminology does not take place in the Qur’an and was not used in the time of the Prophet either. While the state mechanism was constituted by the people for a system that met the needs of the people in the first Islamic society, it was stated in the Qur’an that the authority does not belong to the state rather it belongs only to Allah.⁵³¹ While the comment related to the formation of a state by a group within a society in order to establish a system, it is quite parallel with *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*’s idea of evolvement of a state.⁵³² The different thing is that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* did not clarify the identity of the sovereign authority or

⁵²⁸ Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, Şûra, (5 January 1978) issue 1 p.9/ Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵²⁹ Ali Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, Şûra, (2 March 1978), issue 7, p.8.

⁵³⁰ Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, p.9.

⁵³¹ Macid Hadduri, “İslam ve Devlet Teorisi”, (26 January 1978), Şûra, issue 4, p.16.

⁵³² Küçükköy, *Bir Uyanışın Anatomisi...*, p.357.

legislation. In *Şûra*, while the formation of a state (*devlet*) is considered as natural process with the reference to Ibn Khaldun, the structure established by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) in Madina was considered to be the first nucleus of the Islamic state.⁵³³ Immunity mechanism for the leaders of the states and the members of legislative council in modern state system created a separate ruling class. As for Islam, there is no difference between an ordinary citizen and high-ranking individuals. Besides religious services are also one of the major responsibilities of the leader. In the modern administrative systems, while presidency, ministry, legislative duties are temporary positions with the term of office, in Islamic administration their tenure is permanent until extraordinarily situations appear.⁵³⁴ Therefore sharia state is not a theocracy “in the Western meaning, it is a unique administration system” (*batılı anlamda bir teokrasi değil, nev-i şahsına münhasır bir idarî sistemdir*).⁵³⁵

However, in the article titled “The State and Administration in Islam” (*İslam’da Devlet ve İdare*), it was stated that the first example of a Republican regime was the period of Rashidun Caliphs, while there were slight differences between these administrations. These differences between administration of Rashidun Caliphs and the Republican period are not mentioned in the article.⁵³⁶ Moreover, in another article in the newspaper, the inference that “republican and democracy administration are the sharia itself” were strictly criticized. According to this article, this newspaper (*Şûra*) should have fought to silence a person, who claimed that Sharia of Islam and democracy was the same system, and should have prevented the usage of the terms because according to *Şûra* these are not the concepts of Islam and sharia. However, *Şûra* states that when it is necessary to apply the weapon of the enemy, which is stated as democracy, there should be an assembly of consultation (*Şûra meclisi*), who are competent in terms of their sharia knowledge. According to the ideas in the newspaper, democracy can be applied only with the allowance of this assembly, and it is the only authority

⁵³³ Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, p.8.

⁵³⁴ Ali Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet İdaresi”, *Şûra*,(16 March 1978), issue 9, p.13.

⁵³⁵ Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, p.8.

⁵³⁶ Şafak, “İslam’da Devlet ve İdare”, p.8.

to draw and to decide the limits of implementing democracy.⁵³⁷ While it is not known whether these two different comments on democracy and sharia are informed from each other or not, there is no objection or a comment I came across about publishing these two different oriented essays within short periods in the same periodical. These contradictions are also important indicators that reflect the confusion of new Islamists about how to regard the Republic of Turkey, or the methods in bringing sharia.

There is more explicit negative stance toward democracy in the pages of *Hicret*. This can be seen from the slogan “There is no vote for Taghuti order” (*Tağuti düzene oy yok*) for the elections at the time. The following comments towards the criticism of this slogan by the right-wing also indicate how news Islamists reacted to democracy.

Some followers of the Justice Party complained by saying; **“we are also Muslim, As things stand, you refer to existing order by saying Taghuti order... what do you mean... (You mean) there should not be a vote for the Justice Party? but as for communists they should be voted! Is that so?”**

As for nationalists (kavmiyetçi) they said that; **“you even challenge our deceased and we will protect this order whether you regard it as taghuti or not... We are the real owner of this order, this order which had been established by Kemals and Ziyas, is the work and the gift of our saviours”...** and they justifiably needed to defend the order of their ancestors.⁵³⁸

In today’s world, in which everyone chooses their rank and determines a way; what is your preparation or the thing that is ready? Are you seeking a solution according to your reason or do you take the Islamic principles, doctrine and the rule into account? In the future, when you need to express your preference that might necessitate to sacrifice your life, what will be the resolve, what will be your legal warrants? Can you think these

⁵³⁷ “Hiç Kimse Şeriatımızdan Kaynaklanmayan Bir Selahiyeti Kullanamaz”, *Şûra*, (16 October 1978), issue 39, p.10.

⁵³⁸ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, Evet “Tağuti Düzenler İçin Oy Yok!”, *Hicret*, (1 October 1979), issue 3, p.2. Highlights are quoted as it was in the text; “Bazı AP’liler **“biz de Müslümanız yahu, ne demek istiyorsun yani...Tağuti düzen diye bugünkü düzeni kastediyorsun, anlaşılın... Bize rey verilmesin de Komünistlere mi? diye söylendiler... kavmiyetçiler ise “siz zaten bizim ölülerimize bile karşı çıkıyorsunuz, biz bu düzeni koruyacağız, tağuti düzen deseniz de, demesiniz de...Biz bu düzenin hakiki sahipleriyiz, Kemallerin ve Ziya’ların kurdukları bu düzen bizim kurtarıcılarımızın eseri ve armağanıdır”** dediler ve haklı olarak atalarının düzenlerini savunmak gereğini duyular”.

from now on? In the periods that the necessity to manifest, preferences emerge, you will risk your life and for what? for democracy? for kingship?, for dictatorship? for secularism? for republic? for capitalism? for nationalism? for masonism? or for socialism? or for other non-Islamic systems? or for the sake of non-Islamic patriotism, that is being loyal to a territory “as my fatherland” in which, the regulations of your own belief are not allowed be implemented?⁵³⁹

This can also be seen as a criticism for the comments in the book of Said Havva titled “Going A Step Further In the Way of Jihad” (*Cihad Yolunda Bir Adım Daha İleri*). This book was handled in the section of book review in the newspaper and Said Havva’s ideas about the existence of the real democracy in Islam, were criticized by the reviewer. The modern state and its democratic nature were not acknowledged by the new Islamists anymore and this created alienation of the new Islamists toward Turkey.⁵⁴⁰ The discussions about the concept of *devlet*, show why the new Islamists were not comfortable with the modern state phenomenon. Şûra argued that modern state understanding does not in fact represent the ruled masses because modern states are monotype and standardized. This standardized and monotype system of the nation state was exemplified with an interesting explanation. According to newspaper in the case that administration of a state was possessed by the mentalities that are “foreign” to the people, the state system functions as it is because of this monotype characteristic of modern state.⁵⁴¹ The point that was emphasized here was that with its secular character; modern nation states do not represent the people and the societies since they are part of the same mechanism. It was emphasized that although these states are composed of different nations (*millet*), this does not make the state mechanisms different from each other.

⁵³⁹ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Açmaz”da mıyız Yoksa “Hazır”ımız Tamam mı?, *Hicret*, (8 October 1979), issue 4, p.4. Turkish version of the citation; “Yarın, hayatını ortaya koymayı icab ettirecek kadar kesin bir şekilde tercihini belirtmek gerektiği zaman, azimetin nice olacaktır, şeri ruhsatların ne olacaktır? Bunları şimdiden düşünebiliyor musun? Öyle kesin tercihlerin konulmak zaruretinin ortaya çıktığı dönemlerde ölümü ne için göze alabileceksin? Demokrasi için mi, krallık için mi, diktatörlük için mi, laiklik için mi, cumhuriyet için mi, kapitalizm için mi, kavmiyetçilik için mi, masonizm veya sosyalizm ve emsali sair İslam dışı sistemler için mi? Kendi inancının ahkâmının hükümlerinin tatbik imkanı bulamadığı bir toprağa “vatan”ım diye bağlılık gösterip, islami olmayan bir vatanperestlik uğruna mı?”

⁵⁴⁰ “İslami Kitab” diye piyasaya sürülen kitaplarda neler-neler var!... Hayır, İslam Bu Değil!, *Hicret*, (21 April 1980), issue 21, p.6.

⁵⁴¹ “Hiç Kimse Şeriatımızdan Kaynaklanmayan Bir Selahiyeti Kullanamaz”, p.9

More than this, Şûra described the only common characteristic of these states as their enmity against the Muslims.⁵⁴²

In this frame, Şûra rejects the discourse of “the Muslim state” or “Muslim countries” and stressed that there is no state in the world that can be regarded as an Islamic state. Remarkably, it exemplified Saudi Arabia in this frame as a non-Islamic state since it was thought by the majority of Turkish public as the most Islamic, sharia oriented state. More than these statements, Şûra even shared its doubt about the validity of the prayers of the people behind the imams who were appointed by Wahhabi state authorities.⁵⁴³ It is very interesting to observe these comments in an Islamist journal, which was accused of being Saudi lovers by Turkish state authorities, intelligentsia and most importantly by the media.

Absolute negative stance toward the nation state idea can be seen in the comments about possible establishment of Palestine nation state at that time. *Hicret* concentrated on the preparation of Palestinian constitution and criticized some articles in it. These articles were criticized in terms of declaration and consideration of Palestine as a part of the Arab nation (*Arap ulusu*) and Arab world. *Hicret* declared that al-Quds and Palestine are not the only concern and “cause” (*dava*) of the Arabs, it is the issue of all Muslims. In the constitution the articles that were presenting Palestine as an inseparable part of the Arab world and Arab nation and its struggle as Arab struggle, were severely criticized. Furthermore, this process was interpreted as distortion of the idea of a single state for the Muslims. The article of Palestine constitution as “protection of the legitimate rights of the people of independent, democratic laic Palestine, the capital of which is al-Quds, without regarding their religious and ideal differences” was interpreted as the conversion of Palestine cause to the nation-state process.⁵⁴⁴ In an interview with Burhaneddin Rabbani in the years of Afghan war, the questions, asked in the course of nation-state opposition,

⁵⁴² “Bu Toprakların “Adı” Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵⁴³ “Bu Toprakların “Adı” Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵⁴⁴ “Filistin Devletine Hayır!...”, *Hicret* 8 October 1979, issue 4, p.12.

indicated a negative image of the nation state idea that was distorting their dream of Muslim unity and the country of Islam in the eyes of Islamists.

Question; is your battle a religious battle or is it an independence war?

Rabbani: Our war is for Islam. There is no doubt that Islamic war is not apart from liberation war.

Question; As an Afghan, are you interested in al-Quds and Palestine?

Rabbani: We do not consider that the issue of Quds as only concern for Arabs, we consider it as an Islamic matter.⁵⁴⁵

Şûra stated that establishing an Islamic state is possible only when the state and the Islamic ummah unite with each other as one. The newspaper stated that the state mechanisms that function apart from people's will are the production of Jewish and Christian doctrines. This kind of state was characterized as a mechanism of tyranny thus far from being a state in Islamic understanding.⁵⁴⁶

These ideas are quite similar with the state idea of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, which had targeted to eliminate the differentiation of political power and social ideology from each other. According to two thinking, "them and us" situation between the state and the people deprives the people from the state protection.⁵⁴⁷ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* considered the widening gap between the state and society by giving Turkey as an example in "sliding into non-nationalism" (*gayr-i milliliğe sürüklenme*) and as the process of conversion of "the state, which was established with the bloods of martyrs in the War of Liberation" (*İstiklal Harbinde dökülen şehid kanları karşılığında kurulan devlet*), into a "mechanism that international powers aim to use for their interests" (*beynelmilel kuvvetlerin kullanmaya hazırlandıkları bir kuvvet*).⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁵ Burhaneddin Rabbani ile röportaj, p.11. Soru: Siz bir Afganistanlı olarak Kudüs ve Filistin ile ilginiz nasıldır?

Rabbani: Biz Kudüs konusunu Araplara ait bir mesele olarak kabul etmiyor, onu İslami bir mesele olarak kabul ediyoruz

⁵⁴⁶ "Hiç Kimse Şeriatımızdan Kaynaklanmayan Bir Selahiyeti Kullanamaz", p.9

⁵⁴⁷ "İnkılab İlmi", (24 February 1970), year 1, issue 4, p.15.

⁵⁴⁸ "Neden Çıkıyoruz?", *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (3 February 1970), year 1, issue 1, p.3.

With the reference to the books of Muhammad Hamidullah, *Şûra* had regarded the Pledges of Aqabeh in 620 and 622 as the first constitution. While the principles that composed the fundamentals of the Islamic state, had been determined with these pledges, “the first written constitution, which was put forth by a head of the state, had been legislated and declared on earth”. This first written constitution is “the first core in guaranteeing the rights and freedom of individual”.⁵⁴⁹ Islamic state had accomplished being a community in Madinah, which had already started in Makkah. This “the State of Ideal Morality” (*Güzel Ahlak Devleti*) is the Islamic state, in which people reach out towards the real life (*hakiki hayat*). In this “State of Ideal Morality”, carrying out true and just human relations are possible with practicing sharia and this can only be realized under the roof of Islamic state.⁵⁵⁰

In summary, *Şûra* did not consider any existing state as Islamic and as Muslims’ own countries. However with all these premises, *Şûra* does not provide a strategy or a formula to establish an Islamic state in the existing world order.⁵⁵¹ The ideal of the Islamic State was expressed as the last stage in salvation formula of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* settled a hierarchy between *Millî* and Islamic state order, it was still determined that revelation (*vahiy*) was a departing point, and a source of the “national state” (*millî devlet*). In this idealization, *Millî Devlet* undertakes the mission to perish reason-based ideologies like liberalism, nationalism, communism that resulted in depression of humanity.⁵⁵²

Within the frame of “Islamic state”, fatherland (*vatan*) is defined as territories in which the prohibitions and orders of God are performed without ignoring even a single element of them. Again these territories were considered as the places in which, the order is established by the sovereignty of God in accordance with the

⁵⁴⁹ “İlk Anayasa”, *Şûra*, (30 March 1978), issue 11, p.8.

⁵⁵⁰ Refed Beyazaltın, “Güzel Ahlak Devleti” Metodu Resül-ü Ekrem Gösteriyor, *Şûra*, (29 May 1978), issue 20, p.9. Büyük harf kullanımı metinde olduğu gibidir.

⁵⁵¹ A. Kaymazoğlu, “Bu Toprakların Adı Konulurken...,” *Şûrâ*, (31 July 1978), issue 29, p.11.

⁵⁵² “İlmî Sağ”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.2./ “Millî Mücadelemizin Stratejik Hedefleri”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* (26 January 1971), year 1, issue 52, p.3.

declarations of His last messenger. Even if non-Muslims had lived on these territories, it will remain a fatherland (*vatan*). The peculiar name of this fatherland is “Islamic Fatherland” (*İslam Vatanı*). Furthermore, the place on which a Muslim lives is also considered as *İslam Vatanı* without considering anything else.⁵⁵³ *Şûra* rejected boundaries for Islamic fatherland with some sort of geographic borders, and disapproved the idea of calling these territories as “this is our place, it is theirs”. The new understanding of fatherland can best be seen in the statement in *Şûra* that “the territory in Hakkari and the territory, on which our Indonesian brothers live”, are considered as the country of Islam.⁵⁵⁴

Opposition to the idea of limitation of “fatherland” (*vatan*) with a piece of territory had been stated in the newspaper *Tevhid* in the article that deals with the 14th General Assembly of MHP in 9-10 January 1979. According to *Tevhid*, when MHP formed a coalition with “territory idolatrousness” (*toprakperestlik*) - that is also explained as cherishing and glorifying the territory and as a brother concept of nationalism, “the party sought remedies over remedy to submit the territories within the borders of the geography of Turkey-, to Turkish nation at all costs, and whatever belief and thought they followed”. The writer criticized MHP’s diversion from the mission of Islam to only ensuring survival of Turkey at all costs, and using Islam for the sake of this aim as “garniture” by casting this kind of mission to it.⁵⁵⁵ Here interestingly we see that MHP had been ascribed with the mission of national Islamism, and the split between national and Islamism brought further evolvement both Turkism and ummah based Islamism.

In a different issue of *Tevhid*, a translated text from Arabic had parallel opinions to the ideas related to nation-state. The newspaper was also in belief that modern nation-state system fostered nationalism. This text discussed the results of Arab nationalism that destroyed “Islamic State of the Ottoman” and ended up with the emergence of Arab nation states, aim of which were only to protect

⁵⁵³ “Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah’ındır”, *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.8.

⁵⁵⁴ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere;...”, p.10.

⁵⁵⁵ “Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil ile söyleşi, Eski CHP Yeni MHP!”, *Tevhid*, (18 June 1979), issue 26, p.14

these artificial entities rather than Islam. The writer provided some lines from the anthems of these countries in order to support his ideas about the aim of a nation state; “Your love, Egypt! It is the consciousness of the world and religion. Your compassion is my hereafter, my faith...Your voice Egypt!... It is the revelation of God...and it is His blessings and promised heaven on His earth.”⁵⁵⁶

In another issue *Hicret* had interpreted Said Havva’s comments in the book “Going a Step Further in the Way of Jihad” as; “it is fine if we remind that Arabs are bona fide” (*Araplar hakkında beslenen hüsn-ü niyyeti onlara hatırlatmamız yerinde olacaktır*) as a kind of Arabism, and similar tendency with the group, which is obsessively putting forward the virtues of Turkish nation. *Hicret* criticized Said Havva for making a wrong effort by favouring Islam with the perception it served to Arabs, since Islam has not been revealed to serve the interests of any race. *Hicret* also annotated that there can be a mistake in translation that might be made by someone who was not an expert in Arabic. Moreover, again the words of Said Havva as “the world of Islam will not have difficulty to gather around Arab masses. Because each Muslim nation has inherent consciousness that Arab nation is the natural leader” had been criticized in this context.⁵⁵⁷

Moreover, in *Tevhid*, it was expressed that the state model, provided in the idea of Young Turks as “my homeland is whole earth and my nation is whole humanity” (*milletim nev’i beşerdir, vatanım rûy-u zemin*), convicts religion. According to *Tevhid*, as a result of the demands for “freedom-justice-equality” which aroused from this idea, the concept of fatherland was corrupted; understanding of the fatherland that had coalesced with the belief, had been

⁵⁵⁶ Selahaddin Müneccid, Nerede Müslümanların Marşı?...Er-Risaletu’l-İslamiyye’den çeviri, *Tevhid*, (23 July 1979), issue 31, p.9. The use of spelling and capitalization in quotation is taken at it is; “senin aşkın ey Mısır. Dünya ve dinin şuurudur. Senin sevgin, ahiretimdir, inancımdır...Senin sesin ey Mısır... Tanrının vahyidir...Arzında vadettiği cenneti ve nimetleridir”

⁵⁵⁷ “İslami kitab” diye piyasaya sürülen kitaplarda neler-neler var!...”, p. 6. The words ascribed to Said Havva in Turkish translated text as; “İslam alemi Arap kitlesinin etrafında toparlanmakta zorluk çekmeyecektir. Çünkü her Müslüman millet, Arap milletinin Müslümanlar için tabii lider oluşunda fitri bir şura sahiptir”.

limited to the territory. This had changed the nature of soil and materialized it. As a result landownership had increased under the control of dhimmis.⁵⁵⁸

Another point, which was mentioned in *Tevhid*, was the concept of *yurt* (land) that, according to the newspaper, should not be confused with the concept of *vatan*. Because *vatan* is stated as the territory, on which the Islam is hegemon. However, a state, the subjects of which might be Muslim, should not be regarded as *vatan* if the administration of this fatherland is not Islamic. According to this idea since the orders and prohibitions of God are implemented, it is not important that these territories are “here or there” and they are considered as *İslam vatani*. This point was supported with the words of Said Halim Pasha who stated that “the place on which sharia is hegemon, is the fatherland” (*Şeriat’in hakim olduğu yer vatandır*).⁵⁵⁹ This idea is also traditional fatherland perception of the Muslims.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore it had been expressed that Muslims cannot be patriotic for every land and in the case they are, it would be considered as *bi’dah*. Only, those who struggle for the liberation of Islamic territories and their resubmission to Islam, can be considered as patriots. According to *Şûra*, *vatanseverlik* (patriotism) a usage that belongs to Muslims, therefore other territorial nationalisms should be expressed by *yurdseverlik*.⁵⁶¹

Another interesting explanation about the fatherland was about the land reforms on Anatolia that were severely criticized in *Şûra*. Because Anatolia was defined as the land of *ümme-i Muhammed* and this territory was described as the lands, which were acquitted with the blood of Muslims, and as *miri* land. Thus according to *Şûra*, liberating Anatolia from “westernist-laic cadres’ ownership” is the mission of all believers because the believers are the real owners (*öz sahibi*) of these lands.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁸ Hüsni Aktaş, “Tağutların Zulmü Veya Şirkin Gövde Gösterisi-1”, *Tevhid*, (19 March 1979), issue 13, p.7.

⁵⁵⁹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵⁶⁰ Kemal Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, Oxford University Press, June 2003, p.330.

⁵⁶¹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵⁶² İbrahim Taha Emre, “Toprak Reformu Demagojisi veya Ümme-i Muhammed’in Toprağı Üzerinde Taht Kuranlar”, *Şûra*, (11 September 1978), issue 34, p.2.

In the last issue of *Şûra*, it was stated that the lands of the Ottomans, which were freed from the non-believers through battles by the believers (*mümin*), were seized by a secular administration and the believers in these lands were set as slaves. Tendencies of the believers toward the process of democratization were interpreted as a compromise with their slavery position. Moreover, the Organization of Religious Affairs, (*Diyanet İşleri Teşkilatı*) as the complete name of institution at that time, was considered as the most important instrument and the symbol of this slavery process.⁵⁶³

These interpretations toward the state and fatherland can be considered as attempts to receive the public's attention toward the developments in the Muslim world. With this, Islamist movements tried to convey the "victories" of the Muslim world in the way of Islamization of *vatan* to the Islamists' agenda in Turkey. By claiming that Muslims cannot consider a state, which is not Islamic, as their own, the new Islamist thinking aimed people to question whether this state belongs to them or not. This sort of statelessness feeling would have led the pursuit of Islamic state in the minds. However, here new Islamists' perception of the state is in contradiction with the state idea of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. The movement, by centralizing the idea of Turkey, aimed to eliminate communism's universalist fatherland perception that, according to it, could have caused Muslims to be distanced from the idea of national state. As for *Tevhid*, the newspaper had the idea that considering Turkey as Dar-al Harb might shadow the history of these territories, which were Islamic fatherland once and Muslims should be reawakened about its past.⁵⁶⁴ Therefore according to *Tevhid*, "believers from Turkey" (*Türkiyeli Müminler*) have to quit all ideologies and have to ensure nationalization (*vatanlaşma*) of this land again with determination and struggle.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ Hüsnü Aktaş, "Resmi İdeoloji ve Ücretli Köleler", *Şûra*, (30 October 1978), issue 41, p.2.

⁵⁶⁴ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, "Yeni Bir Asrın, 15. Hicri Asrın Eşiğinde", *Tevhid*, (25 December 1978), issue 2, p.6.

⁵⁶⁵ Hüsnü Aktaş, "Tevhid Mücadelesinin Tarihi Temelleri", *Tevhid*, (21 January 1979), issue 3, p.6.

Here, it is important to understand the sociological and historical background of different orientations among Islamists in approaching Turkey in the context of fatherland. While hypothesis of national Islamists as the idea of national state (*millî devlet*) was underpinned with the idea that existing regime is not on the side of nation, emergence of ummatist Islamism can be regarded as a reflection of a similar idea of being deprived of belonging. The new generations of the community, who had been otherized since the establishment of the Republic, were in effort for seeking a solution for their otherization, in other terms to eliminate their alienation.

4.7 Salvation Altogether: Turkey and the Muslim World

All these efforts on both sides -as national and ummatist Islamism- arose from the feeling of ongoing invasion by foreign powers, either through cultural imperialism or their direct interferences in Muslim countries affairs. Therefore, all discussions about the concepts arose from the effort to find a way for real independence or liberalization that was not completed in any of the Muslim states according to all of these movements.

Şûra strongly believed that the new Muslim nation states, which had been established within the frame of a modern state order, was in the new stage of the same colonization process and they all were dependent to their colonizer masters. Rather than calling them like “Islamic countries” or “Muslim states”, *Şûra* acted with this belief by calling these countries as “Muslim populated countries” (*halkı Müslüman ülkeler*) to imply they are not independent. In the newspaper, Turkey was presumed to act as Middle East gendarmerie of the West.⁵⁶⁶ The member countries of Organization of Islamic Conference or of such structures were declared incapable of being a member of “Country of Islam” because of their un-Islamic nature and structure. Evaluations and comments of the newspaper in the line that these countries serve imperialism under the name of Islam, are strong indicators of the new Islamists’ distrust to the nation states

⁵⁶⁶ “Kürtçülük KGB CIA”, *Şûra*, 27 April 1978, issue 15, p.16.

they lived in.⁵⁶⁷ Therefore *Şûra* did not cast a central role to Turkey in the way of salvation like the *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. I have observed from the news related to the Muslim world and interpretations related to these news' that new Islamists had adhered to the belief of revival altogether at the same moment by the all Muslim countries at once and within the frame of a unity.

Şûra had described the Muslim countries as the countries, which have common belief and cultural unity with Turkey the first issue in the column *Beyanname 1398*. It had emphasized the unity and acting together as a Muslim world through common economic structures such as common market, capital market, exchange organization and money funds. *Şûra* often stressed that Turkey should prioritize Muslim countries before non-Muslim countries in its foreign affairs and almost had the same interpretations with *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in evaluating foreign affairs of Turkey. Such regional entities like CENTO, Baghdad Pact were the structures that were established for the sake of super powers' interests and Muslim countries should have withdrew from these kind of structures and establish their own unities.⁵⁶⁸

Şûra was inspired in these ideas and the atmosphere of *pre-Revolutionary* period in Iran and had intensively shared the developments in the region. Shah regime was described as an element distorting the unity of Islam (*İslam vahdetini bozucu*) by conducting nationalist policy (*kavmiyetçilik politikası*) and acting as pro-American. The newspaper often provided opinions of Iranian students who had lived in Turkey at that time and were the opponents of Shah regime according to the given information by the newspaper.⁵⁶⁹

In the 7th issue of *Şûra*, the events in Tabriz were described as the resistance of Sunni Muslims against nationalist Shia (*kavmiyetçi-Şia*) regime. The newspaper had stressed that the events had been described by the Shah regime as the

⁵⁶⁷ "Bu Toprakların 'Adı' Konacaktır", p.10.

⁵⁶⁸ "Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah'ındır", *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.14.

⁵⁶⁹ "Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah'ındır", *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.14.

uprisings of Marxist-Muslims within the effort of discrediting the resistance. *Şûra* also criticized negative reaction of Turkish Muslims to these mobilizations by this misperception.⁵⁷⁰ In the 16th issue of the newspaper, in a message that was told to be written by Iranian students, it was stated that the struggle in Iran was misquoted in Turkey by those, who had malicious intentions to imply the events as the unrest of “Marxists of the Islam” (*İslam Marksistleri*). According to the essay, in fact these mobilizations were organized by the adherents, students and ulama of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaah and Iranian students claimed that these movements were not related to racism and had no connection with Marxists. Their message to Turkish public was provided in capital letters in the newspaper as: “Long live faithful and brave fights of the Muslims for the sake of being a single nation”.⁵⁷¹

In a different issue, Iranian student were once again interviewed, and asked about their madhabs by *Şûra*. The students identified themselves as Jafari Shias according to the provided information in the newspaper. These students had also very interestingly figured Shia tendency as Shia nationalism because of their insistence to be distanced from Sunni ideas. Furthermore, they related this Shia nationalism to Turkism movement. The students had agreed that these Shias were not approved by the ahl-i Sharia, and had stated that most of the administration class belonged to this community, while in contrast the majority of people and ulamah belonged to Jafari school of law. The students in their statements had expressed that those, who followed Wahhabi and Bahai had been placed around Shah, and the regime had close relations with Saudis. Furthermore, both countries were functioning for the interests of USA imperialism. While the identity of these students were not given, it interestingly seems that all these comments sound exactly what Turkish public would have liked to hear. In response to the question about whether communists were effective in mobilizations, the students stated that the communists had

⁵⁷⁰ “Tebriz’deki Olaylarda 9 Kişi Öldü 125 Kişi Yaralandı”, *Şûra*, (2 March 1978), issue 7, p.4.

⁵⁷¹ “Müslüman Katliamı Protesto Edildi”, *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, p.4. The sentence was written with the capital letters in Turkish; YAŞASIN MÜSLÜMANLARIN TEK MİLLET OLABİLMEK YOLUNDA VERDİKLERİ YİĞİT VE İMANLI SAVAŞLARI...”

attempted to take advantage from these Islamic developments against Shah regime.⁵⁷²

Developments in Egypt had also taken enormous place in the journal. Execution of Muslim Brotherhood members by the Egyptian authorities, and Saudi's accusation of the Ikhwan members as deviant madhab adherents were severely criticized by the newspaper.⁵⁷³ *Şûra* most of the time had mentioned Saudi Arabia with Wahabi adjective and had rigid expressions toward the country.⁵⁷⁴ The manner of criticisms toward Saudi Arabia were parallel with *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*.

In *Şûra*, it was expressed that the developments in Palestine, Moro, Eritrea, Mogadishu, Western Sahara and African American uprisings should be considered equally with the Cyprus issue. Turkey should side with independence struggles of these regions and Muslims. Again *Şûra* stated that while misery of "Muslim brothers, who were enslaved by communists" should be considered as the misery of Turkey, their struggle should be regarded as the struggle of Turkey. Also it was stressed that Turkey should never give up its right over the 12 islands, in the Western Thrace and Cyprus disputes.⁵⁷⁵ This perspective towards Cyprus and islands can be interpreted as conditional departures from the idea unlimited to fatherland.

In the journal, hesitant approach of Turkish Muslims toward Palestinian struggle was rigidly criticized. According to *Şûra*, "for years hesitant stance of Turkish Muslims toward the heroic struggle of Palestine Muslims against Zionists and western imperialists"⁵⁷⁶ was because of their supply of weapons from Russia. This was enough to discredit Palestinian struggle in the eyes of other Muslims. According to *Şûra*, all these discourses downplayed and conveyed as if

⁵⁷² "Röportaj, İran Şeriat İstiyor", *Şûra*, (18 May 1978), issue 18, p.7.

⁵⁷³ "Kısaca", *Şûra*, (13 April 1978), issue 13, p.4.

⁵⁷⁴ "Bizler Mezarda da Olsak Bu Ülkenin Gidişatını Değiştireceğiz!..." *Şûra*, (20 April 1978), issue14, p.12.

⁵⁷⁵ "Beyanname 1398 Efendiler! Hakimiyet Allah'ındır", *Şûra*, (5 January 1978), issue 1, p.14.

⁵⁷⁶ "Müslüman Katliamı Protesto Edildi", *Şûra*, (4 May 1978), issue 16, p.4.

Palestinians did not have a fatherland issue, and as if all these happenings were the acts of communists. It was stated that this apathy, even negative stance to Palestine struggle was the result of nationalist (*kavmiyetçi*) attitudes of tiny Arab states (*Arap devletçikleri*: stated with the feeling disdain) and Turkey.⁵⁷⁷

Another example in *Şûra* that was in line of nation-state subject, was about an essay that was criticized by *Şûra* for overlooking the Chinese Muslims because of the Chinese government's implementations. This text belonged to Musa Bigiev, who had claimed in it that Gog and Magog are the Chinese race and the article was quoted in the journal *Sebil* regarding China's foreign affairs ministry's visit to Turkey. *Şûra's* interpretations regarding this article are quite interesting in terms of observing the efforts to revive the idea of ummah in the form of embracing all Muslims and even all humanity. According to *Şûra*, "Red China" was composed of millions of Chinese, who were suffering at the hands of a handful of communists. While *Şûra* seems to attract the attention of general public by putting communism phenomenon forward, the journal emphasized that hatred toward communism should not cause an enmity toward these miserable people. The newspaper argued that "despising" all these people because of their communist leaders "are not in consistent with Muslimness". Besides, *Şûra* pointed the existence of Muslims other than Uighurs, who are Chinese within the borders of this state. The journal had also reminded the share of East Turkestan Muslims in Islamization of Chinese. Interestingly Musa Bigiev was criticized because of his progressive-reformist ideas and his cooperation with "red communists" in Russia.⁵⁷⁸ Here again the communism seems to be considered a powerful reference point still in taking position concerning the events. However, the newspaper's this approach is worthy in terms of the awareness of devastating effects that had created a memory loss about the realities of the geographies as a result of the nation state era.

⁵⁷⁷ "Hesabı Sorulacak Katliam", *Şûra*, (23 March 1978), issue 10, p.4.

⁵⁷⁸ "Bir Vesika Bin İbret; Dedikoduyu Bırakalım-Hizmette Yarışalım Seviyeli 'Tenkid'e Davet", *Şûra*, (26 June 1978), issue 24, p.10-11.

The most critical turning point that caused a gap between nationalists and Islamists was differentiation of the approach toward Iranian revolution. This was the most contentious issue among the other developments in the Muslim world. While there were many historical and social factors in this differentiation, the main reason of the nationalists' and conservatives objection to the Iranian revolution during pre-revolutionary process seems to be the belief that the uprisings were the works of Marxists in Iran and the possibility of them gaining power.⁵⁷⁹

The completion of the revolutionary was coincided with the publication of *Tevhid*, while *Şûra* was already closed down. With the closure of *Şûra*, intense criticisms toward the evaluations in the nationalist-conservatist publications had continued in *Tevhid*.

Overthrow of idols one by one that were erected on behalf of people, in Iran, which is one of the Muslim populated countries, had shocked Muslims from Turkey. Indeed, this attitude of intellectuals, who had conditioned themselves based on the idea that there cannot be an Islamic movement other than Turkey, should not be regarded as something strange. Especially, masses, who fill up their mind with national cultures that are unique to Anatolia, and bid'ahs, and who are deprived from well-supported Islamic education, were so shocked.⁵⁸⁰

According to *Tevhid*, nationalist-conservatist cadres, who believed in the formation of an Islamic society that can be realized with "the nationalization of education", were overwhelmingly shocked with the revolution in Iran. For *Tevhid*, the reason for this shock was "glorious history comments" of "some laic races". These feelings led nationalists and conservatists to believe that Islam is extant because of the Turks. Iranian Muslims' attempt of revolution was pointed as an example about how they dismissed nationalist dreams of a Persian empire,

⁵⁷⁹ Until 4th and 5th issues of *Tevhid* this issue was discussed and negative interpretations toward Iranian revolution were intensively handled.

⁵⁸⁰ Hüsnü Aktaş, "Halk Adına Dikilen Putların Sonu", *Tevhid*, (12 February 1979), issue 8, p.7. Turkish version of the citation: Halkı Müslüman olan ülkelerden İran'da, halk adına dikilmiş putların bir bir devrilişi, Türkiyeli Müslümanları şaşırtmıştır. Esasen Türkiye'nin dışında hiçbir yerde İslâmi hareketin olamayacağına kendisini şartlandıran aydınların, bu tavrını yadırgamamak gerekir. Bilhassa Anadolu'ya has kavmi kültürlerle ve bid'atlarla kafasını dolduran, sıhhatli bir İslami eğitimden mahrum kitlelerde bir şok tesiri ortaya çıkmıştır.

and revolutionary denial of the cultural heritages inherited from Zoroastrianism, also pointed as an example that “Muslims from Turkey” should have taken into account. However according to the newspaper cultural heritage in Turkey prevented the focus on Iranian experience and this nationalist reflex adorned with “the Ideal of Turkish World Sovereignty” (*Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkûresi*). This idea was shadowing the idea of *tawhid* that continued from the prophet Adam and prophet Muhammad (pbuh). According to *Tevhid*, emergence of Islamic movement within a society, who was stuck with the idea that without Turks there would be no Islam” and put forward Shaman custom of dowry (*başlık*) rather than Islamic custom *mehr* in Anatolia, was impossible.⁵⁸¹ These interesting examples indicate the clashes of new Islamists with the culture and their effort to separate religion and culture from each other in the name of being freed from nationalistic chains, which were regarded as the obstacles in the way to connect with the world Muslims.

Tevhid had severely criticized negative comments in the rightist media towards developments in Iran. As I understood from the comments, the rightist wing perceived the mobilizations in pre-revolutionary period as communist attempts. *Tevhid* stated that, while their first perception became invalid when the revolutionary process was completed, this time it was dismissed with observation that this revolution was a Shia revolutionary movement.

Source of discontent, reason for worry is not the differentiation of madhab. (The source of discontent) is being aware of their fallacious mask, which is clothed with the face of religiosity, and absurdity, bone taint of the slogans of rightism, nationalism, conservatism and the idea of the lesser of two evil, which was offered to Muslims and tried to integrate in their minds again and again for years... After they experienced this wonderful revolution, Islamist youth who were trained from the cradle, thinks that these religious patrons, conservatist lords, guardians of morals should be called to account for. For years, those, who had betrayed hundreds and thousands of Muslims with the help of conjuring beautiful lines of poems , and made them slaves of tyranny, shirk and capitalism with anti-communism provocations, are aware that

⁵⁸¹ Aktaş, “Halk Adına Dikilen Putların Sonu”, p.7.

they will not be able to maintain their old businesses if they do not taint Iranian Islamic Revolution, and discourage Muslims towards it.⁵⁸²

Also the newspaper rigidly criticized traditionalist Muslims who were sceptical about the revolution, and condemned them as follows:

“O people of the countries, in which Ahl al-Sunnah Muslims are the majority and they humiliate the Muslims in Iran as Shias! Have you struggled even at least as like Iranians and did you come closer to the goal? As natural requirement of you being affiliated with Ahl al-Sunnah, could you ensure that the ropes of your rulers are at the hand of Islam? Or you are not busy with the things other than counting one’s bead with the permission of laics in your small world, and building domes of empty mosques with no youth to worship?”⁵⁸³

It is interesting to see that until these years, Ahl al-Sunnah emphasis was a common ground from the radical Islamists to, traditionalists or to national Islamists. However, after Iranian revolution this also changed to a large extent.

Negative interpretations of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek about the revolutionary process in Iran, also was one of main targets of *Tevhid*. The newspaper had accused him as de facto Islamist upon his negative approach to revolution. Furthermore, an essay of Necip Fazıl, which had more positive opinions about revolution and was published in 5 February 1979 in newspaper *Sabah*, was also quoted in *Tevhid*. In this article Necip Fazıl Kısakürek stated that if Humeyni was affiliated with one of

⁵⁸² Ali Bulaç, “Herkesin Telaşı”, *Tevhid*, (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.6. Turkish version of the citation; “...Huzursuzluğun kaynağı, endişelerin sebebi, mezhep ayrılığı değildir. Doğrudan doğruya senelerden beri temcit pilavı gibi, Müslümanların önüne sürdükleri, beyinlerine zerketmeye çalıştıkları sağcılık, milliyetçilik, muhafazakarlık ve ehven-i şercilik, sloganlarının kokuşması, gülünç hale düşmesi ve en önemlisi “sahte dincilik”lere giydirilmiş aldatıcı maskelerin olduğu iyice anlaşılmasıdır...çekerden yetiştirme İslamcı gençlik, İran gibi muhteşem bir pratiği yaşadıkdan sonra bu dinci patronlara, muhafazakar ağalara, ahlak bezirganlarına hesap sormanın gerektiğini düşünüyor. Yıllar yılı, yüzbinlerce Müslümanı, güzel şiir mısralarıyla aldatanlar, anti-komünizm tahrıklarıyla zulme, şirke ve kapitalizme kul-köle yapanlar, bugün İran İslam devrimini karalamadıkça, Müslümanları bundan soğutmadıkça eski ticaretlerine devam edemeyeceklerini görüyorlar.”

⁵⁸³ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Sen İslam’ı Talep Ettin: Allah Nasib Etti”, *Tevhid*, (12 February 1979), issue 8, p.4. Turkish version of the citation; “İran’daki Müslümanları Şii diye aşağılayan ehl-i sünnet Müslümanlarının ekseriyette buldukları ülkelerin insanları?. Siz, İran’daki kadar olsun mücadele verdiniz de hedefe yaklaştınız mı? Ehl-i sünnetten olmanızın tabii gereği olarak başınızdaki idarecilerin iplerinin İslam’ın elinde olmasını temin edebildiniz mi? Yoksa, laiklerin lütfü ile kendi küçük dünyanızda teşbih çekmek, mevlid okumak, içinde ibadet edecek genç nesillerin bulunmayacağı boş camii kubbeleri yapmaktan öteye bir şeylerle meşgul olmuyor musunuz?”

the Shia branches that does not deny fundamentals of Islam, and could manage to struggle without being satellite of neither USA nor Russia, nor Western imperialism, might be the man that Iran waited for. Necip Fazıl added that therefore Humeyni should not be judged immediately.⁵⁸⁴

However later interpretations of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek gained momentum in negative dimension. He feared about the possibility of the rising of “Shiaziation” among youth with the influence of the revolution. This consideration of the revolution as a threat became a hot topic of *Tevhid* in later issues. *Tevhid* argued that Necip Fazıl was degrading the revolution to a mere dispute between Yavuz Selim and Shah Ismail and therefore his ideas prevented Anatolian Muslims to consider revolution as an enormous revolt against *kufr* order in Iran. *Tevhid* accused Necip Fazıl and other personalities who were not comfortable with the Iranian revolution by pointing nationalist and conservatist motive behind their reaction. The newspaper criticized them as being incapable to understand the deep meaning of the revolution that according to them reflected in the words of Humeyni as he told “1200 years Monarchy in Iran collapsed”.⁵⁸⁵

As it is seen from the all discussions, during the years that *Hicret* was published, developments in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other Muslim geographies, had blurred the centrality of Turkey to a large extent. Furthermore, in an article which was about *Hijra*, stated that the changes in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan should have been regarded as a vital development in the process of realization of an Islamic State. And in the condition of a call of the rulers in the first ranks according to Islam” of these states, it is obligatory (*vacip*) for Muslims to obey this command wherever they live.⁵⁸⁶

As far as I have observed from the evaluations about Iranian Revolution in *Şûra*, the approach towards the Muslim world still was accompanied with nationalist,

⁵⁸⁴ “Gazetelerden”, *Tevhid*, (12 February 1979), issue 8, p.16.

⁵⁸⁵ “Gazetelerden...Necip Fazıl, Yeni ve Vicdan Kusturucu Bir Taktik Peşinde”, *Tevhid*, (19 March 1979), issue 13, p.16.

⁵⁸⁶ M.Beşir Eryarsoy, “İnceleme: Hicret”, *Hicret*, (24 September 1979), issue 2, p.7.

conservatist reflections almost until the end of 1970s. During Revolutionary process in Iran, there was an effort to seek commonality between madhabs and between Sunni and Shia sects by these newspapers to attract the attention of the Turkish public. Within these efforts identifying Muslims as the members of Jafari school and mentioning Shah regime with its Saudi regime or USA collaboration are remarkable in terms of new Islamists' consideration the sensitivities of the public. However on-going hesitation towards Iranian Revolution supported the process of the new Islamists' depart from the nationalist, conservatist, and traditionalist segment. Because, according to them, it was unacceptable by the new Islamists of not being able to convey the excitement of this revolution that was stuck to the national borders or mind-sets. Therefore, they sought to go beyond national borders both physically and mentally. However, during their journey, past of the Ottoman Empire was again in the scene. For example, during the constitutional discussions in 1979, the issues such as Turkism, laicism, Misak-ı Millî, which were brought to the agenda by 1961 constitution, were targeted by the new Islamists as inconsistent with the Ottoman reality. The criticisms interestingly were targeting Misak-ı Millî (*National Oath*) for causing limitation of the Muslim territories with Anatolia and Thrace in the minds of the Muslims. According to these criticisms the principle of impartibility of Turkey played with the perception of Muslims by making them embrace these territories as the only fatherland. Finally it was claimed that if the idea of Misak-ı Millî would have emerged during the Ottoman period, this manifesto would be considered as traitorous by them.⁵⁸⁷

4.8 Dilemmas on the Concepts: From *Türk Milleti* to *Türk Kavmi*, From “Muslim Turks” to “Muslims from Turkey”

Our nation does not consist only of Muslims in Turkey! Each Muslim wherever he/she is part of

⁵⁸⁷ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Consensus”umuz; Demokrasi mi, İslam mı?”, *Hicret*, (24 September 1979), issue 2, p.2.

our nation. In other words Nation of Islam rejects borders.⁵⁸⁸

Şûra, from the beginning of its publication, did not use the phrase *Türk Milleti* and used the word *kavim* (qawm) instead. Therefore, *Türk kavmi* was excessively used in the content of the newspaper. Moreover, sometimes the content of this usage covers *Türk millet* as it was the in an article in the 26th issue of *Şûra*. In the article that mainly targeted Diyanet, there was a call to *Türk kavmi* to protect their sharia from the negative effects of this institution.⁵⁸⁹ In the first issues of the newspaper *Türk kavmi* was did not mean an ethnic group as it was the case in aforementioned example. However, in different issues of the journal, the phrases like *aziz milletimiz*, (our glorious nation) also can be seen as it was the case in Yeniden Millî Mücadele's first issues.

Discussions about *Türk*, *Türk millet*, *Türk kavmi* is relatively new development during 1978. Questions of a *Şûra*'s reader after his personal meeting with the executive editor of *Şûra* Yılmaz Yalçiner demonstrate the confusion of the period related the terms, and the concepts. The reader stated his impressions as follows:

There is no Turk. Mentioning this word is sort of constructing nationalism (*kavmiyetçilik*), and this is *kufr*. There is nothing like the concept of Turk in the Ottoman Empire. There is also no Turkish state in the history. Russians had injected these nationalism ideas to the Ottoman empire... Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha is a devshirme. Sokullu is a devshirme. Mimar Sinan is Rum. Six Arrow, Nine Lights, are all human made. Sharia, as a divine system, is necessary for us... No nation is superior to another. No superiority except by piety....⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ "Bu Toprakların 'Adı' Konacaktır", p.9. Turkish version of the citation; "Milletimiz, Türkiye'deki Müslümanlardan ibaret değildir! Dünyanın neresinde olursa olsun, her Müslüman, bizim milletimizin bir uzvudur. Yani, İslam Milleti hudud tanımaz".

⁵⁸⁹ Ahmed Selami, "Şeriat (İslamiyet) Karşısında Münafık Cephe...", *Şûra*, (10 July 1978), issue 26, p.3.

⁵⁹⁰ Ahmet Eğinmez, "Bir Mektup", *Şûra*, (23 March 1978), issue 10, p.16. Turkish version of the citation; "Türk yoktur, bu sözü söylemek kavmiyetçiliktir ve küfürdür. Osmanlıda Türk diye birşey yoktur. Tarihte Türk Devlet'i diye bir devlette yoktur. Bu milliyetçilik fikirlerini Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Rus tarihçileri sokmuşlardır... Barbaros Hayrettin devşirmedir. Sokullu devşirmedir. Mimar Sinan Rum'dur. Altıoklar, dokuz Işıklar beşeridir. Bize ilahi sistem olan şeriat gereklidir...Hiçbir milletin hiçbir millete üstünlüğü yoktur. Üstünlük takva iledir..."

The reader explained his own ideas after penning aforementioned impressions from Yalçınar and stated that nations were not denied in the Qur'an, and mankind was created as nations. Beyond this, some nations are created more superior to others. This superiority is based on that nations support and help to mankind. The reader condemned the obsession of hatred toward those, who say "I am Turk". He questioned why shariatists (*şariatçılar*), who were confined only with catechism knowledge and turned their back on history, did not expose their Turkish nation enmity to other nations. He asked the reason why while shariatists consider saying "I am Turk" as apostasy, and saying "I am Arab" as not. Reader condemned this attitude by stating that "sharia does not mean to tease Turkish nation". However, the reader stated that Turkish nation "consist of the most pure and pious Muslim individuals in the world" therefore it is superior to others. He stated that despite the fact that Islam was born among Arabs, it was also the community who had created the most false madhabs. As for Turks, even though they had embraced Islam first through Shi'ism, later Turkish nation followed one of the four madhabs except a small number of Turks who remained affiliated to Shia. They had embraced Islam with its essential purity and had sustained it. According to the reader, this is enormous and a wonderful characteristic of this nation. He stated that God had made Israel as trouble for "our Arab brothers", as a result of their attack to the Ottoman army, which was fighting against British. In the following lines of the letter, the reader expressed that Mimar Sinan, Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha and some other prominent personalities were not devshirme, rather they were originally Turks, who came to Anatolia before their Islamization. According to the reader these personalities were "Armenianized" during their stay in Anatolia with the culture. Those communities were re-Islamized and thus they turned to their original identity with their Islamization. In other words, they are Turk, and as they were Turk previous to their conversion to Islam.⁵⁹¹ He reminded that those, who are enemies of Turkish nationalism are Russia, China, and America. He asks how a Muslim, who says "I am Turk", could be called as kafir, while the communists are unaccountably called as "our non-praying brothers" (*namaz kılmayan*

⁵⁹¹ Eğılmez, "Bir Mektup", *Şûra*, p.16.

kardeşlerimiz) by this new Islamists. The reader, in response to the idea that Doctrine of the Nine Light (*Dokuz Işık Doktrini*) was a human made, false and apostate principle, it stated that Doctrine of the Nine Light acknowledged and put down that national morality of Turks are the Islamic morality. Upon this, he accused Millî Görüş as acting with Marxists and Leninist principles in consistency, and asked how it can be considered as “divine”.⁵⁹²

Yalçiner started his response with an explanation that this person was identified to him as MHP sympathizer but he was a pious Muslim. Yalçiner expressed that he did not mention “no nation is superior to another” during their conversation as it was in the letter and emphasized in his response that “neither Turk is superior to Arab nor Arab is superior to Turk”. Because he already believed in the superiority of Islamic nation over any nation of non-believers. Yalçiner added that he himself did not mention the concept of *millet* and used the word *kavim* to imply the ethnicity or race during their conversation. Yalçiner stated that this confusion of the reader was because of his misperception of the concepts *millet* and *kavim*. He stressed that ethnicity of “pure Muslims” (*halis Müslümanların*), who had left their mark on the Ottoman history, should not be tampered because mentioning them as *devshirme* was disturbing “their sacred memories”. Yalçiner stated that discussions, which were derived from the *devshirme* phenomenon, were contrived comments of “*kapıkulu* historians” (*kapıkulu tarihçileri*). According to his expressions, this discourse was produced by those historians whom he believed were supported by the state to write an official history. Besides, he stated that there is no importance that Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, Mimar Sinan or Sokullu were Armenian or might be from any other race since they are known as Muslims. In order to demolish the importance of the concept of Turk, he mentioned Nazım Hikmet by his saying, as “I am Turk”. In order to excite the readers from their weak spot he intentionally chose this name since Nazım Hikmet was very harshly opposed by the rightist wing because of his socialist ideas. He went one step further and Yalçiner declared that Nazım

⁵⁹² Eğilmez, “Bir Mektup”, *Şûra*, p.16.

Hikmet was not Muslim and therefore “he is not one of ‘us’”.⁵⁹³ Here “us” remained vague since it was unclear whether Yalçiner was indicating Turkish nation or Muslim nation since he quoted Hikmet’s words as “I am Turk”.

In response to the negative comments from the readers toward Milî Görüş of MSP, Yalçiner stated that as shariatsits they are not the address for this clarification. Yalçiner ended his responsive essay with the sentences : “I salute you and those who are wavering in the darkness which I am freed from”.⁵⁹⁴

Şûra had shared that the ideas emerged as a result of searches on how to name or call Muslims in Turkey and the reason for the usage of “Muslims from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli Müslümanlar*).⁵⁹⁵ According to explanations, the phrase of *Türkiyeli Müslümanlar* in fact was used first in Şûra in editorial essay in its 14th issue.⁵⁹⁶ The newspaper stated that however, the phrase of *Türkiyeli Müslümanlar* was first used in general on May 1977 in the journal *Yeni Ölçü* (New Dimension) by Atıf Hüseyin.⁵⁹⁷ Şûra was also careful to use the same term to address other Muslims as “Muslims from Eritrea” (*Eritreli Müslümanlar*), Muslims from Philippines (*Filipinli Müslümanlar*), “Muslims from Chad” (*Çadlı Müslümanlar*).

However, the confusion of Şûra about the usages as “Türkiye Müslümanları” (*Turkey Muslims*) “Türkiyeli Müslümanlar” (*Muslims from Turkey*) can be seen from following lines:

Is the usage of “Muslims from Turkey” wrong? No! But we also cannot say it is true! While others derived this usage before the Muslims, it also gives a meaning that infers to Muslims as minority. Are we majority in Turkey? We are not in the position to say neither (yes) nor (no). Does hell break loose if we say “Muslims from Turkey” other than “Muslims of Turkey”, which was invented and used by others? And if we say “Muslims

⁵⁹³ Yılmaz Yalçiner, “Cevap”, *Şûra*, (23 March 1978), issue 10, p.15.

⁵⁹⁴ Yalçiner, “Cevap”, p.15. Turkish version of the citation; “size ve kurtulduğum karanlıkta hala bocalamakta olanlara selam ederim”

⁵⁹⁵ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.9.

⁵⁹⁶ “Telaş”, *Şûra*, (20 April 1978), issue 14, p.2.

⁵⁹⁷ İbrahim Taha Emre, “İslami Mücadele ve Kavram Kargaşası”, *Şûra*, (7 August 1978), issue 30, p.2.

from Turkey” what kind of logical falsity, an ugly contrary, a bad meaning does it evoke?⁵⁹⁸

Şûra in the later issues conveyed its hesitation towards the usage of “Muslims of Turkey. According to the newspaper, when it is said “Muslims of Turkey” it might limit the minds of Muslims only within the land and with the people of Turkey. Besides, this can also be the case for other countries’ Muslims. It is inferred that the Muslims of these countries will be in favour of protecting their cultural stance and characteristics rather than their Muslimness and therefore the target of being “one ummah of believers” will fail. According to this idea, Muslims will focus on the struggles within the borders of their countries rather than focusing on the struggle altogether (*topyekûn mücadele*) and this will create another fragmentation. For example, the struggle of Egyptian Muslims and the struggle of Iranian Muslims will be equipped with geographical and cultural differences and these differences will exceed the common values. Thus struggles, which will be on the national level again, will pertain to the countries, and will prevent the unity of all. Another reason on insisting the usage of *Türkiyeli Müslümanlar* (Muslims from Turkey) is explained as the effort to create a perception that Muslims are stateless or in minority positions in their countries since they are deprived from their right to live as a Muslim. For *Şûra*, this will create awareness among Muslims regarding the difference between geography and fatherland. This awareness and the feeling of statelessness will bring a desire for a fatherland. After all these discussions, *Şûra* finally ends up with the decision that use of “Muslims from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli Müslümanlar*) as a discourse should be maintained.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ “Basından İslami Mücadelede Terimler”, *Şûra*, (25 July 1978), issue 28, p.11-12. Turkish version of the citation; ‘Türkiyeli Müslümanlar’ sözü yanlış mıdır? Hayır! Ama doğru da diyemeyiz. Zira onu Müslümanlardan önce başkaları terim haline getirdikleri gibi, Müslümanları bir azlık grup haline düşürücü mana da tedai ettirmektedir. Biz Türkiye’de ekseriyette miyiz? Buna ne (evet), ne de (hayır) demek mevkiindeyiz. Ama bizden başkalarının kullandığı ve terim halinde ikame ettikleri şu “Türkiyeli Müslümanlar” sözü yerine “Türkiye Müslümanları” desek kıyamet mi kopar? Ve hangi mantığı yanlışlığı çirkin bir mefhum-u muhalifi ve kötü bir manayı tedai ettirir?

⁵⁹⁹ İbrahim Taha Emre, “İslami Mücadele ve Kavram Kargaşası”, p.2.

Another phrase was “Muslim populated countries” (*Halkı Müslüman olan ülkeler*) for not to call these countries as “Muslim country” or Islamic country since they were not independent according to new Islamic thinking. According to the explanations, this phrase was first used by Ali Bulaç on October 1977, in *Sebil*.⁶⁰⁰ The motive behind the usage of the phrase “Muslim country” was to create the perception that Muslim countries are not independent, there is no free Muslim country. Therefore it is not enough to consider a country Muslim even it has a Muslim population.⁶⁰¹ The questions in the column “What is its true answer?!” (*Doğrusu Ne?!*) in *Tevhid*, started in the 3rd issue, and it is important to understand the logic behind these utilizations. One of the questions asked had only the “truest answer” rather than “closer answer to true one” to pick from. These questions are as follows;

- a) The danger is communism that threatens the unity and integrity of Muslim Turkish Nation.
- b) The danger is Zionism that threatens the unity, integrity of Muslim Turkish Nation.
- c) The danger that threatens the unity, integrity of Muslim Turkish Nation is not one, it is communism, Zionism, capitalism.
- d) The danger is all non-believer orders that threaten the unity, integrity of Nation of Islam.
- e) The danger is fascism that threatens the unity integrity of Nation of Islam.⁶⁰²

While the right answer was explained as option “d” in the following question, the options indicate excessive effort to escape the use of “Muslim Turks”. Additional question is a kind of a challenge to the identification of Muslimness with the rightism. The other options can be regarded as sub messages in accordance with the idea that Muslims and Islam cannot compromise with any other worldview.

⁶⁰⁰ Emre, “İslami Mücadele ve Kavram Kargaşası”, p.2.

⁶⁰¹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁶⁰² “Doğrusu Ne?!” (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.14. Turkish version of the citation;

- a) Müslüman Türk Milleti’nin birlik ve bütünlüğüne yönelik tehlike komünizmdir.
- b) Müslüman Türk Milleti’nin birlik ve bütünlüğüne yönelik tehlike siyonizmdir.
- c) Müslüman Türk Milleti’nin birlik ve bütünlüğüne yönelik tehlike tek değildir, komünizmdir, siyonizmdir ve kapitalizmdir.
- d) İslam Milleti’nin birlik ve bütünlüğüne yönelik tehlike bütün küfür nizamlarıdır.
- e) İslam Milleti’nin birlik ve bütünlüğüne yönelik tehlike faşizmdir

- a) Muslims are rightists.
- b) Muslims are leftists.
- c) Muslims are Muslims.
- d) Muslims are nationalists.
- e) Muslims are *mukaddesatçı*.⁶⁰³

Other than an ummatist reflex, there are other motives, that might be more powerful than the idea of ummah, behind using such phrases as “Turkey Muslims” (*Türkiye Müslümanları*), “Türkiyeli Müslümanlar” (*Muslims from Turkey*) in new Islamist publications of the period. The root cause of these pursuits, which were supported with the developments of the period, might be the othering of religious Turkish or religious non-Turkic speaking Muslims since 1924.⁶⁰⁴ The usage of *Türkiyeli* in fact was a discourse, which had a past. The concept of *Türk* was a terminology that had implied all Muslims in the Ottoman territory during the years of the National Struggle, while the phrases *Türkiye milleti* (the Nation of Turkey) and *Türk milleti* (Turkish nation) were being used in place of each other from time to time and again had addressed all Muslim communities in these territories.⁶⁰⁵ Muslims of Turkey (*Türkiye Müslümanları*) – besides *Türk milleti*- was also used by Mehmet Akif during National Liberation War.⁶⁰⁶ Even before this period as Kemal Karpaz stated in his book, the term *Türk* and Muslim were equal in meaning after 1856, and specifically after 1878 during Balkan wars.⁶⁰⁷ In these years “Turkish” identity, which substituted “Ottoman” identity, had been determined as an expression to imply “solidarity and a common identity based on loyalty to Islam”. Moreover, the usage *Türkiyeli* had been suggested by Mustafa Fehmi Efendi, who was a Member from Bursa in the

⁶⁰³ “Doğrusu Ne?!” (1 January 1979), issue 3, p.14. Turkish version of the citation;

- a) Müslüman sağcıdır.
- b) Müslüman solcudur.
- c) Müslüman Müslümandır.
- d) Müslüman milliyetçidir.
- e) Müslüman mukaddesatçidir

⁶⁰⁴ Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p.18.

⁶⁰⁵ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p.129-132.

⁶⁰⁶ Kara, *Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi 1*, p.456 “Bütün Müslümanlar bilirler ki maazallah Türk milletinin devrilmesi bütün cihan-ı imanı sarsacaktır.... Müterakeyi müteakip Irak’ta, Suriye’de, zuhur eden ihtilaller, isyanlar, kıyamlar gösteriyor ki, biz Türkiye Müslümanları öyle İslam’ın ve dolayısıyla düşmanlarımızın lâkayit kalabileceği bir küme değiliz”. These are from Mehmet Akif’s speech in Kastamonu in 1920.

⁶⁰⁷ Kemal Karpaz, *Politicization of Islam*, p.342.

Parliament -in Meclis-i Mebusan- in 12 January 1924. This suggestion came upon the discussions on how to refer to non-Muslims and the Muslims from different ethnicities on the bases of citizenship in the territories of the new Republic. Besides, “Nine Principles” that was formed during the first period of TBMM had also contained “People of Turkey” (*Türkiye Halkı*). *Türkiye Halkı* had been substituted instead of *Türk Milleti* from time to time.⁶⁰⁸

However, identity of the Turk, which was an identity based on Muslimness and had addressed to all Muslim subjects of the state, had been narrowed after 1924 and the concept started to lose its inclusivity. Ascribing a new meaning to Turkish identity that is based on ethnic, genealogical and distant from religion, was systematized and crystallized between 1929-1938.⁶⁰⁹ By losing its inclusivity, the identity of “Turk” was used as an element of othering in establishment of nation-state. In the time this had created problem of belongingness. The scale and varieties of this problem had increased until the 1970s, and even exists today. Toward the end of the 1970s the problem of belongingness, accompanied with international developments, heavily occupied the agenda of the new Islamists in different dimensions. The motivation to establish a connection with the Muslim world can be regarded as a reflection of this feeling of belongingness and the efforts to overcome this identity crisis.

4.9 Turkism, Kurdism and All Kinds of Nationalism

After heavy discussions on nationalism and Turkism a new issue Kurdism, arrived at the agenda of the Islamists by the mid-1970s. The process of “westernization”, which had started during Tanzimat period, was carried out through “Turkification” during the Republican period.⁶¹⁰ Aftermath of 1924, Kemalist nationalism formed Turkish identity on the base of territoriality that relied on ethnicity. In new Islamist thinking, the reflections of this process, which aimed at national integrity on the newly determined citizenship conditions⁶¹¹ and

⁶⁰⁸ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p.129-132.

⁶⁰⁹ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p.155-158.

⁶¹⁰ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p. 104.

⁶¹¹ Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, p. 18/104.

accompanied with many bitter events, was regarded as the efforts for *kavimcilik* (nationalism).

These newspapers intensively discussed the issue of nationalisms in their pages and rejected all kinds of ethnic nationalism with the fear of partition. In one of the discussions to draw the attention of the readers, *Tevhid* stressed that while German, Russian, British ethno nationalisms were proper to their worldview, nationalist movements in the Muslim world had resulted with the collapse of their own structure and had cost dearly.⁶¹² Within this frame, the newspaper described one of the articles of 1961 constitution on Turkish nationalism as *kavmiyetçilik* in the meaning of ethno nationalism during constitutional discussions throughout 1979. According to the newspaper, this would have resulted in discrimination of non-Turkic elements as a natural result of nationalism. Moreover in the article, it was stated that *kavmiyetçilik* attempts were shielded by naming it as “Turkish nationalism” (*Türk milliyetçiliği*), which was more accepted and welcomed by the people.⁶¹³ This indicates that *Türk milliyetçiliği* was still carrying the inclusivity of the National Struggle years in the public subconscious.

As mentioned before, *Şûra* had often emphasized using the concept of *milliyetçilik*, as Turkish translation of “nationalism”, as ultimately inappropriate. Even, in response to the utilization of *milliyetçilik*, the newspaper had often used the term *kavmiyetçilik* and had stated that the idea of *kavmiyetçilik* was sort of Westernization and “Europeanisation” (*Avrupalılaştırma*).⁶¹⁴ *Şûra* had interpreted Turkism within the frame of *kavmiyetçilik*. The newspaper had often mentioned nationalism as movement rather than an ideology and stated its creators in the Ottoman territories as De Guignes, Leon Cahun, who were mentioned as Jewish scientists. Other names effective in the idea of nationalism were mentioned as Afghani, Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha (with the Polish name

⁶¹² “Ülkeyi Bu Duruma kavmiyetçilik Belası Düşürdü!, Kendi Bakanını “Kürt” diye itham eden düzen iflah olmaz!”, *Tevhid*, (30 Nisan 1979), sayı 19, s.12.

⁶¹³ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “Consensus”umuz; Demokrasi mi, İslam mı?”, s.2.

⁶¹⁴ Selim, “Şu Türkçülük II”, p.13.

Alexander Porgensky) and Circussian Turks from Russia. According to *Şûra*, Turkists had tried to synthesize western civilisation, Islam and Turkism, and they had narrowed Islam as a row of spiritual values by denying its world order aspect. Furthermore, the criticisms had argued that Turkists had tried to resuscitate pre-Islamic periods of Turks and to shadow their Islamized periods.⁶¹⁵

As for *Tevhid*, the newspaper interestingly traced back the Turk-Islam synthesis to Batiniyya movements and associated nationalism with these movements. According to the newspaper Turk-Islam synthesis was a process that lasted from Şeyh Bedreddin until Ittihad-Terakki, and nationalist movement came out as a result of this process.⁶¹⁶ Bektashi order that had “occupied” Anatolian territories had been synthesized with Islam. Therefore Turk-Islam synthesis, which was stated as created with political concerns, was not a new phenomenon and had long past and an had an extensive background.⁶¹⁷ Furthermore *Tevhid* pointed the roots of cultural imperialism as batini movements in Anatolia and condemned the cultural imperialism for limiting it with materialist philosophy only. There were philosophical movements, which were closely related with the cultures of the nations, which had benefited from the rights provided to zimmi” in the period of Slajuks and the Ottomans in Anatolia. *Tevhid* pointed Şeyh Bedreddin within this frame and stated that mass movements in the eastern Anatolia in the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, maintained old Turkish custom and traditions. These communities, which could not fulfil their Islamic education properly, kept their spirituality alive through the legends (*menkıbe*) and as it was observed well through the minstrels such as Pir Sultan Abdal.⁶¹⁸ Turkism movement had gained momentum in the process of the rebellions of different ethnicities in the Ottoman Empire. This historical accumulation with this background was politicized and turned into a political party movement. While in politicization of Turkism the role of Türkeş was emphasized, it was stated that

⁶¹⁵ Selim, “Şu Türkcülük III”, p.13.

⁶¹⁶ Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, p.7.

⁶¹⁷ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, *Tevhid*, (7 May 1979), issue 20, p.7.

⁶¹⁸ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, *Tevhid*, (7 May 1979), issue 20, p.7.

Moiz Cohen or with his other name Tekin Alp, had more powerful effect on Turkism.⁶¹⁹

In an article in *Tevhid*, penned by Hüsnü Aktaş, the point that was mentioned to invalidate the idea of superior race that was considered as the source of a nation-state idea was remarkable. According to Aktaş, the interpretations related to Middle Age misled the believers to consider the conquest of Istanbul, as a source of pride. The phenomenon of the conquest as closing an era and opening another one is a “story” that plays with the perception of believers in Turkey without realizing it. The real aim of this theory in fact was to point the collapse of Roman Empire. On the other side, according to Aktaş, we need to keep in mind that Istanbul had been conquered by the Ottomans that was the state of *ümme-i Muhammed*, rather than by a certain race.⁶²⁰ To support this idea, Aktaş mentioned the revolt of Turkic communities against the Ottoman state, since this was an important sign that the Ottoman was not an ethnic base entity.⁶²¹

Tevhid tried to relate all mentioned discussions with cultural imperialism to repulse the idea of nationalism. Within this frame, the newspaper went to interpret some tendencies in the Republic of Turkey through these points. For instance, as a result of the culture that developed through the idea of “infallibles imams” (*masum imamlar*), which was spread by Şeyh Bedreddin, secularism could have found a ground in these territories. According to this inference, the idea of *masum imamlar* was inherited by secular thinking and resulted with the emergence of the idea of “infallibles personalities”, who are considered as ultimately faultless.⁶²²

According to *Şûra*, the current Turkist movements were in the same orient with the first Turkist movements in general because both Turkism considered Islam as

⁶¹⁹ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, *Tevhid*, (7 May 1979), issue 20, p.7.

⁶²⁰ Hüsnü Aktaş, Mezar Soyguncuları veya İskelete Kan Verenler-2, *Tevhid*, (23 April 1979), issue18, p.7.

⁶²¹ Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, p.7.

⁶²² Aktaş, “Mitolojik Zorbalar Veya Kültür Emperyalizmi-2”, p.7.

morality only rather than a worldview. By considering Islam as morality, Turkism tended to synthesize it with some other ideologies or political systems. Thus Şûra described Turkism as being Muslim within, while being Turk by appearance, rather than being Muslim by both.⁶²³

As for Kurdism, the newspaper had the same negative comments towards it. Kurdism was also considered as planned, constructed identity and a pitfall like Turkism. Possible establishment of a “Kurdistan” would have served the interests of Russia as being appointed as gendarmerie of Moskov, Pekin or Washington.⁶²⁴ The solution that will liberate “Muslim populated countries” (*halkı Müslüman ülkeler*) from being servant of these powers is the establishment of a universal life order by renouncing racism.⁶²⁵ The region was called by Şûra “Eastern Turkey” (*Doğu Türkiye*), “our eastern regions” (*doğu bölgelerimiz*) like Yeniden Millî Mücadele.

Şûra considered rising tension in the eastern Turkey as “red Kurdism” (*Kızıl Kürtçülük*) relating these developments with communist activities. The newspaper made a further explanation by stating that even a pure Kurdism away from communism cannot be acceptable. The newspaper implied here its opposition to the both: communism and any nationalism.⁶²⁶

No excuse can justify nationalism. “But sir, because it is spoken in Kurdish, Turkish oppress and treat with contempt. They are saying here is the fatherland of Turkey and contrary to that they imply that Kurdish had nothing to do in these territories...” These are coward deliriums. However, a Muslim Kurdish speaking person ignores these coward deliriums and does not adapt to nationalism.⁶²⁷

⁶²³ Selim, “Şu Türkçülük III”, p.14.

⁶²⁴ “Kürtçülük KGB CIA”, *Şûra*, (27 April 1978), issue 15, p.16.

⁶²⁵ “Kürtçülük KGB CIA”, p.16.

⁶²⁶ Okurlara cevaplardan alıntılanmış ve özetlenmiştir *Şûra*, (18 May 1978), issue 18, p.15.

⁶²⁷ Okurlara cevaplardan alıntılanmış ve özetlenmiştir *Şûra*, (18 May 1978), issue 18, p.15. Turkish version of the citation; “Hiçbir mazeret kavmiyetçiliği mazur gösteremez. ‘Ama efendim, Kürtçe konuşuluyor diye, Türkçüler baskı yapıyorlarmış. Hor bakıyorlarmış. Burası Türklerin vatani diyeyişlermiş. Mefhum-u muhalifinden Kürtlerin bu topraklarda yeri yoktur demeye getiresiymişler.’ Bunlar alçakça hezeyanlardır. Ancak bu alçakça hezeyanlar karşısında Kürtçe konuşan bir Müslüman kavmiyetçilik mel’anetine sarılmaz”.

Şûra states that there is no place for Kurdish nation in the Nation of Islam as much as there is no place for Turkish, Arab, or Japanese nation. Because these ethnic identities are the product of a certain ideology and doctrine under disciplines such as anthropology or sociology.⁶²⁸ Therefore Kurdism was also regarded as a project of Europeanization.⁶²⁹

While millions of Muslims who speak Turkish, Kurdish, Laz Language, Circassian, Georgian, Arabic, can be a single nation, only one nation out of all has declared as superior and others were despised... Especially in Turkey, for the last 60 years, our easterner brothers, who are called Kurdish, live isolated, and almost imprisoned, without having their rights, without providing them to be raised up according to Islamic belief, almost considered as creatures and deprived from any kinds of construction plans and projects in their towns and cities and had been walked up with mockery and humiliation as if almost a primitive creature.⁶³⁰

The newspaper criticized possibility of establishment a Kurdish nation-state with a response in a question form directed particularly to youth by stating, “as if, did those from Turkish race manage to gather under one flag and reach to the welfare?”. According to the newspaper there will be similar problems and disputes as it was the case in Turkish-Kurdish dispute and demand for independence among other nations such as Zaza, Kirmanchi will come out. Thus, the process of fragmentation of Anatolia into the nation-states will continue.⁶³¹

With time, Kurdish focus that had been coincided with the aftermath of Iranian Revolution and outbursts that was expressed in the periodicals as “Kurdism” or “political Kurdism”, were regarded as separatist movements in *Tevhid*. The

⁶²⁸ “İslamcı Gençliğin Yiğitçe Çarpışan Bir Kuruluşu: İKO”, *Şûra* (17 July 1978), issue 27, p.12-13.

⁶²⁹ Selim, “Şu Türkçülük II”, p.13.

⁶³⁰ “Şu Kürtçülük Belası...”, *Şûra*, (25 July 1978), issue 28, p.11. Turkish version of the citation; “Türkçe, Kürtçe, Lazca, Çerkezce, Gürcüce, Arapça konuşan milyonlarca Müslümanlar tek bir millet olabilirken, bu kavimlerden sadece birisinin üstünlüğü ilan olunup, diğerleri hakir görüldü...Hele Türkiye’de son 60 senedir, adeta ilkel bir yaratılmış gibi değerlendirilip, üzerine istihza ve istihkarla yürünülen, yaşadıkları beldelerin her türlü imar faaliyetlerinden mahrum bırakıldığı ve Kürt diye isimlendirilen Doğulu kardeşlerimizin haklarını teslim etmeden, onların İslam inancına göre yetiştirilmelerini sağlamadan, ve Türklerden farklı olarak kendi anadilleriyle konuşmak imkanına dahi sahip olmadan yeni düzenin içinde tecrid, adeta mahkum edilmiş vaziyette...”

⁶³¹ “İslamcı Gençliğin Yiğitçe Çarpışan Bir Kuruluşu: İKO”, p.12-13.

tension had also gained momentum in political arena with a statement from Şerafettin Elçi, who was a minister of public work, upon his mention that he was Kurdish, in an interview. *Tevhid* had often claimed that the reason, which ignited the wick of the events, was Turkism. The newspaper pointed the role of foreign powers in creation of this problem, as it was the case in Turkism, by drawing attention to the media outlets that approached Kurdism in the context of separatism. *Tevhid* argues that since the superiority of races was put forward in Turkey, clashes and fragmentation had gained momentum. Therefore, *Tevhid* claimed that Islam immediately should replace the race superiority. In one of the issues that deal with this matter, *Tevhid* stated that Turkism and Kurdism were manipulated depending on political developments and therefore the concept of *Türk* could not be clarified, remained blurred. This was exemplified through some instances. Explanations from the head of the state during the period, Bülent Ecevit were given as the example for this uncertainty. His statement as “adjective of Turkish does not have racial or ethnic feature, and everyone who lives in Turkey and regards himself/herself as Turkish, are Turkish” and “Anyone who declares that ‘I am Turkish’, is considered as Turkish” were given place in the newspaper. Besides that, the newspaper explained another kind of Turkism and called it as “Türkeş Turkism”. It was described as understanding, which arose from “Cenghis illness” (*Cengiz hastalığı* in the meaning Turkic centric nationalism) and had categorised people according to the races as dolichocephalic or brachycephalic. The words of Şerafettin Elçi that were subjected to the discussion of the period and were interpreted by *Tevhid* as “I am Kurdish but I am a Turkish according to my prime minister” (*ben Kürdüm ama başbakanıma göre Türk’üm*) were indicated and stressed as the confusion toward the identity of the *Türk*.⁶³²

Tevhid shared the atmosphere in Tatvan meeting with the readers to support its claim that Islam is the only solution to defeat fragmentations. According to *Tevhid*'s portrayal of the atmosphere in the meeting, slogans were chanted at the same time altogether in three languages ; in “Turkish; as official language” in

⁶³² “Ülkeyi Bu Duruma Kavmiyetçilik Belası Düşürdü!...” , p.12.

“Kurdish; as local language” and also in “Arabic; mother language of Islam”. People were all in harmony with takbir and nasheeds without any discrimination of Turkish-Arab-Kurdish. Furthermore, Tevhid stated that this event was performed among the cries, as “there is fire in the east”, of top officials and ministers.⁶³³ Here, the newspaper intended to point the gap between the people and the state, and state’s ignorance about the realities on the ground and the most important bond among the people.

I fell into a young man’s arm who was saying “I am Kurd, I may sacrifice myself for the sake of Kurdistan”. Whatever you say my brother, I am Muslim, I do not have worries like yours. Speak in Kurdish, say “I was born in Kurdistan”. It is not my business. The Ottomans also had called the places you born, as Kurdistan province. (Ottomans) had showed Van as central city... Because they were not racist. The Qur’an does not tell you not to speak Kurdish, tells “be believer, recognize the book of God and His Messenger”... Easterner had sacrificed his life for the honour and dignity of Islam.... Islam’s understanding of fatherland is clear. The borders that imperialists had drew, would not torn apart my brothers who are embraced by my heart... While he was saying these, the noble person (Mawlana), who said that “come! whoever you are, here is not the place of hopelessness”, was quite aware of the absolute superiority of Islam, openness of the doors of Rahma for everyone.⁶³⁴

Tevhid stated that the rebellions against the Ottomans were targeting the position of Caliphate. Here, the newspaper targets the Arab rebels that were against the Ottoman rule and interprets these uprisings as the work of the “superior race” understanding. According to this understanding, the Caliphate is the right of only one race and the Ottomans seized this position. Therefore, as a result of this process, the Ottoman Empire collapsed, territories of Islam were

⁶³³ Selahattin Çakırgil, “ ‘Doğu’da Yangın Var’ Naraları Arasında Tatvan Mitingi”, *Tevhid*, (23 April 1979), issue 18, p.2.

⁶³⁴ M. Mengüç Yenigün, “Tebliğ mi Yapacağız; Yoksa?”, *Hicret*, (3 December 1979), issue 11, p.17. Highlights in Turkish version quoted as it is; “Ben Kürdüm, Kürdistana kurban olayım” diyen gencin koluna girdim. “Ne dersen de, kardeşim, ben Müslümanım senin endişen gibi bir endişem yok. Kürtçe konuş, Kürdistan’da doğdum de...Bana ne? Osmanlı da senin doğduğun yerlere Kürdistan vilayeti demiş, Van’ı da merkez şehir diye göstermiş haritasında...Çünkü İRKCİLİK yapmamış, Kur’an sana, “Kürtçe konuşma” demiyor, “Mümin ol, Allah’ı Rasulünü, kitabını tanı” diyor....Doğulu, İslam’ın şeref ve izzeti için canını verdi....İslamın vatan anlayışı ortadaydı. Emperyalistlerin çizdiği sınırlar, kalbimin kuşattığı kardeşlerimin arasına giremezdi. Kürtçülük, Türkçülük, Arapçılık olamazdı...Ne olursan ol gel! Burası ümitsizlik dergahı değil” diyen ulu kişi İSLAM’ın mutlak üstünlüğüne, RAHMET kapılarının herkese her zaman açık olduğunu çok iyi bilerek söylüyordu”.

fragmentised. Finally the newspaper declared that this position belongs to “one nation” that is ummah.⁶³⁵

After Iranian Revolution, which was one of the turning points of the rupture between nationalists and Islamists, martyr of Metin Yüksel created another deep divergence among these groups and parallel to disengagement between nationalists and Islamists, a deep gap between Muslim youth and politicians had occurred. Upon these developments, *Tevhid* emphasized to improve new strategies for maintaining the connection with the new generation. According to the newspaper, as long as the ten years old strategies and the attitudes maintained, the gap between the youth and the politicians will continue to be widen. The newspaper stated that “the system of masters and big brothers” (*üstadlar-ağabeyler sistemi*) of the period was ten years behind from the youth in terms of Islamic consciousness and action. It was expressed that Islamist youth did not want “to negotiate with the remnants of jahiliyya” because they were considering it “as betraying the name of God”, “picking the votes and ingratiating with the system” (*Allah adıyla aldatma, rey devşirme düzene yamama*).⁶³⁶

Did we ever ask ourselves until now, why is it considered as Islamic activity of those judges’, according to some, writing a beautiful poem and passing through the counters of laic-leftist or laic-rightist by leaving an impression on them even at once in the year, and according to some; shouting at the top of their voices moral and spiritual weariness of Turkey without touching material essential of the order? Also, how come while someone says; “Muslims! establish a company, be conglomerate, pay dividend abundantly” another says; “There neither economic life nor the idea of state exists in Islam...And what kind of Islamist youth is this! While icons from one of the museums in Istanbul are stolen, and they do not tend to organize even a march...”. And no one asks them; “O master, you are telling the same things over and over for years but how come this Islam does not have the idea of economic and state, beside what are we going to do with icons?”⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Şirke ve Zulme Boyun Eğenler”, *Tevhid*, (23 July 1979), issue 31, p.5.

⁶³⁶ “Geçtiğimiz Günler; Metin Yüksel Gerçek Bir Şehiddir”, *Tevhid* (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.12.

⁶³⁷ Ali Bulaç, “Yeniden Müslümanlaşmak”, *Tevhid*, (19 March 1979), issue 13, p.5. Turkish version of the citation; “Hiç sorduk mu kendimize şimdiye kadar, niçin bu zirvelerde oturan ahkâmcıların kimine göre, güzel bir şiir yazmak ve yılda bir kere de olsa laik-sol veya laik-sağ’ın tezgahından övgüyle geçmek; kimine göre, Türkiye’nin ahlaki ve manevi yıpranmışlığını, düzenin maddi özüne dokunmadan bas bas bağırarak İslâmi bir faaliyet sayılıyor? Yine nasıl olur da biri ‘Müslümanlar

After Metin Yüksel's martyr, in an article that targeted Alparslan Türkeş, his call for unity was questioned around what to be united. Türkeş's negative interpretations related to Islamic movement, was quoted in the same article. The article criticized Türkeş's utilization of the phrase *milliyetçi-toplumcu* (nationalist-socialist) as a poor translation of *nasyonal sosyalizm* and claimed that it translated as *kavmiyetçi toplumcu*.⁶³⁸ Here again the sensitivity of Şûra about not using the concepts of *milliyetçilik* and *kavmiyetçilik* interchangably appears strongly. In the newspaper *Tevhid*, determination of the subject for the essay competition 1979 for the memory of Metin Yüksel as "nationalism and Islam" (*Kavmiyetçilik ve İslam*) is quite noteworthy. Selection of the tafsir of Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır and Fi-Zilal- al-Qur'an as the awards for this competition and presenting that both of the winners⁶³⁹ are also quite meaningful and remarkable. This can be considered as the New Islamists' embracement of first Islamists and pursuit of bringing together the previous with their later idols like Seyyid Qutub, Mawdudi.

4. 10 Relations with Traditional and Other Structures, Accusations Towards Şûra, Tevhid and Hicret

In the 30th and 31st issue of Şûra, the national characteristic of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and discontents within the movement were mentioned and this had, of course, received reaction of the journal.⁶⁴⁰ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* reacted Şûra's negative approach to the movement's nationalist stance as; "Some few, who used the most sacred concepts of Islam and the concepts of national honour tools (*millî mefahir*) such as flag, try to trap *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* after infidels' attack on the movement, by assuming that their turn to attack came".

şirketler kurun, holdingleşin, bol bol kâr dağıtın' derken, öbürü 'İslam'da ne iktisadi hayat vardır, ne de devlet düşüncesi.. Hem bu ne biçim İslamcı gençlik ki, İstanbul'un bir müzesinden çok değerli ikonalar çalınır da bir yürüyüş dahi düzenlemez...' der de kimse "behey üstad, yıllarca temcit pilavı gibi hep anı şeyleri söyleyip duruyorsun, ama bu islamın nasıl iktisadı, devleti yokmuş; üstelik bizim bu kilisenin ikonalarıyla ne ilgimiz var?' diye sormaz"

⁶³⁸ Selahattin Eş Çakırgil, "Alpaslan Bey'e Mektup", *Tevhid*, (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.2.

⁶³⁹ "Şehid Metin Yüksel 1. Makale Yarışması" Duyurusu, *Tevhid*, (26 March 1979), issue 14, p.9.

⁶⁴⁰ *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had criticized these accusations of Şûra in its 25 August and 5 September 1978 issues.

Let's see what they say. They say Yeniden Millî Mücadele should recognize the Muslims as the only millet. They say there is no nation other than nation of Islam (ummah). They are asking; Are you from the nation of Islam? They have other questions as well. They are asking whether "do you recognize Islam as sharia, an order or not?". And then, they even have a myth; "Sharia will prevail, savagery will end" and etc. And then... Evaluating Yeniden Millî Mücadele vulgarly, shallow and intentionally in their articles titled; "The League of Struggle will return to Islam..." "Are they going to give up supporting the regime?", all the past of Yeniden Millî Mücadele Movement is tried to be tainted with a shameful slander. These articles are being written in Turkey, our non-visible heroes, our hard-line shariatists are fighting with whom? Supposedly with this order. They might have thinking that when you call an order as hypocrite, or infidel, this order will be perished in one second and sharia will prevail.⁶⁴¹

In response to Şûra's accusations toward Yeniden Millî Mücadele, the journal had accused Şûra for supporting the movement that were in the idea of *talfiq*, and were in effort to distort the way of Ahl al-Sunnah. On the other side Yeniden Millî Mücadele accused Şûra of following the ideas of Abduh, Afghani who were believed to be influenced by the western thoughts, or thoughts of Seyyid Qutub, Muhammed Qutub, Mawdudi, who were described with their tendency toward modernisations. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* also accused Şûra for being influenced by Ikhwân al-Muslimûn movement. The movement considered the works Hasan al-Banna as provocative. According to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* while these movements, which were conducted under the password of realization of Islamic Order, prepared disasters for the people in the regions they influenced, and they had sabotaged Islamic revivals in these countries.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ "Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-i Tarik", p.2-3. Turkish version of the citation; "Gelelim ne dediklerine? Yeniden Milli Mücadele, millet olarak sadece İslam'ı tanımalıdır. İslam milleti (ümme) dışında bir millet yokmuş. Soruyorlar; İslam milletinden misiniz? Başka soruları da var. İslam'ı bir şeriat, nizam olarak kabul ediyor musunuz, etmiyor musunuz? Sonra bir lejantları da var: Şeriat gelecek vahşet bitecek, vb. Ve sonra, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi'nin bir kaba, sığ ve kasıtlı değerlendirilişi: "Mücadele Birliği İslam'a dönecek..." " Rejime destek olmaktan çıkacaklar mı" başlıklı yazılarında ise, Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi'nin bütün geçmişi, müşrik düzenin bekçiliğini yapmak gibi son derece çirkin bir iftira ile lekelenmeye çalışılıyor. Bu yazılar Türkiye'de yazılıyor, bizim görünmez kahramanlarımız, hızlı şeriatçilerimiz kiminle savaşıyorlar, sözde bu düzenle. Bir düzenin adına münafık, kefer veya müşrik dendi mi, o düzen saniyede söner ve yerine şeriat hemen gelir, diye düşünüyor olmalılar.

⁶⁴² "Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-i Tarik", p.3.

Yeniden Millî Mücadele accused Mawdudi and Hasan al-Banna as explaining the subjects such as “land order, economic life, state administration in Islam” “with a single verse and three hadith” and thus breaching Islamic culture. According to journal these personalities had started to consider themselves as mujtahid of their time by not giving importance and place the ideas of the works of the ulama of Ahl al-Sunnah in their work, and by distancing themselves from ulama’s inferences. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* stated that a young man, who deprived from Islamic knowledge and read Islam, Islamic jihad through the books written by Mawdudi and al-Banna considered Jihad as the Party Movement of International Revolution. In continuation of the article, there is a call to Şûra by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, that Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, Jamat-i Islamiyya, Hizb-ut-Tahrir all had to be investigated by the ulamas of Ahl al-Sunnah.⁶⁴³ Furthermore *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had accused Şûra of hiding its identity and had criticized the newspaper for not revealing the original names of the writers by giving pseudonyms⁶⁴⁴ and requested Şûra to reveal its cadre.⁶⁴⁵ As for Şûra, the newspaper had responded the accusation by instantly providing the names of writers except of those whose name could not be shared because of the difficult circumstances of the time. In response to this, Şûra had rebuked *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with the same accusation as not revealing the names in the journal, and the newspaper considered working style of the movement as a military headquarter because they distanced themselves from the Muslim society.⁶⁴⁶

In response to the accusations of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, Şûra stated that they had not approved the ideas of Afghani, Abduh, Seyyid Qutub, Hasan al-Banna or Mawdudi. They also had no claim that these personalities were mujtahid. However, Şûra expressed that while these names would have done some mistakes their remarkable services and their sacrifice of their lives for the sake of their belief had to be taken into consideration by the Muslims. Şûra stated that while they did not have information about the method of Ikhwān, their ideas

⁶⁴³ “Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-i Tarik”, p.3.

⁶⁴⁴ “Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-i Tarik”, p.3.

⁶⁴⁵ “Provakasyonlar ve Kutta-i Tarik”, p.3.

⁶⁴⁶ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere;...”, p.10.

could have been parallel with this movement. *Şûra* declared that they had no connection with the movement, but they were informed about brave struggle of the movement. *Şûra* expressed that this movement was supported spiritually by many prominent traditional ulamas contrary to what *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* claimed. In addition, *Şûra* emphasized that they strongly believed the way of Ahl al-Sunnah as the most unifying way. Moreover, the newspaper reminded the critics and accusation of other Muslim groups toward *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* as its disregard to Ahl al-Sunnah, its denial of madahibs and its idea of scientific right. Finally *Şûra* declared that they were more confident with the mentioned movements and names in other Muslim countries, rather than *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*.⁶⁴⁷

Similar reflections take place in *Hicret* as well.

They say; “Muslims in Turkey are inspired by Humeyni... by Afghanistan... by Pakistan... by mutiny in Syria, by Ikhwân al-Muslimûn in Egypt!”. These inferences can be true but it is completely wrong to infer them in the form of accusation. Because while Muslims from Turkey are inspired by the people or the movement, they consider whether those are inspired from the Era of Bliss, from the holy Prophet, from Qur’an or not. It is impossible that a development happens somewhere in the World and does not influence the other perceptions.... If so, it has to be acknowledged that the return to Islam that Muslims from Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan have started and the movements have submitted to Islam in real sense, will definitely receive the attentions of the Muslims anywhere in the World either this or that way...⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁷ “Mücadele Birliği ve Onun Sözcülüğünü Üstlenenlere;...”, p.10.

⁶⁴⁸ Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, “İlhamlanmak mı? Evet bütün ilhamımızı İslam’dan almaya çalışıyoruz!”, *Hicret*, (24 December 1979,) issue 14, p.20. Turkish version of the citation; Efendim, Türkiye’deki Müslümanlar Humeyni’den ilham alıyorlar...Afganistan’dan ilham alıyorlar...Pakistan’dan ilham alıyorlar...Suriye’deki kıyamdan, Mısır’daki ihvan-ı Müslimin’den ilham alıyorlar!...” Bu tespitler doğru olabilir ama, bir suçlama halinde yapılması baştan aşağı eğridir. Çünkü Müslümanlardan ilham alırken, ilham aldıkları Müslümanların da Asr-ı Saadet’ten, Yüce Peygamber’den Kur’an’dan ilham alıp almadıklarına bakmaktadırlar. Dünyada bir hadise olsun da, bu oluş, hiçbir idrak tarafından algılanmasın, bu mümkün değil...Öyleyse, bilinmelidir ki, İran, Pakistan ve Afganistan’da Müslümanların başlattığı İslam’a dönüş, İslam’a gerçekten teslim oluş hareketler dünyanın heryerindeki Müslümanları şu veya bu şekilde ama mutlaka ilgilendirecektir...”

Şûra stated that they were certain that since 1973 the Justice Party AP in fact never aimed to serve “the cause of sharia”, and they believed that AP and CHP were similar in their hatred towards sharia.⁶⁴⁹

In the political arena, MHP was another prominent target of *Şûra*'s criticisms. This might be the reflection of Yılmaz Yalçınar's personal change and his active years in the party's past because MHP itself was also having a sort of change in its course. *Şûra* had considered MHP as in the same ballpark with CHP, and had stated the party's aim was “to bring Muslims in compliance with the regime”. MHP's exhibit some Islamic attitude had been evaluated as the attempts to replace AP, reputation of which was damaged in the eyes of Muslims. According to the comments of *Şûra*, deception of Muslims by MHP to gain support, would have meant gradual delay of Islamic movement for ten more years.⁶⁵⁰

Classic laic culture drains human reason and this can be observed through the believers, who comply with mushrik orders. The believer is in the effort to convince himself/herself to with “the coalition of believes” in our era in which sharia knowledge and life received severe damages. For huge masses, they have embraced the non-closure of their mosques, being able to continue the religious education even though it is dismissed from the curriculum and became a non-compulsory subject, and they welcomed the mentions of the politicians words such as “God, Religion, Nation, Fatherland” as salvation. They unconsciously ask for mercy from mushriks.⁶⁵¹

Comments related to a march organized by MHP in April 1978, are remarkable within this frame. *Şûra* had claimed that this march was organized to observe the capacity and power of MHP and had emphasized the point that majority of the participants of the march composed of religious part of the society. *Şûra* warned Islamic movements to take this into consideration. *Şûra* had figured out this

⁶⁴⁹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁶⁵⁰ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁶⁵¹ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Meşru Olmayan Her Yol Küfrü Getirir”, *Şûra*, (12 June 1978), issue 22, p.12. Turkish version of the citation; “Klasik laik kültürün insan aklını zaafa uğrattığı, müşrik düzenlere boyun eğen mü'minlerin yapısından bellidir. Şer'î bilginin ve hayatın büyük darbeler aldığı çağımızda, Mü'min, “inançta koalisyonu” kendi kendine kabul ettirebilmek gayretindedir. Camilerinin kapanmaması, din ilimlerinin mecburi olmasa bile sürmesini ve hiç değilse siyasi şahısların konuşmalarında “Allah, Din, Millet, Vatan” demesini, bir kurtuluş gibi yüreğine yerleştiren büyük kitleler, farkında olmadan “Müşriklerden” eman dilemektedir”.

situation as shadowing the tyranny of established order with tyrannies of communists that were under CHP protection according to it, and pushing large masses into MHP's call for protection of the state; "MHP, Islamic attitude of which did not go beyond the slogans rather than having consciousness and action plan, was able to make the Muslims, who only and only should have been affiliated with Rabbani Order, join its ranks, and make them march for another human order." ⁶⁵²

Şûra had criticized MHP because of its obsessive focus on communism as the only target. The newspaper often questioned the reason why MHP obsessively stressed irreligiousness and unnationalism of communism but not capitalism, and while Russia and China were forever a target, why the same obsession was not the case for America and Europe. This was considered by *Şûra* as the efforts to cover and to mask the damages of capitalism with the discourse on communism threat by MHP. ⁶⁵³

Şûra mentioned two groups as "the mediators" (aracılar) in "settling old scores with Turkism" (*Türkçülükle hesaplaşma*). While these two mediators were stated as Turkists and "those who have chosen Islamic front", *Şûra* stated that these two groups came together with the overlap of their anti-communism motive in the right wing.

First of all, they had "personal friendship with us from the past". This was not a friendship of interest, not a friendship of communitarianism; "it was friendship to death "with the smell of blood and gunpowder", like many idealists' friendships today. They were "the people, who had a nosebleed", in the same ranks. Finally, they were those with Muslim attitude, of the "Turkist" neighbourhood. Others had faith that by choosing Islamic front, they would cooperate with Turkists against the left, which was regarded as "common enemy". According to them, "the

⁶⁵² "MHP'nin Ankara Yürüyüşü", *Şûra*, (20 April 1978), issue 14, p.6. Turkish version of the citation; "İdrak ve fiil planından çok, sloganlar söylemek şeklinde İslami tavra sahip MHP, böylece sadece ve sadece Rabbani Nizam bağlı olması iktiza eden Müslümanları da saflarına toplayıp, 'Beşeri bir başka nizam' için yürütmesi mümkün oluyordu".

⁶⁵³ "MHP'nin Ankara Yürüyüşü", p.6.

youth, who were struggling against communism, should not be offended".⁶⁵⁴

The aim of these two "mediators" groups had been stated as avoiding the youth, who tended to struggle with communism, from unfavourable publications. While *Şûra* implicatively questioned these unidentified "unfavourable publications", it addressed the point that these two groups overlooked. *Şûra* claimed that only politicians were taking advantage of the process of anti-communism that had evolved to another dimension of bloody clashes.⁶⁵⁵ In a news comment related to political developments of the period, some sort of manoeuvres and events in the years that fragmentation in the right-wing became explicit and they were interpreted as the aim of absorption of MHP and of MSP into AP by pulling them.⁶⁵⁶

Besides all these comments and evaluations, interestingly mention of the two kinds of Turkism is very similar to the interpretations of Turkism in two form by Babanzade Ahmet Naim. He divided into two those who were advocating Turkism, as "Absolute Turkist" (*Halis Türkçü*) and "Turkist-Islamist" (*Türkçü-İslamcı*). While he criticized "Absolute Turkists" as trying to create a new belief, new *qawm*, a new nation, he found Turkist-Islamists more fair and conscientious⁶⁵⁷ as *Şûra* did. Here while there is no reference to Babanzade Ahmet Naim in this kind of division in *Şûra*, it can be judged that new Islamist thinking had some connection with the pre-Republican Islamism and this connection is worth to study to see the similarities of discourses.

⁶⁵⁴ Yılmaz Yalçiner, "Osmanlı Şeriat Devleti'nin Katili de Siyonistlerdendi...", p.9. Turkish version of the citation; "Evela bizimle "geçmişten şahsi dostlukları" mevcuttu. Bu bir alış-veriş dostluğu, cemiyetçilik arkadaşlığı değildi; tıpkı bugünkü pek çok ülkücünün yaşamakta olduğu "kan ve barut kokulu" ölümüne arkadaşlıktı. Bunlar beraberce aynı safta "burnu kanayan insanlar"dı. Ve nihayet, bunlar "Türkçü" muhitin Müslüman tavırlı olanlarıydı. Diğerleri ise, İslam cephesini seçmekle birlikte, "müşterek düşman" olarak gördükleri "sola karşı" Türkçülerle işbirliği yapılabileceği inancında olan kimselerdi. Bunlara göre, "komünistlere karşı mücadele veren gençliği rencide etmemek" icab ediyordu".

⁶⁵⁵ Yalçiner, "Osmanlı Şeriat Devleti'nin Katili de Siyonistlerdendi...", p.9.

⁶⁵⁶ AP ve Demirel, *Şûra*, (20 April 1978), issue 14, p.4.

⁶⁵⁷ Kara, Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi 1, p. 331-333

As I have understood from the response given to a reader's letter that had not been published, the reader had asked *Şûra* to mediate the negotiation between MHP and MSP youth, *Şûra* had responded this demand negatively by stating that it was not their duty. Again as I have understood from the response of *Şûra*, the reader criticized positive approach of the newspaper towards MSP. *Şûra* responded this criticism stating that they will be sympathizer of anyone, who is serving "incontrovertible religion Islam" (*Din-i Mübin-i İslam*).⁶⁵⁸ Besides *Şûra* declared that they had not targeted MSP yet, because while the party had not declared openly its sharia cause in the existing conditions of Turkey, they still considered it as the representative of the Muslims and their ideas in Turkey's political arena. Besides, the reason for *Şûra's* not praising the party was explained as to avoid to be an excuse for the party's closure. However, there were rival voices among MSP members against *Şûra's* Islamist manner. The newspaper criticized these voices as a small minority in the party, and defined them as those who are passionate about their future.⁶⁵⁹ As I have observed from the comments of the readers, disengagement in the youth institutions and in the political arena as Islamist and nationalist was crystallized in the beginning of 1978, and this disengagement still had not been acceptable by the ordinary right-wing adherents.

In the process after the political formations of MSP and MHP, which became the symbol of this disintegration, negative attitudes and distancing of these two formations from each other had reached its peak after martyr of Metin Yüksel. Trauma with the murder of Metin Yüksel by a group of idealists (*ülküçü*), had remained alive in the minds and hearts of Islamist youth as a deep impact. It is also interesting to observe the interpretations about this change as evolvement from *milliyetçilik* toward *kavmiyetçilik*. This evolvement was considered as the main reason for this sorrowful event and for all the clashes between these two groups. This can also be seen in one of the comments made after this event in *Tevhid*. In the comment Alparslan Türkeş was accused of defining millet in the

⁶⁵⁸ "Okuyucuya cevaplar", *Şûra* (18 May 1978), issue 18, p.15,

⁶⁵⁹ "Bu Toprakların 'Adı' Konacaktır", p.10.

way western imperialism had imposed, and so for blackening millet definition of Islam.⁶⁶⁰

In *Tevhid*, a memory of Ali Bulaç shows the evolvment of rising tension between Islamists and nationalists on the base of ethnicity. In the interview made for the newspaper, the question that was asked to Ali Bulaç related to the claim about existence of Kurdist and separatist elements in Islamist community shows the new discussions of the period. While Bulaç had responded the question with the example he had experienced, he had emphasized that there was an intensive propaganda among the right-wing about this matter. The interesting point he stated in *Hicret* that the right-wing was indicating that Islamist movements and Islamist youth was composed of eastern youth. Bulaç stated that when he started Istanbul Higher Islamic Institute in 1971, he was also an Islamist and ummatist like other Islamist students, however the school administration and some students were sceptical and prejudiced about the students from the eastern part of Anatolia. He stated that if they spoke Arabic or Kurdish they were accused of Kurdism, and he had witnessed this kind of manners even among the lecturers. According to him as a result of these attitudes, tendency of Kurdism among the students from the eastern regions had gained momentum. Finally his comments were accompanied with the inference that while the communist movements had exploited ethnic and religious differences, Kurdism had been stimulated by Turkism.⁶⁶¹

In the column “What is its true answer?!” (*Doğrusu Ne?!*) in *Tevhid*, one of the answer given to question under subtitle “Yes? or No?” (*Evet mi? Hayır mı?*), asks that; “Whatever the language one speaks, his/her mother language is Arabic”.⁶⁶² These kinds of efforts of *Tevhid* for developing an Islamism far from nationalism can be regarded as reaction and the resistance to the condition into which, Turkey was heading.

⁶⁶⁰ Abdullah Birisi, “5 Mart 1979, MHP ve Müslümanlar”, *Tevhid*, (5 March 1979), issue 11, p.9.

⁶⁶¹ Fatih Selim, “İnceleme: Komünizm ve Karşı Olmak 4”, *Hicret*, (22 October 1979), issue 6, p.7.

⁶⁶² “Doğrusu Ne?”, *Tevhid*, (30 April 1979), issue 19, p.15. Turkish version of the citation; “Hangi kavmin dilini konuşuyor olursa olsun, Ümmet-i Muhammed’in anadili Arapça’dır”

Aydınlar Ocağı (House of Intellectuals) was another target of *Şûra* in confronting nationalism. While *Aydınlar Ocağı* had introduced itself as nationalist, some of them were characterized by *Şûra* as capitalist, some of them racist, some Masonry, some bureaucrat, some as “representative of *kapıkulu*” (*kapıkulu temsilcisi*). *Şûra* made a call for Muslims, “who were mistakenly involved in it⁶⁶³ to quit this organization and considered this organization⁶⁶⁴ as useless. Because the newspaper believed *Aydınlar Ocağı* was not leading the society by focusing only on their agenda and described them as the organization that prefers “to lighten its four walls, on which its plaque was hanged, rather than lightening the society” (*levhasını astıkları mekanın ancak dört duvarını aydınlatmayı cemiyete faydalı olmaya yeğ tutma*).⁶⁶⁵

Şûra in one of the articles introduced *Millî Görüş* as shariatist vision and argued that it was different from the view of the one *Aydınlar Ocağı* published as a report with the same name. The report named as *Millî Görüş* by *Aydınlar Ocağı* had a nationalist content according to *Şûra* and had different characteristics. According to *Şûra*, the reason for naming it as *Millî Görüş* was to avoid the report to be understood as Nazism. Here it can be seen that *Şûra* had considered nationalism as equal with Nazism. Again in another report of Religious Life Commission of *Aydınlar Ocağı*, while the usage of *Türk Milleti* rather than *İslam Milleti* had been criticized, the sentences mentioned in the congress, in which the report had been launched, as; “Departing point of Turkish people is for God’s mercy and make sovereign Islam (*îlâ-yı Kelimetullah*)” (*Türk insanı’nın, tarih boyunca hareket noktası, ‘Allah rızası’, hedefi ise ‘îlâ-yı Kelimetullah’ (İslamı hakim kılmak) olmuştur*) was considered as the only truth in this congress.⁶⁶⁶ According to *Şûra* and *Tevhid*, the rightist and nationalist intellectual segments such as *Aydınlar Ocağı*, in Muslim populated countries consider those believers, who revolted against mushrik states’ exploitation and pillage, for the sake of realization of a life that their faith required, as in the category of militant Islam.

⁶⁶³ “Opportunizm Boğaziçi’nde Hortladı”, p.6.

⁶⁶⁴ “Opportunizm Boğaziçi’nde Hortladı”, *Şûra*, (5 June 1978), issue 21, p.6

⁶⁶⁵ “İnancımız İçin Öleceğiz”, *Şûra*, (16 March 1978), issue 9, p.6.

⁶⁶⁶ “Opportunizm Boğaziçi’nde Hortladı”, p.6.

Again according to them this attitude was categorized as “kapıkulu ideologists” (*kapıkulu ideologları*).⁶⁶⁷

In terms of observing how Şûra approaches and figures out this segment, the phrase “our today’s Muslim, particularly those who is with neckties” (*günümüz Müslümanı “bilhassa kravatlılar”*) is remarkable. According to Şûra, the mind of this intellectual class, “who grasps any kind of philosophy and master all kind of thinking system”, with the concepts that classic-laic culture brought, had been complexified. However, Şûra, stated that this confusion also reflected on ulama. Therefore, the ulama, who has the mission of “enjoining good and forbidding wrong” in the absence of Islamic state and the Caliph, claim that Islam is the best democracy. According to newspaper, this was an indicator that ulama could not comprehend Islam freely. Şûra also condemned Islamic higher educated people because of they had the same idea, therefore there is no way any alternative left other than resisting the evil by hating it by heart.⁶⁶⁸

From the content of the newspaper as I have understood the cadre of the Şûra was in good relations with MTTB and Akıncılar, especially with Anatolian branches of these youth organizations. In different issues of the newspaper the activities of these two youth organization were often given place. Moreover, while negative approach of MTTB towards Şûra, was shared with the readers, it is interesting that their Anatolian branches were more tolerant to the newspaper than Istanbul headquarter. It is also stated that the branches of these two entities were also in good relations with each other in Anatolia and Şûra was very satisfied with this coalescence by declaring its support.⁶⁶⁹ In different issues of the newspaper, raid and arrests of the members of MTTB and Akıncılar by state authorities in the Anatolian branches, had often taken place and severely condemned. These arrests were defined as “non-national” (*gayr-i millî*).⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁷ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Montaj Edebiyat ve Kapıkulu İdeologları 2”, *Tevhid*, (26 February 1979), issue 10, p.7.

⁶⁶⁸ İbrahim Taha Emre, “İyilikte Birleşmek, Kötülükleri Yok Etmek”, p.11.

⁶⁶⁹ “Bu Toprakların ‘Adı’ Konacaktır”, p.10.

⁶⁷⁰ “Dört Kardeşimiz Tutuklandı”, *Şûra*, (13 April 1978) issue 13, p.4.

Observations towards second general congress of Akıncılar Association had taken place in *Şûra*, while the chief editor of the newspaper was also in the event. The statement of Yalçınar was interesting and can be regarded as challenge to the welfare and industrialization of ideas of MSP. Yalçınar stated that: “Our mission is to break this slave chains. Our mission is not industrialism; our mission is jihad” (*vazifemiz bu esaret zincirlerini kırmaktır. Biz sanayicilikle değil, cihad ile vazifeliyiz*). Again the words written on the banners in the congress as “O Muslim, you are a slave unless you establish your own order” (*Müslüman, kendi nizamını kurmadıkça kölesin*), “Eritrea, Palestine, Turkistan and Moro is our cause” (*Eritre, Filistin, Türkistan, Moro bizim davamızdır*), chanting of Akıncı youth to tribute the speakers as “Mujahid” and their chanting takbir, were given as the important characteristic of this congress.⁶⁷¹

“Religious Affairs Organization” that was the name of Presidency of Religious Affairs during that period, from the first issues of *Şûra* was a critical target because it had been considered as the vital symbol of the regime.⁶⁷² According to the newspaper this institution, as “a branch of laic-materialist philosophy” had aimed to alter Muslims.⁶⁷³ While this hatred towards the institution can be seen very often, the observations about an event that took place in the newspaper is important to comprehend the general attitude of the Islamist youth of the time. In the 9th issue, *Şûra* stated the incidents in the 14th General Congress of the Federation of Imam Hatip High schools in Ankara. According to the news, the speeches by the members of this federation in this congress had targeted the ruling parties and Diyanet. In these speeches, it was told that the governments of CHP and AP misused Imam-Hatip schools and their graduates in accordance with their own agenda and interests and some de facto Muslims facilitate parties’ work. It had been stated that these speeches were objected by Tayyar Altıkulaç, who was in charge of Diyanet during CHP period, but his words were interrupted by the “Islamist youth” and he was not able to finish his speech. The words of

⁶⁷¹ “Akıncılar II. Büyük Kongre”, *Şûra*, (13 April 1978), issue 13, p.5.

⁶⁷² Hüsnü Aktaş, “Resmi İdeoloji ve Ücretli Köleler”, p.2.

⁶⁷³ Ahmed Selâmi, “Şer’i Da’va ve Şûra”, *Şûra*, (12 January 1978), issue 2, p.7.

Hüsnü Aktaş, who was also among the participants of the congress, as “hypocrites, who are ambitious to ingratiate themselves to 12 March fascism, will not be able to represent our community and they will be eradicated from their seats on which they are stuck” was also quoted by Şûra by adding that these had highly disturbed the participant state officials.⁶⁷⁴

Şûra had often praised Bediüzzaman Said Nursi and considered him as “the honour of Muslims from Turkey” (*Türkiyeli Müslümanların yüz akı*). The struggle of Said Nursi and his students with the regime were also praised with their big share in the struggle of “Muslims from Turkey”. Şûra mentioned those students as *Nurcu* in its pages.⁶⁷⁵ Furthermore the newspaper identified Nurculuk as a movement and identified it as the first movement that had rose with the demand of Islamic State ideal in the world. According to the statements in the newspaper, the movements such Ikhwān al-Muslimūn in Egypt and Jamat-i Islamiyya in Pakistan were influenced by Said Nursi and his ideas. However, Şûra had accused existing communities, who declared themselves as the followers of his teachings, for compromising with the system following his death. Şûra had stated that the followers of Said Nursi became target groups of the regime and “established order” (*kurulu düzen*) to be deviated by injection of the idea of democracy on them. During this discussion, Şûra had mentioned that Said Nursi had named the periods, in which he was actively interested in the politics as the period of “Old Said” and he forswore these periods. By stating this, Şûra was condemning the groups, which, according to it, was an ally of the state. The newspaper implied in the article that any organization that is formed with the permission of “established order”, makes concessions in order to survive. The article was sort of ascription to the groups and organizations, which were accused of compromising with the state in the name of anti-communism by

⁶⁷⁴ İnancımız İçin Öleceğiz, Şûra, (16 March 1978), issue 9, p.6. Turkish version of the citation; “12 Mart faşizmine yaranmak sevdasında olan, mürailer camiamızı asla temsil edemeyecekler, bir gün yapıştıkları koltuklarından pul gibi sökülüp atılacaklar...”

⁶⁷⁵ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Yaşasın Kur’an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler”, p.7-8

relying on the struggle of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi. However *Şûra* did not share the names of any of those communities.⁶⁷⁶

“The system of masters-big brothers” (*üstadlar-ağabeyler sistemi*), was another target group of *Şûra*. These “masters and big brothers” were criticized for their support of the political parties, which were considered as the mechanisms to support the “established order”. *Şûra* also considered them as quite functional for this “order”. *Şûra* argued that while some of these periodicals had also critical content, they were not confronting any threat of closure because of their compromise with in the system. The newspaper did not mention the names of those publications either.⁶⁷⁷ However, as I have understood from the newspaper’s implications, *Şûra* was critical of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek because the newspaper had described him and some others as the Muslims of classic-laic culture. Here, *Şûra* criticized ascribing the sympathizers of the periodicals with nomenclatures such as Büyük Doğucu, Dirilişçi, Nurse in implying the affiliation of the cadre and their readers. *Şûra* had insisted its readers not to mention sympathizers of *Şûra* as *Şuracı* in the same way like those. According to it, these kinds of naming can damage the unity between Muslims and so there should not be any mention or naming other than Muslimness.⁶⁷⁸

In the newspaper *Tevhid*, *üstadlar* was described as members or follower of tradition, which had been established by *Tanzimat* Literature and this class was criticized for its tendency to translate the books that were based on the Western idea. According to the newspaper, translations of the Western based books during the Ottoman period became bases of “montage literature” (*montaj edebiyat*): the term was used to imply copying of the written materials. “Montage literatures” were ascribed to *Tanzimat*, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Fecr-i Ati*. Furthermore, according to the newspaper “racism had terrorised *ümmet-i Muhammed*” with these books. The last stage of this process was stated as

⁶⁷⁶ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Meşru Olmayan Her Yol Küfrü Getirir”, *Şûra*, (12 June 1978), issue 22, p.12.

⁶⁷⁷ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Yaşasın Kur’an Mucizeler Kahrolsun İdeolojiler”, p.7.

⁶⁷⁸ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Adım: Müslüman”, p.2.

persuasion of the “believers” (*müminler*) by “the capitalist laic right-wing” with the idea: “nationalists! do not be divided, do not let yourselves to be divided” (*milliyetçiler bölünmeyin, böldürmeyin*). Thus, alteration of the Nationalists’ ideas from the “believer-non-believer division” to “communist-anti-communist polarisation”, and their anti-communism obsession had shadowed the reality that capitalism was settled on the territories of Turkey.⁶⁷⁹ After all these discussions, the reason that prevented the rise of Islamic movement on a world scale or its having little affect in Turkey, was explained with this traditional and conservatist ideas.

All intellectuals and rulers still depend on the corrupt, damaged, wizened and already debunked systems of the West, are passionately in love with the Western philosophies like an imitator, who believed in their inability to produce new things. As for Muslims, they could not give up corrupt religion understanding of the Ottomans of the 19th century, still reads Neclaces of Gems and legends of A Anatolian ashiks, they are ultra reactionist, ultra subservient to the words that are full of wisdom (!) and were to come out from the mouth of extra-terrestrial masters. They sing the songs “Stand up Sakarya, you grovelled enough”, still repeat same slogans again and again as “Hagia Sophia should be opened, patriarchate out, again great Turkey, our national and moral values, our 1000 year of glorious history, our saved glorious nation, who is chosen by God” and none knows the proof of this. And they still consider “AP as the lesser of two evils, against CHP, and USA- NATO as the lesser of two evils against Russia, rightist uproar as the lesser of two evils against communism”.⁶⁸⁰

As I have understood from the comments that another group, which was targeted as “big brothers system” (*ağabeyler sistemi*) was *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. Disputes that had increased in the movement after 1975 and became

⁶⁷⁹ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Montaj Edebiyat ve Kapıkulu İdeologları”, *Tevhid*, (26 February 1979), issue 10, p.7.

⁶⁸⁰ Ali Bulaç, “Yeniden Müslümanlaşmak”, *Tevhid*, (19 March 1979), issue 13, p.5. Turkish version of the citation; Bilumum aydınlar ve yöneticiler, hala batının o kokuşmuş, eskimiş, pörsümüş ve kirli çamaşırları çoktan pazara çıkmış sistemlerine, felsfelerine tutkun, kendisinden hiçbir şey sadır olmayacak diye iman eden bir mukallid gibi bağlı. Müslümanlar da, 19. yüzyılın o bozuk Osmanlı din anlayışından kurtulamayan, hala “cevherden gerdanlıklar” ve “aşikin” efsaneleri okuyan süper gerici, ultra dünya dışı üstadlarının ağızlarından çıkacak hikmet (!) dolu incilerin kulu kölesi. Hâlâ o çok dinlediğimiz “çok süründün ayağa kalk Sakarya” türkülerini okumakta, hâlâ “Ayasofya açılsın, patrikhane dışarı, yeniden büyük Türkiye, milli ve ahlâki değerlerimiz, o muhteşem bin yıllık tarihimiz, Alah’ın seçtiği-bunun delili neyse-kurtulmuş aziz milletimiz sloganlarını tekrarlayıp durmaktalar. Ve hala ehven-i şer diye “CHP’ye karşı AP, Rusya’ya karşı ABD ve NATO, komünizme karşı sağcı curcuna...”.

apparent during these years, were at the agenda of *Şûra*. Dissolution that had started long before these years within the movement, came out as a result of objections toward these “big brothers”. It was stated that the reason of seizure of the journal *Pınar*, which was literature journal of the movement, by the youth wing was their objection to “big brothers” “opportunist expansions” in the later years. *Şûra* indicated a statement as a confession of one of these “big brothers”. This confession was movement’s about to give up from its essential aim and the need to return back the goal Islam. The newspaper had questioned *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* whether the movement would be able to succeed upon their return or not. According to *Şûra*’s comments, statist tendencies had damaged *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* movement and some others at the end of the day. This process had resulted with their degrading Islamist attitude to anti-communist and anti-Zionist activities and discourses. Moreover, they had been melted the pot of rightist laicism. *Şûra* had called leading personalities of the movement to question themselves deeply, if they were sincere in their ideas about returning to ideal of Islam. As a next step, *Şûra* stated that they had to clarify the concepts of *millet*, *devlet*, *vatan* as in the light of Islamic order and declare their meaning to the people.⁶⁸¹

While these were general discussions among Islamists and the right-wing segments of the society, accusations towards *Şûra* within the rightist-wing were quite similar to those made to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. *Şûra* had responded to one of the accusations towards question of a reader as: “are you police or Hizb-ut-Tahrir?”, by stating that no single police were involved among the cadre. They also had little idea about Hizb-ut-Tahrir like anybody else. Furthermore, *Şûra* stated that they did not even meet with even a single member of the group.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸¹ “Rejime Destek Olmaktan Çıkacaklar mı? Mücadele Birliği Yeniden İslam’a Dönecek!...”, *Şûra*, (14 August 1978), issue 31, p.6.

⁶⁸² “Cevabımız”, *Şûra*, (29 May1978), issue 20, p.15.

As for Turkists, they accused *Şûra* of being “political ummatist” (*siyasi ümmetçi*), and “green communists” (*yeşil komünistler*) and the newspaper responded these accusations as follows:⁶⁸³

We are accused of referring to the Qur’an and Sunnah in our articles as a source of belief. Here it has to be known that we are not the one who refers to the Qur’an and Sunnah as a basic source. Messenger of God had advised us to follow these two sources in his final sermon to not deviate and these were not advice, these were his orders. Besides, we have applied to “Lubābu’n Nukūl fi Asbāb al-Nuzūl” for the tafsir of any verse, which is included in the articles, and we likewise had quoted. We have exactly stated the sources in hadiths. In other words, we were excessively careful in this matter. If accusatory imply an esoteric meanings of the Qur’an and Sunnah, it is not permissible according to our belief and to Imam al-Māturīdī.⁶⁸⁴

... They came up with the views that are opposite of the main standards of Islam, which infixed that all mankind is born on Islamic nature, by saying that “Islamists denied the struggle and the soil that raised the children of this country!” and among the screams of “Anatolian socialism”, which they came up with, they gave a place for this kind of claim. Whereas, this *nasyonalizm* which had been imported from French Revolution, was completely opposite from the belief of the nation of Islam.⁶⁸⁵

Şûra, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* opposed nationalist, *mukaddesatçı* groups through their attempt to synthesize Islam with other ideologies. The newspaper denounced any synthesis of Islam by pointing its unique and uncompromisable characteristic. While *Şûra* had criticized using the word Islam in compositions

⁶⁸³ Fatih Selim, “Şu Türkçülük III”, *Şûra*, (3 July 1978), issue 25, p.14.

⁶⁸⁴ İbrahim Taha Emre, “Adım: Müslüman”, p.2. Turkish version of the citation; Makalelerimizde Kur’an ve sünnet’i itikatta kaynak olarak göstermemiz, suçlanmaktadır. Şurası bilinmelidir ki, Kur’an ve sünnet’i Mü’minlere temel kaynak olarak gösteren biz değiliz. Veda hutbesinde Allah’ın Resulü, sapmamamız için, bu iki kaynağı tavsiye etmiştir, tavsiye ne kelime emretmiştir. Kaldı ki, her makalemizde aldığımız ayetlerin tefsirleri için “Lubabu’n Nükūl fi Esbabın Nüzul’e” müracaat ettik ve oradan aynen aktardık. Hadislerde de kaynaklarını bizzat belirttik. Yani bu hususta çok titiz davrandık. Eğer suçlayıcılar, Kur’an ve sünnet’in batınî manalarını kasd ediyorlarsa, bu bizim itikadımızca (yani imam-ı Maturudiye göre) caiz değildir”.

⁶⁸⁵ “Şu Kürtçülük Belası”, s.8. Turkish version of the citation; “... ‘İslamcılar bu memleket çocuğunu yetiştiren emek ve toprağın hakkını inkar ettiler!’ diyerek, bütün insanların dünyaya İslam fitratı üzerinde geldiğini telkin eden İslam’ın ana ölçüleriyle zıt görüşleri ileri sürdüler ve ileri sürdükleri “Anadolu sosyalizmi” çılgınlıkları arasında böyle bir iddiaya da yer verdiler. Halbuki Fransız ihtilalinden ithal ettikleri bu Nasyonalizm (kavmiyetçilik) İslam milletinin inancınca taban tabana zıt idi”.

such as “Islamic democracy”, “Islamic capitalism”, “Islamic socialism”, “Islamic nationalism”, “Islamic humanism”, it had claimed that these compositions were not the result of an idealization process and they were fabricated to attain the support of Muslims.⁶⁸⁶ The point of uncompromisable characteristic of Islam was also similar idea, to the premise of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* about inconsistency between the right and the left ideologies. According to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, the right ideology, which represents *tawhid* and the left ideology, which represent *shirk*, inarguably cannot make compromise with each other. Such attempts in historical process inevitably had distorted *tawhid*. Distortion of Christianity as a result of its mixture with the Rome, pervert of Judaism as a result of its merge with foreign ideologies, emergence of Islamic philosophy as compromise of Islam with the West, were given as the examples of these distortions.⁶⁸⁷ As a result, the only reason for rigid depart of the new Islamists from nationalist and conservatist ideas, and for the criticisms they received, was upon their rejection to negotiate with the state and denial of any synthesis of Islam with different thinking systems.

4.11 Approach to “the Right” in the New Islamist Thinking

As some of the comments related to it was mentioned before, the new Islamist thinking was accusing the right-wing because of their pacification of the Muslims. One of the young prominent writers of the period Ali Bulaç was very critical towards the religious part within the right-wing. He identified common feature of the Islamist movements of pre-1960 as completely being deprived from political consciousness. He stated that even those who were most politicized, were equipped with the ideas inspired from the West and did not consider Islam as a course of action neither in practice nor in theory. Again he stated that this crowd had a reactionary tradition, while the West was relatively targeted in their pyramid of criticism. Another feature of pre-Islamists was stated by him, as being ready to make compromise with “the established order”. As for *Nurculuk* movement, Bulaç evaluated them separately from the existing Islamist trends of

⁶⁸⁶ Mehmed Kerim, “İslam Nasıl Anlaşılmalı”, *Şûra*, (7 August 1978), issue 30, p.4.

⁶⁸⁷ “İnkılab İlmi”, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, (21 April 1970), year 1, issue 12, p.15.

pre-1960 and stated that they were able to protect themselves from those compromises.⁶⁸⁸

Ali Bulaç attributed the reason why Islamist movements could not display a radical anti-imperialist attitude until the 1960s was their lack of overcoming the memory related to the collapse of the Ottoman and thereafter. With this deplorable end and calamities thereafter, the perception that Islam is not able to carry requirements of the era, supported with the compass of the West, had settled in the minds of people. According to Bulaç, the West considered the cooperation with Soviet-Russia as more advantageous and less risky than any possibility to face with the opposition of Islam because the West was sure that it is impossible to be in direct fight with Islam. This cooperation was at its peak during 1960s according to him. Thus the West went to balance the anger of Muslims by creating anti-communism waves. This environment had been created by giving opportunity to Marxist ideas, which were masked with anti-imperialism, to gain wide currency. This alliance had come to the light with the reaction of the West against imperialist expansions of Soviets. In this process, “developments in Afghanistan and Iran had caused Muslims to see how shifty were the conditions in the world they live in, and let them to rethink what powers they have to fight”.⁶⁸⁹

The mobility in Islamic community after 1965 was interpreted as the result of conversion of distorted Islamist understanding, which was institutionalized by the Republic, into a new Islamist understanding. This new understanding was dynamic and had political demands, with translations of the books of contemporary Muslim thinkers.⁶⁹⁰ Bulaç stated that after new Islamist understanding, which emerged aftermath of translations, Muslim character that was “exorcist (*üfürükçü*), amulet maker (*muskacı*), rightist, conservatist and fearful” had clashed with another Muslim character. This new character was

⁶⁸⁸ Ali Bulaç, “1960 sonrası İslami Hareket 2”, p.2.

⁶⁸⁹ Ali Bulaç, “Emperyalizmin Afgan Hesabı”, *Hicret*, (3 March 1980), issue 17, p.5.

⁶⁹⁰ Ali Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 2”, p.2.

described as lively, dynamic, actual, in resistance with the order, brought the issue of imperialism, Marxism, Zionism to the agenda, returned to primary sources. However, “the Western regime” (*bâtıcı rejim*) had favoured a birth of Muslim movement, which might be able to collect Muslims and bring them to the mosques when it was necessary. All their concern was communism that was extremely hazardous for the regime. They were ethicist, spiritualist, reformist. The Muslims, who were organized like Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, Jamat-i Islamiyya, Hizb-ut-Tahrir, were the most unfavourable section in the eyes of this Westernist regime according to his statements.⁶⁹¹

In another article, Ali Bulaç had evaluated the course of Islamism and characterised Islamist movements of pre-Republican period as reactionist and theoretically and practically influenced by the Western ideas. These two characteristics had sustained its impact on the Islamism lasted until the 1960s. According to him, this period’s Islamists had followed a philosophical manner in defending Islam. He considered this understanding that was embracing technic and science of the west, denying of its ethic and culture, as conciliation of Islamists with the West. Bulaç stated that this conciliation that was considered as solution, gave birth to some sort of question marks in the minds of Muslims towards 1980s. The questions that Bulaç stated in his article are remarkable in terms of observing the new Islamists’ belief about uncompromising (*uzlaşmaz*) feature of Islam. However, Bulaç stated that as much as these questions were not answered theoretically and practically, the confusion of the Muslim minds will remain. He argued that this vagueness usefully was functioning for the benefit of Marxist militants and unions in industrialized regions of Turkey. More interestingly Bulaç stated that this industrialisation process was realized through the hands of Muslims.⁶⁹² The questions that he mentioned in the article states that:

⁶⁹¹ Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 2”, p.2.

⁶⁹² Ali Bulaç, “Tepkici Müslüman’dan Üfürükçü-Muskacı Müslümana”, *Hicret*, (1 October 1979), issue 3, p.4.

As for the Muslims, developing a laic-capitalist country by industrialization is our deed?"

How can the, main frame of which is drawn in the Quran and Sunnah and is consistent with the sake of God, and the life style, on which Western industry dominate, and had brought inevitably by the west, be suited with each other, how is this adaption being realized?"⁶⁹³

According to him, 1924-1960 Islamism was not "reactionist" (*tepkici*). Moreover, he added that Muslim typologies such as exorcist (*üfürükçü*), amulet maker (*muskacı*) had emerged in the supervision of the regime. Bulaç criticized the Muslims of the period, because of they remained ineffective in repulsing these kinds of caricaturization and insultation with these ugly images created by the regime. The question that "why could these Muslim groups not get rid of insults as *hacı-hoca*?" could not free this *hacı-hoca* discourse, was responded with impotent stance of Muslims and their narrowed Islamic understanding. Bulaç gave the example of Humeyni, who had a great impact on the Muslim world even on his enemies even he wore turban and cloak. He stated that the media had failed to humiliate Humeyni despite all the efforts. These feelings indicate an escape of new Islamists from the idea of representation of Muslims as the loser segment of the society. Therefore, Ali Bulaç considered the period between 1924-1960 as the most inefficient and unproductive period of Islamism and unfortunate period of Muslims. He had given the reason for this as breaking their ties with the Qur'an and Sunnah.⁶⁹⁴ According to his chronology, at the end of this process, the politicians, who were addressing religion as it represented the dark ages philosophy and indicating Muslims by naming them like exorcist (*üfürükçü*), amulet maker (*muskacı*) with the Westernist-secular impulses, the country had faced with "communism threat". Because the youth was deprived from spiritual values and the need of belief, and sought to fill this emptiness by attachment to other ideologies. Thereby, the state immediately turned to

⁶⁹³ Ali Bulaç, "Tepkici Müslüman'dan Üfürükçü-Muskacı Müslümana", *Hicret*, (1 Ekim 1979), sayı 3, s.4. Turkish version of the questions; "Laik-kapitalist bir ülkeyi sanayileştirip kalkındırmak Müslüman olarak üstümüze vazife mi?" "Kur'an'da ve Sünnet'te ana çerçevesi çizilmiş Allah'ın rızası uygun yaşamakla batı sanayisinin egemen olduğu ve kaçınılmaz olarak getirdiği yaşama şekli arasında nasıl uyumlar kurulmakta, bu uyum nasıl gerçekleştirilmektedir?"

⁶⁹⁴ Bulaç, "Tepkici Müslüman'dan Üfürükçü-Muskacı Müslümana", p.4.

describe the Muslims as nationalist, *mukaddesatçı*, patriotic, rightist, conservatist for the sake of its own benefit.⁶⁹⁵

Ali Bulaç also described this conversion as disconnection between the Muslims of 1924-1960 with the late Ottoman Islamists. Bulaç grounded this disconnection again on the nationalistic attitudes of Islamists. According to him while there were movements, which introduced themselves as Islam in this period, and in fact they were nationalist movements which seemed as opponent of the West, while they were equipped with the western ideas. He gave the key components of this nationalism as the ideas of “Anatolian nationalism, Ottoman culture and the Eternal State (*Devlet-i ebed müddet*). This kind of nationalist movement, “under the shield of Islam, which had tried to restructure Turkish nation and had favoured Ottomanism”, was a tendency, “which complied with ideology that new Republic tried to sustain at the official level”. According to him, nationalist movement that was developed within the borders of *Misak-ı Millî* and had an Islamist side, had inevitably eliminated ummatist idea and ignored the Islamic movements in the Muslim World. Another group that had emerged as a result of this tendency was “making Islamism with abstractions” (*soyutlamalarla İslamcılık yapma*). They were described as poets and men of letters who were obsessively focused on criticisms about social values of the West with full of intellectual worries, while they still concentrated on synthesis between the East’s moral structure and spiritual values and the West’s science and technology. According to Bulaç, they could not produce the works like the one Mehmet Akif’s “plain, convener, and literary” (*yalın, davetçi ve edebi*) works. “They were *milliyetçi kavmiyetçi* movements that were overflowed with longing passion of the Great East (*Büyük Doğu*) and were loyal to the root soul of Turk”.⁶⁹⁶

Ali Bulaç defined a third group among the Islamists, who, according to him, tended to purify their feelings of faith and to strengthen the Qur’an with the

⁶⁹⁵ Hüsnü Aktaş, “Devlet Nedir, Ne Değildir”, p.5.

⁶⁹⁶ Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1”, p.2. Turkish version of the citation; “Edebiyat geleneği içerisinde büyük doğu hasretiyle dolup taşan....Türk’ün ruh köküne bağlı milliyetçi kavmiyetçi”

scientific evidences. While they had resisted against Western understanding of science and had focused on defeating materialist movements, they dealt with the Islamic history with a quite new approach. They had supported the understanding that the Qur'an is the source of all kind of sciences through interpreting verses of the Qur'an in accordance with these findings. Therefore they had tended to give the message that; "in our holy book Qur'an, all sources of your sciences exist", and they had tried to reconstruct self-confidence of Muslims through relying on the scientifically justification of the Qur'an.⁶⁹⁷

Another group mentioned by Ali Bulaç is quite interesting in terms of Islamist movements. He mentioned about an old Anatolian women movement, who secretly had conducted Qur'anic education during the early Republic. Ali Bulaç praised this unknown struggle comparing other movements he mentioned. He also considered the other efforts, which also focused on Qur'anic education in the Eastern and the Black sea regions, as Islamic movements. Bulaç had considered them as more Islamist in terms of their struggle compared to those movements, which "seemed to be Islamist". According to him, their lack of understanding of the events in Turkey and in the World caused their efforts to be trapped in a vicious circle. Therefore they were not capable of founding a movement because they were unable to reach ideal and scientific bases, and remained ineffective.⁶⁹⁸

Bulaç stated by trying to protect the state from communist influence, all Islamist movements had fallen into a big trap after 1950. This trap was shielded with a false pretence of "the Pact of Islam" that was in fact Soviet's containment policy by USA and this mission was undertook by Democrat Party of Turkey. While Baghdad Pact and CENTO were given the concrete steps of this containment, he considered release in the religious sphere in Turkey by 1950 a development within this policy. He stated that the reason why Muslims integrated into this

⁶⁹⁷ Bulaç, "1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1", p.2.

⁶⁹⁸ Bulaç, "1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1", p.2.

plan easily, was because they were deprived from the essence of Islam in their minds and in their movements.⁶⁹⁹

Another prominent writer of those newspapers Hüsnü Aktaş expressed turning point of the new Islamist thinking in terms of their departure from the right-wing as their opposition to resist only communism.

The way is torn apart, when Muslims said: “our matter is not communism, it is resisting against all systems of *kufur*. The marsh that produced communism, is cluster of human made systems such as capitalism, Masonizm, laicism, and so on. We have to challenge all of these”.⁷⁰⁰

Ali Bulaç considered this period by stressing it as “Hijri 15th era” as one of the most important and rare periods of revival in the Islamic history. The reason for this was stated as the Muslims’ enormous efforts to find solutions for the calamities they had faced as a result of colonization and divisions. These efforts gave birth to the idea to return to the Era of Bliss.

Modern Muslim is not thinking like before. He/she yearns for being a single ummah. He/she is in the decision to reach his/her own order and taking the Prophet and his honourable companions as the examples. He/she closely knows the sources of thought anymore. The sources of all of his/her distress is his/her disconnection with Islam, but that is the Islam that was told in the Qur’an and Islam. He/she tries to bridge this gap and to become closer to the Qur’an.⁷⁰¹

This new Islamist thinking of the period received some criticisms on the bases their ignorance towards Turkey. The argument of these criticisms were based on

⁶⁹⁹ Bulaç, “1960 Sonrası İslami Hareket 1”, p.2.

⁷⁰⁰ “Anarşi Büyük Başlar İstiyor!” *Hicret*, (26 November 1979), issue 10, p.12. Turkish version of the citation; “bizim meselemiz komünizm değil, bütün küfür düzenlerine karşı çıkmaktır komünizmi üreten bataklık kapitalizm, masonizm, laisizm ve saire gibi yığınla beşeri sistemlerdir, bunların hepsine birden karşı çıkmamız gerekir” diyince yollar ayrılmıştı.”

⁷⁰¹ Ali Bulaç, “15. Hicri Asr’a Girenken”, *Hicret*, (26 November 1979), issue 10, p.5. Turkish version of the citation; “Çağdaş Müslüman eskisi gibi düşünmüyor. Tek ümmet olmanın hasreti içindedir. Kendi nizamına kavuşmak, Resulüllah’ı ve Onun şerefli ashabını örnek edinmek kararındadır. Düşünce kaynaklarını yakından tanıyor artık. Biliyor ki bütün sıkıntısının kaynağı İslam’la, ama Kur’an’da ve Sünnet’te anlatılan İslam’la arasındaki kopukluktur. Bunu kapatmaya, Kur’an’a biraz daha yaklaşılmaya gayret gösteriyor”.

the objection toward their equalizing different conditions of Turkey with other Muslim geographies. New Islamist thinking defended itself against these accusations as “Taghuti powers”, which deny the right of God to sovereign on the earth and invented decrees to replace the rules revealed by God, are in the power in almost all parts of territories of Islam and Muslims. Therefore, Muslim populated countries (*halkı Müslüman ülkeler*), are totally in same conditions and the solution should be the same for this common problem. The groups, which were claiming that they were on the path of Islamic struggle, were asked what these different conditions of Turkey that they kept mentioning. The new Islamists were describing the manner as legalizing the method that, according to them Qur’an, ijma, and qiyas forbid, and “beatifying this attitude with characteristics such as being prudent, being sedateness, being debonairness” in the name of *maslaha* (benefit). It was argued that this attitude is the misuse of the hadith of the Prophet as “arming with the arm of the enemy” for legalizing every tool.⁷⁰²

Today when it is compared with the struggle of Muslims in the world, we are not able to oversee that Muslims from Turkey are identifying themselves with the existing order by time. Islamic opposition that was threatening the regime 10 years ago, became unwillingly supporter of falsehood, kufr, tyranny and disobedience. And they tend to justify themselves with the word “unwillingly” with an attitude that is not different from the logic of “lesser of two evils”, which was severely attacked by them as “the lesser of two evils is the most severe evil”, when they observed in others today and yesterday. Today Muslims are confused and they feel lowly, unsatisfied, embarrassed, for not being able to explain becoming supporter of those, who were chosen by others whom they accused for being prone to lesser of two evils.⁷⁰³

⁷⁰² Hüsnü Aktaş, “Azap Kamçısını Bekleyenlerin Ruh Tahlilleri”, *Hicret*, (21 April 1980), issue 21, p.4.

⁷⁰³ “Hayır Susmuyoruz, Evet, Biat! Ama Kime ve Kim ve Nasıl?”, *Hicret*, (21 April 1980), issue 21, p.11. Turkish version of the citation; Bugün dünyadaki Müslümanların verdikleri mücadeleyle bir kıyaslama yapıldığında, Türkiye Müslümanlarının giderek mevcut düzenle bir özdeşleşmeye doğru yol aldığını da görmezlikten gelemeyiz. 10 sene öncelerde rejimi tehdit eden İslami muhalefet, bugün, dün başkalarında görüp, “ehven-i şerr şerrin en şiddetlisidir” diye hücum ettiği ehven-i şerr mantığından hiç de farklı olmayan bir şekilde batılın küfrün, zulüm ve fıskın “kerhen destekçi”si durumuna gelmiş ve kendini kerhen sözüyle kurtarmaya kalkışmıştır. Bugün Müslümanların kafası karışmış, dün ehven-i şer’cilikle suçladıklarının seçtiklerine kerhen destekçi durumuna gelmiş olmanın izahını yapamamanın hüznü, mahcubiyeti ve mutmainsizliği altında ezilmektedirler”.

Hicret stated that during special elections in 1979, the most severe reaction to the statement as “no vote for continuation of taghuti orders” (*tağuti düzenlerin devamı için oy yok*) in confronting Marxist communities’ slogan as “no vote for the parties of the order” (*düzenin partilerine rey yok*) came from those, “who are in democratic political platforms on behalf of Muslims”. *Hicret* had interpreted the approach of the Muslims, who considered going to ballot boxes as a new form of jihad in the name of Islam, as unfortunate. According to the newspaper, Islamic opposition, which, according to the newspaper, once was threatening the regime, will be weakened by eliminating its power of pressure with the conversion of some Islamic terminologies to the slogans. According to *Hicret*, Muslims of Republic of Turkey were struggling, as much as the secular regime permitted, and this struggle was not the one their Muslimness required.⁷⁰⁴ *Hicret* in one occasion asked “how Muslims within the borders of the Republic of Turkey” should take a stand “while making plans over and over on Islam to prevent its rise again as irresistible power against *kufir* in Islamic territories”.

A way, which is different from the way of the World Muslims or a parallel way to theirs? It is absurd to ask this, but we are asking, because when it is said a parallel way with the World Muslims, there are our people, who still have not changed their stance against the chief of Libya Kaddafi, who gradually changes and apparently indicates his enmity against Islam. There are our people, who have not avoided standing together with the chiefs of Saudi kingship the American puppet. There are our people, who became fascinated with brilliance of their meeting with people, who are in the power of non-Islamic regimes. There are those, who insistently introduce Yasser Arafat, who asserted as “secular democratic Palestine, as “our mujahid brother”... However, those, who could not realize that the World of the Muslim youth in 1950 and the World of the Muslim youth today are different from each other, are approaching a point that cannot save them from falling into an adversity that misunderstand the point they arrived. We have respect for those activities done in Islamic field in the past. However indicating a Muslim based attitude against bringing this respect to the agenda continuously as if it is inexhaustible treasury, and against inventing enormous “infallibles imams”, and against attempting to declare some sort of democratic attractions as jihad, is our right, isn’ it?⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰⁴ “Hayır Susmuyoruz, Evet, Biat! Ama Kime ve Kim ve Nasıl?”, p.11.

⁷⁰⁵ “Hayır Susmuyoruz, Evet, Biat! Ama Kime ve Kim ve Nasıl?”, p.13. Turkish version of the citation; Dünya Müslümanlarından ayrı mı, yoksa onlarla paralel bir yol mu? Bunu sormak bile

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Within the subject of this thesis, I have observed that main rupture occurred between Islamisms after the conversion of the “national” (*millî*) attitude to more “nationalist” and “statist” attitude. This process, which is crystallized between 1970-1980, is represented by four periodicals in this study. While nationalist tendency throughout the years in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* created sort of disturbance among the members, this process represents the general course in the right-wing. Thus more statist and nationalist tendency in the Right gave birth to ummatist Islamism and this process was supported with the influence of translated books of Muslim intellectuals such as Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb and with the international developments by the mid 1970s. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, which is one of the core subject of this thesis as representative of national Islamism was converted to more Turkist nationalism within the same period.

Within the aim of exploring the causes of this rupture, I have examined the content of specific periodicals concerning these two attitudes through their understanding of the concept of *millet*. Because regarding the rupture in the ideas, the main point of dispute revolved around the conceptualisation of “nation” (*millet*) and base of “being nation” (*millet olma*). This examination has been supported with their approaches to the concept of *Türk*, their consideration other ethnicities, their Turkey perception and the Muslim world, and their interpretation of the Right and the Left. To maintain coherence and

abes ama, soruyoruz, çünkü dünya Müslümanlarıyla paralel bir yol deyince, Libya'nın giderek değişen ve İslam'a karşı düşmanlığını açıkça ortaya koyan şefi Kaddafi'ye karşı hala değişmeyen, Amerikan kuklası Suudi krallığının şefleriyle yanyana durmaktan çekinmeyen, İslami olmayan rejimlerin başlarındaki kimselerle yaptıkları görüşmelerin görkemine kaptıran, insanlarımız var!.. Laik demokratik bir Filistin” diye tutturana bir Yaser Arafat'ı, ısrarla “mücahid bir kardeşimiz” diye takdim edenler var....Ancak 1950'lerdeki, Müslüman gençlerin dünyasıyla bugünkü Müslüman gençlerin dünyasının farklılığını fark edemeyenler bugün artık gelinen noktayı da yanlış algılamak gibi bir ters duruma düşmekten kendilerini kurtaramayacak noktaya gelmek üzeredirler. Bizim geçmişte İslami sahada yapılan faaliyetlere hizmeti geçenlere saygımız vardır, ancak o saygıyı tükenmez bir hazine gibi devamlı gündeme getirmek ve yanlış yapmaz muazzam masum imamları icad etmeler, demokratik birtakım atraksiyonların her birini cihad diye takdime yeltenmeler karşısında Müslümanca bir tavır belirtmek, Müslüman olarak bizim hakkımız değilse kimindir?”.

clarity, I have constituted the titles in the sections and their content by focusing the discussions on the political realities related to Turkey and also by looking at international developments. Since these periodicals were representing certain behaviour in general, most of the time they have been personified while the ideas in the periodicals were conveyed.

5.1 Challenges of the Thesis

The most crucial challenge of this study was to comprehend changing meanings of the concepts. When I started to compare the periodicals I have chosen for this thesis, I decided to constitute the title as “Following Disintegration of Islamism from Nationalism and Conservatism after the 1960s through the Concept of *Millet*”. However, after the literature review and additional readings about these journals, it was necessary to change the title to “The Idea of *Millet*: A Comparison between Nationalist Islamism and Ummatist Islamism”. Upon further reading I realized that this title also was not sufficient to define the Islamists who acted with the national (*millî*) motives rather than nationalist one since there was significant consideration that I was not aware, related to the difference between national (*millî*) and nationalist (*milliyetçi*). Moreover the article of the former member of the movement Mustafa Aydın supported this phenomenon and he introduced this movement as *millî* in his article titled as “An Adventure of National Islamism: Bellicosity” (*Bir Millî İslamcılık Serüveni Mücadelecilik*, published in the book; *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce İslamcılık*). Through this process I decided to amend the title finally to read as “The Idea of *Millet*: A Comparison between National Islamism and Ummatist Islamism.”

Millî was the concept that was considered as equal with the Islam in the eyes of those religiously conservative and national segment of Turkey. The interwovenness of *millî* with Islam was an important result of the National Struggle years and it was still perceptually valid until the mid-1970s. Considering that my intention was to compare the idea of *millet* in both the forms of Islamism, it was also necessary to identify the issues of difference with each other, mainly on this

concept. Therefore one of the most difficult parts of this thesis was to comprehend discussions about the concept and related issues back to the 1940s and lasted until the years of the 1970s, the 1980s with categorizations in my mind-set as Islamist, nationalist, conservatist. The belief of unfinished salvation of the nation also was the common idea among all attitudes as conservatist, Islamist and nationalist. Therefore there was an intensive transivity through nation, national, and nationhood between all. Due to the limitations of this categorization, I often had difficulty in understanding the reactions of these attitudes because they were so integrated with each other. While this was a real challenge, I still decided to pursue the footsteps of this disintegration.

5.2 Findings

In terms of findings; in this dissertation, during the reviews of the contents of these publications, I have observed that parallel to the impact of translations on intellectual divergence between these two Islamist thinking, developments in Turkey and in the Muslim world had a powerful effect and influence. For instance, the right-wing's hesitant approach to the intense developments in the Muslim World such as the Iranian Revolution, developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and more nationalist approach to internal outbursts like "political Kurdistan" had a great effect on this process of fragmentation. However interestingly *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and *Şûra, Tevhid, Hicret* approached Kurdish question with the same sensitivity and arguments. This finding on this similarity supports *millî* stance of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* rather than nationalist one. Another important finding is that political and institutional ruptures in the right-wing, produced powerful effects as much as as the effects of the translations.

The journal *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* was the most complex periodical among all periodicals in terms of the content and the literature they used. I had examined the first year and ten issues of the second year of the journal, which had many controversies, which questioned whether it was a state oriented or independent entity. Accordingly, my approach to the journal as "national Islamists" is only valid for the first year of the journal because while I have not gone through the

journal's issues of subsequent years, the movement and the journal were -and are still- accused of a conversion from a "national" stance toward a nationalist and later Turkist stance especially after 1971 Turkish military memorandum.

Yeniden Millî Mücadele, which had declared its aim as establishing an "ideology of millet", had approached the concept of *millet* with its representation of entirety of the population in Turkey. The journal tackled the issue of *millet* with these ideals rather than incorporating etymological explanations of the word based on my analysis of the publications in the first year. The journal exhibited strong considerations of the social, economic and cultural issues and problems of all the people in Turkey and often made a call for solutions for all people in the nation. It was not exclusionary in this sense. This indicates that all the people within the borders of Turkey were considered and included in the idea of *millet*. This was important indicator for me to name this attitude as "national".

While the journal's main focus was the people within the borders of Turkey, this concentration was because of a salvation ideal, which according to them mired down from the National Struggle years. However, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* focused on Turkey's national salvation as the core aim, and this was the first step in the process of its salvation hierarchy of the Muslim ummah in general. This hierarchy was idealized upon the idea that the struggle for power and the political condition in the world would not allow for Islam to be a system of ordering in the state as yet. To compensate for this reality whilst developing their ideology, the national state (*millî devlet*) was determined as the first target to accomplish in the process of realizing an Islamic state. This idea can be resembled with the Ottoman Islamism the main priority of which was to protect the state from collapse. Therefore the Islamism that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* represented was very similar state centred Islamism of Ottoman. However Hasan Kösebalaban also states in his book "Turkish Foreign Policy, Islam, Nationalism, and Globalization" (p. 26) that Ottoman Islamism was "an ideology of modernization aiming to achieve power, and rather than subscribing to the universality of Islam". He added that the Ottoman Islamism also was highly

preoccupied with “the Ottoman centrality” because of the Caliphate, and this has reflections on any kinds of Islamisms until 1980s. Therefore the hierarchy that was idealized by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* seems carried same impulses. Therefore national state (*millî devlet*) was determined as the first target to accomplish in the process of realizing an Islamic state. The movement did not pay attention other Islamist developments in other Muslim countries, while the journal informed the readers about developments in the Muslim world.

Here, the journal considered *Türk Milleti* as the main initiator of the salvation process, since it declared Turkish nation as “sovereign nation” (*hakim millet*). The idea of the salvation -on the basis of Turkish nationhood and later Muslim nations as a whole- carries some similarities of nation and the ummah conceptualisation by Ziya Gökalp. He had advocated that realizing *İttihad-ı İslam* (Unity of Muslims) was not possible in the short term and Muslim nations had to be liberated from enslavement through national struggles that should be in the framework of nationhood. According to Gökalp the idea of nationhood, which would be strengthened during this struggle, would consolidate the idea of ummah. Moreover, this formulation of Gökalp is similar to the idea of Muhammad Iqbal who espoused the idea that Muslim nations should strengthen their entities until they became strong enough to form “a living family of republics”. Since these ideas correspond to the idea of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, an important consideration here is to understand the intellectual sources of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and other similar national Islamists publications of those years. It is the case for the ummatist Islamist publications either. It is also important to examine the differences that came out according to the conditions of their time, between these two similar approaches, in order to be able to see the influences of other inputs and motivations. These influences on differentiation might be parallel to clashes of Islamist ideas in the Muslim world as it was the case in the Muslim nationalism and Pan-Islamism. How the clashes of different ideals of Islamisms found ground and the effects also are worth to study.

From an international perspective but similar to these two attitudes are “Muslim Nationalism” and “Pan-Islamism” in international literature. These concepts define the ideas of intellectuals and politicians of the Indian Sub-continent during and post- the Khilafat movement. Pan-Islamism opposed Muslim nationalism, which came out after the dissolution of the Khilafat movement as a result of the collapse of the Ottoman state. Pan-Islamism was critical of Muslim nationalism considering it as an obstacle of Muslim universalism. I have realized that similar clashes between these two -as national and universal- existed in Turkey during the 1970s in different conditions where national Islamism evolved toward ummatist Islamism and Turkism. However, as a result of the conditions of the Cold War era, Muslim nationalism, or -in Turkish context national Islamism- was placed on the right, while ummatist Islamists were labelled as “green communist” (*yeşil komünist*) because of their universal ideals. During my writing process, I came across an interesting argument by a Pakistanian author, and journalist Nadeem Farooq Paracha in his article titled “Political Islam: Rise, Fragmentation and Possible Fall and published in Dawn in July 18 2013,. He argued that during the Cold War era of 1949 -1990 the main clash occurred between the rightist and leftist expressions of political Islam. However, while this inference was very interesting and is worthy of being analysed, the new Islamist thinking in Turkey during the 1970s did not attach itself with the leftist thinking and attacked it as it attacked the rightist attitudes. However, this inference helped me to understand why ummatist Islamism was accused as being “green communist” by the right-wing in Turkey. Moreover, this generated a curiosity about how Marxist literature influenced the Islamic movements of the Cold War years, since I have felt this influence strongly in the pages of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* more than *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret*. Significantly, the influence of the Cold War and Marxist literature on the Islamists publications is also worth studying to be able to see the interaction of ideas, even they oppose each other.

Regarding to the concept of the nation, as a composite of a modern state, it was idealized with the term *millet* by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. This shows the movement’s strong belief in nation-statehood, while the basis of this nation was

explained as *millet* that realized an ideal. While strong emphasis on this characteristic took place persistently, the movement believed that *Türk milleti* is the one which would lead to the realisation of this ideal. However, while the phrase *Türk milleti* took place almost in the mid of the first-year in addition to *millet*, the attributions were related to a wide array of themes from an ethnic and cultural integrity to a community. As I understood, *Türk milleti* literally replaced *Osmanlı milleti*, because there were strong attributions and yearning to the Ottoman period in the journal. Discussions on formalization of an Ottoman nation in order to prevent the collapse of the Ottoman state took the form of discussion on the Turkish nation in the pages of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*. However, few interesting discussions about the ethnicity show the confusion about what constitutes *Türk milleti*. As a result, these ambivalences in the first year of the journal can be considered as an indication of the pursuit of *Türk milleti* represents the inclusivity of the Ottoman identity rather than forming an ethnic based identity.

Vagueness of the meanings ascribed to *millet* in the establishment of the Turkish Republic was also inherited by 1970's Turkey, particularly by the Islamic community. While the usage *Türk* was a cultural and religious indication of one, this also had converted by 1928 to the ethnic based identity as a requirement of the modern secular nation statehood. Here, *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* as the representatives of the new Islamist thinking in this thesis, intensively criticized the principle "Sovereignty Belongs to Nation" (*Hakimiyet Milletindir*). Furthermore *Şûra* questioned the content of national identity and the nature of the nation that sovereignty relies on. Its arguments are remarkable points in the identity crisis of the subjects in the Republic. From this point on, *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* concentrated on the literal meaning of the word with the aim to challenge the restrictions of the new identity of the modern nation statehood. Their understanding of *millet* can be considered as an effort to overcome the obstacles and the problems that the modern period created. These newspapers believed that the replacement of *millet* with the phenomenon of citizenship is the main reason for the problems in the Muslim world because the concept of citizenship

was built on certain limitations and on loyalty to an ethnic, and secular national boundaries. According to this new thinking, *millet* was an entity built on the unity of belief rather than blood or language unity in the Islamic community and therefore it is a broader concept in terms of inclusivity. Furthermore, in this ideal of *millet*, the manifestation of citizenship is the religion.

Like as it was the case in *millet*, discussions on state were also hectic. While the idea of “National State” (*Millî devlet*) came out as a result of discontent of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* with the existing state, *Şûra* had developed the idea of “Sharia State” with the same motivation. This can be regarded as the reaction of a new generation of a large community, which had been othered since the establishment of the Republic. This othering of sections of people in the nation state created an identity crisis. Hence, these efforts can be regarded as a pursuit to find a way out for non-belonging and identity crisis whilst reflecting similar feelings in different solutions.

These thoughts, developed through vigorous and robust discussions, were also supported by interpretations given to international developments. In the years that these three newspapers were published, the effects of mobilizations notably in Pakistan, Iran and the Muslim World, also reached to the agenda of the new Islamist thinking in Turkey. These efforts can be considered as the pursuits of the young masses for new solutions since no solution could be found for the increasing dilemmas in internal politics. These developments occurred almost simultaneously with processes like the evolving of the Right-Left clashes which resulted in bloody fighting, the rising of “political Kurdishness”, and the “Sunni-Alawi” disputes. Motivation for overcoming these dilemmas caught the attention of the youth, who were not completely disintegrated from the right-wing but directed them towards the movements in different Muslim geographies. In order to create a sympathy among the Turkish public for these movements and developments in the Muslim World, these new pursuits tended to surpass “national” boundaries that, according to them, had limited the idea of salvation with Turkey and determined the centre of emancipation as Turkey. Therefore

this new Islamist attitude focused on the literal meanings of “nation” (*millet*) and “nationalism” (*milliyetçilik*) compared to *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* to shake the existing perception of millet in the Turkish public. Within this frame, *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* had concentrated on the word *millet* more than *ümme* and they strove to identify *millet* with the meaning of *ümme*. Contrary to my expectation in observing the discussions on ummah, the emphasis on *millet* was because the word has a strong incentive in the Turkish public in general, and in fact, both the Islamisms believed in the power of the concept of *millet*. The new Islamists tried to attain support from the public for their ideas through this concept, just as the national Islamists did. In these three periodicals, while the Qur’an and Sunnah were the main sources in defining *millet* literally, the Ottoman classical sources were another main reference for different interpretations of the word.

While both attitudes considered the root cause of national problems as the gap between the Republic of Turkey and its people, they both believed the gap was created because of harsh secularization of social life by the state. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* did not directly point to the issue as I articulate it, the journal preferred to emphasise on the deprivation of the people from their national culture (*millî kültür*). Here *millî kültür* was a mixture of Islam and the Islamic history of Turks. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* defined its ideal state as *millî devlet* (national state) - as the state that sides with its people and with their national culture, that is Islam and Islamic history of the Turks. Thus, the main motivation in the emergence of the movement was explained as the elimination of the non-national (*gayr-i millî*) characteristics of the “regime”. According to the journal the main measurement of the state’s integration with its people was to adopt their culture. While the content of this culture was not clearly explained by the journal, the concept of *Millî Kültür* was referring to Islam as previously mentioned and Islam was considered as the most important component of national identity.

The other three periodicals that were representing the new Islamist thinking, had directly declared the laic or secular characteristic of the state as the main

reason for this gap between the state and the nation. According to this new thinking, the secular state would not be considered as the state of Muslims because it dismissed “the Islamic sharia” and the Islamic sharia is the only thing that “makes a nation the nation”. Again according to this new thinking, while modern nation states are categorized according to the judicial system such as fascist, communist, capitalist, they are named with the name of the majority ethnicity within the borders. So, this point is the root cause of the problems in the Muslim World. In this regard, the newspaper *Şûra* strongly voiced the demand to form a sharia state in order to seek out permanent solutions.

While the main reason of the gap between the nation and the state is expressed as the restrictions imposed on religious life generally by both, ambiguity about the content of religion (*din*) seems another main reason for differentiation of these two thinking. *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* considered Islam as an inseparable part of national identity and culture. As for *Şûra*, *Tevhid*, *Hicret*, the newspapers objected to Islam being approached as a cultural component. According to them, the very main aim of this religion was the establishment of an order in the world. However, this function of the religion was shadowed by its degradation and the meaning of Islam was confined only to worship. Therefore, *Şûra* explained its intensive use of the concept *sharia* instead of Islam with the belief that Islam had literally lost its original meaning. The newspaper declared its purpose in using the word *sharia* to remind of the function of religion from the first issues. These newspapers conceptualized the principle that Islam had to be practiced; it had to be sovereign in every aspect -from worship to political, sociological, cultural dimensions- of the life. This understanding was expressed later as “holistic Islam” (*Bütüncül İslam*) or tawhidi Islam (*tevhidi İslam*) in Turkish literature. As for this “holistic Islam”, the new idea tried to distance itself from nationalist and traditionalist attitudes by blaming them for considering Islam as a part of a cultural, national synthesis rather than a main order. Moreover the usages rightist, *mukeddesatçı*, nationalist, conservatist were more applied by the new Islamist identity to distance themselves from the segment they were involved until the mid 1970s.

However, interestingly I have observed same distance toward tradition in *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* accompanied with its emphasis on returning to primary sources whilst the members of the movement had received harsh criticisms from the famous traditional scholars of their time. It is important to understand the motives and incentives that influenced the members of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* in their distance to tradition, while they were propagating for a strong national character. There can be many incentives on the movement that are worthy of study - such as the possible effect of religious revivalist movements of the nineteenth century, which advocated for the return to the main sources. There might also be a study on the effect of ideas of Ottoman Islamists like Mehmet Akif, and Muslim thinkers like Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutub on tradition to see their reflections on the youth of 1970s.

What is remarkable also is that these two thinkings/ideologies had similar attitudes to certain institutions and foundations. The most important target among these institutions was Diyanet. Both accused this institution of trying to create an official –state- religion. Regarding Diyanet as state mechanism in secularization by these two Islamisms and similarities in their course of criticisms are important. This constitutes another crucial topic worthy of study. Both harshly criticized Islamic philosophy by regarding it as the “synthesis of Islam” with other thoughts and ideologies. However, both these attitudes had displayed some local and traditional reflexes from time to time in the publications. This also indicates that local factors still had a powerful impact on the mind-set of the new generation of any kind of Islamists. Qandil greetings in both publications, called for mawlid recitations on important occasions as mentioned in the text and can be regarded as an example of this impact.

These two Islamisms had similar view of the World as divided between the two. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* considered the struggle of humanity from the day of creation between those who are affiliated with tawhid and they are identified as the Right and those who are affiliated with the evil were considered as the

Left. This division gained new concepts in new Islamist thinking as Dar-al Harb and Dar-al Islam since the Right and the Left were implying two worldly ideologies during the Cold War years. The approach to Muslim world was also similar between the two. While the consideration of the Muslim world was very crucial *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* also had sort of hierarchy between disputes in Crimea, East Turkistan, Cyprus and etc, other three newspapers more concentrated on some other Muslim geographies but both were motivated with the hegemony of non-Muslim powers over the Muslims. Both reacted against Saudi Arabia with the same motivation of its being an imperialistic project to destroy Ottoman State. However the two differed in their approach to the Iranian Revolution. While three newspapers welcomed the revolution, *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had still some distant toward it.

Yeniden Millî Mücadele attributed holiness to the army with *ordu-millet* motivation, and the army was considered as important touchstone of the ideology of *millet*. The journal persistently reminded the prominent victories of the Ottoman and Saljuks in its pages. The movement also considered the army, as the main element in dismissing the communist influence and at the same was afraid the army would go into influence of communism. Therefore most often it is observed the praise towards the army, while it has reminded the old function of the army as to protect nation's culture that is Islam. While *Şûra*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* they had positive perception of the army as a phenomenon, they often criticized function and the implementation of the army in a nation state.

While motivation of new Islamism in departing from the right-wing had developed on the intellectual base, there are additional comments that this departure had emerged as a result of opposition toward the method in fighting with communism. Furthermore, while *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and *Şûra*, *Tevhid*, *Hicret* had represented different kinds of Islamisms, both shared the opinion that fighting with communism should be on an intellectual level rather than in the form of armed struggles. The Islamists that these publications represented

differed with idealists (*ülkücü*), and this differentiation grounded on ideal struggle through a de-conflict principal.

Identification of the rightism, by the 1970s, with statism (*devletçilik*) had received harsh criticisms by *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and *Şûra, Tevhid, Hicret*. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* condemned corrupting the meaning of the right by generating wrong perceptions of it as being statist, which acted for the interests of USA, the other three periodicals questioned why the hatred toward Soviets was not shown toward Europe and the USA by the right-wing of Turkey. The motive of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* on obsessively emphasizing nationalization (*millîleşme*), was in fact the call for escaping from dependency on the Soviets and from the USA as well. Therefore, the reconstruction of the right in terms of its actual identification was an important target of the movement considering this motive. However, as a result of bloody right-left clashes that intensified with the mid-1970s, and memories with the Ottoman past related to Russia wars, opposition to communism was more powerful than opposition to America in the journal.

While *Şûra, Tevhid* and *Hicret* largely focused on the concepts such as *millet, milliyetçilik, devlet, vatan* literally, they discussed their alteration in the meaning within the course of Islamism in Republican Turkey. Their evaluations toward the course of Islamism in Republican Turkey, is also quite remarkable in terms of understanding the dispute points between them and other segments in the right-wing. They had criticized Republican Islamism for not being in connection with the ideas and the efforts of progenitor Islamists. This point indicates that while new Islamist thinking was highly impressed with the ideas which came through translations, they were still influenced with the ideas of Ottoman Islamism. They were still emotionally feeling closeness and a connectedness to these Islamists of the late Ottoman period. The most important personality which had a big impact on new Islamist thinking was Mehmet Akif Ersoy who received significant tributes from *mukaddesatçı*, conservatists, nationalists and

Islamists. It is a commendable point that he was unique and the most powerful personality, who gathered various fractions under his banner.

Finally, it can be argued that *Yeniden Millî Mücadele*, with its being a cadre publication, had the aim of building a theory and a school of thought. Despite fluctuations and fragmentations in the movement, the journal was published for 10 years. As for *Şûra*, *Tevhit*, *Hicret*, they constituted their contents with the aim of creating discussion with a provocative manner rather than grounding a theory or a method scientifically. This point had been stated in the first issues of *Şûra* either. Consequently, the idea of *millet* of both the Islamisms could not take a theoretical form because of the disintegrations and the closure of the periodicals. The burden of the conflicts among publication teams or members of both, eliminations of key personalities seem to be the main reason for the disintegration of cadres of *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* and the closure of *Şûra*, *Tevhit*, *Hicret* in a very short time frame.

Ultimately, the most important point that fed the main clashes and discussions between Islamists was the determination of a center, whether it is a nation-state or ummah. The core of the problems of the nation state system in the Muslim world has been pointed by Abdullah al-Ahsan in his book "Ummah or Nation? Identity Crisis in Contemporary Muslim Societies" as ambiguity in the supreme loyalty. He explained this identity crisis in the Muslim world by asking if the loyalty should be for the nation state or for ummah and sharia? This identity crisis had another expression by Hamza Türkmen who questioned this priority by framing the question around the ummah, "Should the ummah, which is based on a Qur'anic generation be given priority to be built? or should Turkish society and the state be given priority to their upliftment by defending its eclectic religious values and carrying them to positions of power?" The reflection of priorities was in the form of determining the center in these periodicals. While *Yeniden Millî Mücadele* had adjudged Turkey as the centre for emancipation, the other three periodicals had determined the ummah as the center in their salvation ideal. Significantly, a common effort of these two different tendencies of Islamism was

the pursuit of solutions to the problems that, according to them, came out as a result of ambiguity of definition of citizenship in the modern nation state era. The two had tried to overcome this ambiguity through building an idea of millet from different angles and these two formed their discourses with different conceptualizations, in fact they were acting with different reactions with the same motivations.



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