TURKISH CONSERVATIVES AND CYPRUS IN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE
CONTEXT OF CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORY AND IDENTITY; 1960-1980 ERA

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ABSTRACT

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BINARCI, BURAK

MASTER THESIS OF DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Nearly all analysis of Turkish Foreign Policy in Cold War era has been made with rational approaches which are Realist/neo-realist power politics-based, up until today. Analyses are excluded from social factors as culture, value and history etc… However, Constructivist Theory of International Relations make an analysis by giving meaning to rational parameters as power, structure, anarchy, interest etc… by emphasising social construction process and putting forward Identity concept. Constructivist Theory claim that it is true way to evaluate realities with their all social aspects in contrary to rational theories. Besides, when Alexander Wendt, who is the most important name of theory, examines state acts in international politics, he uses state identity internationally. He does not evaluate internal-external connection of state identity. In this point, thesis tries to put forward existence of internal sub-identities of states and their impacts on state acts. Within this framework Turkish Conservatism is a main actor of thesis as a sub-identity of Turkish Republic state identity. Cyprus Question which has taken part in both domestic and foreign politics of Turkey for long years, is an analysis ground. In this context, Cyprus Question policy in 1960-1980 era which belongs to Conservative identity that is one of important component of Turkish Republic state identity is dealt.

Key Words: Constructivist Theory, Conservatism, Identity, Turkish Conservatism, Cyprus Question

ÖZET

İNŞACI TEORİ VE KİMLİK BAĞLAMINDA TÜRK MUHAFAZAKARLARI VE DIŞ POLİTİKADA KIBRIS: 1960-1980 DÖNEMİ

BINARCI, BURAK
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BÖLÜMÜ YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ
TEZ YÖNETİCİSİ: PROF. DR. MUSTAFA SITKI BİLGİN
AĞUSTOS-2014, 118 SAYFA

Bugüne kadar Soğuk Savaş dönemi Türk Dış Politikasının tüm analizleri çoğunlukla Realist/neo-realist güç politikası odaklı rasyonel yaklaşımlar üzerinden yapılmıştır. Analizler kültür, değer, tarih gibi sosyal faktörlerin dışında tutulmuştur. Halbuki, İnşacı Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi, sosyal inşa sürecini vurgulayarak ve kimlik kavramını öne çıkararak, güç, yapı, anarşi, çıkar gibi rasyonel parametreleri anlamlandırarak analiz yapmaktadır. İnşacı teori, gerçeklikleri rasyonel teoriler gibi sadece verili olarak ele almayıp bunların tüm sosyal yönleriyle birlikte incelenmesinin doğru olacağını iddia eder. Bu teorinin en önemli isimlerinden olan Alexander Wendt uluslararası politikada devlet eylemlerini incelerken, devlet kimliğini uluslararası anlamda kullanmıştır. Devletin kimliğinin iç ve dış bağlantısını bir arada değerlendirmemiştir. Bu bağlamda tez, devletin iç alt kimliklerinin varlığını ve bu alt kimliklerin devlet eylemlerine etkilerini ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çerçevede Türk Muhafazakarlığı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devlet kimliğinin bir alt kimliği olarak tezin ana aktörüdür. Uzun yıllar Türkiye'nin hem iç hem de dış politikasında önemli bir yer tutan Kıbrıs Sorunu ise analiz zeminidir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin kimliğinin önemli bileşenlerinden olan muhafazakar kimliğin, 1960-1980 döneminde Kıbrıs Sorununa dair politikası İnşacı teori temelinde ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnşacı Teori, Muhafazakarlık, Kimlik, Türk Muhafazakarlığı, Kıbrıs Sorunu.

TO MY FAMILY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DP: Democratic Party

EOKA: Ethniki Organisis Kyprion Agoniston

IR: International Relations

JP: Justice Party

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NMP: National Movement Party

NOP: National Order Party

NSP: National Salvation Party

NSR: National Struggle Revisited

NSRG: National Struggle Revisited Group

NTP: National Task Party

NTSU: National Turkish Student Union

RDP: Reformist Democracy Party

RPNP: Republican Peasants' Nation Party

RPP: Republican Peoples' Party

TPA: True Path Party

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will deal with Cyprus policy of Turkish Conservatives in context of Constructivist International Relations Theory and Identity. To make analyzes in well coordinated way, 1960-1980 era will be examined. This era incorporates critical developments on Cyprus Question. Moreover, it was an active era for Turkish politics. In this context, firstly theoretical bases of Constructivist IR theory are examined in first chapter, then it deals with theory analysis of Alexander Wendt. This is because Wendt is a theoretician who makes Constructivism as a most debated theory in International Relations. Furthermore Wendt's approach will be analyzed from the point of view that his theoretical gaps are to be filled, through analytical examination of policies of Turkish Conservative Identity will be analyzed.

After Constructivist Theory is analyzed, Conservatism will be evaluated theoretically to describe what is Conservative Identity in the second chapter. Since most of Conservatism studies originated from western approach and western political history, relevance of these approaches to Turkey will be scanned later. In other words, structure of Turkish Conservative Identity will be dealt according to Turkish culture and Turkish sociopolitical experiences, after bases of Conservatism is analyzed from western approach. Then similarities and differences of Turkish and Western Conservative approaches will be explored in third chapter.

Afterwards, main policies, views and criticisms of civil organizations and political parties on Cyprus Question will be analyzed through Turkish Conservatism approach in fourth chapter.

As a result, thesis maintains that until 1960s and 1970s Turkey's Cyprus policy has always been evaluated from Realist-neorealist approach which based on power politics. Since this theory lacks enough explanation and evidence describing policy of Turkish Conservatism regarding Cyprus Policy, Turkey's Cyprus policies will be analyzed through using arguments of Constructivist Theory and Identity for the first time. However, identity concept does not only refer to internationally state identity here. Turkish state identity has been designed to initiate Western identity since establishment of Turkish Republic. As

regards to foreign policy, Turkey has tried to implement her policies on this identical ground. From participating international alliances to being side of international questions, she has tried to adopt this Western identity. However, as mentioned below, identity of founder units of state become dominant identity when state identity is constructed. While some of other identities are integrated into this hegemonic identity, some of these identities continued their existence in various ways as an outcast identity. First group is "integrated" sub-identities, second group is "outsider" sub-identities. As for Turkey case, Kemalist-Western-Elitist identities dominated construction of identity of Turkish Republic and built entirely different secular society from its predecessor. However, all sub-identities could not support and integrate hegemonic identity fully. They have maintained their existence in various ways. Turkish Conservative Identity is an important part of these outsider sub-identities. Because this identity group cannot internalize hegomic identity's secular and positivist reforms fully. While official identity founds itself with pre-Islamic and pre-Ottoman era to establish modern secular nation-state, Turkish Conservatives cannot disconnect themselves from Islam and Ottoman era.

In Wendt's theory formulation, state acts and interest stem from state identity and also this identity is constructed in mutual interaction process between states, state-international structure. He has not used internal part of state identity in international politics by saying "internal-external interaction lost its importance, because everything has relation internally with everything." He uses state identitya internationally. In this manner, it can be said that international state identity reflects nearly identity of hegemonic actors or all integrated sub-identities of state. Because, states are ruled by official hegemonic groups, but it is not monophonic mostly. Well, what about foreign policy impacts of outsider sub-identities? What about interactions between all identities of state in foreign policy decision making process?

On this ground, this thesis aims to use sub-identities of state in foreign policy area in the context of Constructivist International Relations Theory and Identitiy. In this regard thesis will analyze foreign policy decisions, comments and criticisms of Turkish Conservative sub-identity which are about Cyprus Question in 1960-1980 era.

CHAPTER 1

CONSTRUCTIVISIM

This part will deal with Constructivism from the point of theoretical framework in the context of International Relations. After describing Constructivism the following question will be examined: What are the main differences between Constructivism and other Theories of International Relations? What are its main ideas and main concepts? What does it offer on foreign policy?...

1. Birth of Constructivism

First of all, it should be mentioned that Constructivism has not long history as other International Relations Theories. As Roskin said, it is the latest IR theory (Roskin, Bery 2014: 57). Constructivism appears after the end of the Cold War, in contrary to Idealism and Realism with which both had a century life and they were dominant theories of IR. Also it constracted to neo-realism and neo-liberalism that they existed about a half of century. Two world wars that shaped 20th century and Cold War which was born after them, put international politics on the ground of "power" concepts. It was heritage of "balance of power" approach of 19th century. However, this policy is put into practice with theoretical understanding in this time.

"Power Politics" which was formed by Hans J. Morgenthau after World War II, is accepted as a founder principle for the analyses of new period's international relations and analyzes: human nature is selfish, so states which are resulted from human and institutions (that are formed by human) are selfish, too, they try to reach their own interests (which define their "Lebensraum" and their acting area), they will be in security as long as they are powerful or are able to being powerful. In this context, states give priority to maximizing their power and interests. Especially, in the Cold War period, power politics hit the top between Eastern and Western Block. Both of two blocks tried to predominate over other at first material manner, then in psychological manner by increasing its own power. This competition spread over nuclear weapons, then it caused "balance of terror". Power of states was analyzed on material realities (from geographical position to economic

conditions-Gross National Product, GNP- from military capacity to political abilities...). In this theoretical ground, future of Cold War could be predicted by all theoretical analyses. At least, theory means that now and future can be analyzed and can be predicted. However, this did not happen. When Berlin Wall, which was symbol of Cold War, fell then Cold War ended and Soviet Union gave place to Russia who is more tolerate than her, material parameters watched everything from the distance. How come Soviet Union, who had serious nuclear and conventional power and also wide geography that were symbols of power parameters, do not use this power? Could not Soviets use hard power against Eastern Block members who tried to liberalize and separate from her? However, she did not implement policy on these ground (Demirtaş 2014: 110-111). Because Soviet Union entered into a new era with Mikhail Gorbachev's policies. He put into practice "glasnost" and "perestroika"[1] in internal and "new thinking"[2] in external area. These policies could not explained with material parameters (also "power politics") fully. Although theories and states who still tried to examine these changes in power analyzes as removing Cold War's economic and political losses[3], these policies initiated change of mind (Baylis 2008: 80) for Soviet Russia, also led to change of identity.

Analyses that were monopolized by "power"-material parameters, could not understand these Soviet transformations in social manner (Dağı et al. 2008: 86). Not only because of material parameters but also distinction of internal-external policy and "billiard ball" understanding, especially neo-realists could not realized them fully (they did not both predict and understand). Because Soviet Union started to face with change of mind-identity

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[1] Reconsructing the USSR's economic and political structure.

[2] "This new thinking, which Gorbachev set out (...) in his speech to the United Nations, embraces a number of propositions about the nature of international relations in the modern world: human interests take precedence over the interests of any particular class; the world is becoming increasingly interdependent; there can be no victors in a nuclear war; security has to be based increasingly on political rather than military instruments; and security must be mutual, especially in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations, since if one side is insecure it will only make the other side insecure too. This new thinking rejects many basic assumptions of earlier Soviet foreign policy, and should be understood primarily as a response to the crisis in foreign relations to which Leonid I. Brezhnev's policies had brought the Soviet Union by the early 1980s." David Holloway, *Foreign Affairs*, Gorbachevs New Thinking, Vol. 68, No. 1, America and the World 1988-1989, pp. 66-81, Published by Council of Foreign Relations, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/44001/david-holloway/gorbachevs-new-thinking (13.05.2014)

[3] "...The Soviet economy in the mid-1980s faced serious challenges. Years of centralized controls had led to stagnation, and the Soviet economy was already straining to compete with the military buildup in the United States led by President Ronald Reagan. In response, at the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress in 1986, Gorbachev made two proposals: the first for "perestroika," a complete restructuring of the economy, and the second for "glasnost," or openness..." Gorbachev and New Thinking in Soviet Foreign Policy, 1987-88 http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/rd/108225.htm (13.05.2014) (It was taken from websites of US Department of State Archive)

socially. Also it started from internal at first. These changes resulted in fall of both the USSR and Cold War. With this face, while the Cold War ended its own, besides it ended rational theories which ignored social realities. In addition, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was established against threat of Eastern Block in the context of power-security politics has kept working, although the Cold War ended (Demirtaş 2014: 111). It was not easy to clarify for them, too. Because concept and perception of "power" and "security" changed seriously (Eralp et al. 2012: 118).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Critical Heritage

Constructivism is a product of Critical Theory. It comes from Critical perspective (Reus-Smit 2012: 288). This perspective contains criticism of rational theories. In particular neo-liberalism and neo-realism come under criticism. Because, these are the main rational theories which are accepted by theory world in International Relations. While neo-realists try to explain war by examining bipolar international system which originated from material power distribution, neo-liberalists try to present peace by using interdependence, also Marxists try to analyze state types and state acts by applying economic situation and factors of production. War, interdependence and capitalism (economic infrastructure) can be analyzed with material parameters which are supported culture (of relations, economic activities and states etc..). If culture enters into unit of analysis, process will continue in social manner. Because culture brings with thoughts, ideas, identities… Therefore, materialist approaches are criticized by idealist, post-positivist movements in every time (Ateş 2008: 230).

As a source of Critical Theories, Frankfurt School accepts that social realities are constructed by human, in contrast to positivist social sciences who deal realities as a given. For example, according to Max Horkheimer, world is a product of human acts fully. If we accept it, we should not claim that these realities cannot be changed. Realities which are constructed by human acts, can be transformed by human acts, again. In other words, human has abilities which are except for seen and known. This understanding saves human from passiveness and being given. Human becomes an active social member of social process (Ereker 2010: 30). If it is accepted that states are main actor of IR (as human in

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society) and they act similarly with human in social area, according to Critical Theory, states must be an "active", "social" member of social process (of IR), too. In other words, states are not "given" realities, also IR (social area) is not "given" reality, too. Constructivism uses this "social construction process" in International Relation area.

Although Critical Theory strongly criticizes positivist-rationalist theories rightfully, it cannot put a basic theoretical ground for International Relations. It is unable to go beyond comment (Demirtaş 2014: 111). In this context, Constructivism appears as a constructer of social IR theory to fill this theoretical gap as Wendt (2003: 7) said: "the book …(his book that gives Constructivism's main framework: Social Theory of International Politics)… is about 'social theory' in general and, more specifically, about a more 'social theory of international politics' than Neo-liberalism and Neo-realism."

2.2. What is and is not Constructivism?

As mentioned above, dominant theories of Cold War tried to configure and explain IR with power parameters. They could not predict and analyze the end of Cold War. It is a result of putting IR studies into material capacities. Social and ideological transformations which rose both in Soviet Unions and rest of the world, could not be explained by material understandings fully. In addition, IR has more variables which are not only material. This also has made strong social instruction understanding. Dominant theories of IR in those days, lost their prestige slowly, because of their this deficiency. For the very reason, Constructivism filled gap and entered IR as a new theoretical figure.

Rationalist theories emphasizes value-free, given and material realities or parameters. Human who is structured by value-free understandings is formed in material way. He is kept off from culture, tradition, religion and history (aside from social life). They are also roots of human being. If human is kept off these, he becomes familyless or social rootless. "…having no family, no morals, no home…" (Fierke, Jorgensen 2001: 17). Therefore, he is put into certain line: In community he behaves selfish, because he wants to supply his needs; for example security, housing and maintaining life etc… In this context in international perspective states are selfish, too. They also try to seek their security, benefit advantaged position in IR world and maintaining their existences.

However, what about all other events and all other feelings in both internal society and international society? If all connections or all developments based on material grounds (power politics, bad human/state nature, anarchy etc…), ending of Cold War could be predicted by this understanding.

In another way, Cold War is defined as a war of power. However, who is enemy for each side? What are the criteria that make "other" all? Is it only about geographical position? What were the differences or main concerns? Is it only about power politics? What about social factors? What about ideologies? There were two sides in Cold War: Capitalist western block and Socialist eastern block. There was ideology war. Ideology is born with or from identities, vice versa. Then identities shape state and its interests.

Although structure of Cold War was formulated realist by power parameters, two actors who struggled with each other represented two different identities. In other words, while power struggle was rose on side, Capitalist and Socialist identities competed each other on background. A reason which divided Korea into two parts (South and North) was not only power struggle, but also clash of identities. When someone examines Korea after Korean war, he can easily realize two different identities, two different life styles, two different political structures. There has been communist North Korea who tried to integrate with USSR in north while there has been South Korea who tried to integrate with USA and liberal western thinking in south.

It is a good example for testing theory of Constructivism. Because, there are not only material understandings which formulate structures and systems, but also social effects. There was a social-identity clash together with power struggle in Korea.

According to Wendt, who is the main theorist of Constructivism, Constructivism is a kind of "structural idealism" (Wendt 2003: 1). Because it gives more importance to social realities; does not accept value-free understandings. In contrast, it emphasizes that knowledge is not product of passive process, knowledge is a product of social (active) process and it tries to explain effect of this sociability over construction process. In this context, Constructivism builds ground which includes that social world and knowledge are results of inter-subjective process and social thinking has constitutive role and also agent-

structure relations has mutual interaction. This is a "social construction of knowledge" from epistemological perspective, is a "construction of social reality" from ontological perspective: Nearly all elements of IR world (actor, structure, identity, interest etc…) are constructed by mutual interaction (Küçük 2009: 272-274).

According to Alexander Wendt, international politics cannot be examined by senses, even, theories of politics work on the ground of epistemology and ontology. In other words, they work with what theorist sees. While neo-realists, who use material perspective, see structure of International System as distribution of material abilities, neo-liberals accept this structure as total of abilities and institutions, because they add institutional superstructure over material ground. Since Constructivists have Idealist ontology, they accepted IR structure as a distribution of thoughts (Wendt 2003: 5). Also, Wendt said that if all other social things were equal, International System would be analyzed with Realist perspective (Wendt 2003: 241).

Constructivists use states as main unit of analysis. Also, they accept "anarchy" as a structure of International System. In this view, they have common points with others or they can use others' elements: While they emphasized social realities and process, they do not ignore material parameters fully. In other words, Constructivist theorists never say that International System is constructed by only social process. If only social realities and process give meaning to material realities, material parameters gain importance. Without social meaning, material things have not any function or cannot analyze behavior truthfully. For example: Alexander Wendt "says that 500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons." Because "the British are friends and the North Koreans are not" (Reus-Smit, Snidal 2008: 298). Also;

> "A purely materialist approach has difficulty explaining why the United States should see British missiles as any less threatening than North Korean missiles. 'The self-evident' friendliness of Britain toward the United States as compared to the apparent hostility of North Korea is not self-evident from a purely material perspective. After all, the physical consequences of an attack by the nuclear weapons of either country would be devastating. The brute material threat to the United States posed by British nuclear weapon is at least comparable to, and probably much greater than, that of a North Korean weapon. The differences between the two is the conviction among any American leaders that the North Koreans are more likely to at aggressively toward the United States than are British. This conviction is based on interpretations of history, rhetoric, and behavior, and it generates the expectation that war with North Korea is more likely than war with the British, and in turn

leads to different policy strategies in response to their weapons." (Reus-Smit, Snidal 2008: 301).

Besides, in this process of giving meaning, new concept comes up. British nuclear weapons are not more dangerous for USA. Because, they are friends, but North Korean 5 nuclear weapons are dangerous for USA because of their hostility which came from 1950s. This is a "historical construction of national interest" for USA (Reus-Smit, Snidal 2008: 302).

In this point, another social construction is realized. States' strategic culture and historical background shape their acts. In other words, foreign policy acts or identity which directs foreign policy, are constructed by social realities. Historical interests, strategic cultures build ground for state acts. For example, as long as Cold War, USA and USSR defined each other as an enemy although they came together in sometimes. Because, Cold War understanding created enemy for each side. After ending Cold War, even though tension of USA-USSR relations has decreased, they cannot have established friendly relations because of their century old rivalry.

Constructivism makes active all of the social understandings by combining them with material understandings. Therefore, sometimes history can cause big rivalry, sometimes regional historical concerns can give direction to state, sometimes religious culture get states to struggle etc… For example, while Arab-Israel wars are defined as religious identity, it is a historical fight at the same time. According to Israel, area where is from Nile river to the Euphrates is "the promised land" for them. This religious and historical fact has caused problem in that area. Two sides determine their interest and implement their policies according to this situation.

Mentioned before, realities, agents, structures are constructed socially. Socialized materials give real meaning to realities. Therefore, the cause of USA-USSR fight is not only global power struggle, cause of Arab-Israel fights is not only regional power struggle, cause of Turkey-Armenia question is not only regional power struggle, cause of the Russia-Ukraine fight is not only power politics, cause of the Northern Cyprus and Southern Cyprus struggle is not only dominance of Mediterranean etc…

Rules form social part, sources form material part of social (IR) life in Constructivist perspective. Sources which are given meaning and set in motion have no meaning/function. Similarly, rules which are not dynamized by sources have not any importance (Ateş 2008: 224).

In last phase, Is it Constructivism the only theory of International Relations or not? Answer is both yes and no. If various views are examined, both of them can be correct answer.

Constructivism can be accepted as an interdisciplinary theory. Therefore, its definition and testing are not easy (Fierke, Jorgensen 2001: 33-34). In reality, nearly all post-positivist theories have same situation. Also discipline of International Relation is inter-disciplinary as a result. It makes analyses more complex. In other words, with working Constructivism which is inter-disciplinary theory, on the ground of International Relations, which is inter-disciplinary, is more complex. All of them can be true, because of Constructivist Critical background. Because Critical Theory criticized not only positivist IR theories but also other theories of Social Sciences. As mentioned above, Constructivism appeared since Critical criticism has not been enough for IR to change and create new ground or theory. If someone examines Constructivism's process of entering IR, he can easily see that Constructivist criticism against neo-realists which shapes Constructivist theory (Küçük 2009: 776).

Especially, as a Constructivism's most known theorist, Alexander Wendt, tries to formulate his Constructivism over rational-neo-realist deficiencies. His biggest struggle happens against Kenneth Waltz, who is the most known neo-realist theorist. He tries to fill the rationalist-neo-realist's theoretical and analytical gaps. They are mostly efforts which occur in International Relations disciplinary. In other words, Constructivism is not an imported theory for International Relations.

According to another approach, instead of seeing Constructivism as a rival to other theories, it can be accepted as a middle way approach which it deals with social realities which rationalists ignore on International Relations ground (Karacasulu 2012: 112). Constructivism underlines material parameters as rationalists, moreover it gives

importance to identities, norms and ideas. However, it does not try to analyze international politics abstractly as not post-modernists. In this regard, Constructivism is a middle way between rationalist and post-positivist theories, because of its similarities and differences about them (Demirtaş 2014: 116).

2.3. Which Constructivism?

There is no just one Constructivism. On the ground, Friedrich Kratochwil's, Nicholas Onuf's, and Alexander Wendt's approaches give main line to Constructivism. However, Onuf and Kratochwil analyzes theory with a different perspective from Wendt's discourse. Their core element is language for the analysis of politics. Yet, Wendt gives more importance to identities. Identities shape actors, identities construct interest and identities form realities. There is an emphasize on "what actors do and what they are" (Fierke, Jorgensen 2001: 55-58).

Kratochwil claims that norms effect all human attitudes. Nicholas Onuf defines Constructivism as "applies to all fields of social inquiry and has the potential to bring together matters which at first seem unrelated" (Zehfuss 2002: 19). He deals with political characters of International Relations by questioning traditional acceptances and limits of IR. He puts all of them into social theory. His Constructivism depends on mutual construction process of individual and society. For Onuf, speech acts and linguistic are more important social elements of construction process. He emphasizes that "world" and "word" are not independent from each other. They come together in social construction (Fierke, Jorgensen 2001: 58-60).

Alexander Wendt put Constructivism into oppositon of neo-realist-rationalist understanding. His Constructivism bases mutual construction process, too, but its difference from Onuf is that mutual construction is not limited in society, it continues international society. While Onuf studies social life, Wendt studies "international society". In fact, it is tried to be answered the question that is tried to analyzed above (Is Constructivism only theory of International Relations or not?) again, with these explanations it can be said that Wendt's Constructivism is mostly International Relations Theory.

Realities appear after realization and interpretation. Wendt seeks realization and interpretation on individual and state which is individualized by him. Nonetheless, Onuf seeks them on collective act and society (Ereker 2010: 49-50). Wendt explains two basic principles of Constructivist Social Theory: human acts depend on meanings, meanings are taken place by mutual interaction (Zehfuss 2002: 39).

Nicholas Onuf, who puts Constructivism into International Relations literature, is strict father. Wendt, who makes popular Constructivism as most debated theory, is a moderate challenger (Ereker 2010: 39-40).

2.4. What are the Differences and Similarities?

In 1980s, there was a debate between neo-liberalism and neo-realism. This debate formed "neo-neo synthesis". According to neo-neo synthesis, state behaves rationally and international order is an environment which has no authority and clashes of interest are seen in it. Debates start after this. Debates continue about result of anarchy and other acceptances. Construction process of anarchy etc… did not be dealt with. Only results are analyzed. However, Constructivism deals with not only result of realities, but also realizes themselves (anarchy, strategic environment, state, selfish state etc…). It tries to present these concepts as not formed automatically or they are not "given". They are constructed by founder interaction (Küçük 2009: 776-777).

While Constructivism uses Identity which lives with culture, strategic culture, values, norms, ideology and world view, as an explanatory variable, (neo)Realism accepts material power capacities, geographical position, anarchical system. Also, (neo)Liberalism works with domestic factors, structures of government, economic structure, interest groups. (neo)Realism defines actor/state acts as a clash which system imposes and this system is nearly unchangeable. By accepting anarchical system, (neo)Liberalism believes that behaviors and interests coming from system effects can be changed into cooperation temporarily by using kind of regimes, international institutions. However, in Constructivism, whether structure of international system is defined as anarchy or cooperation, both of them is constructed socially. Also structure of system can be changed on the condition that identities of actors change (Oğuzlu 2012: 24).

(neo)Realism presents us interest-focused, stability and balance-focused foreign policy, but Constructivism defends value-focused foreign policy. Although, (neo)Realists do not give importance to internal structure and politics, Constructivism deals with internal politics and identities of states (Oğuzlu 2012: 40).

Constructivism tries to explain world of International Relations "what is" and "how constructed", not "what should". While Rationalists emphasize material reasons when they analyze IR, Constructivists realize IR by giving meaning to material parameters in social manner. Also, Constructivists are not optimistic as (neo)Liberalists and not pessimistic as (neo)Realists. They can analyze good-bad intentions, norms and facts at the same time.

To sum up this section, Constructivism put criticism of Rationalism into 5 points and founds itself: it takes a step from materialism to idealism, goes from explanatory theory to constitutive theory, analyzes agent-structure formulation and goes from individualism to holism, level of analysis from individual-actor to identity-interest and finally uses normative rationality instead of instrumental rationality (Küçük 2009: 777-786).

2.5. Agent - Structure Relation

If we start with people and society relations, we can realize socialization step by step. According to rationalist understandings, people, system or any other units of society (also IR society) are "given" realities. All of them start their life after some level. For example, anarchy is unchangeable reality, nobody does not know or question "how to build it". Only answer is that "bad human nature" effects state nature. State behaves selfishly and in interest seeking manner. This egoist environment becomes an anarchical strategic area because of "lack of authority". This is not correct answer fully. Why do states behave selfishly or why does human have bad nature? Constructivism tries to answer this problem.

It can be said that since human has physical body, his security interest is his priority aim. It is true, but partly. Because, if other people and animals or other threats do not exist, human does not realize his security interest meaningfully. Since other humans, threats, animals etc… exist, human tries to protect himself firstly. Needs are formed by "other". In here, "other" can be threats, peoples, nature, animal or etc… In this context, in IR system,

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states' and structure's existences and needs are constructed by "others". Also in here, "others" can be states, structures (of states, economy, politics, military…), internal effects, politicians, interest groups etc… States can try to be in security position in IR system. As mentioned before, this interest is formed because of "others" not by itself or not given. There is social process. In other words, being alive or secure are constructed socially. In this context, Alexander Wendt says that "international politics is conducted, is made, not given, because identities and interests are constructed and supported by inter-subjective practice" (Zehfuss 2002: 12).

> "Consider two actors -ego and alter- encountering each other for the first time. Each wants to survive and has certain material capabilities, but neither actor has biological or domestic imperatives for power, glory, or conquest (still bracketed), and there is no history of security or insecurity between the two. What should they do? Realists would probably argue that each should act on the basis of worst-case assumptions about the other's intentions, justifying such an attitude as prudent in view of the possibility of death from making a mistake. Such a possibility always exists, even in civil society; however, society would be impossible if people made decisions purely on the basis of worst-case possibilities. Instead, most decisions are and should be made on the basis of probabilities, and these are produced by interaction, by what actors do.

> In the beginning is ego's gesture, which may consist, for example, of an advance, a retreat, a brandishing of arms, a laying down of arms, or an attack. For ego, this gesture represents the basis on which it is prepared to respond to alter. This basis is unknown to alter, however, and so it must make an inference or "attribution" about ego's intentions and, in particular, given that this is anarchy, about whether ego is a threat. The content of this inference will largely depend on two considerations. The first is the gesture's and ego's physical qualities, which are in part contrived by ego and which include the direction of movement, noise, numbers, and immediate consequences of the gesture. The second consideration concerns what alter would intend by such qualities were it to make such a gesture itself. Alter may make an attributional "error" in its inference about ego's intent, but there is also no reason for it to assume a priori -before the gesture- that ego is threatening, since it is only through a process of signaling and interpreting that the costs and probabilities of being wrong can be determined. Social threats are constructed, not natural." (Wendt 1992: 404-405)

"Constructivism holds that people makes society, and society makes people" (Kubalkova, Onuf, Kowert 1988: 59). According to Constructivism, structure is both a result and a tool of producing social practices. It means that structure not only shapes actor acts but also is formed by them, in contrary to neo-realists. Neo-realists said that structure of IR system determines state acts and this structure cannot be changeable. Because, it is "given" product. It is not constructed by anything. However, agent and structure are constructed by social practices which are produced by inter-subjective meanings (Wendt 2003: 224). Actors and structure have dialectical relations (Ateş 2008: 218), they have

mutual interaction. To clarify, it can be said that anarchy (structure of IR) is a social arrangement which actors (agent) construct (Kubalkova, Onuf, Kowert 1988: 63), or rules make agent, agents make rules (Kubalkova, Onuf, Kowert 1988: 64). In other words, actor and structure have no sharp contrast in construction. They do not live in an asunder and stable process. Conversely, they live in a process which has continuous socialization and mutual interaction.

According to Wendt, states are agents of IR system. IR is also a structure which is constructed by state-state and state-International Relations system interaction. Besides, states are real actors who we can anthropomorphize (Wendt 2003: 197) as giving belief, need, intention… In one respect, states are people, too (Wendt 2003: 215).

In Constructivist perspective, "what is state" is constructed mutually by both regional geographical-international system and internal structure which has historical, cultural elements. This process produces not only state identity but also structure of international system. Constructed state identity gives wants and interests to state. It determines state acts. In all, both structure of system constructs state identity and state acts construct structure of system. In other saying, "agents and structure make each other" (Kubalkova, Onuf, Kowert 1988: 98).

Neo-realists did not accept changing structure of international system. However, Constructivist do. Since most of the units and systems are constructed by mutual inter-action between agents and structures, these all can be changed. Because there is dynamic inter-action between agent-agent and agent-structure relations. Therefore, this dynamism can give power agent or structure to change. Confrontational and selfish identities can be converted into collaborative identity or attitude. By means of this change, anarchy can be converted into cooperation or soft competition.

Also, if state participates international organization, it conducts or integrate organization's rules and aims. In this context, it can be said that, international organizations are not only strategically areas to reach goals, but also cause social construction area. When state joins to it, both International Organization gets strong with one more member

and state gains new interests or make strong its interest which are not reached by oneself. With this mind, there is a mutual benefit and there is a mutual interaction.

2.6. Identity

Since this thesis is built on Alexander Wendt's agent-structure and identity understanding, identity conception will be examined according to Wendt's ideas. According to Alexander Wendt, (2003: 224) "in the philosophical sense an identity is whatever makes a thing what it is."

Actors cannot formulate their needs, interests until they realize who they are. Nobody cannot behave without knowing himself. In other words, firstly, agents realize himself as "ego", then needs rise as a result of ego. Ego is an identity which is not constructed by itself. It is meaningful with "others". Ego needs "other" to formulate itself as an identity. For example, state which has mostly Christian citizens cannot be accepted automatically as a Christian State. If this state defines itself as a Christian and other states accept it, state will have Christian identity. This is also social process. Ego needs other to gain its identity. Moreover, it is an evidence about that realities are not "given", but are constructed socially. In other words, identity has two main faces; ideas that belong to ego and ideas that belong to other (Wendt 2003: 224). As pointed here, there is a mutual interaction between self and other. While self puts itself according to other, other also puts itself according to self's position.

Wendt divides identities into 4 groups: personal or cooperate, type, role, and collective (Wendt 2003: 224). Personal or cooperate identities base on material understanding; body for human, territory or many bodies for state. These are auto-genetic quality. Secondly, type identities are labels which result from some qualities and characters of human, of states too. Although these can be accepted as cultural, historical results, Wendt claims that these are "intrinsic" to actors. Thirdly, role identities result from relation with "others". While type identities rise pre-socially, role identities come up with relations with others. Nobody or any states cannot construct his role identity by himself. Fourthly, collective identities create identification between ego and other. Division which takes place between self and other become blurred with identification. Limits of ego enlarge by

involving other. Collective identities are constructed by coming together with type identities and role identities (Wendt 2003: 224-229). In this connection, while personal or cooperate and type identities are "given", "intrinsic", role and collective identities are constructed socially.

Norms and institutions, as a structure, construct identities of actors. Caste system is an efficient example of this. Person who is a member of Caste system, has to behave according to Caste class' limitations. Person starts to act on the ground of this class' norms. Class gives identities to a person. It determines self. These identities construct society (Kubalkova, Onuf, Kowert 1988: 75). Caste System is constructed by agents, too. As long as person who is included in Caste class, continues act according to class norms, this system will get strong. If person starts to act against class' rules, class will decline or not get strong. Moreover, if identities which are against class' norms collectively (more people acts oppositely), structure of class may be changed and converted into different type. In here, there is a mutual interaction between identities (agent) and structure. In another saying, identities are not constructed by themselves.

2.6.1. Identity - Interests Relation

While states' existence and acts formulate international society and its structure, quality of international structure forms state acts. Well, what is state act? States act in order to satisfy their needs or get better position in international order. In other words, they try to maximize their "interests". According to Wendt, conceptualizing self and other determine interests. Interests are "what states want". However, state has to know "who I am", before what she wants. This is an identity. In this respect, identities determine interests (Wendt 2003: 231). Without interests, identities do not have motivational power and also interests do not have directions without identities. Identities are "belief", interests are "desire" for state acts (Wendt 2003: 231). Wendt uses "rational choice theory" on analyzing state acts. Formulation is "(desire)+(belief)=(action)". While rational choice theory defines variables (belief and desire) independently from each other, Wendt put them into dependently process as mentioned above (Wendt 2003: 115).

Wendt defines four basic interests for states (national interest): physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being, collective self-esteem. Physical survival is a maintaining existence confidently. This is protecting state's territory. Secondly, autonomy provides that states control their internal structure and internal hegemony. Thirdly, economic well-being aims economic self-sufficiency and then being big economic power on regional area or worldwide. Finally, collective self-esteem is a need of being more reputable position for states in international area (Wendt 2003: 235-236).

2.6.2. Wendt's Approach and Its Criticism

According to Wendt, there are four basic interests for states (national interest): physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being, collective self-esteem, as mentioned. These interests are given as requirement of existence or alive. Well, how do these "given" realities cause need of interaction? While identity can exist by itself, why does it want to protect itself, from whom, from what?

Wendt's four interests and any other interests are constructed by mutual interaction between agent-structure and agent-agent (between self and other). For example, interest of protection is constructed by threats which are against self. In state manner, protection of identity against external threat is a duty of foreign policy of states. Because, politically and physically protection of identity is an interest of both human and state. Platform in which this interest is satisfied is a foreign policy:
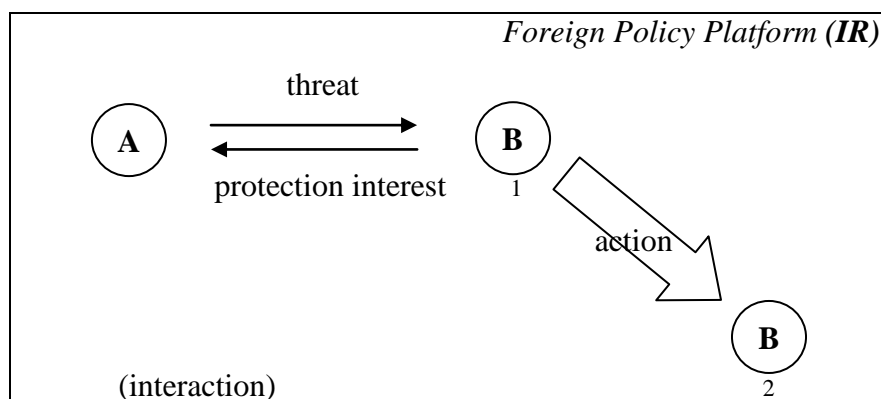

Figure 1: Interaction between self and other (appearing of interests)

Firstly actor A starts to move and threat actor B. Then actor B, which is threatened by A, realizes its interest of protection/security. Thirdly, actor B tries to satisfy its security interest and acts; it moves from its former position (1) to new position (2). This moving from (1) to (2) can be both changing a position and changing/planning or a policy.

As mentioned above, Wendt divides identities into 4 groups. He defines personal or corporate identity with "material understanding; body for human, territory or many bodies for state" and "these are auto-genetic quality". Again, he says that "states are people, too."

Auto-genetic quality means that it is a "given", not constructed with others. Also, it means that these identities are pre-social. However, nobody can realize that he tries to protect his body or himself without any "other" or without any threat.

For states, starting to analyze state identity only in international phase means that not to see internal interaction between sub-identities. There is an internal mutual interaction in state for producing identity and also mutual construction between society (people or institutions) and state. In this manner, Wendt separates state identity into two again: social identity and corporate identity. Social identity is same as role identity according to Wendt's identity classification. Also, corporate identity is a first identity in Wendt's classification.

Wendt uses social identity of state in his analysis mostly. He ignores corporate identity of state which refers to internal structure of state. In this issue, he says that internal-external interaction lost its importance, because everything has relation internally with everything else (Wendt 2003: 225). This approach leads to use only social identity of state. In other word, according to Wendt, focus of analyze is mutual interaction process internationally. Identities and structures which are constructed by interaction in international area are bases of Wendt's approach (Ereker 2010: 48-49). He does not evaluate interaction which rises between internal factors/identity of state and international structure. In other phrase, Wendt behaves on a statist manner in building identity construction by ignoring process of state identity which relates domestic politics. (Kösebalaban 2014: 58). Or in Bozdağlıoğlu's claim (2003: 24) "he, like realists, continues to treat states as unitary actors with a single identity and a single set of interests".

- Basic point of Constructivism is that all realities are constructed socially. It refuses "given" realities which are defended by rationalists (realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism…) However, analyzing state after internal interaction process is same with this "given" example. It means that, until a state establishes international relations, it has not builded an internal ground to set up its foreign affairs. In this context, states' identity is not only constructed by their entrance to international area. State identity is not only constructed by international interaction. State is a total meaning which includes peoples, norms, institutions, governments which were built socially. Ability of state stems from the interactions of many factors (well, it not only include internal dynamics but also international factors). This approach refuses realist division of internal-external policy, again. External behaivour which relates to internal factors requires giving place to internal forces in foreign policy analysis (Ereker 2010: 50).

Moreover, if state structure is examined before international area, it can be seen that there is an interaction between individual and state as agent-structure. While individual constructs state identity, state's (legal and political) structure constructs individual's identity. In here individuals can be sub-identities and sub-authorities. While state is an agent in international area, it is a structure in domestic. Now new formulation comes up:
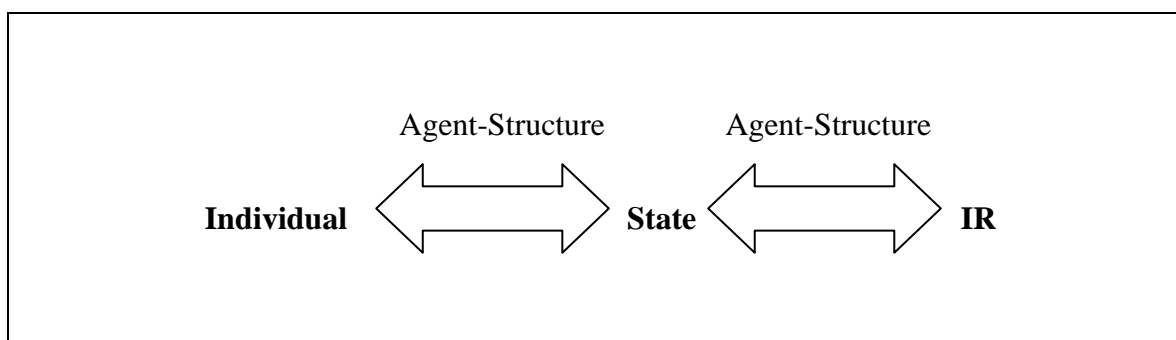

Figure 2: Formulation of Interaction Between State Identity and IR

Starting from this point, it is aimed that to show national identity and its identical components, which is constructed by internal interaction, have a role in interest-act construction process. State identity is constructed by views or internal identities which

compete each other in domestic politics, too (Kösebalaban 2014: 58-59). As Bozdağlıoğlu's criticism, states are not "unitary actors with a single identity and a single set of interest". They contains both different sub-identities which can integrate hegomonic identity or not, and different actors, individuals, structures. As mentioned in "Figure 2" state does not exist with only international structure. In that manner, it does not give true explanation to examine external policy of states' independent from internal identities or structures in foreign policy analyzes. In Constructivist identity-interest relation manner, state interests or acts do not stem from only hegemonic state identity or internationally state identity. They also result from sub-identities of state. In this context, as a significant component of state identity, Turkish Conservative identity which has important role in Turkish national identity, will be studied in foreign policy analyze.

To be clear, according to Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu (2003: 29), in constructing national identity process, powerful group or person's identity in state dominates whole identity. However, if other identities cannot be integrated into national identity positively, crises of identity rises. In this situation, other identities continue their life if they succeed in. Furthermore, they try to be more active when they get a chance. If integration happens positively, national identity will become collective identity. Also in domestic level, state identity can be called as national identity which includes common culture, history, value, customs, religion etc… (Bozdağlıoğlu 2003: 29).

In Turkey, Kemalism is a dominant identity for national identity. Although westernization is accepted as state identity of Turkey, other national identities, which cannot be integrated into Kemalism fully, have no same ideas. Turkish Conservative Identity is an important part of outsider sub-identities. Because this identity group cannot internalize hegomic identity's secular and positivist reforms fully. While official identity founds itself with pre-Islamic and pre-Ottoman era to establish modern secular nation-state, Turkish Conservatives cannot disconnect themselves from Islam and Ottoman era. Also, when they find a chance in each time, they show themselves in both internal and external policy. They are accepted as national sub-identities. As Kösebalaban said (2014: 59), foreign policy decisions are not taken by only hegemonic identity. Sub-identities can affect and participate into construction process of these decisions. As an "other" or sub-

identity for Turkish western state identity, Turkish Conservative identities and their impacts on Cyprus Question in 1960-1980 era will be evaluated in this manner.

CHAPTER 2

CONSERVATISM

This chapter will discuss conceptual framework of "Conservatism". It contains two parts; "What is Conservatism" and "Basic Points of Conservatism".

1. What is Conservatism

1.1. The Concept of Conservatism

In this part, Conservatism will be discussed theoretically. It should be emphasized that there is a difference between attitude and notion of Conservatism. Attitude Conservatism is an "order watchman" which behaves in protection manner. When Conservatism is defined as protection of something and its position, Conservatism which is seen in every part of life, is characterized without any separation between ideologies and views. This is a Conservatism as an attitude. It may be known as reactionary, fundamentalism without taking account its theoretical background in sometimes. However, notion Conservatism has more theoretical basis than former. It is comprehensive and systematic thought which rises against Enlightenment in Intellectual manner, against new society which is brought by industrial society sociologically and against revolutionary thoughts which take place in core of French Revolution politically (Çaha 2007: 99-100). Second Conservatism can be accepted as theoretical and ideological Conservatism. In this thesis, second will be dealt in analysis.

Peter Vierreck defines difference between these types of Conservatism as an historical continuity. Second type of Conservatism has a submission to historical continuity (Çiğdem 1997: 33-34). Also, Karl Mannheim claims that Conservatism is conscious and rational traditionalism (Bora 1997: 6-7).

The concept of Conservatism rose with the French Revolution and has taken its main character from Edmund Burke's book, "Reflections on the Revolution in France". Although it is claimed that Conservatism was born before the French Revolution, it was born thanks to the French Revolution in modern sense. According to Andrew Vincent it is

"a unconscious conservatism" before 18th century (Akıncı 2012: 54). The French Revolution caused disengagement from pre-revolutionary period because of the birth of the nation-state model. This breaking is not only in political organizational properties, but it also has affected society, social institutions and values of the society.

After the French Revolution, two reaction fronts were born. One of them has defended the revolution fanatically. The other has criticized the revolution and its results. The Conservatism has existed with the second front. While first group says that the revolution provides a new bright period, the second group claims that the revolution causes a deep darkness. Edmund Burke criticized the French revolutionaries and said that they started badly and refused their own values consistently. Most of revolutionaries who defended it fanatically, lost their revolutionary characters when they met guillotine. In Turkish phrase "The revolution has devoured its children". The social coalition that leads the society to the revolution was broken when they faced revolutionary radicalism. Dominant groups of radical revolutionary ideology sent away other members. The guillotine which worked for this aim caused that revolution is not much good thing. Other members of the coalition were comparing post-revolution and ancient regime. This situation has made stronger criticism under Burke's leadership and witnessed to the emergence of conservative thought (Özipek 2003: 67).

The Conservatism which was born with the French Revolution, has started with Renaissance and Reform movements which put human into center and has continued with the revolutionary contradiction and has supported criticism against a process that is conceptualized as modernization. The rise of conservatism is based on three important factors which complement each other. First is the Enlightenment which is based on mind instead of traditionalism. The second is the French Revolution which accelerates change in society. The last is the Industrial Revolution which has made the transition from labor-intensive production to capital-intensive production (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 11-12). In 15th and 16th century, the process of change started with Renaissance and Reformation movements. In 17th and 18th century, science and mind became dominant power instead of religion, then every aspects of political and social life were destroyed and the traditional European order was shaken fundamentally. While the church and the pope were tried to be removed from life, encyclopedias began to take place instead of the Bible and philosophers

and scientists began to take place instead of priests (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 14-15). The idea of Enlightenment has evolved into political demand in the French Revolution.

1.2. Ideology or Attitude ?

Here, there are two important points to be considered. First of them is whether the conservatism is an ideology or not. The other is that Conservatism how much opposite to change. So, is the Conservatism accepted as an ideology? Or is it a way (way of life, way of thinking) which have a different kind of potential adaptation? In fact, answer is given above.

Firstly, what is ideology? Ideology is "set of ideas which more or less consistent and mutually connected to each other" (Heywood 1992: 6). There are many views about refusing of being ideology of Conservatism. They can be grouped under two topics. Firstly Conservatives do not consider the conservatism as an ideology. This section consider the Conservatism as a mood or attitude instead of an ideology. Some Conservatives, who criticized the perception of "heaven on earth" or "utopia" of ideologies, express that they are trying to protect what is instead of what should be (Dural 2006: 56). However, in the example of the French Revolution, Conservatives stressed that the new order which was a result of the revolution was bad and to protect ancient regime should be the main purpose. In other words, their utopia is pre-revolutionary ancient regime or mostly related to it. One can see Conservatives in a dilemma about this topic. While they are trying to protect what is, they miss pre-revolutionary order as "heaven on earth". According to some Conservatives, Conservatism trys to protect what is which is a "heaven on earth" or is not so different from it. In addition, accepting the Conservatism as a personal psychology/quality or attitude will be underestimating its two century life and its results.

According to second approach which do not accept Conservatism as an ideology, the Conservatism does not have any sharp assumptions like liberalism or socialism (Akgün 2006: 27) and has negative reactive identity. Hirschman describes the reactionary narratives as "Rhetoric of Reaction" (Akıncı 2012: 48).

Hayek describes Conservatism as a fear of change (Erdoğan 1991: 50). Of course, considering the Conservatism as a reactive movement will prevent to understand it as an ideology.

The view which accepts the Conservatism as an ideology considers it as a third ideology in the same line of Liberalism and Socialism. This approach suggests that the Conservatism has "combined structure" with its connection with history, tradition etc. By taking into account leaders and followers of ideologies, the Conservatism is an ideology with all thinkers like Edmund Burke, Russell Kirk and Robert Nispet and with all political leaders like Benjamin Disraeli, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagen (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 20).

In addition, Ahmet Çiğdem analyzes it in another perspective. According to Çiğdem, if Conservatism removes itself from ideological area, it exists as an ideology that much, if it tends to depolitizaiton, it is a political (Çiğdem 1997: 7).

1.3. Hard or Soft ?

By using approach that sees the Conservatism as a negative reactiveness, counter-revolution or coward of revolution, two basic Conservative perceptions appear. In another words, there are two types of Conservative critics about the beginnings and endings. First of them rejects the revolution and its results and aims to reach old order; the Conservatism of continental Europe. The second advocates the gradual change against to revolutionary radical change and rejects social engineering which acts independently from history and tradition. This approach is a moderate conservatism; Anglo-American Conservatism (Özipek 2003: 67-68).

The best claim for the first type is "Conservatism is better explained by what it opposes than what it supports" (Honderich 1991: 1). Second is reformer. It proposes reforms as an antidote (Çağlıyan 2006: 82). This antidote has limits, as well.

In this sense, basic character of Anglo-American Conservatism is a gradual change. Like all other Conservatives, it opposes radical revolutions, too. However, there is a demand about developing while there is an opposition about radical changes in here. There

is no constant life for Anglo-American Conservatism. It demands change and development by improving with gradual process.

Until now, the Conservatism has been considered as a political view (political Conservatism) and in the rest of study the topic is political Conservatism. Furthermore, Anglo-American Conservatism will be examined in study. The basic principles which will be discussed below will be described on ground of this.

2. Basic Points of Conservatism

In first part it was tried to be understood the Conservatism terminologically. In this part, basic principles of Conservatism will be discussed.

2.1. Mind and Society

2.1.1. Mind and Human

According to Conservatives, human is an imperfect and limited creature, also has a limited mind. Therefore, it has not enough capacity of analyzing order, developments and change in society alone. The world or society are more complicated than human nature can understand. Human nature is complex, goals of society are complex, too. So, the power cannot be given to monopoly of complex and imperfect human nature (Nisbet 2011: 57). This approach stems from the Enlightenment philosophy which emphasizes on founding role of human mind. According to Enlightenment philosophy, human mind has the capacity of understanding and guiding developments around. Tradition and history are founding elements for Conservatives while Enlightenment put mind into centre. Conservatives do not deny the role of mind fully. They state that mind can only guide people under light of tradition and history. Limited human nature can only find its true meaning in the community. As an originator of Conservatism, Edmund Burke claimed that society constructs structure, capacity, values and beliefs of human, instead human construct authorities and society. Social conditions are real nature of human. Human has no meaning by himself. He only gains character and meaning in society. In this context, human of Conservatism is different from human of Liberalism. First is social human, second is human of nature (Çaha 2007: 108).

Rationalist politics which is independent from history and experience is lack. Traditions tell us more about society and social duties. Traditions (and also history, religion) increase social homogeneity of heterogeneous human by coordinating acts and thoughts (Akkaş 2003: 247). As a result, experience of traditions (also history and religion) fill imperfection of human. Because traditions are cumulative accumulations which are got rid of individual limitedness. In this context, social things have priority because of individual limitedness. Nisbet (2011: 58) has explained individual limitedness with a different metaphor: In biological evolution processes, a biologist can only examine variables, cannot involve in the process of creating. Also, in history people can only examine comparable operations. In fact, Conservatives do not deny importance of mind. In contrast, they say that human who uses his mind, realizes his limitedness (Akkaş 2003: 244). In another perspective, Conservatism refuses rationalism, instead of mind. They oppose that rationalism draws ideal project for society and try to transform society by using this project. Moreover, they do not confirm revolution which has close relation with rationalism (Özipek 2004: 12). In other words, they refuse social-engineering.

Lastly, David Hume's epistemology which bases on "experience" instead of "pure reason" is a one of the basic reference of Conservatism. In individual phrase, it is a sense which is gained by experience, while "experience philosophy" includes history that constructed by tradition, culture, of society. This is a heart for Conservative understanding (Çaha 2004: 16).

2.1.2. Family

Family is a basic unit of society, is a protector of traditional morality and is a producer of traditions. Also, it gives identity and personality to individual. Family is a mediate institution. Communities/mediate units are both religious and social unity, they provide socialization of individuals. Family protects individuals, rights, individual and social freedoms. It brings maturity to human and transfers human to future. Family is sub-authority of state as an area of human freedom. It prepares individual to society as an first school. Individuals are absent-minded, but family (and other social institutions) has a memory (Özipek 2004: 12).

Solidarity and cooperation, which rise in family, cause solidarity and cooperation in society. Dissolutions in family cause social dissolutions. In the absence or weakening of family and other mediate bodies, the individual becomes vulnerable against authority. Therefore, Conservatives give importance to institutions because of their social utility and duty. Institutions draw and protect shape of social life. Limits which are put by institutions, direct and constrain individual (Muller 1997: 11). Absence or weakening of institutions and individual's becoming vulnerable in society has been experienced just after the French Revolution. It suppressed mediate institutions. Individuals became off-guard in society.

Mediate institutions (family, religious institutions, local groups) are transition to community psychology from limited individualism. They could be called as small communities. It prevents the loss of different identities in the majority. This indicates that the idea of pluralism of the Conservatism. But here while Conservatives are paying care to protect the different identities, they are opposed that these identities behave aggressively against social cohesion. So they opposed to social atomization and fragmentation. For example they are opposite to feminism because it considers women as a separate piece of the society (Nisbet 2011: 83-85).

Jean Bodin defined differences between state and family as sovereignty and property. While state has a sovereignty, family has property (Çaha 2004: 22).

2.1.3. Society

Conservatives call community as an organism, it is not machine which is detachable to mechanical parts. They are against theorizing society and implementing theory on human (Honderich 1991: 17). Political theories are constructed by religion, family, tradition and compatible totality of mediate institutions instead of social engineering. These compatible parts are products of historical development, not products of natural law or a compact. The society is a common, historical and spiritual contract between living, death and people of future beyond the union of limited individuals.

According to Conservatives, all experiences which are gained by history and tradition in centuries are information which are acquired from life and they are richness that are produced by society. According to Burke, people (and the society) are products of

tradition and history. Moreover, rights of individuals come from society and come from their relations with society, in contrary to rationalist who claims that they come from natural law (Çaha 2004: 20). The conserve term which is basic theme of the Conservatism is closely related with respect to tradition. Tradition is more guiding than a rational theory. Because, tradition consists of experienced events which are combined with historical maturation (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 29-30). Besides, traditions is not static, they should be balanced by order and reform (Giddens 2002: 31). In other words, traditions should never be protected by traditionally. Because, it causes fundamentalism. It gives symbolical and ceremonial tag (Giddens 2002: 53).

Conservatives do not accept every event or development from history as a tradition, they are selective about this subject. They pay great attention it to be consistent and they filter it through history. They say if history breaks or skip something, it will cause miscommunication and living difficulties. Miscommunication between generations threaten transmission of tradition and moral/spiritual integrity of society. The society becomes an amnesiac patient (Ayvazoğlu 2003: 522).

According to Bonald, city life has to be rejected because it loses the social structure and family ties and increases the distance between individuals. Physical proximity brings social distance to the residents of the city life. In the rural life, people far from each other physically but they are close with each other socially (Nisbet 2011: 102).

2.2. Change (Revolution)

This title focuses on the revolution perceptions of Conservatives. As mentioned in the first part, the conservative reaction against revolution is basically divided into two parts: Reactive quality of Continental Europe Conservatism and moderate quality of Anglo-American Conservatism. As mentioned, the Continental Europe Conservatism is fully opposed to of the revolution.

While Edmund Burke is against to the French Revolution, he supports the British and American revolution. Because the French Revolution tries to change society from top to bottom by using founder mind. However the 1688 British Revolution aimed to preserve the ex-freedom of the British against the encroachments of the king and the 1776 American

Revolution aimed to restore rights of British people living in American colonies. These two revolution received Burke's support because of their efforts about improving an existing one, not innovation. Burke charged the French Revolution with disconnecting the society ties. He blamed the French Revolution because of taking away society to asocial, uncivilized and he said that here are your rights "massacre, torture, death". Tocqueville said "There was no need for revolution. Old institutions are already changing naturally. Tree should be renewed by pruning not by rooting."; Edgar Morin said "The revolution has brought freedom in the beginning, but then the terrorism came. The revolution has brought peace, but then the war broke out. The revolution brought republic but then the empire came. People who had lived in this period witnessed that thoughts and intentions has returned to contrary". Also Nisbet said that revolution is a perfect summary of an event larger than terrorism, the revolution is repealing life, property, authority, and fair freedom by force (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 15-18).

In addition, Burke said; "The change is the law of nature, it is an inevitable rule. The only thing human mind can do that to provide gradually change." His enemy is not innovation, his enemy is the spirit of change. It is to obey change for the sake of change and the spirit of innovation which are especially implemented to humanities institutions" (Nisbet 2011: 56). According to him, the state, which has not some change tools, also does not have self-preservation tools. Michael Oakeshott also said; "Conservatives are timid innovators" (Akıncı 2012: 81-82). The Conservatism is different from "fanaticism" or "obscurantism" because it does not try to protect everything unconsciously and it is not absolute the counter-revolution.

As a Turkish Conservative Peyami Safa's idea of change is not very different from Burke's: The Conservatism must not resist to innovation. The Conservatism protects the old but not deny the new (Mert 2003: 321-322). According to Mümtazer Türköne; people undertakes some efforts to fit life to mind. However life is resisting, because it is more powerful and dynamic than thoughts which are kept alive in people's minds. Life is changing by thought's enforcement in their nature and integrity, but not in the format prescribed by thoughts. Then, the masses of the people fall in dilemma (Özipek 2003: 80).

It can be said that the Conservatism is against the radical revolution and social engineering. It defends gradually and natural change instead of them. Gradually change and non-confrontational style of thinking raises the standard of democracy in the country and prevents the rising of the fascist or communist movements. In this context, it can be said that since any radical revolution period had been not lived in Great Britain and USA, any fascist and communist regimes did not seen in these countries (Özipek 2003: 80).

Change or development of political institutions emerge from the flow of events and history, they do not emerge from efforts of theoretical science. As mentioned above, Nisbet also said; human can only examine comparable events or information in the history like in biological evolution periods biologists can only examine variables and cannot be included in creating period (Nisbet 2011: 58). However the 1789 French Revolution and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution were movements that people undertakes the social transformation by using founder mind. The phenomenon of globalization which does not take into account national boundaries, begins to take place instead of the nation-state which is a product of the French Revolution in 20th century. Also, USSR which was established after the Bolshevik Revolution came to end in end of the 20th century. These events confirm the Nisbet's idea, above mentioned, on this issue: Social transformations which are products of human intervention that disrupts the natural motion comes to end. Because it is right and necessary to continue the natural transformation.

One of the most important features of Conservatives is to apply historical paint to new institutions. The purpose of this to protect the society from the shock of radical innovations, to bring legitimacy to required changes with gradual process for society. Thus, social order can be protected from shocks that may arise due to the change.

2.3. State

2.3.1. Authority

According to Burke, there is a hierarchic chain from individual to family, from family to community, and from community to the God. In Nisbet's opinion, this chain is the basis of Conservative authority approach. Each unit is autonomous in the distribution of this hierarchy of sovereignty and is dominated complete in itself. According to Bonald,

the sovereignty belongs to God and the God transfers this sovereignty to family, to church by sharing. Sovereignty shares of family, intermediate institutions and politics are important which are shared by the God. The state should not interfere with any of these shares. In addition, any shares should not interfere other. If interference occurs, it will be a tyranny. In other words, if separations of authority are destroyed in a society, the government's military rule increases. This happened in the French Revolution. Revolutionary State power destroyed area of family and the church (Nisbet 2011: 65-69) and also individual. The state must devote itself into the public sphere, the public peace, public security, public order, public ownership. However it should not interfere with the individual's and intermediary institutions' area. In other words, political authority must not interfere into other authority areas of society (Özipek 2011: 167).

Hierarchical state approach of Conservatism which is based on belief and stability, gets authority to stop on the limit of family, society, belief and intermediate institutions. The duty of the state is not to set bounds community which lives in natural flow of history. Its task is to protect the existing borders. That is why the Conservatism gives importance to intermediate institutions, localization, decentralization. The obsession of natural law and natural sciences of the Enlightenment mind ignore the limits of authority which is constructed by socially and traditionally.

According to Conservatives, the authority has an important role on maintaining of social order and on protecting of people's sense of belonging (Türköne 2006: 123). The authority does not mean that to exclude freedom. The real freedom is related to order, not only exist with order and virtue but also with them. Order is provided with the authority, as well. The freedom must be examined between individuals, state and intermediate institutions; a trio which avoids interference.

At the triangle of Individual-society-authority, traditions are confirmative power on connections. Authority is shaped by traditionalist symbols and legitimated by traditions. Loyalty of human toward society and authority, is a relation which is constructed on traditional grounds. Basic element is "to pass exam of time" (Giddens 2002: 50).

2.3.2. Property

According to the Conservatism, if property right is protected, freedom is also assured. Safety of freedom means safety of life. Property rights provide right to life and require respect for the right of others'. So, property brings the responsibility with right.

If Conservatism is considered as an ideology, these can be said an with a triple assessment: socialism eliminates the private property and highlights public ownership. Liberalism gives an unlimited power to the private property and tries to limit public ownership. The Conservatism wants to protect the private property but it also wants to prevent that it is used as an element of pressure on others. Authority comes into play here. The state may intervene to prevent other's intervention as an top authority. This situation leads to the mixed economy which gives no absolute power to both public (state) power and property. In other words, the Conservatism gives importance to private property and on behalf of protecting the private property needs to authority and needs to state's "power and tool ownership".

2.3.3. Freedom

Freedom is protection of material and moral property of the individual and family. The equality is to equalize unequally shared material and moral values. The individual resistance of mind and body which comes from inborn, cannot be equalized by law and authority/state/government. Burke also noted in this regard these two ideas. First of them is: "people who tries to equalize cannot equalize". In his second idea Burke thinks that American Revolution occurred because of British effect which damaged rights of American colonies. So, the American Revolution emerged to break the inequality which was caused by British effect by dissolving equality. The French Revolution has broken the equality with new patterns (Nisbet 2011: 80).

Requirement of protection property freedom and protection state against liberal free economy's minimization policy, gives priority to foreign policy which works with economic freedoms for Conservatives.

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2.4. Religion

Religion is a cornerstone of social life for Conservatives and it is a valuable unit for both state and society. Religion should have an free and should have powerful area in the society and cannot be used as a political conversion tool.

According to Conservatives society cannot survive without religion. Religion is cement of the society. It contributes to the understanding of disciplined society by making people satisfied. It ensures self-control over the individual and also contributes to protect the unity of society by using social symbols and social institutions. In this respect, religion acts as a glue for the community and is a refuge for individuals in the world which is outside of their own. As Burke said: "Human is a religious animal" (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 37).

To analyze all of these from a different angle, religion has an institutional importance for Conservatives. Otherwise it is not possible to say all Conservatives are deeper religious. Religion in this sense has two functions. Firstly, it gives a holiness to the vital functions of government and all political and social ties. Because every religion emphasizes the order and refers the existence of an authority and refers commitment to this authority for continuation of the order. The second function is institution of religion's control mechanism which works over state's power and over state's arbitrary authority as an intermediate institution (Nisbet 2011: 107).

Though some Conservatives' religious belief is weak, they advocate that religion is autonomous and institutional power in the society. Tocqueville said: People who reject religious belief, even who are reluctant to existence of religion in society, they need the existence of a moral sentiment. Again Chesterton said: Risk of lack of faith in God is not that individual believes nothing. Risk is that individual believes everything which he sees or hears. In this context, one can evaluate people why they see Marxism and Freudian views as they are religion (Nisbet 2011: 110).

Finally, one can perceive that Conservatives wish that religion has an autonomous structure in the country. It can be confirmed as a kind of laicism. Burke supported this idea with the following expression: Politics and the religious desk of preach, should not match.

In the church, there should be no sound except sound of charity (Nisbet 2011: 112). Here again, it is emphasized that holy shares should not be interfered by each other. There should not be the sound of religion in the political area and also there should not be the sound of politics in the religious area. One can see that, Burke emphasizes on institutional structure of religion which unifies the society, rather than belief manner of religions: The church have internalized or should internalize charity in society for the sake of removing inequalities which emerge after birth.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH CONSERVATISM

1. What is Turkish Conservatism?

As mentioned above, Conservatism opposes "Enlightenment in intellectual manner, new society which is brought by industrial society sociologically and revolutionary thoughts which take place in core of French Revolution politically". When these points are implemented to Turkish Republic, Turkish Conservatism was born because of Republican revolution which is effected from French Revolution and its philosophical ground of Enlightenment. More clearly, Turkish Conservatism has stemmed from radicalism of Republican revolution and its positivism which put forward mind. Well, Does Conservatism come up with only Republic? For sure, answer is no. However, this thesis deals with both 1960-1980 era and Cyprus issue. Therefore it will be focused on Turkish Conservatism in republican period.

When one examines quality of Republican revolution, one can realize easily what is Turkish Conservatism and what are its main points? Republican revolution was an implementation of secular nation-state understanding which resulted from French Revolution, in Turkey. When Turkish Republic is compared with Ottoman Empire, it is realized that Turkey has a secular structure and nation-state structure instead of "*Millet System*", contrary to her predecessor. Moreover, she who is established on Ottoman heritage, builds on powerful philosophical ground herself by declaring Ottoman Empire as a previous. It made easy to accept new structure by creating previous era (*devr-i sabık*).

Nearly last two centuries of Ottoman Empire had lasted by making efforts to end states' weakness. In other words, Ottoman Empire tried to gain her old magnificence at her last two centuries. State had not only political weakness but also economic and social problems. In fact, all of these were links of chain process. When someone looked whole of chain, he could see easily loosing of power and prestige as a result. In global economy manner, exploring trade routes away from Ottoman territories meant that Ottoman incomes which were gained from trade roads, decreased as a center of transition. While it decreased

level of Ottoman trade with other states, it reduced prestige and availableness of Ottoman Empire. Other states' attention and interest canalized to other ways and other areas. Furthermore, finding new production techniques and transferring production from hand loom and mini workplace to factories and serial production made worse Ottoman economy.

As mentioned above, all of them effected each other and caused major problem. Social peace was decreased and problems were increased by economic decline. Production of local hand looms were beaten by imported serial production. Imported western goods defeated local conventional production, because of their quality and their prices. Producing with old techniques both were costly and resulted with limited amount. Producers who could not receive return of their work lost their economic and social welfare and social resolution started. State affairs were ruled by ignoring law and justice. This was another reason of social resolution. State which was capable and protect its citizens started to turn into structure which could not satisfy citizens' needs and had bad relationship with citizens. Methods which was found to solve all problems were to import understanding and techniques from west which was more powerful than Ottoman Empire economically and politically.

Besides, weakness of Ottoman Empire was accepted as result of religion. West which experienced Renaissance and Reform period, got strong by putting center mental faculties instead of religion. This reflected Ottomans as that Islam could not give power to state anymore, also Islam became one of the major reason of weakness of state, especially according to last period's positivists[4]. However, public had no same idea, it was only idea of some of intellectuals. In other words, although Ottoman society was combined with religion, to improve state some ideas tried to move away from religion.

In fact, all of these ideas were predecessor of Mustafa Kemal's philosophy when Republican period was constructed. Secular method which was followed in Republican revolution building process was a continue of understanding which resulted from

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[4] Comittee of Union and Progress was a major factor entering of positivism to Ottoman Empire. Ahmet Rıza who was the head of comittee, wanted to give "ordre et progres" which was prominent positivist August Comte's words, as a name. (Since "order and progress" was not accepted by members at Istanbul, "union et progres" was agreed by making change.) (Korelçi 2002: 215).

Enlightenment. As mentioned above, religion had same meaning for Mustafa Kemal in nation building process, too. In other words, Mustafa Kemal continued same traditions of positivist tries of rescuing or improving Ottoman Empire. Also nationalism was an indispensible element for Republican revolution as French Revolution. Even, republic tried to nationalize religion. State could not have religion. If state controls and draws line of religion at society, it is possible. With all of parts, period of building republic followed similar way with French Revolution. Conservatism was born against radicalism of French Revolution and tried to protect values of society in that manner. Also Turkish Conservatism rose against radicalism of Republican revolution, and has tried to protect values of society, too.

2. Points of Turkish Conservatism

Points of Turkish Conservatism will be evaluated in same way, as Conservatism. Points can be divided into four basic groups; change (revolution), society, state, religion. All of these will be explained according to Turkish social and cultural understanding.

2.1. Change (Revolution)

As western Conservatism, Turkish Conservatism was born with revolution. This led to separate it into two types, too. While there is a part which opposes revolution fully and misses pre-revolutionary era on one side, there is a part which opposes radicalism of revolution on other side. Also second part tries to convert radical results into natural synthesis to keep natural process of society.

For these two, revolution or change must not transform in harmful manner for society. All things which corrupt social order and organism of society are dangerous for Turkish Conservatism, too. Social engineering which is independent from social, historical values is never better than changing and developing of society in natural process. When society is forced to cahnge with social engineering which bases on mental faculties, society will be damaged seriously. Values and institutions which are constructed by nations or societies in centuries by experiencing are better than individuals' solutions or formulations. Transforming society with human mind is similar to cut leafs and arms of trees. Tree may be broken or destroyed with this effort (Köni, Torun 2013: 190). Furthermore, According

to Ali Fuad Başgil, it requires interpreter as İmam-i Azam instead of reforms in Christianity as a change (Ayvazoğlu 2009: 528).

Meanwhile, Turkish Conservatism tries to make Republican revolution conservative by cleaning radicalism. In here, respect to Mustafa Kemal and established independent state is at the forefront. By doing this, Turkish Conservatism both expels radicalism and thanks to new order to provide society living in independent state. Peyami Safa was a prominent representative of this synthesis. He tried to evaluate Kemalist revolution in Conservative way by making it conservative. It has been East West synthesis. Material is representative of West. It appears at human as self. Spirit is a representative of East. Both societies and individuals have material and spirit. Therefore all of us are both easterner and westerner (Ayvazoğlu 2009: 528). In that case, a synthesis appears when Kemalist revolution which implements western approach comes together with values and geography which are under effect of eastern spirit. According to Peyami Safa, Republican revolution was put into area which is between reactionism (*irtica*) and revolutionary fanaticism. However, main course is to create synthesis between our own vales and western values (Mert 2009: 316). For example Ferruh Bozbeyli said that our state is secular, but our nation (or society) is Muslim (Demirel 2009: 572).

In this context, if one civilization get into danger because of other civilization, it will behaves in two ways: First, it saves itself by oneself and by construct tight relation with its traditions and history . This is a "*Zelodisme*". Second, it tries to be equipped with other's weapon to protect itself. This is a "*Herodisme*" (Yılmaz 2009: 222-223). Also, Peyami Safa added third way into these. It is a synthesis between self and other by integrating self's national and religious traditions with other's (Yılmaz 2009: 225). This was the East-West synthesis for Turkish Republic.

Turkish Conservatism which was born with Kemalist Modernism, has tried to internalize and make different Kemalist ideals. With this, it tried to formulate alternative modernism understanding instead of radical Kemalism. Identities, which are not accepted fully by public because of their more secular structure, became more acceptable with Democrat Party by decorating with religious-cultural symbols. As a result of that, estrangement was removed partly (Göka, Göral, Güney 2009: 304-305).

Tocqueville claimed that revolution is unnecessary, because all things change in natural historical process. In this context, some of the Turkish Conservatives commented Republican Revolution in that manner. Putting aside fanaticism and radicalism of revolution its results can be accepted as historical and natural changes with denying revolution. In other words, by accepting results of revolution as required historical and natural, Conservatism did not struggle with Republican Revolution more. Combining results of revolution with history makes easy to accept them (Mert 2012: 64). This was the another conservatisation of Kemalist revolution.

In fact, Turkish Conservatism could have not struggle with Republican revolutionaries. Because, some of revolutions has been protected by law or constitution. One who criticizes these frankly can be accused easily as "anti-secular", "anti-Kemalist", "reactionary", and "anti-republicanist" (Dursun 2004: 170). A way to stay in new order is to accept revolution wholly or by making conservative. Turkish Conservatism usually has chosen second way.

As a result, in revolution manner, Turkish Conservatism is a thought of revision which takes part of modernism, but opposes materialism, supports Republic and Kemalism, but refuse their radicalism, supports secularism partly, but do not agree with its denial of religious symbols and values (Mert 2009: 314).

At the final, Turkish Conservatism should be examined in *status quo* manner. Here, there are two different result. First is answer which was given to radicalism of republic by Turkish Conservatism. In that point most of the Turkish Conservatives has not tried to protect pre-revolutionary period fully. However, there is a problem against radical changing of that area. Because of respect of Mustafa Kemal, Turkish Conservatives could not struggle with revolution, as mentioned above. This is a "*sui generis*" position for Turkish Conservatism. Respect of Mustafa Kemal limits reaction of Conservatives. It can be evaluated that Conservatives who need innovation find it on Mustafa Kemal. In other words, as Burke said; "The change is the law of nature, it is inevitable…" Turkish Conservatism accepts needs of change about old Ottoman weakness. Their change need appears with Mustafa Kemal. However, they are against radicalism of this change every time. Again as Burke said, They emphasize that "The only thing human mind can do that

providing gradually change" (Nisbet 2011: 56). Also this respect puts conservative critics into Single-Party period or statesman (ministers and bureaucrats). Also, radical views of Conservatism criticize Mustafa Kemal.

Second is Kemalism which is not Atatürkism. When one evaluates *status quo* in left politics, he can see easily core *status quo* in there. Again, loyalty and respect of Mustafa Kemal make some groups rotation monitor (*devrim bekçisi*). These can be named as fanatics of revolution (*devrim yobazı*) according to Peyami Safa. While *status quo* is usually important accusing which is directed to Conservatism in west, it is influential quality of Conservatism opposers in Turkey, especially left politics.

2.2. Society

Society is an organism for Turkish Conservatism, too. It is a living creature which is constructed by moral ties instead of result of rational process or positivist theorem. These ties which are built by tradition, history, culture keep alive and protect society. When ties are damaged or broken, society faces problematical process. Because, societies cannot protect and implement things which they cannot internalize. Changes which are not belong to natural cycle of society stay out from internalize process.

In fact, this situation presents basic ground of birth of Turkish Conservatism. Turkish Conservatism was born with Republican revolutions which could not internalized fully. Although Founders' hegemonic identity defend and protect revolution, other identities could not accept and internalize revolution in many aspects. In other words, Turkish Conservatism opposes changes which society could not accept and internalize. It must not be accepted that historical, religious and traditional ties has broken. Declaring Ottoman past as a previous era (*devr-i sabık*) and ignoring Islamic past has became artificial changes which cannot be internalized for Anatolian society. Corrupting ties which construct society by gathering individuals, is a big problem. Turkish history which is divided from Ottoman-Islamic past is grounded on pre-Islamic era. To emphasize this historical and religious continuity corruption, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek said that "I do not believe history which is learnt to me" by official history (Göze 1995: 13).

In historical continuity context, debates over to celebrate quincentenary (*500. yıl dönümü*) of Conquest of Istanbul, to open for visit of tombs and to open for worship Aghia Sophia became basic issue for Turkish Conservatives. Because they symbolized holy Ottoman history (Ayvazoğlu 2009: 524). Because, society wanted to protect its history which was ignored and its symbols which were destroyed. Again in historical, traditional and religious continuity manner, names of magazines which were published by Conservatives who tried to protect destroyed values of society, refer these values; "*Türk Düşüncesi, Türk Kültürü, Büyük Doğu, Akıncılar, Yeniden Milli Mücadele…*" With "*Türk Düşüncesi*" and "*Türk Kültürü*", national ties were evaluated in more Conservative, with "*Büyük Doğu*", east which has and protects historical and religious values against material west in east-west struggle are refferred, with "Akıncılar" historical and religious values are referred, with "*Yeniden Milli Mücadele*" new moral struggle which protects national and religious values of society is referred.

Need of change should not cause ignoring itself of society. Result is usually disappointment for methods which are not born in society, in social life. Language Revolution is a good example of breaking natural flow of society-history and destroying continuity. Language revolution is a big chaos which corrupts continuity of history as basic topic. This is kill of alive organism in Conservative term. Because, new generations who are grown by new language, cannot read old production because of not existing common alphabet and language between old and new (Özipek 2009: 81).

It breaks off historical ties of society, nearly. Although formal official language of Turkish Republic is Turkish, it has not be accepted easily quite a long time. Peyami Safa, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Cemil Meriç said that "new Turkish is a limited than predecessor, publi cannot use it easily and we cannot express us readily." They also used French effectively than Turkish (Göze 1995: 28-36). Again Halide Edip Adıvar wrote his "Sinekli Bakkal" novel in English at first (Göze 1995: 29).

Language Revolution is a revolution which is not accepted wholly in a long time. Everybody became illiterate at a night. Also now, words come from Ottoman Turkish and Arabic language has been tried to separate from Turkish. Because, language revolution cannot be internalized fully. Yahya Kemal Beyatlı found strange Language Revolution and

Turkish History Thesis because of their damage on "continuity". This led to send him abroad as ambassador. Nearly, he was sent away from country (Ayvazoğlu 2009: 511-515).

2.3. State

According to Turkish Conservatism, state is both protector umbrella and authority which citizens should be subjected to. Except from its liberal part, Turkish Conservatism accepts state as a more authoritarian. Although it has a problem with Kemalist system, state is holy power for it. State provides organization and independence for citizens. It protects citizens against external threats. State has qualities which protect social structure that is constructed by tradition, history and religion. It tries to protect sacred values. In that case, also Turkish Conservatism does not want to give harm to sacred state understanding (Bora, Erdoğan 2009: 632-633). Weak state is disappointment. However, magnificent state is a big vision or dream. Hearts suffer from transition from magnificent empire to limited nation state. Nonetheless, Turkish Conservatism has not big reaction about this issue. All of these are dreams.

According to Turkish Conservatism, state is not only political organization but also historical glory. Powerful state means that it can reach and protect Ottoman area. In domestic, state should distribute justice on one hand and welfare on other hand. In other words, state is a protector authority in domestic, is a evidence of power and glory in external.

In another perspective, new limited nation-state structure grounded with also nationalism. Nationalism understanding of new Turkish state evaluated nationalism in national culture. However, there was a problem with next step. Because, state ideology sought this culture not in Ottoman-Islamic history. It sought and used national culture from pre-Islamic Turkish era. All national ties were tried to connect with this era by ignoring Islamic period. Also positivism which is the mains base of secular republic modernization started to be articulated with nationalism of hegemonic identity. It resulted two type of nationalism: Secular and conservative nationalism (Karpat 2011a: 240-241). First is belonged to left-secular politics, second is belonged to right-conservative politics.

2.4. Religion

Religion is connective unit of society for Turkish Conservatism, too. As mentioned above, society is constructed by historical, traditional and religious ties. Religious tie was damaged by Republican revolution. According to it, religion should get back from state affairs and society, but it can be lived in a personal life. In fact, it must be said that Republican revolution did not see religion as an enemy. Only, it tried to formulate social life on the grounds of western modernism approach. According to this process religion has no effective role. It has been not removed social life completely. Only, it has been removed top of social and political life. Because, new system is grounded with secularism. However, new situation is mostly different from predecessor-Ottoman order. Religious state becomes secular state and it tries to control religion. In other words, state should not be ruled in religious manner, but state can formulate working of religion in society. In that manner, Directorate of Religious Affairs was established. Clergymen is accepted as a civil servant.

This is also a type of social engineering in religious manner. Moreover, it destroys natural structure of society on religious aspect. Religious social ties were destroyed. As other destructions, Turkish Conservatism tries to protect these ties. It tries to combine with new society and Ottoman-Islamic society, on contrary to revolution. However, again as other conservative protection understandings in Turkey, this opposition cannot appear clearly until multi-party system. Because there was a hegemony of Kemalism before that. In that period, Conservatism showed itself in cultural manner. Therefore, Conservatism is a recessive in politics, but an active in cultural area. In other words, Conservatism put itself into private sphere and cultural area. This was not only about hegemony of Kemalism but with Mustafa Kemal era and with Single Party era. It was also about dilemma of Turkish Conservatism (Çiğdem 2009: 19). Because, as mentioned above, Turkish Conservatism tried to make Kemalist reforms more conservative. Therefore, it could not oppose or give up Republican revolution fully. This made position of Turkish Conservatism is flue or jailed in cultural area.

Moreover, at first period of Republic, Conservatism was accepted as religious thought and Islamism (Safi 2007: 165). In other words, hegemonic Kemalist identity

created own rival. Both this understanding and Conservative social reactions have combined religious thought and Conservatism after that. In that manner, Conservatism in Turkey not only sees religion as connective social unit but also accepts life style of society, in contrary to western Conservatism. With another claim, Turkish Conservatism [*(M)uhafazakarlık*] has been formulated with another "M" (*Muslim/Müslüman*). (Kalaycıoğlu 2007: 235)

Furthermore, religion shaped nationalism understanding of society. As emphasized above, secular nationalism is defended by hegemonic Kemalist identity or left politics as a religious-free. However, other nationalism which contains historical and religious continuity with Ottoman-Islam era was formulated by Conservative. This also another element of religion-Conservatives togetherness.

With Cold War, Turkish Conservatism did not only try to revise radicalism of Republican revolution, but also tried to be against Communism. Positivism of Westernization creates a moral gap by ignoring religion, because it defined in material manner. This gap also created movement area for Communism. Religion is a power which stops Communism (Mert 2009: 325). In that front, some of Turkish Conservatives combined with two things. First is that Westernization process causes alienation in society and removes religion from social life. Second is that Communism or Socialism is strange and opposite for Muslim-Turk. To combine these two created new paradigm: "Communism is a most radical type of westernization" (Edibali 1991: 192). Alparslan Türkeş said same thing: "Communism and western Capitalism is product of material understanding" (Türkeş 2013: 48). Again, Necmettin Erbakan said that "Communism and Capitalism are twin" (Erbakan 2014: 206). "Difference between them is while political power is a repressive ruler in Communism, economic power is a oppressive power in Capitalism" (Erbakan 2014: 214). With another views, Turkish Conservatism located itself against radical republican modernization in contradiction of Islam-west or Turk-west (Edibali 1991: 81).

3. Where does Turkish Conservatism locate?

Turkish Conservatism can be put into right politics in right-left separation. While Tanıl Bora examines right-left politics, he puts equality, freedom, solidarity with oppressed into left, he also puts tradition, importance of order, holy values into right. In this context, since Conservatism emphasizes tradition and holy values, too, it can be put into right politics. Modern division of right-left is shaped in Constituent Assembly of French Revolution. Revolutionaries sat at left side, supporters of pre-revolution regime sat at right side. In Turkish manner, A History School Book which was prepared by Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti*) for school year of 1933-1934, said that Islamist Conservatives sat at most right side, moderate Conservatives sat at right side, democrats (supporters of Mustafa Kemal) sat at left and Communists sat at most left side in the Grand Assembly (Bora 2012a: 10-12).

Moreover, Ahmet Kabaklı defined this division in Yıldırım-Timurlenk separation from conservative historical approach: Right is a Yıldırım. It represents power, order, enterprise. Left is Timurlenk. It represents swag and rapin (*yağma ve çapulculuk*) (Bora 2012a: 21).

Democracy has vital importance for Turkish Conservatism in political manner (Çarkoğlu, Kalaycıoğlu 2009: 94). In single party period, Conservatives could not appear in political life easily. Because, hegemonic-official identity oppressed them by threatening with accusing of "anti-secular", "anti-Kemalist", "reactionary", and "anti-republicanist". This was not open struggle. However, it was real. Multi-party system made Democratic Party (DP) door to reach public for Conservatives. Although DP started to liberalization afterwards, most of the Conservatives supported DP. Moreover, after 1960 military coup, Turkish Conservatism protected DP heritage by voting Justice Party (JP). Because, military coup was made by hegemonic-formal identity of system against Democratic Party which was mostly sported by Conservatives. With more democratic election system (without election threshold), Turkish Conservatism started to rise not only in JP but also in more conservative sides. In other words, Conservative thoughts constructed balanced togetherness in center politics, before 1960 military coup. However, when they formulated their own political institutions they went from center to periphery in politics as

Nationalism, Islamism (Göka, Göral, Güney 2009: 309). While multi-party system made familiar Conservatism to politics, Conservatives took part in Turkish Politics with their own establishments (parties or civil organizations) because of more democratic 1960 Constitution. In other words, Conservative identity had more chance to represent itself in politics in that period. From 1960 to 1980, it continued. However, after 1980 military coup, Conservatism has started to call with centre-right politics again by coming together with "New Right" or "neo-Conservatism" in global manner.

Since thesis tries to study 1960-1980 period in Turkish Politics, it will deal with Conservatism of this period. According to literature, Conservatism can called mostly with centre-right politics. Ömer Çaha separates Turkish right politics into four basic block; liberal-conservative, liberal, nationalist, Islamist (Çaha 2007: 128). When Çaha defines liberal-conservatives, he puts it on line of Democratic Party (DP) and Justice Party (JP) as a center-right politics (Çaha 2007: 131-132). Again, Nuray Mert (2007 : 134) says that conservative thought developed in centre-right politics in Turkey, also conservatism and its area (centre-right) are determinative unit for right politics in Turkey. By avoiding this limitation, Turkish Conservatism will be examined not only in center-right politics but also in whole part of right politics.

In that manner, Turkish Conservatism will be divided into four sub-title; Liberal Conservatism, Nationalist Conservatism, Islamist Conservatism and Statist Conservatism. Although there is a separation between them, none of them is enemy against other. For example, while Nationalist Conservatism emphasizes national culture, national identity, Islamist Conservatism also emphasizes national culture, national identity by combining with religious value. Nationalist Conservatism uses religion, too. In another manner, Statist Conservatism uses both national and religious values on protecting and developing of moral values of society. In other words, there is no sharp division between them. There are only differences between tone and starting point of them.

Furthermore, main aim of thesis is not about classification of Turkish Conservatism. In here, it is tried that how Conservative identity uses and implements its basic points with its different starting points and different tones in Turkey by using identity concept of Constructivist Theory of IR.

3.1. Liberal Conservatism

Liberalism accepts market economy as not ordinary order which is constructed by human mind, in contrast it sees market economy as a natural order which is constructed in gradual development (Mollaer 2009: 62). This is a similar with both Conservatism's limited human mind and gradual change in natural order instead of radical change. Moreover, it can supports that economic or social society is natural and alive existence as organism.

Edmund Burke's claim of "we leave poor person to market and works take shape by themselves" (Mollaer 2009: 63) matchs up with Liberalism's concept of "invisible hand" on market economy. Then, society which is organism cannot be left to external radical changes, it can be left in gradual natural changes. Social transformations base on mechanism which works automatically (Mollaer 2008: 51). In that case, control of change which comes from internal structure of society is taken shape with moral "invisible hand" (Mollaer 2009: 66) instead of limited human mind. In other words, "invisible hand" is common concept of Liberalism and Conservatism, according to these views.

Liberalist concept of freedom of religion and conscience makes available freedom of movement for traditional, cultural and religious values (Şeyhanlıoğlu 2011: 48). However, liberal unit of Liberal-Conservatism moderates religious and cultural thoughts (T. Demirel 2004a: 345). This is likely softening or liberalization. All of these build centre-right politics as a roof.

Mustafa Şekip Tunç defined relation between Conservatism and Liberalism that "Conservatism focuses on historical memory while Liberalism offers progress. Conservatism shines how much history is honorable, Liberalism shines how much progress is essential (Tunç 1954: 92). According to Çaha center-right politics (as a liberal conservative politics) emphasizes nation than state. States serve to nation. It serves nation instead of protecting regime. It defends change instead of *status quo*. It tries to establish close relation with west. Moreover, it tries to use western values on one hand, tries to protect own culture on the other hand (Çaha 2006: 16).

Especially in freedom of religion and conscience context, Conservatives internalized DP which was established after single party period. Because, religious and traditional thoughts which could not reacted against radicalism of Kemalist revolution move with opposite side at the first opportunity. DP was a starting point for political conservatism which had suppressed for years. In other words, religionist and traditionalist identity which was sent from state system by Kemalist identity and was jailed in periphery chose first opposition identity which was against RPP. In other perspective, DP was a "roof" opposition which was built after single part period. It was comprehensive instead of sharp limit. Because of this, DP located at center-right politics in Turkey.

With its performance, DP was a liberal-conservative. For JP, it was same. In other words, center-right politics is an area which liberal-conservatism locates. As another center-right and liberal-conservative party, Motherland Party was defined as party in terms of "conservatism alongside economic liberalism and social justice" by Turgut Özal who was head of it (Kalaycıoğlu 2007: 234). For this reason, every centre-right concepts which will be used in this part refer to liberal-conservative identity.

For thesis' period, 1960-1980, JP was a liberal-conservative party. In Turkish politics, according to Süleyman Demirel, who was a head of JP, there was a separation between RPP and its opponents instead of separation between right-left politics (T. Demirel 2004a: 338). JP demonstrated power of right politics with its (%52) vote. Moreover, right politics which was accepted as reactionism by state Kemalist identity and was demoralized by 1960 military coup, could gain legitimacy with its anti-communist identity when state started to internalize anti-communist identity (T. Demirel 2004a: 339). Also he said that "we are not revolutionary. I and my party are not destroyer revolutionary. We are improver." (Demirel, 2004, p. 166)

JP gave importance to traditions and defended organic society. Also it lived in a liberal economy, capitalist system. JP aimed to protect order of state and society against Communism and took power from liberalism against Communism. It used religious and traditional symbols in acts. Moreover, it tried to make social engineering which Conservatism cannot accept. However, this engineering was not as radical as Republican revolution's. Social engineering of JP was seen at socioeconomic area instead of cultural

and political area. JP emphasized liberal democracy. Its equality understanding based on equality before law and equality of opportunity (T. Demirel 2004a: 338-343). It was a same with Edmund Burke's liberal-conservative claim: "inequalities which are inborn cannot be removed" (Nisbet 2011: 80).

In here, it tried to explained why conservatism does not position at only centre-right in Turkish politics. According to Tanel Demirel, center-right politics cannot show fully conservative quality. Because, they play along with Kemalist revolution. Their conservatism is same with Kemalism's: "we should take only technology and engineering of west and also should protect our own culture and values." Centre-right politic always praises itself with modern constructions of roads, dams etc… Because, they work with lower class and middle class who want to improve as soon as possible. Technological development is important for them. When one thinks centre-right politics with both Conservatism and development, one can see easily dilemma. Centre-right politics cannot prevent social and cultural corruption on national moral values which results from economic and technological development (T. Demirel 2004b: 187-192). In JP manner, JP ignored moral growth by rising development on building dam, factory, roads while country grew technically (Demirel 2004, p. 55). Also, it can be said that unity which comes together with centre-right politics is a pragmatic liberal performance which gives status and financial gain to individuals and society. This opens centre-right to large mass, really. Then, union of interests which is ideology-free is built. This union cannot be conservative fully. It is a pragmatic liberal union. For that reason, thesis evaluates center-right politics in liberal-conservative line instead of fully conservatism or whole part of Conservatism.

As mentioned above, centre-right politics is a combination of Conservatism with Liberalism. In this context, Centre-right politics take not only ideological basis from them, but also its staff. Young who is a Nationalist or Islamist will be part or member of center right parties at middle ages (Bora 2012a: 24-25).

3.2. Nationalist Conservatism

Nationalism (as a state system: nation-state) was defined as an innovation and change with French Revolution (along 19th century). It created new order for states.

However, with last quarter of 19th century, nationalism has rooted, and became rooted state system, but not fully. This situation changed perception of nationalism. It was started to refer as living state system. Therefore, while Conservatism rejected nationalism at first, it came to close with it latter (Akıncı 2012: 124). Conservatives come together with nationalism because they realize that nation is more durable unit of society (Taşkın 2009: 382). Most beneficial ties which hold society together are national culture and national traditions.

Furthermore, as a most fearful things for Conservatives, roofless and cutting continuity of history and culture should not be removed by national identity, national culture and national values which are provided by nationalism. According to Baltacıoğlu, "nationality is a unity of tradition. Nationalism is a thought of traditionalism." (Akıncı 2012: 125)

As a head of nationalist-conservative thoughts, Alparslan Türkeş said that Turkish moral is constituted with Muslim manner and customs and Islamic principals when he explained points of Moralism (*Ahlakçılık*) of 9 Doctrines of his movement. Another point of these doctrines is Societism (*Toplumculuk*). It offers everything should work for benefit of society (Türkeş 2013: 37). Other points are pro-Development (*Gelişmecilik*) and Populism (*Halkçılık*). They refuse revolutionism. Nation and society should transform with their own history and own root (Türkeş 2013: 42). Civilizing should be modernization without estrangement. In this context, society should develop and transform on the ground of Turkish culture and Islamic understanding (Türkeş 2013: 181). With other views, Alparslan Türkeş defined his thoughts "we want construct society as compatible with its history"(Türkeş 2013: 325). Also, as an important nationalist-conservative, Erol Güngör said that religious history starts with first human and national history starts with Muslimism (Sözen 2009: 206). They defined themselves as "We are Turk as Tanrı Mountain and Muslim as Hira Mountain" (*Tanrı dağı kadar Türk, Hira dağı kadar Müslüman)* in Turkish-Islamic Synthesis manner (Balcı 2009: 101).

Another important nationalist-conservative is Necip Fazıl Kısakürek. In fact, he was a valuable source for all Conservatives. He cannot be put in certain line nationalist or Islamist. He was both of them. However, his nationalist-conservative identity is more

effective. His conservative identity is seen with his opposition to RPP, İsmet İnönü, westernism and communism, fully. He said that Turkish society is enstranged from its own history, ethics and traditional values because of westernisation. He defined it by saying this "strange at homeland, outcast at homeland".[5] Ottoman-Islam history is a glorious history for nationalist-conservative Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, too (Güzel 2009: 334-339).

Anti-communism is a vital duty for national-conservatives as other conservatives. Also, Alparslan Türkeş (2013: 50) defined struggle with Communism as a priority responsibility. Turkish identity and Turkish culture should be protected with reflex which makes more strong than threats of them instead of defensive approach (Türkeş 2013: 54).

Common area which got right politics come together is anti-Communism. In National Front governments, Süleyman Demirel said that "anybody cannot lead to say me that nationalist kill individuals" (Mert 2007: 25). According to Necip Fazıl Kısakürek who was a famous anti-communist, while USA is an enemy which can be removed easily, Communism cannot be beaten easily. Therefore, he defended that "Iran which weakened after Islamic Revolution and also USSR occupied Afghanistan in that period. Therefore south part of Iran must be occupied by USA instead of USSR" (Güzel 2009: 336-337). Also, in 1960s and 1970s nationalism is nearly youth section of right politics to prevent Communism (Mert 2007:71).

3.3. Islamist Conservatism

Concept of reactionism (*gericilik*) which is accused to Conservatism because of its opposition against Kemalist system also is accused to Islamists. This come together these two on the common denominator, although it is not true for them fully (Akıncı 2012: 99). Moreover, Islamists found legitimacy on Conservatism to make opposition to Republican revolution and its outcomes (Aktay 2009: 349). Both two refuse that religion weakens due to modernization.

In period of 1960-1980, National Vision Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*) which was headed by Necmettin Erbakan grounded on Islamic nationalism. However, it took part

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[5] "*Öz yurdunda garip, öz yurdunda parya*"

in conservative identity in state system and it has national-religious conservative identity. In nationalist-conservatism, nationalism is first among equal. Again, in Islamist-conservatism also Islamism is first among equal. Its national term is not only about "*ulusal*" but also about social combination which is constructed with religious symbols and values. In this context, as a party of National Vision Movement, in establishment declaration of National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi*) Ottoman history was emphasized as golden age. It stressed identity which is respectful to Ottoman-Islam history (Yavuz 2005: 280-281). With other words, "National Vision was a cultural and social movement which is rehabilitation and reorganization thought that base on Islam and history" (Yorgancılar 2012: 367).

According to Ruşen Çakır, National Vision Movement (National Order Party and National Salvation Party) was a Ottomanist, pro-national interdependence and Islamist combination. Moreover, it said morality and spirit come first. This gives conservative/Islamist identity to Movement (Çakır 2011: 547). Biggest destruction of western modernist capitalism is moral corruption which prevents to social moral development (Erbakan 2014: 18). This is also warning about Communism threat (Yorgancılar 2012: 376). Because, moral corruption gives movement area to Communism.

National Vision Movement targetted constructing peaceful, mature individual and society (Erbakan 2014: 18). According to Erbakan, National Vision is a real spirit of roof for our nation (Erbakan 2014: 175). Also for National Vision, mind is tool of comparison and reasoning, but it cannot find realities by itself (Erbakan 2014: 33). If it is equipped with sacred values, it will perform. National conscience is a power which keep society alive. National conscience of society has been estranged from itself by westernization process for two centuries. For that reason National Vision refused westernization (Erbakan 2014: 166-167). Another point which stresses historical and religious continuity is that Vision opposes curriculum (*eğitim müfredatı*) which discredits own history. Because, Turkish Nation was estranged and removed from its national conscience because of it (Erbakan 2014: 179).

When National Vision emphasized historical and religious continuity, it always mentions about Conquest of Istanbul, Conqueror and other superior Ottoman symbols.

Identity which should be constructed in society should be determination and decision of Conqueror who conquered Istanbul. Moreover, Yavuz Sultan Selim's national spirit which took away "*Çaldıran*" also should be constructed in society (Erbakan 1975: 18). In this context, National Vision Movement defined itself was that spirit which conquered Istanbul, surrounded Vienna, won Çanakkale battles, implemented National Struggle and lastly worked miracles in Cyprus. (Erbakan 1975: 27)

According Islamist-conservative National Vision state should be protector, fair and advisor for citizens (Erbakan 2014: 172). Also, state is only power which realizes heavy industry move (Yorgancılar 2012: 165). In another perspective, Islamism which aims to give power to masses who migrated from country to city and estranged by city life. It is so conservative goal (Yavuz 2005: 50-51).

As mentioned above, Turkish Conservatism [*(M)uhafazakarlık*] has been formulated with another "M" (*Muslim/Müslüman*) (Kalaycıoğlu 2007: 235). Or with another perspective, according to Atilla Yayla, it is no enough and consistent that Islamists define themselves as Islamist, religionist and Muslim politically. Therefore, Conservative which gives more importance to religion is more suitable tag for them. (Dursun 2004: 170)

3.4. Statist Conservatism

In here, concept of statist refers to giving more importance to state and protecting or developing it in conservative manner. "*Statist*" concept has different nationalist understanding from Kemalist ideology's secular nationalism. In this part, "National Struggle Revisited Group (NSRG)" (*Yeniden Milli Mücadele Grubu)* which lived at 1960-1980 when thesis focuses on will be examined. Defining statist-conservatism becomes more easy and fit on it. For that reason, what is statist-conservatism is tried to evaluated by their own definition of what they are.

NSRG claimed that National Struggle and then Republican revolutions which was directed by Mustafa Kemal were wrested from main aim (Toker 1971: 105) and so there is requirement that this National Struggle should have realized again in social and cultural manner. In other words, state should be save again: Military part of National Struggle ended, but social and cultural struggle of state has continued. They tried to construct state

in moral manner again. While they tried to construct state socially and culturally, they acted with identity which was anti-capitalist, anti-communist, respectful to national values and Islam against estrangement that was stemmed from westernization (Aydın 2006: 462). According to their own claim, "be careful against who tried to damage your own hometown and religion! Struggle which you gave yesterday against military imperialism starts again today!" (Toker 1971: 106).

NSRG said that there are historical conditions for struggle which ended with victory (Toker 1971: 103). Also, they has continued, according to it. This refers to historical continuity. Nation is a real owner of state and hometown (Toker 1971: 104). Aykut Edibali, as a head of movement, limitless wants which takes place human personality are restricted by physical environment, biological environment, social environment and its own inability (Edibali 1979: 45). This claim supports limited human/mind approach of Conservatism. Also, human needs social environment (Edibali 1979: 76). It emphasizes that human is constructed by social environment/society as Conservatism, too.

NSR magazine (*Yeniden Milli Mücadele Dergisi)* defended that national policies should be produced in many areas. In that case they worked various area by writing their magazines as "Nut Report", "Tea Question", "Tourism Policy Should Change" and "Tobacco Question"[6] etc… This national policies should be implemented by only state (Aydın 2006: 458). To make stronger state, they gave support structures which gained state authoritative power as "State Security Court".[7]

Group emphasized also national state (*Milli Devlet*). They targeted nationalizing state.[8] National State can only live by establishing and protecting national culture. National culture is a guarantee of future of society (Aydın 2006: 465). Moreover, they use "national" concept in various area. For instance, national culture, national policy, national thesis (on Cyprus issue) etc.. Their concept of "national" (*milli*) consists in four approaches. First is Turkish Nationalism which stems from Turkish mentality. Second is Turkish behavior, third is Turkish life system which included religious system, moral

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[6] *"Fındık Raporu", "Çay Sorunu", "Turizm Politikası Değişmelidir", "Tütün Sorunu".*
[7] *"Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi"*
[8] *"Devleti Millileştirme"*

system, law system, economy and social system, fourth is institution and understanding which were founded and kept by Turkish Nation (Taşgetiren 2009: 616-617). Their "national" concept was different from Erbakan's Islamist, Türkeş's Nationalist approach. It was both combination of these two and more statist approach (Aydın 2006: 464).

According to NSR, nation or society is defined as not only biological existence but also ideological organism by using "human is not only biological but also ideological existence". Nation/society is an unity which contains belief, culture, ethics and ideal instead of unity of blood and language (Taşgetiren 2009: 614). Moreover, Aykut Edibali said that one cannot evaluate individual and society without caring about their history. There are always spiritual and historical background behind individual and society (Cebeci 2011: 153). This was an emphasize on historical continuity and social existences of human. Again in historical continuity manner, in first issue of NSR magazine it said that "We have faced many loosing since defeat of Vienna…Our state and nation become depressed" (Aydın 2006: 453).

NSR mentioned requirement of changes, but emphasized that it should be in revolution (*İnkılap*) manner and should be done by own sources of nation/society as other Conservatives (Aydın 2006: 460).

CHAPTER 4

CONSERVATIVE IDENTITIES AND CYPRUS QUESTION

In this chapter, four sub-identities' views, which were about Cyprus Question will be analyzed in the period of 1960-1980.

In that period, Justice Party existed more years than other parties and other organizations as a Liberal-Conservative. JP was established after 1960 military coup at 1961 and existed until 1980 military coup. After 1980 military coup, JP continued their existence with True Path Party (TPA). As a Nationalist-Conservative identity, Alparslan Türkeş's movement started with Türkeş's participation to Republican Peasant's Nation Party (RPNP) (*Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi).* He converted RPNP into National Movement Party (NMP) (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)* in 1969. NMP continued its existence until 1980 military coup. After coup, this movement continued its life with Nationalist Task Party (NTP), then party was converted into NMP again. As a Islamist-Conservative identity, Necmettin Erbakan's National Vision Movement started its existence with National Order Party (NOP) (*Milli Nizam Partisi)* in 1969. When NOP was closed, same view established National Salvation Party (NSP) *(Milli Selamet Partisi).* They continued their existence after 1980 military coup with Welfare Party, Virtue Party, Felicity Party. As a Statist-Conservative identity, National Struggle Revisited Movement (NSRM) (*Yeniden Milli Mücadele Hareketi)* started its life with its magazine which had same name in 1970 when it was first published. Until 1980 military coup it existed as an idea movement, had no political party. However, after military coup, NSRM continued its life with political party. Reformist Democracy Party (RDP) was established and then it was converted into Nation Party.

When these groups and parties' views on Cyprus issue is analyzed, their own publications and sources are tried to be used. Because, they can express their identities in their own publications fully and more clearly. In that case, magazines, press bulletins, newspapers, speech of leaders and books of leaders are main sources.

1. Liberal-Conservative Identity and Cyprus

As mentioned above, Justice Party was most important example of liberal-conservative identity of 1960-1980 era. Party was established at 1961 by Ragıp Gümüşpala. As a retired general, Ragıp Gümüşpala was a name who military had no suspicion about heritage of DP. Because, JP was seen as inheritor of DP. Ragıp Gümüşpala was balancer name for military's concerns. In first elections after 1960 military coup, by getting 34.80% of votes, JP was put into same area with DP. When Gümüşpala died in 1964, Süleyman Demirel is elected as a general president. After this date, JP was identified with Süleyman Demirel. JP got 52.9% in 1965 and 46.5% of votes in 1969 elections with Demirel. 1969 was a year when nationalist and Islamist wing of conservatism left from centre-right politics. Islamists continued their life with NOP, nationalists continued their life with NMP.

JP had an big activity in Cyprus Question than others. Because, JP came to power alone between 1965-1971 and became part of coalition government in 1970s. JP's policies about Cyprus became state policy in these government years. For sure, governments determined state's policies. Since state policy and political history are not topic of this thesis, state policy areas will not be dealt. However, to show JP's liberal-conservative identity on Cyprus issue, some developments will be dealt by avoiding detail.

In 1963, Makarios, who was President of Republic of Cyprus, wanted constitutional changes to abolish some of rights of veto which belonged to Turks. Turkish government refused this proposal. Makarios' main aim was to remove Turk from island administration. By pretending this refusal, Rum (Greek Cypricot) security guards attacked Turks in island on the ground of Akritas Plan on the night of 21st December, 1963. Bloody conflicts were happened. After these massacres, UN interfered and sent peace forces to island. Also, Lefkoşa was divided into two part *de facto* with "Green line" (Bilge 1975: 157-160, Armaoğlu 2010: 937-940)

Fethi Tevetoğlu who was Samsun senator of JP gave a speech name of JP group at Senate on 26th December, 1963. He emphasized right of intervention stemmed from

London and Zurich Agreements. According to him, if Turkey interfered in Cyprus forty-eight hours ago, none of Turks were not damaged in these events (Adalet Partisi: 51).

On 28th December, 1963, Ragıp Gümüşpala made a statement to the press as a general president of JP. He worried about Cyprian Turks. Also he congratulated Turkish Nation and youth which protested Rums and supported Turks in demonstrations. He hoped that these demonstrations might lead to take measurements for government (Adalet Partisi: 41). In same day Gümüşpala sent a letter which focused on "government does not act actively and government does not share any knowledge about developments with both public and opposition party" to Prime Minister and President (Adalet Partisi: 41). In this context, JP claimed that "we cannot reach formal information from government, we can only take information from press, newspapers, government does not follow clear information policy" (Adalet Partisi: 49).

Reşat Özarda gave a speech at parliament on 10th January, 1963 as JP deputy of Aydın. He wanted clear declaration from foreign affairs minister about whether Turkey uses right of guarantee or not. Giving an advice to Rums had no any positive gain, according to Özarda. Again, he emphasized that none of the republican governments in Turkey has not became unable in foreign policy as this time's government. Turkish army should intervene island to support and protect Cyprian Turks (Adalet Partisi: 67-69).

Again, Reşat Özarda gave a speech at parliament on 1st October, 1963. According to this speech, Makarios tried to show world; Cyprus contains only Rums, Turks are minority. In this context, he defined Turkey and United Kingdom as interventionist power which damage Cyprus administration. He also tried to gain support in UN (Adalet Partisi: 74). According to Özarda, there were some measures to take. First is Turkish government should increase amount of aids to Cyprian Turks. Secondly, Turkish government should say to USA that your aids which you send island are used for only Rums or against Turks because of Makarios' attidute. Thirdly, to represent Cyprian Turks on UN, Turkish delegation of Cyprus should be established. Fourthly, development plan should be organized for Cyprus. Fifthly, Turkish media should deal with Cyprus Question to enlighten public and government. Sixthly, three year history of Republic of Cyprus shows

that rights of Turks cannot be protected in this way. For that reason, division of Cyprus should be defended actively (Adalet Partisi: 75-76).

When JP was at opposition, it wanted exact solution: Turkish forces must interfere island, they should protect Turks and bring Rums into line. Reference was fourth article of Guarantee Agreement:

ARTICLE IV
"In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom undertake to consult together with respect to the representations or measure necessary to ensure observance of those provisions. In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty." Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyetinin Kuruluşuna İlişkin Temel Anlaşma (1960) (İngilizce), Treaty of Guarantee, Article IV (http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris-cumhuriyeti_nin-kurulusuna-iliskin-temel-antlasma-_-1960__ingilizce_.tr.mfa) (30.04.2014)

Main aim was not to protect constitutional order in Cyprus, on the contrary government policy. Main aim was to protect Turks and their rights. Even if London and Zurich Agreements seemed as escape Cyprus from ENOSİS and secure Turks, Republic of Cyprus could not protect them. Again, "division" voices started to rise, as 1950s.

However with Demirel, policy changed in JP. According to Demirel, Cyprus Question is issue between Turkey and Greece. Makarios' today's activities will become problem between Turkey and Greece on tomorrow (Demirel 1975: 424). Therefore, issue was not unidimensional, cannot be solved only with Cyprus-Turkey, Turkey-Greece negotiations. Problem between Turkey and Greece mean Aegean Question, Mediterranean Question, NATO Question. To solve this multi-dimensional problem, multi-dimensional foreign policy should be followed (Demirel 1975: 408-409). In this context, Demirel said that United Kingdom and Greece are called for consultation as a guarantor powers (Demirel…Yazdıkları ve Söyledikleri: 227). Although this calling consisted only guarantor states, a side which excepted from Turkey and Greece was called for solution. In other words, United Kingdom was tried to be put in issue by relying Guarantee Agreement, USA was tried to be put in issue by relying NATO by Turkey. This was a multi-dimensional policy. Also, in contrary to opposition era, JS gave up seeking exact solution, it started to seek solution by acting together with other powers.

Representative of Turkish Republic government and Greek military Junta met first in Dedeağaç, then in Keşan to find a solution for Cyprus. While Greek representatives put forward ENOSİS, Demirel did not accept it and did not accept any annexation of Cyprus to each side. Also Demirel emphasized that agreements could not changed one-sidedly, two communities could not ruled by each other, balance of Lausanne could not removed. Also he offered some points: security interests of Turkey should be satisfied, special guaranties should be given to Turks, Turkish community should join administration equally, economic future of Turkish community should be secured (Fırat: 739). Afterwards, Papadopulos who was included in this Greek representation group claimed that "we negotiated ENOSİS with Turkish delegation". When Demirel heard it he said that "negotiations ended half an hour when Greeks put forward ENOSİS", also he said "this man is out of his mind" (Turgut 1992: 291)

When Demirel met Türkeş on 27th November 1967 at prime ministry building, he explained Türkeş; government sent a note to Greece about Geçitkale assaults and secretary-general of NATO tried to find peacemaker solutions. When Türkeş wanted exact solution from him, Demirel said "our priority aim is to pacify situation and then to find solution" (Türkeş 1974: 126). In this context, when Türkeş said "we should keep area in Cyprus whit fifteen or twenty thousand Turkish soldiers" on meetings on 16th December, 1965 with Demirel, Demirel said "it will be so dangerous, it both breaks peace in island and puts us into so bad position" (Türkeş 1974: 119). Again Türkeş emphasized requirement of military intervention, Demirel opposed and emphasized "we want to solve this problem peaceful solutions which friend states get together, if we cannot solve problem in peaceful way, we will run military intervention" (Türkeş 1974: 129). In other words, according to Kösebalaban (2014: 199), Demirel wanted to solve problem by sticking to western alliance.

Afterwards, Demirel claimed that assembly took a military intervention decision because of 1967 events. Decision was taken with 432 affirmative vote. According to Demirel's claim, after Turkey took military intervention decision, President of USA Johnson send special representative Cyrus Vance to Ankara. Vance tried to convince Demirel about to gain wishes in peaceful way. Wishes were to protect Turkish settlements, to remove Greece soldiers from Cyprus. After Vance negotiated with Athens and Lefkoşa,

he reassured Demirel about satisfying purposes. Then fifteen thousand Greek soldier were removed from island in 8-10 days. Demirel evaluated this development as a deterrence which was constructed by total determination between public, government, assembly (Turgut 1992: 292:299).

Besides, Demirel answered question of whether Turkish army was ready for intervention or not: "Intervention attempts of 1964 and 1967 and armed forces' unready position led to establish National War Industry." Turkey started to construct landing crafts, buy parachutes and helicopters. All these became technical background of 1974 peace operation (Turgut: 1992: 300-301).

While Demirel presented government program of JP which got 46.5% of votes in 1969, he said that:

> "There were important developments in last four years (1965-1969) in Cyprus Question. Peaceful wishes appeared. Problem was tried to be solved with negotiations for 1.5 years. This is an advance. Both two sides want to continuity of Republic of Cyprus. Possibility of peaceful solution increases. Cyprus Question should be solved with all parts' interests, it cannot be solved according to one side's interests. In this context, we are determinative about continuing negotiations in peaceful manner. Advance which will be gained from Cyprus Question will effect Turkey-Greece relations positively." (Hükümet Programı 1969: 57-58).

After 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation, there was a *de facto* division which was constructed because of Makarios' breaking constitutional order, according to Demirel. Cyprian Turks had their own administration, police and court (Demirel 1975:425). While in 1967 Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration was declared, Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was established on February, 1975. In that case according to Demirel, Cyprian Turks should not be released to other side. If genocide efforts of Greece at western Thrace are remembered, not only 150 thousand Turks but also none of Turks should not be released to Greeks (Demirel 1975: 426).

In American embargo, Demirel said "our friendship toward friend". In this context, in 1975, Turkey stopped activities of Turkish-American common defense facilities and control of them passed Turkish commandership. Result of negotiations between USA and Turkey new agreement of defense cooperation was signed. In here, there were two different point. First is Turkey did not give up Cyprus and remove her forces from island

because of embargo. In other words, embargo could not deter Turkey from Cyprus. Second is Turkey should continue to relations with USA independently from Cyprus Question. According to JP claims, this was important achievement (Adalet Partisi 1977 Seçim Beyannamesi: 26).

Justice Party which was before Demirel rule had more radical understandings than Demirel era. However, with Demirel it changed. While before Demirel JP wanted to clear intervention, with Demirel JP wanted to solve problem with in peaceful manner by continuing negotiations. Reason was Demirel or transition from opposition to government? Answer may be two of them. Not for only Justice Party, nearly all opposition party in Turkish politics followed constructivist understanding in foreign policy. They used identical and cultural understanding. Their priority aim is not only security politics but also to protect cultural, religious, identical ties with own co-religionists or cognates. However, governments always followed security politics principally. When governments make calculation about marginal utility of foreign policy acts, oppositions do not followed only interest-security seeking. In other words, governments follow Realist policies, oppositions defend Constructivist policies.

Not only because of being government but also being Liberal-Conservative, Demirel's Justice Party followed open policy toward external world. Especially, Demirel tried to protect alliance with western part of Cold War, then he tried to solve problems by sticking to western alliance.

To stick to western alliance and peaceful efforts showed themselves in domestic policy, as well. However, peace was between anti-communists in domestic politics. Communism which was part of Eastern Block was tried to be prevented. Anti-communist alliances declared peace between each other to cope with it. This anti-communism came together with nationalists, Islamists and liberalists. Conservatism banded together against communism threat.

As a liberal-conservative party, Justice Party started to implement multi-dimensional policy toward Cyprus Question with Süleyman Demirel by using negotiation way. Demirel's this attitude was same Ismet Inonu's government policies which JP

criticized before Demirel. Problems were tried to be solved by protecting dialog with western block and by making balance calculates with more soft understanding. This situation is same with point which liberalism moderates nationalist-Islamist wishes under liberal-conservative identity as mentioned above. In other words, while conservative JP wanted more exact solutions before Demirel as a less liberal than Demirel's era, conservative JP wanted soft solutions by negotiating and sticking to western alliance with Demirel as a more liberal than before. Wishes of exact solutions became softer because of more liberal identity.

2. Nationalist-Conservative Identity and Cyprus

Most important representative of nationalist-conservatism is Alparslan Türkeş movement. He was one of the main names of 1960 military coup. He read speech text which declared military seize power. However, Türkeş and some others could not be agree with military government. Fourteens who Türkeş was member were expelled by National Unity Committee. Türkeş returned Turkey when his foreign mission was ended in 1963. In 1965, he participated politics and participated Republican Peasants' Nation Party. Same year he was elected as general president of RPNP. In 1969 RPNP was converted into National Movement Party. With Türkeş, Turkish national-conservatism drew itself different way from Justice Party. As mentioned above, sharp views left from centre-right politics.

Türkeş movement was national-conservative because they defined themselves as "*Tanrı Dağı kadar Türk Hira Dağı kadar Müslüman*". It emphasizes both nationalistic and Islamic values. Middle Asian Turks always located movements mind. Cyprus was a Muslim Turk, was a symbol of western Thrace Turks and Balkans' Turks. Türkeş explained this with his own words by emphasizing security of Turkey: "As long as Greece attacked us psychologically, aim of Turkish Nation must be Salonica, western Thrace and islands which are part of Anatolia" (Türkeş 1974: 89)

Alparslan Türkeş said these on interview which was published magazine of *Milli Hareket* (1967 May: 5) by evaluating Cyprus Question in historical manner:

"According to Turkish high interests and security, Cyprus has big importance. Our western costs which starts from Antalya coasts and ended with Dardanelles Strait is surrounded by Greek islands. Greece wanted to annex Cyprus which was not part of Greece in any time in history. This was not accepted…

We opposed to make Cyprus Question political tool for parties and we tried to increase self-confidence of public in Cyprus issue. We wanted that Cyprus issue should not investigated by political parties' proposal, it should be investigated by parliamentary investigation. We avoided damage to national issue by reducing it party politics…

When we followed Cyprus policy, we tried to give attention to these steps: First is to protect Turkey's strategic security. Cyprus can threat southern Turkey by countries who dominates island. For that reason, Cyprus must be belonged to Turkey. Second is to protect existence of Cyprian Turks. We tried to not allow to Greek/Rum administration which damage Turks. Cyprian Turks mostly society which were settled from Anatolia to island. Third is to prevent annexation of Cyprus as a first step of Elenizm which planned to destroy Turkey…

Cyprus was given to Great Britain by Ottoman administration under pressure of 1878 war on the ground of taking back. Agreement which was made for this aim had clear articles. According to these articles, Kars, Ardahan and Artvin should be included in Ottoman borders and when it was realized Cyprus should be given back to Ottoman Empire… About Cyprus issue, Greece, Rums and other foreign countries presented Turkey with a faith accompli in many times…Moreover, Turkey could not give required answers and interventions toward situation which appeared because of Greek and Rums damage on constitutional order which came up with London and Zurich Agreements."

Figure 1: *Milli Hareket,* May 1967, issue 10 (special edition for Cyprus)

İbrahim Kafesoğlu who was important name of national-conservatives wrote article which was under title of "*Kıbrıs Faciası ve Tarih*" on *Türk Kültürü* which was other important magazine about national-conservatism (Kafesoğlu 1964: 2-4). He tried to analyze Cyprus issue on main two understandings. According to him, Cyprus Question can be defined on these two: disrespect toward agreements and medieval Christian bigotry. Rums do not obey constitution and founder agreements of Cyprus and they want to change constitution. Also they try to annex island to Greece by using EOKA's underground activities. This is a part of Christian bigotry of medieval. However, for Turks, promise is honesty. It is obligatory than written agreements. Bigotry of Christian Church has charged Turks with negative events or nicknames. This bigotry is a thought which caused crusade mentality. Priest Makarios has continued this mentality. To overthrow this mentality will become one of the Turkish duty for history of humanity.

Both Türkeş and Kafesoğlu analyzed Cyprus Question in historical manner. This is point both for Conservatism's emphasize on historical and traditional ties and for Constructivist international relations theory's emphasize on realities must not be independent from history. Except liberal-conservatism, all other sub-conservative ideas give more attention to this. Liberal-conservatism try to integrate to foreigners and external ties more.

Again, Fikret Alasya (1964: 44-48) analyzed Cyprus issue in historical manner in 21th volume of *Türk Kültürü* under title of "*Kıbrıslı Türklerin Hürriyet Savaşı*". He dealt struggle of Cyprian Turks with Ottoman era. According to him, their struggle always has continued since Ottoman, British and Republic of Cyprus era. Muslim Turk who dealt with separatist movements of church, were tried to be removed administration and economic life. Also, they started struggle against Rum's efforts which aim to remove Turks from state, to protect their rights.

In same year, according to other nationalist-conservative magazine, *Türk Yurdu* (November 1967: 29) Turkish Cypriot Community was established in London. This situation is more than Cyprus Question. For nationalists, it is a organization which is established on abroad to represent Turkish nation and to protect Turkish identity. These organizations which aim to protect Turkish identity, always has been attractive for nationalist-conservatives.

Alparslan Türkeş as a general president of RPNP gave memorial (*muhtıra*) to government in 8th September, 1965, in 19th January, 1966, in 15th March, 1967. All of them's main idea was that time works against Turks, government must sent military forces to island as soon as possible to gain *de facto* supremacy" (Türkeş 1974: 131-157).

In RPNP congress in 1967, party supported Justice Party in actions against Makarios, but they said JP has had no enough efficiency on Cyprus issue until now, its style is passive and cause to lose time. They claimed JP behaved in concessive and coward manner about Cyprus Question. Again according to RPNP, Turkey's membership of NATO which was established collective defense against communism threat is big achieve. However, with membership to NATO, Turkey started to follow passive acts in foreign

policy. It should not be accepted. Instead negotiation in first step, firstly Turkey should interfere with military forces and get Turk in good position, then negotiations should start (Öznur 1999: 142-145).

Justice Party which criticized Inönü government with same arguments, was criticized with same words. Problem in here, division of government-opposition or sharp-soft conservatism? For sure, answer is on second part: sharp or soft conservatism. As mentioned above Justice Party was a moderate centre-right party which sought legitimacy toward military coup. It was a controlled party which took DP heritage. Until Demirel there was no ideological identity in JP clearly. If Demirel's claim of "there was a separation between CHP and its opponents instead of separation between right-left politics" (T. Demirel 2004: 338) is remembered, it is verified. In other words, answer of question is tone of conservatism, not division of government-opposition. When Justice Party gained more liberal identity with Süleyman Demirel, it started to analyze problems in more liberal way. As mentioned above, liberal part of liberal-conservative identity makes softer identity. Therefore, JP started to be more moderate.

National-conservatives always criticized migrations from island to Turkey. Because, as Türkeş said, when Turks migrate from island, population of Turks decreased in Cyprus, so Turks become more weak. It leads to both demoralize Turks and encourage Rums. In contrary it, migrations should be prevented and economic, social and military security should be provided for Cyprian Turks. About migration issue, Fikret Alasya (1970: 31) made important analyze in 94th volume of *Türk Kültürü* under title of "*Kıbrıs'ta Türk Nüfusu ve Nüfusun Dağılışı*": population of Cyprian Turks was 120.000 before 1960, in participating administration this population was grounded on. Normally, in 10 years population can be reach nearly 140.000. However, according to 1969 registers population of Cyprian Turks was 120.975. Nearly half of this gap (20.000) was occurred because of Rum's massacres, other half of this gap can stem from migration. In other words, from 1960 to 1969 nearly 10.000 Turks migrated from Cyprus.

For Türkeş, with Cyprus Peace Operation, Turkey got involved island by using right of guarantee against Rums massacres which continued from Bloody Christmas (1963). Although there were legitimate reasons to interfere, Turkish governments behaved

passively in this issue. If Inönü government behaved actively in 1963, events could be prevented. Then Ürgüplü and Demirel governments could not interfere to stop bloody events. Although Ecevit government had information about Sampson coup before realized, they were unprepared, they could interfere 6 days later hardly. Despite all of these, Peace Operation is a victory which has been waited for years (Türkeş 1974: 89-91)

In intervention issue, inability and non-preparation of Turkish army had been emphasized for years. Türkeş (1974: 83) answered these claims with "If I were on government, if I believed these claims, I would send troop units where I can find immediately."

When Bülent Ecevit expressed aim of peace operation, he presented these: to reestablish constitutional order in Cyprus, to provide peace, to assure Turkey's security, to block ENOSİS, to protect Balance of Lausanne in eastern Mediterranean. According to Türkeş, however, both first operation and second operation area which could not be enough to accomplish these aims. 35% of Cyprus territory is less for these aims. Half of territories or whole of island should have been occupied. To remove these lack, third operation should be started, then whole part of island should be occupied, serious diplomatic attack should be started and active propaganda of Turkish thesis should be organized (Türkeş 1974: 92-93). Also, while Ecevit aimed to reestablish constitutional order which stemmed from London and Zurich Agreements, according to Hulusi Turgut (1992: 302), Ecevit said no in voting London and Zurich Agreements in Grand National Assembly. According to Türkeş, all these were mistakes of political director of operation.

According to Türkeş (1974: 94-113), six days between Sampson coup and Turkish operation was so long time, also first cease-fire was so early, period between first and second operation was so long. Between first and second operation, after first cease-fire, to want both sustaining constitutional order and division was inconsistent step. By holding at a piece of island, making political negotiations was a big mistake. Also, Larnaka was out of after second cease-fire, it was serious false. Rums tried to show Turkish intervention illegitimate, to verify it active propagandas should be made. Required formalities should be decreased or removed to Cyprian Turks return back to island easily and quickly.

In other perspective, there was enthusiasm because of Cyprus Peace Operation. In volume of 139-140-141 *Türk Kültürü*, Fikret Alasya (1974a: 9) presented Cyprus Peace Operation as Turkish miracle by referring news from *Daily Express* (25t[h] July, 1974). He claimed that this words were said for War of Independenc, too. Again in same volume of *Türk Kültürü*, Aydın Taneri (1974: 13) emphasized nobility of Cyprian Turks by referring history. When Greece occupied İzmir in 1919, they tramped Turkish flag. However, when Turkish army and Mustafa Kemal entered İzmir by defeating Greeks, they did not trample Greek flag. Again, in 1963 Turkish flag was under Rums feet. However, in 1974, although Turks took control over important area of Cyprus, they did not trample Greek flag. This was a nobility, according to Taneri.

In same volume of *Türk Kültürü* Ahmet Temir (1974: 1) defined operation in three periods. First period started at 20th July, second started at 14th August and continued three days. There was no 3rd operation in real, but 3rd period must have been occupation of whole island according to Temir. Because, there were Turks under Rums attacks out of Turkish forces' control area. If these Turks has not been rescued, operation would have not ended with achieve.

Figure 2: *Türk Kültürü*, May-June-July, 1974, issue 139-140-141, (special edition for Cyprus)

An interview which Türkeş gave *Devlet Gazetesi* on 5th August, 1974, he defined best solution as giving whole Cyprus to Turkey by mentioning geo-strategic importance of island. While Turkish governments firstly said we had no issue as Cyprus, secondly said division or death. However, Rums has said ENOSİS since first days (Türkeş 1974: 230-233).

13th congress of NMP in April 1977, Türkeş criticized embargo which was implemented by USA against Turkey. According to him, Turkey could not see help which waited from friends and allies. USA did not implement efficient enforcement toward Rums who has attacked Turks seriously since 1960s. Turkish operation on July 1974 based from Guarantee Agreement. Also operation appeared after Sampson coup. Despite this, USA

implemented embargo toward Turkey because of this legitimate intervention. However, USA continued to aid Greece. It is to decrease Turkey's power toward Greece which is smaller than Turkey. This attitude of USA caused new problems since it does not agree with friendship (Öznur 1999: 395). According to Fikret Alasya (1974b: 65), embargo decision was second mistake of USA after Johnson letter which stopped first attempt of intervention from Turkey after Bloody Christmas in 1963.

2.1. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek

Another important name as national-conservative was Necip Fazıl Kısakürek. He was not only nationalist-conservative. He could not be put into clear area between Islamists and nationalists. Because he had supported NSP for long years, but he came to close with NMP in second half of 1970s. Before this time, his works were banned for pro-NMP youth. As mentioned above, Kısakürek will be analyzed with his nationalist side. Because he was impassioned nationalist as long as his life. Analyzes about nationalist-conservative identity of him will be made over his magazine *Büyük Doğu*.

Figure 3: *Büyük Doğu*, 4th Nowember, 1964, issue 6

According to Kısakürek (1964: 3), seeking federative solution on Cyprus issue was a big mistake. Federations are established over common values. There was no any other common values except being Cyprian between Turks and Rums in Cyprus.

Figure 4: *Büyük Doğu*, 29th Nowember, 1967, issue 20

In this volume, there was a article under title of "*Yunalılarla Görüşülemez*" which was written by Osman Turan. According to Turan (1967: 3), to negotiate with Greeks who worked for ENOSİS was alogical for Turks about Cyprus Question.

Also, according to Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1967a: 5), "solution is not to stop and to wait to return back, only solution is to attack forward, eastern nation's punch should be struck over Greeks".

In 22nd volume, Kısakürek defined Cyprus issues as marbles. Westerners shot balls each other when they want and shot balls in a shape what they want. This game's main aim was to remove right of existence of Turks. In article under title of "*Kıbrıs Bir Semboldür*", there was a interesting approach. According to Kısakürek, if west wanted to finished question of Cyprus which is not so big, it would already end this problem. However, its aim is different. Since aim is different, Cyprus Question could not be ended. "Time is to recover us, time is to protect our rights in Cyprus which are symbols of our existence" (Kısakürek 1967b: 5)

Figure 5: *Büyük Doğu*, 13rd December, 1967, issue 22

In addition, in interview which was published first volume of *Milli Gençlik*, December 1974, Kısakürek said there is no effective and self-respective attitude about Cyprus issue in country. Understanding of "peace at home peace in the world" could not help to solve Cyprus problem. Because, this issue cannot be solved self-defense approach. Moreover, Turk population which is nearly 80-90.000, has no Turkish character fully. If

aim is only to protect Turks, it is a risk. Because, there are no only Turks in Cyprus, there are millions Turks which live from Balkans to middle Asia. Issue is to protect right of existence. For Greece, Cyprus is a part of Great Greece. When United Kingdom lost her old power, she makes Cyprus puppet state. For USA, Cyprus is a big airplane carrier which cannot be sunk. For Russia, Cyprus means that to break American power in Mediterranean and to hold pipeline which follow from Baku to Arabian Peninsula and to Africa. For Israel, position is same with American interests. However, it is a big problem for Arabs. Because they can lose control of oil field. In this context, Arabs probably support Russian tactic against USA and Israel. However, if Turkey dominates over Cyprus, it is more acceptable for all sides (*Milli Gençlik*, December 1974: 17-24).

3. Islamist-Conservative Identity and Cyprus

National Vision movement has a Islamist-Conservative identity in 1960-1980 era when thesis focuses on. National Vision movement entered political life with National Order Party which was established by Necmettin Erbakan in 1969. After National Order Party was closed, movement continued its existence with National Salvation Party, which was established by same squad, until 1980 military coup. Movement pays more attention to Cyprus issue. Because, Cyprus Peace Operation was made in 1974 when Erbakan's NSP was a partner with Ecevit's RPP in coalition government. They took part in political will which decided operation. However, official history or magazines has declared only Bülent Ecevit as a Conqueror of Cyprus, has ignored Erbakan name. For that reason, movement has not satisfied. They have claimed that operation decision was taken by ministers of NSP (Sarıbay 2004: 585). Also they evaluated Cyprus issue in *Jihad* understanding. When Turkish army entered Magosa in Peace Operation, they named it as a Conquest of Magosa.

Necmettin Erbakan saw Cyprus and Turkey at the middle of the world when he looked world map. For that reason, Cyprus has had important strategic location for centuries (Erbakan 2014: 149). Cyprus is a big airplane carrier at the Mediterranean. One who has Cyprus, dominated the Mediterranean. For Turkey, if Cyprus is lost, also Aegean Sea is lost, Eastern Anatolia is lost and then Armenia appears, Pontus Empire appears, Byzantine comes (Erbakan 2014: 152). Therefore, concessions are not given in that issue to enter European Union or satisfy westerners (Erbakan 2014: 161).

When Erbakan started to evaluate historical background of Cyprus, he initiated it from Umayyad. According to him, Muslims entered Cyprus at Umayyad era. Cyprus has been island where Muslims has lived since Hz. Osman era. Also, there is a tomb which belongs to aunt of the Prophet, Ümmü Haram, in Larnaka (Erbakan 2014: 149). Erbakan analyzed Cyprus issue on religious manner as a Islamist-Conservative. His main point of that issue was Muslim identity. As mentioned above, while he examined Cyprus, he said "Muslims entered Cyprus firstly at Umayyad era". "Muslims" came there. Not only Turks. Religious identity is in the foreground.

Furthermore, Erbakan mentioned Venice and Genoese's hijacking to say why Ottoman Empire conquered Cyprus. Giving Cyprus temporarily to Great Britain was an act of Zionism, according to Erbakan. Because, when Ottoman Empire was in a trouble against Russia at 1877-1878, Zionism started to move to take advantage of this weakness to gain the Promised Land. Also now, Cyprus is wanted to use for Israel's security by foreign powers. Zionism wants that Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is disappeared and island's southern part become American base and this base protects Israel (Erbakan 2014: 150-152).

As other Conservatives, Erbakan also criticized Turkish Governments which did not gave effective reaction to Cyprus Question. He said that when İsmet İnönü was a Prime Minister, massacres appeared on Cyprus. He only flew planes over island to prevent them. He did not do anything towards bloody massacres except this. When Demirel came to power, he could not this as well (Erbakan 2014: 151). In NSP case, one of the question is answered. As mentioned Liberal-Conservatism and Cyprus part, criticism over soft and foreign balanced foreign policies about Cyprus is about conservative identity or about government-opposition difference? Since NSP was a part of coalition government, answer is about degree of conservative identity. Because, NSP took a decision about military intervention to Cyprus when it was at power as a coalition partner.

National Turkish Student Union (NTSU) (*Milli Türk Talebe Birliği)* is an important Islamic-Conservative actor which have close relations with National Vision movement. As a youth organization NTSU always give importance to Cyprus issue. For example, they started a campaign which refused shopping from Rums. Because, every money which was

earned to Rums comes back as a bullet against Cyprian Turks (Duman, Yorgancılar, 2007: 275).

NTSU's this sensibility led to give memorial (*muhtıra*) to government. Memorial which was given in December 30, 1965, wanted some points from government. United Nation's decision must not be accepted, Turkey should use right of guarantee if constitutional order cannot be protected, relations with NATO must be reviewed, relations with UN must be reviewed, Rums who live in Turkey must be deported, economic and political relations with Greece must be removed (Okutan, 2004: 161-162).

NTSU thought that Naval forces are prior forces to interfere Cyprus. However, for a long time it was said that Naval forces had no efficient capacity about war techniques and tools although they were ready morally. For that reason NTSU started to solidarity in May 12, 1965. They called for duty Turkish youth to answer Naval forces' needs. One who wanted to work on building ship voluntarily was started to register (Duman, Yorgancılar 2007: 95).

Also NTSU's sensation rose increasingly and in its 48th General Assembly (1965), they protested Makarious by defining him as a priest who tried to paint island from green to red in Communism manner. If Makarious continues his attidutes, he should ask 30th August to his father. If his father denies, Turkish youth are determined for second 30th August against Rums (Okutan, 2004: 161).

3.1. Milli Gazete

In this section, Cyprus issue is started to evaluate with news, comments from *Milli Gazete* which is the main publication of National Vision movement and parties. It was published first in 1973.

In *Milli Gazete* which published 21t[h] January, 1973, there was a news which was under title of "*Rumlar Kıbrıs'ta Barış Olmasını Engelliyor*". In that news, Rauf Denktaş said that Rums does not effort for peace and they try to establish Rum Republic in island despite all Turks' well-intentioned efforts.

Figure 6: *Milli Gazete*, 23rd January, 1973

Under date of 23th January, 1973, it was said that problems which were between pro-Grivas and pro-Makarious could start to lead civil war on news at headline. Also bombings increased on struggles on last days. Again same topic, under date of 17th March, as *Milli Gazete*'s news, there were 24 explosion on struggles between pro-Grivas and pro-Makarious.

On August the 26th *Milli Gazete*, there was a news that aims of Grivas is to realize ENOSİS. Again, on September the 5th *Milli Gazete*, there was a news about Makarious efforts to realize ENOSİS. These last four news showed *Milli Gazete*'s, also National Vision's concerns over Grivas-Makarious struggle. Greece wanted to get rid of Makarious to reach her aims easily and fully. Because Makarious prevented that, he wanted to reach ENOSİS under his control and independently. Therefore Greece supported Grivas against

Makarious. Newspaper of *Milli Gazete* concerned not only Turks towards struggles but also ENOSİS aims of two sides (Grivas and Makarious).

Turkey criticized Makarious because of Turk-Rum conflicts until that day. However, now Turkey only watched this struggle and could not chose one of sides. Both sides aimed ENOSİS. Especially Conservatives watched these struggles attentively to show inconsistency and restlessness between Rums to all world. In this context, *Milli Gazete* tried to mention as possible as and put at headline occasionally. Furthermore, newspaper used studies which present other side's performances. For example, under date of December the 12th it used news which was titled as "*Makarious Kıbrıs'a Silah Depo Ediyor*" from Rum newspapers which were pro-Grivas. While Grivas supporters saw it as a threat for themselves, also Turks accepted it as a threat for them.

Besides, Islamic-Conservative *Milli Gazete* which has religious sensibilities mentioned news about mosques at Cyprus: "*Rumlar 10 Yılda Kıbrıs'ta 103 Cami Yıktı*" on 5th September, 1973.

Figure 7: *Milli Gazete*, 30th March, 1974

News which published on 30th March, 1974 mentioned about Rauf Denktaş's claim. He said that "*Yunanistan Kıbrıs'ı Silah Pazarı Haline Getirmiştir*". This time newspaper did not mention armed struggle between Rums, mentioned possible armed struggles from Rums to Turks.

National Vision gave importance to support coming from Islamic countries to Turkey in Cyprus Question. Western world located opposition to Turkey both UN decisions and events on Cyprus. Moreover, they never related sometimes. Islamic countries which supported Turkey in Cyprus Question were real friends for National Vision. In this context, while *Milli Gazete* mentioned Pakistan's support on 7th March, 1974: "*Pakistan Kıbrıs Meselesinde Türkiye'yi Destekliyor*", it presented Saudi Arabia's support at headline on April the 29th: "*Suudi Arabistan Kıbrıs Mevzuunda Türkiye'yi Şartsız Destekliyor*".

Figure 8: *Milli Gazete*, 14th April, 1974

On *Milli Gazete* ,which was published at 14.04.1974, NTSU's demonstration about Cyprus was showed full page. Newspaper used "*Yunanlılar Türk'ün Gücünü Dedelerinden Öğrensin*" as a title. With this claim it referred to Greek defeat in Turkish war of independence. Slogans which were shouted at demonstration contained national, religious and historical symbols as "*Batı Trakya'yı Kurtarınız*", "*Ayasofya İbadete Açılsın*". Islamist-Conservatives presented their identities clearly.

When date became 16th July, 1974, newspaper mentioned Nikos Sampson's coup which was held against Makarious with support of Greek Military Junta. Bells started to ring. A day later, on 17th July, headline was "*Harp Gemilerimiz Akdeniz'e Açıldı*", "*Türk Ordusu Hareket Etmek İçin Emir Bekliyor*". Also, news said that Makarious was alive in contrary to claims and he left from island.

Figure 9: *Milli Gazete*, 16th July, 1974

Milli Gazete appeared with Necmettin Erbakan's comment: "*Kıbrıstaki Olaylar Yunan Müdahalesi Mahiyetini Taşıyor*" on 19ᵗʰ June. Also, there was a news about Greece flag was risen to governmental agencies in Cyprus. Coup event started to threaten all island order. Erbakan's comment showed reality.

Figure 10: *Milli Gazete*, 19ᵗʰ July, 1974

After a day from Cyprus Peace Operation (20ᵗʰ July), *Milli Gazete* appeared with headline of "*Kıbrıs'ta Duruma Hakim Olduk*" on 21ᵗʰ July. Moreover, again at first page, there was a news, it said that deputies which are members of NSP gave their wage to Turkish Armed Forces to satisfy requirements.

Figure 11: *Milli Gazete*, 21st July, 1974

When coalition government which was between Republican People's Party and National Salvation Party ruled Turkey in 1974, decision of Cyprus Operation was taken by this government. However, there is a dilemma about this decision. Whether decision was taken together or with pressure of one part of coalition. According to National Vision movement (NSP) Necmettin Erbakan and his party dominated this decision. They have lots of arguments about that. For example, Erbakan said "we convinced Ecevit and his party with military forces". According to Erbakan, Ecevit tried to move together with United Kingdom or western alliances. For Erbakan, it was a danger about rights of Cyprians. Because, Turkey could not control operation and could not protect rights fully in common operation with United Kingdom. Turkey has intervention right stemmed from Treaty of Guarantee by herself. Also while some RPP's deputies said it is a war which is against all world, NSP and Erbakan were determined to make operation, according to National Vision. (Erbakan 2014: 153-155). Also, Professor Mustafa Sıtkı Bilgin who researched British National Archive, says that "Real conqueror of Cyprus is Erbakan not Ecevit".

According to archive documents, Ecevit wanted to solve problem without war, but Erbakan not. Again, this era's Commander Chief Semih Sancar said that Turkish army entered Cyprus by way of Erbakan's determination [http://turkish.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=8812031661, (22.02.2010)]. According to *Milli Gazete* (29.08.1974) Eastern Anatolian society declared Erbakan as a Chief Commander of Cyprus.

According to Necmettin Erbakan, also military forces were willing about operation to Cyprus. Commanders said Erbakan that when government said us to prepare ships and soldiers we did, but then they said "get back" because of Johnson letter. When Demirel said us to prepare soldiers and ships, we did, but then they said "get back" again. If we cannot implement operation to Cyprus at this time again, we cannot convince these soldiers to operation anymore in anytime (Erbakan 2014: 154).

Figure 12: *Milli Gazete,* 23rd July, 1974

On 23rd July's *Milli Gazete* put headline that cease-fire was declared, if our forces were attacked, forces were on the alert to answer attack immediately. Also at first page, Erbakan evaluated operation as more successful than hope. Moreover, again at first page, according to news, Turkish forces got down Greek military Junta. On 25th July's newspaper said that Greeks thanks to Turkish forces for getting down Junta and passing democratic systems ironically. Geneva Meetings started after first operation of Turkish forces. To emphasize these meeting Erbakan said that "*Siyasi Zafer de Bizim Olacaktır*" on first page. Moreover, again on first page there was a leading article which was titled with "*Taksim*" written by Hasan Aksay, emphasized division on Cyprus. Again in 31th July's *Milli Gazete*, Erbakan's claim located on first page: "*Kıbrıs'ta Askeri Zafere Paralel Siyasi Zaferde Kararlıyız*". Furthermore, in 2nd August' newspaper Erbakan's comment was at first page as a headline again: "*Federasyon Bizim İçin Çözüm Yolu Olamaz*". Also Erbakan said in same news: "*Türk Yönetimi Mutlaka Muhtar Olmalıdır*". Erbakan wanted two independence state at Cyprus on the ground of geographical division. (Erbakan 2014: 160) Again at *Milli Gazete* (07.09.1974), Yasin Hatipoğlu who is a Çorum deputy of NSP has said that our Cyprus thesis is "Division" in fairly manner.

Since Genova Meetings had no efficient results for Turks and Rums started to break cease-fire, Turkish forces started second operation on 13th August. In 15th August's *Milli Gazete* appeared with news of "*İlerliyoruz*", "*Kıbrıs'ta İkinci Zafere Doğru*" at first page. A day later headline was "*Magosa'ya Ezan Sesleri İle Girdik*". Turkish forces entered Lefkoşa on 14th August, Lefke and Magosa 15th August. Erbakan defined entering Turkish army to Magosa as a Conquest of Magosa and resurrection of Muslim-Turk history on 17th August's *Milli Gazete.* According to Erbakan, Cyprus Peace Operation has been a most strategic victory for Muslim-Turk who has been beaten since Karlowitz Treaty. (Erbakan 2014: 153)

Figure 13: *Milli Gazete*, 17th August, 1974

A day later, this enthusiasm was showed by caricature of Sadık Kınıkoğlu:
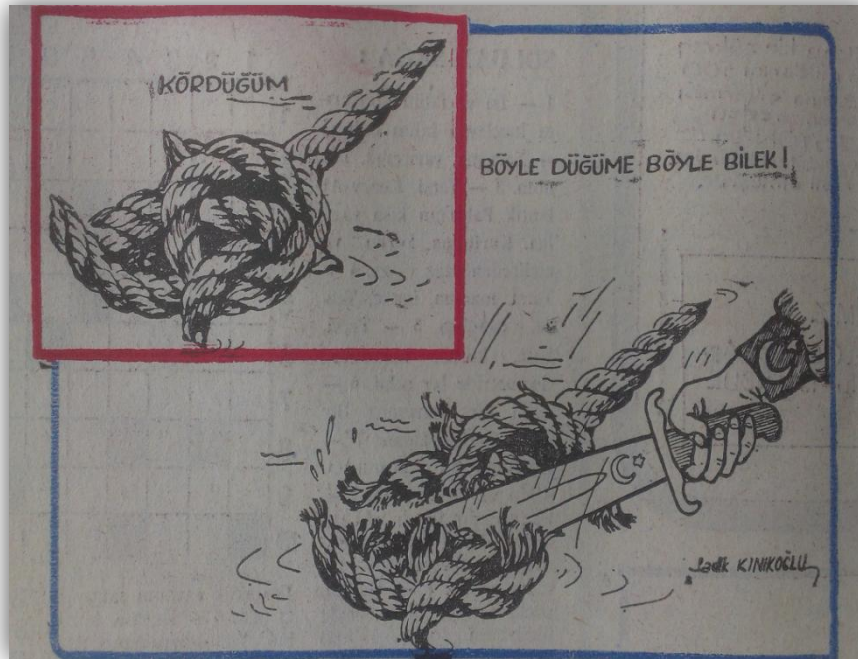

Figure 14: *Milli Gazete*, 18th August, 1974

Cyprus chaos and node were smashed by Turkish sword which has Turkish flag by referring glorious Turk-Islam history (18.08.1974 Milli Gazete). Cyprus operation was a combine movement which included naval operation, ground war and air operation. Therefore, Cyprus Operation showed all word that Turkish army can use most modern war techniques (Erbakan 2014: 151)

On 26th August's *Milli Gazete* used this headline about 903. anniversary of Battle of Manzikert which Turks entered Anatolia:

Figure 15: *Milli Gazete*, 26th August, 1974

Necmettin Erbakan said that three victories (Manzikert, Dumlupınar and Cyprus) in August were result of national spirit, by using religious and historical background of nations. In Manzikert, Muslim Seljuks overcame Christian Byzantine. In Dumlupınar, Muslim Turks beat Christian Greeks. In Cyprus, Muslim Turks defeated Christian Greeks/Rums again (*Milli Gazete*, 27th August, 1974). In here, Necmettin Erbakan verified definition of this thesis' Islamic-Conservative Identity fully; both combined with Islamic identity and historical, traditional sensibility.

About Cyprus Peace Operation, National Vision aimed take control all of the Cyprus. There were some reasons about this. First was about guarantee. Turkey was a guarantor not only a half of island but also whole of Cyprus. Second was there were lots of

Turks at Rum area, also massacres towards Turks happened in there. If Turkey cannot control this area, these massacres continues. Third was about negotiation. If whole part of Cyprus is taken, Turkey and Cyprian Turks become more powerful at negotiations. Also there is no difference between taking a half of Cyprus and taking all island. Because, world say not "okey" for Turkish operations in any shape (Erbakan 2014: 158-159). In addition, Erbakan was not satisfied about United Nation's decisions about Cyprus. He evaluated these decisions as massacres against Muslims. While any decisions of UN which are about slaughters on Bosnia, Azerbaijan, Palestine and Kashmir are not implemented, why UN decisions about Cyprus must be implemented? Formers were about stopping crimes against Muslims, so they should not be implemented. Latter is aimed to disappear Muslims from island. For that reason they must be implemented for westerners and UN (Erbakan 2014: 162) In that case, Turkey faced new realities about her friends. Who are her real friends or not? (Erbakan 1975: 234) In this context, NTSU realized after Cyprus operation that requirement of Union of Islamic Nations under Turkey leadership (Duman, Yorgancılar, 2007: 274).

4. Statist-Conservative Identity and Cyprus

As mentioned above, NSRG (National Struggle Revisited Group) was a movement which this section deals with as a Statist-Conservative Identity. This movement was named with their magazine: "National Struggle Revisited" (*Yeniden Milli Mücadele*). For that reason views will be analyzed on NSR (*YMM*) magazine. Dominant quality of NSRG was to keep Islamist, nationalist values alive on the ground of legitimacy by sticking to state. In this context, they had both sensibility of state and nationalist and Islamist identities. *YMM* magazine was first published on February 3rd, 1970. It was being published weekly. Also, it had no relations with any political party. Most of the articles of magazine was not known that who wrote them. There was no writer name.

On 10th March, 1970, while *YMM* was published with headline of "*Elenism*", it was said that Greece watched for an opportunity to annex Cyprus by using Turkey's weakness and internal disorder, under title of "*Yunanistan'ın Zaaflarımızdan İstifade Politikası Elenizm*". This evolution went back to Greek interdependence struggle. As a single statesman who could suppress Greek rebellion, Tepedenli Ali Pasha was executed

because of Fener Rum Church's plans. Moreover, since state implemented serious military reform before this rebellion, there were no enough amount soldiers in Ottoman army. Because number of soldiers were decreased. Again because of disorder of Constitutional Revolution in 1908, Crete was got out of. During First World War, western Thrace, Dodecanes and Cyprus were lost. One of the main reason of these loosing was that foreign policy of state which had been followed line under the control of London, Paris and Berlin since 1683. Imperialism and Greece has always used weak position of Turkish state for themselves, it has continued now (p. 3). There is an important point. It is about state understanding. While magazine mentioned concept of state, it did not make distinction between Turkey and Ottoman Empire. There is no separation between Ottoman history and Turkish Republic. Turkey was accepted as continuity of Ottoman Empire. This is a statist understanding which is integrated with Ottoman-Islam history.

Figure 16: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 10th March, 1970

Elenizm is a plan which was organized by foreign powers against Turks. Imperialist powers made a plan to destroy and eliminate Muslim Turks and Turkish state as an enemy of nation (*Millet Düşmanları*). Muslim Turks must protect Turkish nation and Turkish state, it is a basic duty for them (Edibali 1974: 24). Moreover, Cyprus Question is not limited with only island, but also it remins Greek hopes which destroy Turkish nation and country while Turkish nations tried to protect own existence with their hundreds of thousands martyr. It is a event which has historical background (Edibali 1974: 28).

With original comment, *YMM* accepted communists in Turkey and in Cyprus in same manner by new perspective to anti-communism. It said that "Turkish communists and Cyprian Rum communists received orders from same place (*YMM*, 7th April, 1970: 5).

In *YMM* issue of 34, there was a leading article under title of "*Kıbrıs Faciasının Sorumlusu Gayri Milli Dış Politikadır*." It said that Aegean islands were conquered for security of Anatolia in Ottoman era. Cyprus, Crete and Rhodes are important place to protect Anatolia. Turkey has been hold motionless when western Thrace, Dodecanes and Cyprus were lost in Treaty of Lausanne. As long as Lausanne Treaty remained in force, annexation of Cyprus or division of Cyprus is not possible. This complication was broken by gaining right of guarantee by Menderes' and Zorlu's efforts with London and Zurich Agreements. If state has self-respecting attitude, it should protect its cognates. Cyprus not only has geostrategic importance for Turkey but also is a blood brother and religious fellow with Anatolian Muslim Turks. It is a part of Anatolian culture (*YMM*, 22th September, 1970: 3).

Figure 17: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele,* 22th September 1970

Again with similar comment, on 10th October, 1972 issue 141 *YMM* defined Cyprus and western Thrace Question as a independence struggle of captive Muslim Turks under title of "*Kıbrıs ve Batı Trakya Meselesi*". These struggles were wars against imperialism. To reach independence, question should be accepted in that manner. Geographical location of Cyprus attracted attention of USA and United Kingdom. These two want to survive Cyprus on the ground of their interests. In this context, Turkey must interfere island immediately to protect and continue of Muslim-Turkish interests. Because, Cyprian Turks was not effected so much from Rums' operations, in contrast they suffered from Turkey's insensitivity more (p. 3).

When issue of 228 *YMM* was published on 11th June,1974, *YMM* emphasized historical continuity on Cyprus Question. According to comment which was under title of "*Türk Yunan İhtilafı ve Türk Dış Politikası Üzerine Düşünceler*", basis of foreign policy is to protect history. Societies which construct nations should follow historical experiences and cultures on foreign policy. Societies and nations have centuries old experiences or treasure. However, for Turkish Republic there is a different situation. To build new nation, our social treasure has been interrupted. For that reason, social treasure of Turkish Republic has nearly 50 years (from 1920s to 1970s). There is a renouncing Ottoman-Islam heritage. However, to reach solution in Cyprus and other questions, state must be follow national foreign policy which protects her own social and historical treasure (p. 3). In here, there is not only emphasize about historical continuity but also emphasize state structure. In other words, historical continuity should belong to state, not individuals. Besides, it can be accepted as conservative manifesto toward making foreign policy.

In issue of 234 *YMM*, leading article was about Sampson coup of Cyprus and its possible results. According to Edibali (1974: 68) this article which is under title of "*Kıbrıs Çağrısı*" was written three hours ago from Cyprus Peace Operation. In this article, there is a comprehensive evolution. Writer said that when Turkish nation struggled with foreigners to keep alive themselves and country, they did not gave attention to foreign states' or institutions' decisions. Turkish nation and their leaders followed policy which was originated from their own needs and existences. If it did not happen, if they followed foreigners' decisions and policies, now Turkey would be same as Cyprus. In this context, Turkish armed forces should interfere island as soon as possible. Revolution can be defeated by only revolution, weapons can be defeated by only weapons. USA wanted to help side between Turkey and Greece which did not make difficulties toward her. In that case, USA cannot help Turkey who has opium war with her and anti-American public and is in favour of European Community. For sure, USA wanted to help Greece. In this context, ENOSİS has some bases for USA. If Turkey used USA as a balancer power in Cyprus Question instead of England, Turkey-USA relations would be close and USA would follow policies which were suitable with Turkish interests. In coup manner, Sampson coup is first step of annexation of Cyprus to Greece. Island must be occupied by Turkish armed forces as soon as possible. Then these forces should not leave island until

Cyprian Turks' and Turkey's interest are guaranteed and humanitarian and fair structure is established (*YMM*, 23-30 July 1974: 3).

Figure 18: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 23-30 July 1974

Moreover, again in same issue, articles about Cyprus of Lausanne Treaty was mentioned in 5th page. Congratulatory address which were sent to President Fahri Korutürk and Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces Semih Sancar from NSRM was located in 8th page.

Issue of 235 *YMM* appeared with headline of "*Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs Tezi Ne Olmalıdır*". With same title, leading article made comprehensive evolution again. According to this article, Cyprian Turks belong to Anatolian Turks in cultural, ethnical and in language manner. Cyprian Turk's efforts are part of existence struggle of Turks who lived out of Turkey. In demographic manner, Cyprian Turks became minority. They were

decreased by massacres and pressures. Position of Cyprian Turks was similar to Eritrea which was under pressure of Ethiopia and Philippine Muslims who were under authoritarian ruling which dominated Christians. In other perspective, despite all negativity, Cyprus island is Turk in historical manner (Edibali 1974: 113-114).

Figure 19: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 30th July-6th August, 1974

According to Edibali (1974: 114-117), a situation which was appeared after Cyprus Peace Operation presented three different solutions. First was independent Cyprus state, second was two different state, third was annexation island from Turkey. These solutions should be evaluated different side's perspectives. Greece wanted to ENOSİS (to annex Cyprus). Since Greece could not want ENOSİS clearly at first step, in gradual process,

firstly they wanted to independent Cyprus state which Rums were majority in. Then island will be annexed at the proper time. In this context, Greece's and Rum's choice would become independent Cyprus state which Rums are majority in.

Edibali (1974: 117-121) said that Great Britain has no her old power in those days. She gave place to USA. Despite this leaving, United Kingdom would not want to interrupt ties with east. Although she has not land in this road, she has bases at Aden, Cyprus and Gibraltar. In this context, England will want to protect her bases. Independent Cyprus state which will be dominated of Rums who are friends with British will be best solution for England. For USA, there is a same position. Best solution for USA is a way which protects NATO's interests. It should be "controlled state" in region. Moreover, struggle between USA and Turkey in opium issue and other issues will lead to that USA will prefer independent Cyprus state which Rums are majority in. Israel which is supported by USA will choice same alternative. Other big power, Russia wants to break western block's power in East Mediterranean. Furthermore, communist party in Cyprian Rums is a good opportunity for Russia. Independent Cyprus state which is removed from western and westerner's bases will be best solution for Russia.

Middle Eastern countries see Cyprus Question in Palestine perspective. They do not want bases on Cyprus which help and protect Israel. They do not see Cyprian Muslim Turks' position in religious fellowship manner. They see it on national interest manner. For them, independent Cyprus state which is removed from bases is best solution (Edibali 1974: 122).

At the final, Edibali (1974: 124-128) said that nearly all sides choice independent Cyprus state which Rums are majority in, except Turks. This independent state will be suicide for both Cyprian Turks and Turkey. Independent Cyprus will be ENOSİS. Turkey must not say positive thing about independent state. Also Turkish armed forces must not leave from island. Division of Cyprus should be realized immediately. Leaving whole island must not said and used in any platform or in any agreement. Error which was made in Lausanne must not be repeated.

In issues of 239, *YMM* appeared with offer for second Geneva Meetings which would start 8th August: "*Cenevre Görüşmelerinde İlk Hedef Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Olmalıdır*". In leading article, Geneva Agreement was analyzed. According to agreement, land which was under control of Turkish forces protected by Turkish forces. However, land which was out of control of Turkish forces was protected by UN forces. It was criticized. Until those days, UN did not relate and protect fully Cyprian Turks' situation against Rum's attacks. Well, now how does UN protect Turks? According to article, by considering this risk, operation should have finished by controlling whole island (*YMM*, 6th-13th August,1974: 3).

Figure 20: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 6th-13th August, 1974

Situation which belonged to Turks who were out of control of Turkish forces was put at headline in issue of 236 *YMM*: "*Mehmetçiğin Bulunmadığı Yerde Türkler İmha Ediliyor*". Although Turkish forces expanded area which was under control of forces, this situation was mentioned again and also was put at headline. Because there were events and dangers about Rum attacks toward Turks. There was a lack of confidence towards UN forces and Rums (*YMM*, 20th-27th August, 1974: 1).

Figure 21: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 20th-27th August, 1974

In issue of 241, leading article appeared with title of "*Türk Milletinin Gözünde Kıbrıs Harekatı*". Leading article ended with:

"…Turkish Nation does not accept any power and obstacle except itself. They only bend down toward God. They see new evidence of their historical greatness of their own

salvation and of good news of glories which enlightens dark transition era." (*YMM*, 10th-17th September, 1974: 3)

YMM's 248th issue put American embargo which rose after Cyprus Peace Operation at headline: "*Kesilen Amerikan Yardımı ve Türkiye'deki Tehlikeli Gelişmeler*".
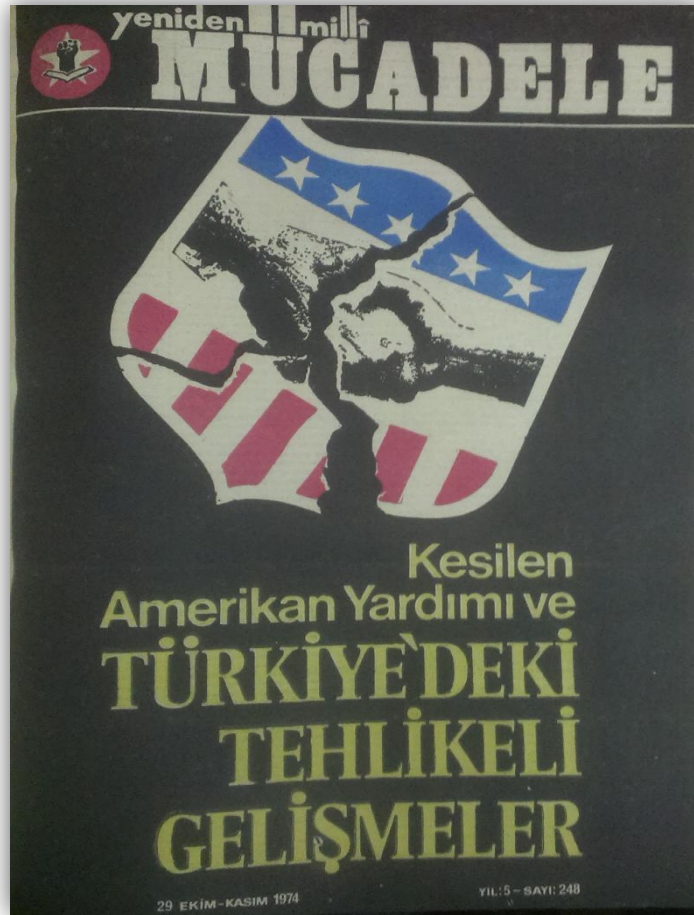

Figure 22: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 29th October-5th November, 1974

In leading article was under title of "*Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri Üzerine*", embargo decision of American Senate was analyzed in four different ways. First of them is pressure of Armenian lobby over Senate. Armenian lobby can do this to force Turkey sanctions and to paint into corner in eyes of all worlds. Second is pressure of Jewish lobby over Senate. Third is American wish which wanted to establish balance on NATO's eastern front by ignoring Turkey. Last is American wish which wanted to overthrow Ecevit Government which had trouble with USA (*YMM*, 29th October-5th November, 1974: 3).

Again in 282th issue, leading article was titled with "*Türkiye Ambargo Karşısında Ne Yapmalı*". According to article, embargo damaged Turkish-American relations. If two member of NATO had problems about this, alliance would have had another big problems, as well. If embargo was required, it should came from NATO, not from USA. With all these, Turkish-west alliance should be questioned in the context of Turkish state's existence and interests (*YMM*, 24th June- 1st July, 1975: 3).

YMM said that Turkish Republic of Cyprus should have established since operation's first days. In that case, when Turkish Federated State of Cyprus established on 13th February, 1975, it appeared with headline of "*Yaşasın Kıbrıs Türk Devleti*" in issue of 264. Although new state was accepted as a good development, leading article ended with this: "Turkish State of Cyprus should not have established as a member state/federate… Holding Turkish State of Cyprus as a federate had no any advantage. It should not be Federated State, it should be independent Turkish State of Cyprus" (*YMM*, 18th-25th February, 1975: 3).

Figure 23: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 18th-25th February, 1975

Again in 264th issue, Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was accepted as 17th Turkish state. It was seen 17th star. Also, congratulatory address which was sent Rauf Denktaş from NSRM was put into magazine on same page (*YMM*, 18th-25th February, 1975: 4).

YMM which had no satisfy about federate Turkish state, emphasized same point at first page: "*Tarihi Teklifimizi Tekrarlıyoruz: Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti İlan Edilmelidir*" in 305th issue (*YMM*, 2nd-9th December, 1975: 1).

Figure 24: *Yeniden Milli Mücadele*, 2nd-9th December, 1975

According to this issue, putting peace operation into spirit of London-Zurich Agreement and respecting Makarious government limited Turkish Republic's acts. If Turkish Republic of Cyprus has been aimed since first days of operation, Turkey and Cyprian Turks could move freely. Also, Cyprian Turks could gain right of representation in UN. By this means, they could prevent to ignore both in international community and in Cyprus (*YMM*, 2nd-9th December, 1975: 3).

CONCLUSION

This Thesis aims to use sub-identities of state in foreign policy area in the context of Constructivist International Relations Theory and Identitiy. In this regard the thesis analyzes foreign policy decisions, comments and criticisms of Turkish Conservative sub-identities relate to Cyprus Question during the 1960-1980 era.

Cyprus Question had important place in 1960-1980 era's active political life in both domestic politics and foreign policy. Inter-blocks struggles and their effects over domestic policy, internal economic and political instabilities made Cyprus issue common point for society. Therefore, since its first days, nearly all of the identities, political or social groups of Turkish society has dealt with Cyprus Question. These four sub-identities of Turkish Conservatism made Cyprus issue "national task" for themselves.

As a liberal-conservative sub-identity, while JP wanted exact solution (ie: military intervention) before Demirel's time, it showed more liberal policy which adopted external alliances and balances and avoided military intervention with Demirel. With Demirel, JP did not see Cyprus Question as only Turk-Rum or Turkey-Greece problem, it saw Cyprus Question as a NATO problem, Mediterranean problem and Aegean problem. Therefore it tired to solve this question with multi-dimensional approaches, instead of bilateral negotiations. It tried to solve the problem with peaceful multi-directional negotiations. JP did neither want Greek annexation of Cyprus, nor Turkey's takeover during Demirel era. Its balanced policy was the same as Ismet Inönü's RPP's policies. Common point was to solve problem by sticking to liberal western alliance. Its aim was to provide continuity of constitutional order of Cyprus Republic established by London and Zurich Agreements at both before and after 1974 peace operation. With these aspects, Cyprus policy of Liberal-Conservative identity was not different form state's hegemonic identity's foreign policy. Only, it represented conservative identity by emphasizing Ottoman-Islam history frankly in both domestic politics and foreign policy.

For Nationalist-Conservatives nationalism is first among equals. They defined themselves as "We are Turk as Tanrı Mountain and Muslim as Hira Mountain" (*Tanrı dağı kadar Türk, Hira dağı kadar Müslüman)*. They defended Islamic unity in conservative

way. Their thesis is base on Turkish-Islamic synthesis, but they primarily concentrated on Turkish identity. Islamic wing of this synthesis appeared under conservative identity.

They saw Cyprus Question as to protect Turkish existence in both in the island and region. According to them enemy was not only Greek Cypricots or Greece but rather a plan of creating a Great Greece which included Cyprus and Turkey. They tried to protect identity of Muslim-Turks. Attacks by Rum and Greeks were regarded as Christians' wish to exterminate Muslim-Turks. This was nearly common point between nationalists, Islamists and statists. Again, historical evaluation of Cyprus Question were made by all of conservative identities. Türkeş who had military origin, had defended military intervention to island since start of Cyprus problem. Also he criticized governments in this issue. Nationalist-conservatives evaluated Cypricot Turks in as part of the Turkish community which spreads from Balkans, Western Thrace to Middle Asia. Most of these parts came under the Soviet occupation. Turkish identity was dealt in that manner. Nationalist-conservatives opposed to the migration of Cypricot Turks from island to Anatolia. Because migration would cause to decrease Turkish population in the island. It demoralized Turks, it gave moral and demographical power Rums. According to them the only solution was to protect the existence of Cypricot Turks by protecting their interests. Although they were delighted with 1974 peace operation, they made a complaint about controlling area which was occupied by Turkish army. According to them whole part of island must have occupied and then negotiation would have started. The aim of Turkish Nationalist Conservatives was not to protect constitutional order of Cyprus Republic, but rather their aim was to establish a separate administration which belonged to only Turks

For Islamic-Conservatives, Cyprus issue was seen from the perspective of Jihad approach. According to them Islamic identity is more important than the other social and political identities. When Erbakan made a historical evaluation on Cyprus Question, he started with first coming of Muslims to island. In this context, he defined Cyprus as a place which Muslims has lived in since Caliph Osman era. In other words, Cyprus is a "*dar'ul Islam*". In here, Muslim identity was primary over the Turkish national identity. Besides, when Erbakan evaluated Cyprus issue, he pointed at the Zionism as one of the main responsible actors. Because, Jews tried to change Cyprus' structure for the benefit of them to reach their Promised Land which spreads from Nile River to Euphrates. Again, he

claimed that the Zionists wanted to use Cyprus as a shield to protect for Israel's security. In another religious reference of Islamic-conservative identity, he worried about the policies of western countries and United Nations' decisions which worked against Turkey. Therefore, they gave importance to Muslim friends as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia which supported Turkey in Cyprus Question. In this context, they emphasized the establishment of Union of Islamic Countries under Turkey's leadership, instead of Christian United Nations. Islamic-Conservative identity which took part in coalition government that gave intervention decision in 1974, wanted to control the whole island militarily. Because, according to their claim, Turkey is not guarantor of piece of island, Turkey is a guarantor of whole island. By controlling whole island militarily, Turkey would become more powerful in negotiations. Moreover, their aim was not to support constitutional order of Cyprus Republic which established in London and Zurich Agreements but rather it was to establish administration which belonged to only Turks. In this context, they refused federation offers. According to them, the only solution was a fair division which based on geographical separation.

Concept of "statist" of Statist-Conservative identity did not emphasize state of secular nationalism, it suggested new salvation struggle against both Imperialism and Communism in national, moral and cultural manner. As Nationalist-Conservative identity and Islamist-Conservative identity, Statist-Conservative identity dealt Cyprus issue in not only security perspective of Turkey and Cyprus. According to National Struggle Revisited Movement, as a statist-conservative identity, Cyprus is not only security center for Turkey, but also blood brother and co-religionist with Anatolian Muslims. It can be said that there was a balanced mixture of nationalist and Islamist identity. Their Cyprus analyses was not Muslim-based as Islamists, was not Turk-based as nationalists. In their all arguments, Muslim-Turk was primary. Turk and Islam are not only identities. They are also component of state body. They had wanted to military intervention to Cyprus since first days of problem, too. In here, statists criticized governments' policy as nationalists and Islamists. Also, they emphasized that Turkish forces should control whole island, too. According to them, aim was not to sustain 1960 constitutional order, aim was to establish separate Turkish administration. Federation thesis could not be accepted. They attributed holiness to state in Cyprus Question. Policy of protecting Muslim-Turks should have followed by Turkish Republic state. Statist-Conservatives emphasized that national

policies gain only legitimacy under state authority. Again, power which protected Muslim-Turks in island should have been state that belonged to only Turks, not common state with Rums or federal structure. They were delighted with 1974 peace operation by no ignoring its gaps and faults. They saw this operation as an achievement which was gained by Turkish forces in area where is out of Turkey's boundaries. According to NSRM, this achievement was a big morale boaster which reminded holy historical power of both army and nation. With these achievement, Turkish nation and Turkish state could gain back its old holy power, according to statist-conservative views.

While the western foreign policy identity of state tried for solution which coherent with western alliance, conservative identities which were sub-identities of state identity tried to find a solution taking into account of internat factors rather than external one. Moreover, the Western foreign policy identity regarded the Cyprus issue from the secury point. Turkish identity and Turkey's historical legacy in the island were the two main forces which affected all conservatives. On the other hand western foreign policy identity of state approached to Cyprus Question from the points of external balances and security policies. Although the Nationalist-Conservatives, the Islamist-Conservatives and the Statist-Conservatives too interested in the Cyprus Question from security policy manner their primary aim was to protect the rights and life of Muslim-Turks in the island and to protect the their religious and national interets instead of concentrating on external balances and security policies.

According to Conservative identities, social, cultural and religious ties which exist between Cyprus and Turkey were primary than security and strategic understandings. Nationalist-Islamist-Statist Conservative identities accepted these ties and Cyprus' struggles as a symbol which showed itself as a protection effort of Turkish Nation and Islam against Christian West. Conservatives' purpose was not only to satisfy security interest of Turkey by protecting Cyprus, but also to provide for the security of the religious and national, social values. In other words, they asserted that security interests were not only power-based but rather they contained social realities, too. Also, as mentioned at first chapter, social realities give meanning to rational parameters (ie: power, security, balance…) and by this means parameters are rescued from being "given". In this context, for Turkish Conservatives', as a sub-identity of official Turkish state identity, aim was not

only to protect and satisfy rationalist or realist security-power interest, but rather to protect security interests built by the social, cultural, religious, and national elements which consisted in the constructivist theory.

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