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EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ISLAM IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF *HİLAL* CIRCLE

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SİYASAL İSLAM'IN TÜRİYE'DEKİ GELİŞİMİ: *HİLAL* ÇEVRESİ ÖRNEĞİ

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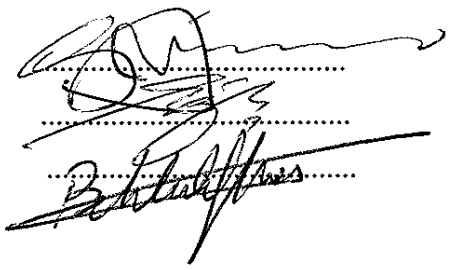

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3) Soğuk Savaş	3) Cold-War
4) Dünya İslam Birliği	4) World Muslim League (Rabıta)
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ABBREVIATIONS

AP: Justice Party/Adalet Partisi

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization

CHP: Republican People's Party/Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

DİSK: Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey/Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu

DP: Democrat Party

KMD: Association of Struggle against Communism/Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri

MSP: National Salvation Party/Milli Selamet Partisi

MTTB: Turkish National Students Union/Milli Türk Talebe Birliği

Rabıta: World Muslim League/Rabitat al-Alami al-Islami

TİP: Turkey's Labor Party/Türkiye İşçi Partisi

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the publications of Hilal, one of the leading journals which played a key role in the evolution of Political Islam in Turkey by translating the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami. The aim of this thesis is to understand how the Political Islamist ideology was first presented to Turkish audience, and how this process was influenced both by international and national dynamics. For this purpose, Hilal's perspective towards the politics of the World, the Middle East/Muslim Countries and Turkey during the 1960s was surveyed. In this sense, the study tries to offer an account of how the Cold-War ideological divisions were reproduced by Hilal.

In this research, total of 122 issues of Hilal, published between November 1958 – November 1971 were analyzed. Ascertaining that the arrival of İsmail Kazdal has created a rupture in the editorial policy, the publications of Hilal were divided into two periods: Inception Period (November 1958-February 1965) and Translation Period (February 1965-November 1971). Depending on this, my findings indicate that the political perspective of Hilal was transformed from anti-communism to Islamism in 1965, by being influenced by the global, regional and domestic dynamics.

ÖZET

Bu tez, Müslüman Kardeşler ve Cemaat-i İslami ideolojilerini tercüme ederek Siyasal İslam'ın Türkiye'deki gelişiminde kilit rol oynayan Hilal Dergisinin yayınlarını incelemektedir. Tezin amacı, Siyasi İslam ideolojisinin Türk izleyicilere ilk kez nasıl sunulduğunu ve bu sürecin hem uluslararası hem de ulusal dinamikler tarafından nasıl etkilendiğini anlamaktır. Bu amaçla Hilal'ın 1960'lı yıllarda Dünya, Ortadoğu / Müslüman Ülkeler ve Türkiye siyasetine bakışı araştırılmıştır. Bu anlamda, bu çalışma Soğuk Savaş ideolojik bölünmelerinin Hilal tarafından nasıl yeniden üretildiğini anlatmaya çalışmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada Hilal'in Kasım 1958-Kasım 1971 tarihleri arasında yayınlanmış olan toplam 122 sayısı incelenmiştir. İsmail Kazdal'ın gelişinin yayın politikasında bir kırılma yarattığını tespit ederek, Hilal'in yayınları iki periyoda bölünmüştür: Başlangıç Dönemi (Kasım 1958-Şubat 1965) ve Tercüme Dönemi (Şubat 1965-Kasım 1971). Buna bağlı olarak, bulgularım, Hilal'in siyasal perspektifinin 1965'te küresel, bölgesel ve yerel dinamiklerden etkilenerek, anti-komünizmden İslamcılığa dönüştüğünü göstermektedir.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to study the publications of Hilal, one of the leading monthlies which played a key role in the introduction and the development of Political Islam in Turkey by translating the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami. Addressing both national and international dynamics of the period, the study will try to explore the inception phase of the Political Islam in Turkey.

Scholarly analyses that deal with the evolution of political Islam in Turkey are generally made within a framework of center-periphery paradigm (Mardin, 1973). This dichotomous approach to Turkish society asserts that, the Kemalist elites suppressed the 'backward Muslims' with their secular reforms. Particularly during the single-party era, the Kemalist regime adopted a repressive agenda to confine Islam to individual and cultural life, and through this, it aimed to modernize and secularize Turkey. Studies following this paradigm argue that since its foundation, Turkish state has been pursuing an oppressive attitude towards Islam/Islamists and this has threatened the legitimacy of the modernization project of the state. Claiming that the "Islamic political identity" (Yavuz, 2003) was constructed by using this legitimacy vacuum and offering "an alternative modernity", Hakan Yavuz explained the politicization process of Islamic movements as the consequence of "the expansion of the secular nation-state apparatus for surveillance, control, and standardization coupled with the emergence of new socioeconomic and cultural classes" (pp.8). Likewise, in this context, any political, cultural (Göle, 1997) or economic (Keyman & Koyuncu, 2005) claims of Islamist groups have been evaluated as contributions to the democracy and pluralism in Turkey.

Differently from the previous scholars, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak studies the politicization process of Islam in Turkey from a historical perspective. Describing the radical Islamist movements in Turkey as "the illegitimate child(ren) of "the

laicism religion"[1] (Ocak, 2013, pp.124), Ocak points out the negative effects of the rigid secular policies on the profundity of the Muslim intellectuals and the Islamic studies. He adds, the Islamic ideas and studies became more and more barren under these circumstances and therefore Muslim intellectuals had to turn their face to Arab and South Asian Muslim thinkers. Despite acknowledging the translation activities' impact on the Political Islam in Turkey, Ocak evaluates these activities as the outcome of Muslim intellectuals' individual pursuits and endeavors. In other words, according to him, in Turkey, state oppression deteriorated the productivity of Islamist thought. For that reason, Turkish Muslims turned towards the Political Islam, which was the sole "modern" Islamic school of thought existing during this era (Ocak, 2013). In a parallel way, Yücel Bulut studies the translation activities' impact on the trajectory of Islamism in Turkey. He argues that even if the ideology has been brought in Turkey via translations, it does not make Islamism an "imported ideology". Accordingly, he explains the translation activities as intellectual interaction between Muslims from different countries (Bulut, 2004).

However, we can claim that these studies have overlooked the possible impacts of Turkish Islamists' international linkages on the politicization of Islam. Furthermore, the paradigm assumed that the secular center and Muslim periphery are sharply dichotomous. But, drawing an exact line between the center and periphery is a reductionist perspective that makes observing their interactions impossible (Güngen and Erten 2005; Kahraman, 2008). Therefore, these approaches fail to explain the extensive relations between state and conservative-Islamist groups, especially in the face of "common enemy" like the Left in the 1960's and 1970's.

Studies focusing on the international linkages of Islamist groups, oppose the idea that political Islam is a "natural" response of the oppressed periphery. Turkish state for them was not a steady, Kemalist establishment, but one that was flexible enough to be affected by the dynamics of the Cold War and to condone the dissemination of political Islamist thought "as an antidote to the post-1960's

[1] "Türkiye'deki radikal İslami hareketler, bir bakıma "laisizm dini" nin gayri meşru çocuğudur."

ascendancy of the Left." (Özkan, 2017, pp.3). In this context, Özkan draws attention to *Hilal*, which is the pioneer of translations of the works of the founding fathers of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, and to the connection of its owner Salih Özcan with Saudi Arabia and World Muslim League (Rabitat al-Alami al-Islami known in short as Rabıta)[2]. Salih Özcan's role as both the founding partner of Rabıta and the "introducer" of Political Islam is often used as evidence of the impact of the Saudi Arabia and of course the US[3] on the Islamism in Turkey. Likewise, after the introduction of the ideology, Salih Özcan has maintained its extensive relationship both with Turkish and foreign states. Özcan became an MP of Erbakan's Islamist party, National Salvation Party (MSP), in 1977. Later, following Turgut Özal's neoliberal turn, he mediated the entrance of Saudi capital into Turkish economy by founding the Saudi's Islamic Banks, namely Faisal Finance and Al-Baraka, together with Özal and Topbaş families (Mumcu, 1987). Another scholar, Birol Yeşilada, also studies these connections of Turkish Islamists with foreign Islamists and explains how they have increased their political and economic power in Turkey with the help of Saudi capital (Yeşilada, 1989). Hakan Köni examines the foreign policy dimension of these relations and argues that the Turkish state, as part of its foreign policy objectives, has let Saudi Arabia increase "its impact on various aspects of Islamic life in Turkey" (Köni, 2012, pp.109). For him, the Cyprus Issue and 1973 Oil Crisis were the instances that forced Turkey to increase cooperation with Saudi Arabia. (Köni, 2012). Moreover, Salih Özcan has played a crucial role on the Turkey-Saudi Arabia relations. In this context, he actively took part in diplomatic relations. For example, he has arranged Faisal's visit to Turkey in August 1966 (Özer, 2011).

Despite contributing to the studies on state and Islamic movement relations in Turkey, these analyses focus merely on economic and organizational networks. Accordingly, they offer us only a limited understanding regarding the influence of extraneous factors on the evolution of Political Islam in Turkey. In other words,

[2] Studies focusing on the foreign impact on the emergence and the rise of Political Islam generally utilizes the findings of Uğur Mumcu, in his book Rabıta (1987)

[3] Özkan includes the US as well due to the extensive relations of these two countries mainly on the oil and weapon trades. However, how the US and the Rabıta got in contact is unclear.

from a reductionist perspective, those analyses have overlooked the social base of the Islamist movements and could not explain how Islam tried to become a firewall against the Left during the Cold-War. For a better understanding of how these networks have reached people, we need to examine the ramifications of these connections on the political perspective of Hilal. Therefore, this dissertation will analyze Hilal's perspective towards the politics of the World, the Middle East/Muslim Countries and Turkey during the 1960s. The main purpose will be to explore how international networks of Salih Özcan has shaped the political stance of Hilal. In this sense, the study offers an account of how the Cold-War ideological divisions, both on global and regional levels, were reproduced by Hilal. Based on this, the study will also highlight how Hilal has interpreted Turkish politics thorough these lenses.

Another deficiency of the current literature that need to be addressed is about the conceptualization of Rabıta, Muslim Brotherhood/Jamaat-e-Islami and the relationship between these. First and foremost, Muslim Brotherhood is a social movement, established in Egypt, 1928 by Hasan el-Benna. As an anti-colonial and anti-Western movement, Muslim Brotherhood reinterpreted Islam as a political ideology that offers a "distinct" vision for state, society and economy. Being one of most effective social and intellectual movement during the British mandate in Egypt, Muslim Brotherhood spread its ideology and opened branches throughout the region. However, after Nasser has consolidated his power, he purged of the Muslim Brotherhood. Many of its members were imprisoned, while some leading figures sought asylum in Saudi Arabia and other Monarchs in the region. Likewise, its branches in other revolutionary states, as well, were having trouble with their governments. Consequently, during the 1950's and 1960's, Muslim Brotherhood's social and political influence has diminished. Only after Sadat came to power, they found the opportunity to return to Egypt, with "plenty of petro-dollars" (Rubin, 2010, pp.26). In the same vein, Jamaat-e-Islami is also a political movement, led by Abul A'la Mawdudi, one of the most important ideologues of Political Islam together with Benna and Qutub. Jamaat was established in British India, in 1941. They were active during the independence struggle of Pakistan and then they too

have spread throughout its region. Being a political party, "Jamaat across south Asia…are keenly engaged in the quotidian political struggle of and for democracy" (I. Ahmad, 2013, pp.335). Due to the differing conjunctures in South East Asia, "in each nation-state Jamaat gradually came to join the very mainstream" (I. Ahmad, 2013, pp.327) political activities. However, both the Jamaat and Mawdudi himself was repressed by Pakistani state especially during 1960's.

In short, both Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami are social/political movements whereas, Rabıta is an association. It was established by Saudi King Faisal "*to sponsor, unify, and manipulate the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami networks in their favor"* (Roy, 1994, pp.110). In parallel with its foreign policy objectives, Saudi Arabia supported Islamist groups which were defined as *"useful bulwark against nationalist or leftist forces."* (Pargeter, 2013, pp.77). At the same time, this relationship between Rabıta and Islamist groups can be regarded as the cooperation against the same regional rival, against the Nasserist camp. However, Turkey and Turkish Islamists have differed from their counterparts. Turkish legal establishments like the governments and the intelligence were pro-Western/anti-Leftist and had close relations with conservative/Islamist groups. On the other hand, Turkish Islamist groups were lacking an "Islamic ideology", instead they use Islam only as a cultural, historical, morale, and even national reference point. Therefore, both Turkish establishments and the Islamist groups were in need of an ideological ammunition against the Left during 1960's. In that sense, Hilal, unofficial representative of Rabıta in Turkey, has attempted to lay the foundations of Political interpretation of Islam in Turkey by translating the ideas of the founding fathers of the ideology and publishing them. In this context, it should be noted that the concept of "Political Islam", which is indeed a very complex one, is used in this dissertation by referring to the school of thought and interpretation method of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat.

The central argument, then, is that we need to analyze the publications of Hilal in order to understand how the Political Islamist ideology was first presented to Turkish audience, and how this process was influenced both by international and national dynamics. I will particularly examine: How was the political perspective

of Hilal before the translations began? How did it change? How was the global/regional/domestic political environment before and after the translation activities have begun? What can be the factors catalyzed the beginning of the translations? How the ideological climate inside the country has influenced Hilal while adopting Muslim Brotherhood/Jamaat-e-Islami into Turkish politics?

With this analysis, I aim to contribute to the literature on the international relations of the Turkish Islamist groups as well as their relations with Turkish state. By picturing the political mindset of the pioneers of the Islamism in Turkey, I will also contribute the broader literature on Political Islam.

Methodology

For this research, I analyzed the publications of Hilal. In the online archive of the Project of Islamic Journals (İslami Dergiler Projesi), of Association of Scientific Studies (İlmi Etüdler Derneği), I have examined the issues of the Hilal journal. Although Hilal also has a publishing house and published the books of both Turkish and foreign writers, the sections of the books have been serialized, as well. Therefore, examining the journal has been sufficient.

In this research, instead of determining some words to understand how Hilal interpret the World/Muslim Countries/Turkish politics, I read whole the issues. Since I want to grasp extraneous impact on the political perspective of Hilal, I found it necessary to read between the lines.

Moreover, Hilal was published from November 1958 to July 1991. Total of 342 issues were published. Yet, I analyzed till the 122nd issue, which was published in November 1971. Because after that issue, Salih Özcan escaped to Lebanon and that resulted in the decrease in the frequency of translations and articles dealing with politics. In short, Hilal lost momentum in 1970's. Even, journals as a whole lost their momentum as tools to disseminate ideology. Student movements got the upper hand in the Islamist political movement, together with Erbakan's National Outlook (Milli Görüş) movement. After 1980's economic associations and "civil society" organizations became stronger as well.

Content of the Chapters

In the literature, Hilal did not receive the level of scholarly attention it deserved as a journal whose monthly circulation has reached to 10.000 in the second half of the 1960's[4]. While, aforementioned studies put emphasis on Hilal mainly due to the connections of Salih Özcan, some Islamist intellectuals have written articles acknowledging the importance of Hilal as the initiator of the translation activities (Uğurlu, 1986; Kuşçu, 1993; Türkmen 2008). Besides these, Bulut Gürpınar studied the world-view of Hilal by conducting a frequency and content analysis (Gürpınar, 2017). Albiz Telci & Durdağı made an analysis, revealing that Hilal has translated "an ideology". They argued that Hilal adopted a planned editorial policy to disseminate that ideology, too (Albiz Telci, Ü. & Durdağı, A.N, 2017). Moreover, Gençosmanoğlu studied Hilal and its evolution throughout its publishing life. He put specific emphasis on the cadre of Hilal, together with the leitmotifs in different periods. According to him, Hilal has maintained the same editorial policy throughout its publishing life. In this sense, different from the other scholars and intellectuals, Gençosmanoğlu claims that the arrival of İsmail Kazdal as editor in chief in February 1965 has not changed Hilal (Gençosmanoğlu, 2016). However, on the contrary, the analysis of the publications of Hilal demonstrated that the arrival of İsmail Kazdal has created a rupture in the editorial policy.

Accordingly, the thesis consists of two main chapters in addition to Introduction and Conclusion chapters. Overlapping with the periodization of the publications of Hilal in the 1960's, the main chapters will explore the political perspective of Hilal towards the World, the Middle East/Muslim-Majority Countries and Turkey. Both include the subsections of "The State of the World During the Period of Inception/Translation", "Hilal During the Period of Inception/Translation" and "Hilal and Its Political Perspective During the Period of Inception Translation".

The first chapter is the *Inception Period: November 1958 - February 1965*. In the beginning of this chapter, the state of the world will be discussed to clarify

[4] Even though we could not reach official figures, Nihat Armağan claimed that number in an interview. It can be reached: http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/article_detail.php?id=500

the main political conflicts of the first half of the 1960's. Later, some basic information about Hilal will be given. These include the materialistic information like the number/frequency of issues; cover pages/slogans; editor in chiefs/regular contributors, etc., as well as the prominent topics discussed and the main approach towards Islam. Lastly, the third section will examine the political perspective of Hilal before the translations have begun. Basically, the purpose is to demonstrate which concepts and subjects were dominant and how the global/regional/domestic ideological divisions altered the political position of Hilal, the circle that was following a conservative/traditionalist/nationalist ideological line during the Inception Period.

The next chapter is the *Translation Period: February 1965 – November 1971*. As it was stated, during this period, translation activities have begun. Therefore, after evaluating the state of the world and providing the basic information about Hilal, I will discuss the changes in the ideological stance of the circle. In this chapter I will also discuss possible "catalysts" for the inception of the translations. Accordingly, while analyzing the political perspective of Hilal during the Translation Period by following the same steps with the Inception Period, I will also try to highlight important changes or continuations between the periods.

1.CHAPTER

INCEPTION PERIOD: NOVEMBER 1958 – FEBRUARY 1965

1.1. The State of the World During the Period of Inception

1.1.1. The World

The world during the first half of 1960's was in a bipolar nature. It had transformed into a two-bloc power struggle arena during 1950's. The US became the leader of the Western bloc while Soviet Union-led bloc constituted the other side of the world. The objective of this ideological inter-bloc war between Washington and Moscow was to control and improve countries instead of land expansion or exploitation (Westad, 2005).

Following Truman Doctrine, 12 March 1947, the US aimed to spread anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiments among countries like Greece and Turkey, those who were perceiving Soviet threat. This also laid the foundation of the "containment policy" of the US that aimed to check Soviet Union's expansionist objectives. In this regard, disseminating the "fear of communism" -that was also associated with the name of Senator McCarthy- was the main strategy of American governments. Furthermore, Marshall Plan was designated for the economic rebuilding of the Western European countries. When the economic measures alone remained inadequate, NATO was established with the objective of providing security (Hook and Spanier, 2013).

USSR, on its part, tried to promote its relations with communist states of Eastern Europe and Asia. Rhetorical ammunition of the Soviets in this war was anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. In that sense, after Stalin, the emphasis in the foreign policy was put on the government-to-government links instead of armed intervention in countries. According to Westad, Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty was the Marshall Plan of the Soviet Union (Westad, 2005), while Warsaw Pact, in this

respect, can be regarded as the counterpart of NATO on the Eastern Bloc (Sander, 1996; Kennedy,2010).

This Cold-War situation deteriorated throughout 1950's and reached its peak in October 1962 with the incident known as Cuban Missile Crisis. In this respect, the first half of 1960's was generally dominated by inter-bloc struggles, whereas the second half -which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter- by détente period.

1.1.2. The Middle East

The Cold-War dynamics of the period affected the Middle East as well. During 1950's lots of Arab countries gained their independence from colonial powers. Under the leadership of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, anti-imperialist, revolutionist, and nationalist Arab socialism dominated the region. Especially after the nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956, the leadership of Nasser became indisputable (Cleveland&Bunton, 2016).

Another consequence of the Suez Canal Crisis is that, it was the end of the French and British influence on the region, and the beginning of the US dominance. The US, with the objective of balancing Nasser camp and containing the USSR, established the Baghdad Pact and enunciated the Eisenhower Doctrine. These incidents heralded the arrival of the "McCarthyism" to the Middle East. During the second half of the 1950's, states and non-state actors that sought Western support, have alleged that they were under the threat of "international communism". The US, in return, as part of its containment policy, gave economic, military and political support to the countries, like Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Iran, Saudi Arabia, etc. (Barrett, 2007). The most salient instance for the US intervention in the Middle East were her involvements in Jordan and Lebanon crisis. The US, with the fear of a possible domino effect that Revolution of Iraq (14 July 1958) might cause, intervened in Jordan and Lebanon with its troops to rescue the incumbent regimes.

According to Malcolm Kerr, these courses of events were "the last[5] major Western effort to play a decisive role in the inter-Arab affairs". (Kerr, 1971, pp.13)

When we moved to the Soviet Union's involvement in the Middle East, it is important to state that it was less aggressive than the US' (Little, 2010). Bilateral agreements with the Arab countries and promoting anti-imperialist sentiments were the building blocks of its strategy. In this sense, American involvement to the crisis during the end of 1950's gave the Soviets -and of course to Nasser- "the opportunity to pin the label of aggression once again on the Western powers and their local stooges". (Kerr, 1971, pp.15)

As it was stated, 1950's mainly passed with the US and its "stooges" efforts to balance Nasser and to contain the Soviet Union. Even though the Baghdad Pact, after the withdrawal of Iraq, was succeeded by CENTO (August 1959), the first half of the 1960's was dominated by the intra-Arab (that of between "revolutionary" states) struggles. Borrowing from Malcolm Kerr's "The Arab Cold-War"[6] conceptualization, the changing dynamics of the competition for the leadership of the Arab world can be summarized as: The rivalry first has started between Nasser's United Arab Republic/Egypt and Qasim's Iraq in March 1959 and continued till the assassination of Qasim and Baath Coup (February-November 1963); and Syria, as well, has engaged to this Arab Cold-War, after its secession from the United Arab Republic (September 29, 1961). This tension eased after the March 1963 Coup in Syria. Although Syria and Iraq were together on the anti-Nasserist revolutionist camp, the relationship between them was also changing. In short, the first half of the 1960's were the years of political and diplomatic war between Nasser and its rival revolutionaries. Conservative and pro-western regimes of the Middle East on the other hand, were of secondary importance. This Saudi-led bloc had to wait the

[5] This assertion held true at least for the period covering this dissertation, Cold-War period until 1970.

[6] Kerr, M. H. (1971). The Arab cold war: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his rivals, 1958-1970 (Vol. 358). Oxford University Press.

developments of the Yemen Civil War and the coronation of Faisal bin Abdulaziz al-Suud, 2 November 1964, before having a say in intra-Arab relations.

1.1.3. Turkey

In 1950's, the process of transition to multi-party system was finalized and Democrat Party (DP) came to power in May 1950. The new government maintained the pro-western policies of the late 1940's. Even, Menderes governments' foreign policy in this decade can be described with an endless effort to be on the western camp. While the Soviet threat and the desire to receive the US' aids (following Truman Doctrine the US had provided 100,000,000 $ aid to Turkey) were the reasons behind western-oriented policies, participating in the Korean War (June 1950) and then becoming a member of NATO (18 February 1952) were the results/returns of these efforts.

Another important political aspect regarding the 1950's of Turkey is that its policies in the Middle East, being an active member of the Baghdad Pact, made lasting impact on its image in the eyes of the Arab countries. Especially during the first half of 1960's Turkey was seen as the "outpost of the West". (Kürkçüoğlu,1972). Attitudes towards 1957 Syrian Crisis and 1958 Iraq Coup were the main reasons behind this image (Hale, 2013; Oran, 2011).

In this atmosphere, Turkey witnessed its first military takeover, staged by young NATO educated officers in 27 May 1960. With the help of the new constitution (issued in 9 July 1961), the most democratic in Turkish history, a free political environment flourished, where every political group –being the leftist intellectuals were predominant- found the opportunity to promote their ideas. However, the first half of 1960's was dominated by the in-group struggles within the military and by the continuous coup attempts. Likewise, there was a severe military tutelage on the Republican People's Party (CHP) governments in this period (Ahmad, 1977).

After the takeover, Turkey continued its orientation towards the West. First blow to Turkey-US relations came after Cuban Missile Crisis. After this tense

period, it was understood that the US agreed with the Soviet Union to remove Jupiter Missiles from Turkey (the US actualized it in April 1963). This incident started the questioning of the alliance with the US in the minds of the political/military elites and increased the resentment of the leftist intellectuals (Oran,2011). Later, the Cyprus Crisis further deteriorated the Turkey-US relations and inflamed the anti-American sentiments among the Turkish society. President Lyndon Johnson, in a letter (June 1964) he wrote to İnönü, objected to the military operation of Turkey to Cyprus and its use of NATO supplied weapons in this operation. Furthermore, he threatened Turkey not to protect from a possible Soviet attack. Accordingly, all these courses of events were the breakthroughs in the Turkey-US alliance, even though Turkey's western oriented policies had not changed during the first half of the decade.

As for Turkey's policies in the Middle East in the first half of 1960's, the burden of the past policies had influenced its attitude. In this regard, Turkey maintained its relations with bilateral agreements. Nevertheless, these efforts could not recreate Turkey's image. Consequently, Turkey was left isolated on the global political arena since the Middle Eastern countries had voted against it in the Cyprus Crisis (Karaosmanoğlu, 1983).

Lastly, despite the "re-development" of Islam's status on the social and cultural life during 1950's (Sitembölükbaşı, 1991), as for the Islamist politics, it must be noted that it was difficult to define a distinct "Islamist movement/ideology" during this period. In other words, the groups/figures that would represent Islamism in later periods, had found a political space for themselves in the nationalist-conservative-mukaddesatçı circles (Öz, 2017). In this regard we can also state that these groups shared the same political discourse, as well, and this political stance was basically the anti-communism. The main themes of this broader right-wing groups, mainly gathered around Turkish National Students Union (*Milli Türk Talebe Birliği* - MTTB) and Association of Struggle against Comunism (*Komünimle Mücadele Dernekleri* - KMD)" of the period were: maligning the Soviet communists together with the historical "Moskof" enemy image; criticizing

the thoroughly strengthened Turkey's left and accusing them of being the stooges of the Soviets; and promoting these ideas by referring to Turkic and Islamic values. On the other hand, Turkish government and other institutions, too, was anti-communist in its domestic policies. A good example for this attitude was the establishment of "The Committee for the Fight against Communism (*Komünizmle Mücadele Komisyonu*)" in January 1963. In this regard, conservative-nationalist groups together with the state were on one side while the leftists were on the other side of the bipolar Turkish political life (Koca, 2017). And Hilal was on the state-led anti-communist side during its Inception period.

1.2. Hilal During the Period of Inception

First issue of the journal of Hilal was published in November 1958, in Ankara. Until February 1965, total of 49 issues were published. As it is seen, Hilal has been published sporadically[7] - for instance, during the years 1960 and 1964 only four and five issues were published. While the coup in May 1960 and the fact that Salih Özcan was doing his compulsory military service in late 1959 and 1960's, might explain the intermittence in those years, the reason behind irregular publications throughout 1964, remained unexplained. This instability in the publications manifests itself in the cover designs of the issues, as well. Hilal used six different cover page designs during the Inception Period. Likewise, slogans differed from each other, too. The first nine issues were brought out with the slogan "religious, moral, scholarly/scientific, literal, political monthly journal"[8]. Between 24. and 36. issues "social (*içtimai*)" adjective was added to that slogan. Moreover, 37. 38. and 39. had only "religious and social" in their slogan, together with a Hadith, "One who does not share the grief of Muslims, is not Muslim."[9]

[7] In fact, when we look at the time period that covers last two months of 1958 till 1965 February, there should have been total of 75 issues, yet Hilal has 49 issues.
[8] "Dini, Ahlaki, İlmi, Edebi, Siyasi Aylık Mecmua"
[9] "Müminlerin dertleriyle dertlenmeyen mümin değildir."

When it comes to the prominent themes during this period, religious/theological, moral and historical topics have stood out in the pages of Hilal, even though the contents related with politics of the World, the Middle East and Turkey have been analyzed in accordance with the purpose of this thesis. To put it more clearly, the subjects that were mainly covered in this period were: issues related to Tafsir (exegesis), Fqih (Islamic Jurisprudence), the meaning of Quran (*Kur'an'ın Meali*), history of Islam, Prophet Mohammed's life and life during his period, the period of four Imam, practices and virtues of worship, the situation of woman in Islam, social morality, religious values, Sufism (*tasavvufi konular*), and so on. Furthermore, personal and scholarly life of people, like Abdul Kadir Gilani, Abdul Hamid II, Fatih Sultan Mehmed, Mohammed Iqbal, Mevlana, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, and of course, Bediüzzaman Said Nursi were also examined by Hilal. From this vantage point, as the leitmotifs of the period indicate, Hilal adopted the religious, cultural, historical and moral values of Islam to its discourse, instead of interpreting Islam as a complete political system, like they did in the second period. In this context, "Islamist" political perspective of Hilal in this period, was nothing but the propaganda for the necessity of preserving religion from communist's attacks.

As for the cadre of Hilal, persons, that range from theologists to Islamic-conservative-nationalist thinkers to Nur disciples to journalists and politicians, somehow have contributed to Hilal. First and foremost, Salih Özcan, the owner of the publishing house and the journal, was the most prominent member. Especially in this period, Özcan directly contributed to the contents in the journal, by bringing news, reports and notes from the Muslim-majority countries, by writing the columns "*Okuyucuyla Başbaşa*", "*Hilal'den Mektup*"[10], and the like. Furthermore, he, thanks to his connections, had placed Hilal right in the middle of the crossroads of domestic and international group activities.

[10] In fact, these columns were written by the name of Hilal Yakup. However, we assume that, mainly due to the contents of these writings, this name was the nickname of Salih Özcan

Özcan was born in Şanlıurfa, Turkey in 1929 and died in Istanbul, in 2015. He started to be trained as a Risale-i Nur student when he was young and became prominent in a very short time. Insomuch that, Bediüzzaman Said Nursi mentioned Özcan as one of his "twelve hero students" (Nursi, 2016, pp.136) in his book Emirdağ Lahikası. Among this circle, he was known as the foreign minister of Nursi since he published the Risale-i Nur in Latin alphabet and enabled its circulation throughout Islamic world. Also, he introduced leaders from Islamic countries such as Ali Akbar Shah, Pakistani Deputy Minister of Education -with the mediation of Minister of Education of Turkey, Tevfik İleri- to Nursi[11]. Moreover, he had lots of connections in Muslim-Majority countries, mostly in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. For instance, he was among the founding partners of Rabıta and had the publication rights of the translated works of Mawdudi. However, even if Rabıta had been established in 1962, the translation activities began only after 1965. Meanwhile, Hilal maintained its anti-communist political position.

As for Özcan's domestic connections, in addition to being Nur disciple, he was active in MTTB while he was a university student in Ankara University, Medical Faculty. There he had established Association of Friendship between Pakistan and Turkey (*Pakistan-Türkiye Dostluk Derneği*) together with Halide Nusret Zorlutuna. During 1950's, he had the opportunity to meet with time's Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes[12]. Regarding his career in journalism, before establishing Hilal, Özcan became the first editor in chief of "İslam Mecmuası"[13] between 1956-1958.

[11] For further information: Ahmed Özer, "Seyyid Salih Özcan – Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili" (İstanbul: Işık Yayınları, 2011).

[12] Özcan was stating in his biography that after making a very passionate speech in a conference of "Türkocağı" he became the target of leftists in Turkey. After that, according to Özcan, he met with Adnan Menderes and the prime minister said to him: "Bizde basin yok ama çarığı giyeceğiz, davayı anlatacağız" Ahmed Özer, "Seyyid Salih Özcan – Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili" (İstanbul: Işık Yayınları, 2011).

[13] The monthly was established by Kemalettin Şenocak, in April 1956 and till October 1965, total of 96 issues were published. When we look at the writers in the journal and the political perspective towards the World and the Middle East, there seems similarities between İslam and Hilal. However, İslam's negative position on issues related with Nurculuk, was the most apparent

The editors in chief had an impact on the content of Hilal, as well. During the Inception Period, three different people had occupied this post in Hilal. Correspondingly, the editor in chief of the first four issues was Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti[14]. Following him, between the issues number 4 and 19, Mustafa Egemen[15] became the editor in chief. He also managed the monthly and the publishing house during his era, while Salih Özcan was doing his military service. And then, during the rest of the period, Mehmet Akif İnan[16] worked as the editor in chief of Hilal.

Apart from these figures, many people from different conservative-traditionalist-nationalist circles also contributed to Hilal in this period. For instance, Muhammed Hamidullah, Hasan Basri Çantay, Hasan Fehmi Başoğlu, Fehmi Cumalıoğlu, Enver Tuncalp, Zekai Konrapa and Ali Ulvi Kurucu were contributing to the contents related with theological issues; while Alanur Teymur, Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, Veli Ertan, Mehmet Süleyman Teymuroğlu, Abdülkadir Akçiçek, Celal Saraç together with politicians Ali Fuat Başgil, Hüsnü Dikeçligil and Yusuf Demirdağ were writing more about social, historical and moral issues. Moreover,

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divergence between them. See also: Haksöz Dergisi, No.29, August 1993, http://www.haksozhaber.net/okul/article_detail.php?id=456

[14] He was born in May 1917 and died in 10 November 1983. He was an important figure in conservative-nationalist circles. He had published one of the most important Islamic journals in the One-Party era, "Serdengeçti", in 1947. Later, he also established a publishing house with the same name. Between 1965-1969, he became an Antalya MP of Justice Party and then he was expulsed from the party. Infographic of Anatolian Agency: https://aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/serden-gecti-davasindan-vazgecmedi-osman-yuksel-serdengecti/961674

[15] He was an ex-military officer. He fought in Korean War as the lieutenant colonel. After he returned he retired and became lawyer. He was the lawyer of Salih Özcan as well as Nursi and Nur students, together with Bekir Berk. See also Ahmed Özer, "Seyyid Salih Özcan – Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili" (İstanbul: Işık Yayınları, 2011).

[16] İnan was born in 1940, in Şanlıurfa, and died in 2000. He was a very close student of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and a very important figure in the Islamic publishing circle. He studied high school in "Maraş Lisesi" and there met with Rasim Özdenören, Cahit Zarifoğlu, Erdem Beyazıt and Nuri Pakdil -later they all known as "7 Güzel Adam"- He started university in Ankara, Turkish Literature. During his studies, he worked in Hilal. After Hilal, he started to work in "Türkocağı", between 1964-1969. Then, he established the monthly," Edebiyat" and then in 1976, the monthly, "Mavera" started its publishing life under the leadership of "7 Güzel Adam". Inan, in addition to his success in publication business, was also very active in civil society activities. He was among the founders of the right-wing teachers' syndicate, "Eğitim-Bir-Sen" and public officials' syndicate's confederation, "Memur-sen". From TRT Documentary archive: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynYUUq8zBVc

based on the topics covered in the monthly, guest authors, who have specialized in relevant topic, also contributed to the publications of Hilal. Some of them were Osman Lermioğlu, Galip Erdem, Osman Turan (One of his book was published by Hilal), Zübeyir Yetik, etc.

In short, even though Hilal could gather people from different groups, like Nurcular, MTTB, Türkocağı and Justice Party, it is hard to identify them as a cadre. Instead, Hilal was a media tool of a group of people and was publishing articles of people who were connected with them. While the contributors who have high profile in the political and social communities demonstrate that Hilal had a remarkable position among Right-Wing groups, when it comes to its political perspective, Hilal was just sharing a common discourse with other pro-establishment groups.

1.3. Hilal and Its Political Perspective During the Period of Inception

As it was stated, the Period of Inception was under the influence of Cold-War dynamics. Anti-communism was the ideological weapon of the US and the pro-Western states in the world. In parallel, pro-establishment intellectual groups were disseminating anti-communism as well in accordance with their political objectives. In these circumstances, Hilal's political perspective was heavily influenced by this ideological struggle. During its Inception Period, Hilal adopted Eisenhower doctrine as the essence of its own perspective and reproduced anti-communism by putting both systems' perception of religion to the center. In this context, since Turkish state was also trying to prevent the rise of the Left, Hilal's political perspective has overlapped with Turkey's both domestic and foreign policy objectives. Besides, positioning itself with the Western Bloc, Hilal constructed its political perspective towards the Middle East and Muslim-Majority countries in accordance with the bloc integrity. In other words, regarding Middle East and Muslim Majority Countries, Hilal applauds anti-communist developments while it was avoiding dealing with intra-Arab relations.

1.3.1. The World

Hilal reproduced bipolar world in its political perspective. It interpreted the Cold-War by putting emphasis on religion and belief. Accordingly, the Cold-War was defined by Necati Tamer, as the war between democratic-pious countries and atheist-communist countries.

> "On the one hand, the enemy of all the holy/sacred things, Communist Russia and its red servants. On the other hand, the nations that are in favor of humanity-freedom-democracy and virtue"[17] (1961, no.20, pp.15)

After interpreting the world politics as such, Hilal placed itself on the democratic-pious bloc. The article, named "Sea of Sadness or Being Destitute of 'Absolute' (*Hüzün Denizi ya da 'Mutlak'tan Yosunluk*) that was published just after the death of Kennedy was a manifestation of that positioning. Praising the Kennedy's "resistance against the non-believers", the author wailed the death with these words: "When Kennedy laughs, Right-Wing and believers' camp seems like getting a fruitful efficiency… Condolences to Uncle Sam, Right-Wing, Jacquelin, Caroline, John…"[18] (Hilal no.43, December 1963, p.24)

As the cause of the war was religion, their primary aim in the global politics was the extermination of the communism: the enemy of the religion and morality. For that end, conserving religion and religious values was qualified as the only way to succeed in the fight against communism. In defining this fight, the US' line of argumentation was used. By quoting from the US president Eisenhower, the fight was defined as:

> "What is our fight against communism if it is not the fight between the ones who believe in God and the ones who do not? The communists know that and therefore

[17] "Bir yanda her türlü mukaddesat düşmanı olan Komünist Rusya ve onun kızıl uşakları. Bir yanda da insanlık-hürriyet-demokrasi ve fazilet taraftarı olan milletler"

[18] "Kennedy gülünce sağ kamp, inanmışların kampı, bereketli bir verim alıyordu sanki…Sam amca, sağ kamp, Jacquelin, Caroline, John başınız sağ olsun."

they must expel Allah from all their belief system. Because when Allah enter, communism is obliged to leave."[19] (1960, no.13, pp.24)

Since the basis of the division of the world has been religion, Hilal compared these two blocs based on the levels of freedom of religion and conscience. Although the contents regarding the communist bloc was predominant, Hilal has included the features about western bloc and its principles that could legitimize their position, as well.

1.3.1.1. The Western Bloc

Contents regarding the western bloc contain the concept of democracy and policies and attitudes of the US towards religion. Theoretically, they describe democracy from a religious perspective. Practically, by referring to the freedom of religion and conscience in the US, they strengthened their stance. Moreover, this conceptualization formed the basis of Hilal's perspective towards Turkish politics. Particularly regarding democracy and laicism, Hilal takes the US as an example. Therefore, in the "Turkey" section of this chapter, references will be given to these concepts as Hilal analyzes Turkish democracy and laicism by comparing it with the US.

Democracy

Democracy was described, based on the ideas from Hamid Refik's book, as the will of people that is represented by the political parties and the deputies. Following excerpt, written by Nahit Dinçer, is a summary that indicates how Hilal interprets basic principles of democracy: "In summary, democracy is based on two main principles: Conforming to the reasonable emotions of the people and fulfilling their wishes; and individual freedom and popular sovereignty that is ready to comprehend fortunate outcomes of that system"[20] (Dinçer, 1962, no.31, pp.8)

[19] "Komünizme karşı mücadelemiz Allah'ın kudretine inananlarla inanmayanlar arasındaki mücadele değildir de nedir? Komünistler bunu biliyorlar ve bütün inanç sistemlerinden Allah'ı dışarı çıkarmak zorundadırlar. Zira Allah içeri girince, komünizm dışarı çıkmaya mecbur olur"

[20] "Özet olarak, demokrasi iki temel prensibe dayanır: Halkın makul hislerine riayet ve arzularını yerine getirmekten ibaret bir hükümet sistemi; ve böyle bir sistemin işlemesinden doğabilecek mesut sonuçları fazlasıyla idrake hazır, fert hürriyeti ve halkın egemenliği."

On top of this universal description, Hilal, with the ideas of Ali Fuat Başgil, adds "*maneviyatçılık* (morality/spirituality)" principle to democracy. He claimed that the democracy is malfunctioning in the countries where materialism is more important than morality/spirituality. The main reason, according to him, for the morality/spirituality of the democracy is that "this regime wants its citizens to be strong patriots…to give his/her life for the nation and the homeland if needed."[21] (Başgil, 1963, no.41, pp.16). In this vein, it was argued that morality/spirituality is nourished by religion. According to Hilal, democratic and secular regimes of the West get the support of this power since the political elites of these countries give religion its due importance in their policies. Moreover, hostility towards morality/spirituality is claimed to impede material developments of countries.

US' attitude towards religion

Following this vantage point, Hilal upholds its position in the western bloc, by continuously highlighting the freedom of religion and conscience in these countries, mostly in the US. Dr. Hikmet Tanyu[22] in his article "Religion in the US and Turkey (*Amerika'da ve Türkiye'de Din*)" (1959, no.7) praises public superiority of the religion in the US in the fields of the religious education, religious institutions, clerics' economic situation, freedom of religious parties (like Christian Democrat parties and their freedom in "secular" systems), situation of religious buildings and the number of pious people among the community.

Again, Dr. Tanyu in 13. Issue in the article "Eisenhower's Thoughts, Prayer and Declaration" (*Eisenhower'ın Düşünceleri, Duası ve Bir Beyanatı*)", by quoting from Eisenhower's article, "Why I Believe in God (*Allah'a Niçin İnanıyorum*)"; from his inaugural address named "My Prayer"; and also, from his speech in "National Christians Union", attempted to address the piety of the president of the

[21]"… bu rejim vatandaştan evvela kuvvetli bir millet ve vatan severlik ister…. İcabında vatan ve millet için canını feda etmesini ister."

[22] Tanyu was born in 1918 and died in 1992. He was an important nationalist/conservative thinker. He was professor of history of religions at Ankara University (PhD, 1959). He has also served as the Dean of Faculty of Theology at Ankara University between 1977-1980. He was sentenced for 6 months in 1944 for propagating "Turancılık". http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/37/781/10038.pdf

US. Furthermore, the inaugural address of Kennedy was also reported in the journal by pointing out its references to religion.

Moreover, another important content regarding the US' attitude towards religion was Ömer Okçu[23]'s article series named "News from Christian World (*Hıristiyan Aleminden Haberlerim Var*)". In these articles, Okçu, based on his own observations, evaluates the visibility of religion in the US. For instance, the points that the author put emphasis on were: the extensive opportunities for religious education; references to religion in public boards, such as bus posters, wall panels, religious school ads, and especially "In God We Trust" phrase on stamps and dollar; clerics' freedom of walking on the streets and attending ceremonies with their religious clothes on; military rankings like priest lieutenant, priest colonel, etc.; and solid infrastructure of churches. Following these, it was discussed that high level of respect given religion and religious people and the importance given religious education in a secular country like the US proved the importance of the religion for a nation. Another point regarding the image of religion for the American people is related with their disgust with communism. "Americans hate nonbelievers. According to them, believe in any religion or sect but do not be non-believer. Because every nonbeliever reminds them the Communism"[24] (Okçu, 1962, no.26, pp.19)

Consequently, Soviet Union was claimed to be the opposite of the US in these terms. In that sense, the author stated that "To spite Russia, American economy is religious and free. Freedom of conscience and human rights can be of concern in this kind of countries"[25] (Okçu, 1962, no.26, pp.19)

[23] Okçu was born in 1932. He served as a military officer between 1952-1972. During the first half of 1960's, he went lots of times to USA for military training. He wrote this article series during his visits to the US. Furthermore, he was also a very close student of Said Nursi. He used "Hekimoğlu İsmail" nickname in his writings during 1970's in the monthlies like Mavera and Sebil.

[24] Her Amerikalı, dinsiz insanlardan tiksinir. Onlara göre hangi dinden ve hangi mezhepten olursan ol ama dinsiz olma. Çünkü her dinsiz Komünizmi hatırlatır onlara."

[25] "Rusya'ya inat, Amerikan iktisadı dindardır, hürdür. Vicdan hürriyeti ve insan hakları böyle memleketlerde mevzu bahis olabilir."

1.3.1.2. The Communist Bloc

While democracy was conveyed to the journal's audience by putting specific emphasis on its freedom of conscience principle, communist regimes were portrayed as the oppressive regimes. In addition to Marxist doctrine's enmity against religion, historical "Russians and Chinese were the enemies of Turks" image together with Soviet Union's imperialist policies towards Caucasia were the main themes of the anti-communist world view of Hilal.

Communism

Examining the ideology of the communist regime by discussing its perspective towards religion, Hilal used Marxism's "religion is the opium of the people" principle to support its anti-communist position. Marxism's perspective towards religion was summarized by Şinasi Siber in the journal.

> "Marxism, just like the older Atheist currents, claims that the religion is invented by people… According to Marxism, there are two impetuses for people to invent religion: 1) The inability of people to find and comprehend the true cause. 2) Fear of unknown world, which stems from incomprehension."[26] (Siber, 1962, no.29, pp.8)

Siber opposed these argumentations. He supports himself by arguing that if the thesis were correct, the religion should regress as the science advances. However, he adds that religion was born simultaneously with the humanity and maintained its existence throughout history.

In addition to the contents about the very nature of the religion according to communism, Hilal also discussed the possible reasons behind the doctrine's hostility against religion. Correspondingly, Müslümoğlu argues that the communism aims to replace the role that religion plays in the social, political and

[26]"Marksizm, tarihteki daha eski Ateizm cereyanları gibi, dinin insan tarafından icat edildiğini iddia eylemektedir… Marksizm'e göre dinin insan tarafından yaratılmasında başlıca iki saik vardır: 1) İnsanın hakiki sebepleri anlamak ve bulmaktaki aczi. 2) Etrafındaki meçhul aleme karşı duyduğu korku ki bu korku anlayamamaktan geliyor."

economic life of communities and to deify its leaders. This feature was claimed to be the underlying factor in communism's enmity against religion because "a communist, in terms of belief, regards Allah and Prophet as the enemies of its idolized leader"[27] (Müslümoğlu, 1963, no.37, pp.8). In this context, Islam was considered as the most threatening religion for communism due to its superiority as a system. "Today communism do/should complain most about Islam because it is the latest and the most perfect one among the religion of books"[28] (Müslümoğlu, 1963, no.37, pp.8)

Communists' Policies Towards Muslim Countries

Even though the main criticism against communism was directed to the Marxist doctrine's religion perspective, at times, with the aim of utilizing the historical enemy figure of "Moskof", Hilal had easily claimed that communism is a typical "Moskof" regime instead of a regime that was introduced by Marx. According to Ahmet Hazer Hızal[29], Soviet communist regime became "an idiosyncratic Russian system" (*Rusluğa has bir sistem*) and took the form of Leninism - Stalinism by "adapting to the Russians' soul, character, mindset and living conditions"[30] (Hızal, 1961, no. 17, pp.23). In that sense Hızal did not regard the establishment of Soviet Union as a rupture, instead he claimed that the typical Russian (Moskof) character was the reason behind the policies pursued by Soviet regime.

[27] "Bir komünist, inanma babında Allah'ı ve Peygamberleri kendi putlaştırdıkları liderlerine daima hasım görür."
[28] "Kitabi dinlerin en son ve ekmeli de İslamiyet olduğu için, bugün komünizmin şüphesiz en çok hayf duyduğu veya duyması lazım geldiği din de İslamiyet'tir"
[29] Mustafa Zihni Hızal was the father of Ahmet Hazer Hızal and in fact Mustafa was the real thinker and active Caucasian nationalist. He also wrote lots of article to Hilal regarding the Caucasia. He was active almost every anti-communist organization. He established "Kuzey Kafkasya Hürriyet ve İstiklal Davası" organization in 1961. Moreover, some of his books were published with the name of Ahmet Hazer for that reason, we cannot be sure who was the real writer of the articles published in Hilal with the name of Ahmet Hazer.
[30] "Rusluğun ruhuna, karakterine, düşünüş tarzına ve hayat şartlarına intibak ettirilerek..."

> "The regime had changed in Russia. Yet, traditional hypocrite Moskof character has not changed and the imperialism was being carried through new methods[31] (Hızal, 1961, no.17, pp.12)

In a sense, Hilal drew an essentialist "Russian and Chinese enemy" portrait that had been attacking Muslim Turks throughout the history. Necati Tamer claims "We have two enemies throughout the history" and identifies them as the Chinese -during the Turks were living in Central Asia- and Russians -in Anatolia, since the Ottoman Era (Tamer, 1961, no.20, pp.15).

Another theme that constituted the anti-communist perspective of Hilal towards the world politics was the debate on the variations between Western and Communist imperialist policies. While serious criticisms were directed against communist regimes' expansionist policies, western countries' imperialism were overlooked, even more were supported to some extent. Even though most of the Muslim countries, especially the Arab countries, had been exploited by the Western countries, Hilal uses imperialism comparison to support its anti-communism. Accordingly, Hilal argues that the Western countries had exploited only the economies of their colonies and adds that "thanks to the vast opportunities granted by democratic system, there are ways to get free from Western imperialism"[32] (1961, no.17, pp.23). However, Soviets were accused of "exploiting every aspect of the lives of nations on behalf of their interests"[33] (1961, no.17, pp.23). Besides, not only Soviet imperialism but also Chinese imperialism was included in these discussions. According to Hilal, Chinese communist regime's imperialism strategy was same with the Soviet Union. Mehmet Emin Buğra[34] described these regimes as "worse than imperialist (*sömürgeciden daha kötü bir şey*)"

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[31] "Rusya'da rejim değişmişti. Fakat ananevi iki yüzlü Moskof karakteri değişmemiş ve emperyalizm yeni metotlarla yürütülüyordu."

[32] "…demokratik sistemin bahsettiği geniş imkanlar neticesinde Batı sömürgeciliğinden kurtulmanın çareleri her zaman için mevcuttur"

[33] "milletlerin hayatlarını başından sonuna kadar kendi menfaatleri hesabına sömürmektedirler"

[34] Mehmet Emin Buğra was a Uighur and the first Emir of the East Turkistan Republic, that was established in 1932 and conquered in 1944 by the Soviet Red Army. He was also an attendant to 1962 World Islam Congress, together with another Uighur nationalist İsa Yusuf Alptekin, and of course with Salih Özcan

> "(The imperialist states) From the mentioned states, the western ones did not claim the annexation of their colonies to their homeland and they govern the colonies by implicitly accepting to retreat in case of facing force majeure. Russia and China had a different mentality and they called their colonies as part of their homeland instead of "Colony" and they tried to validate this claim whenever they got an opportunity."[35] (Buğra, 1961, no.17, pp.19)

As part of the Soviet Union's imperialist policies, Hilal focused on its attitude towards religion, particularly in the Caucasian countries. Ahmet Avar, by writing up the grievances of the Caucasians, aimed to promote anti-communism as well as to create awareness among the audience, by honoring Turkish and Islamic values.

> "The efforts of the Tsars and the Reds in splitting the North Caucasus has been caused by the insurmountable stand as a granite rock of the North Caucasus against them as we mentioned above... The Soviet system executed in North Caucasus is pretty far behind to be fully successful. Likewise, the civils withstands this system despite everything." [36] (Avar, 1961, no.20, pp.23)

According to Hilal, with the aim of breaking the resistance of the Muslims and fighting against Islam, communist Soviet regime adopted a gradual strategy. In this regard, the first step taken by the Soviet Union was to try to increase its prestige in the minds of Muslims. For this, it was claimed that, during the first years of its existence, Soviet governments conferred rights to Muslim communities and increased their socio-cultural freedoms. In parallel to this, the governments tried hard to form a public opinion regarding the similarities between communist doctrine and Islamic system. However, as for Hilal, Ulama and the Muslim's organizations has realized "the hypocrite policies" of the communist and then "the communists began their oppressive policies, showing their real face."[37] (1961, no.22, pp.20)[38]. After that point, especially after the beginning of collectivization in 1929-1934, Hilal claims that policies against Islam transformed into an organized and systematic campaign. The process started after that period was explained by

[35] See Appendix A
[36] See Appendix A
[37] "Komünistler artık maskelerini fırlatıp doğrudan doğruya baskı siyasetine başladılar."
[38] Translated from "Islam Today in Soviet Union" article, published in Munich. Translated by Altunkan Hizal.

Hilal as: First, religious publishing houses were confiscated. Then, secret police started to force Islamic Scholars to sign declarations that were in line with the Russian utility. As the scholars rejected to sign, they were dismissed or exiled. These policies terminated the activities of the mosques and madrasas. Finally, Soviet government converted these empty Islamic buildings into "red corners". Hilal praised that despite these pressures from the communist state, religion and religious people had never given up and preferred to be martyrs in the name of Islam. For that reason, it was stated that the Soviet Union could have never succeeded in eliminating Islam.

1.3.2. The Middle East and Muslim-Majority Countries

During the Inception Period, the discussions and publications regarding the Middle East and Muslim-majority countries' politics remained very limited. While news and reports about Muslim countries were constituting a part of the contents regarding the Middle East, Anti-Zionist attitude was predominating the period. When we consider that the US and its stooges in the region did not have decisive roles and that Turkey had no role at all, the reason why Hilal did not reinterpret Arab Cold-War in its political perspective would become clear. Furthermore, Rabıta was established during this period but its establishment could not transform the ideological stance of Hilal and the circle maintained its anti-communist discourse throughout the first half of the 1960's.

1.3.2.1. News from Islamic World

Instead of detailed analyses of the political environment and the polarized nature of the region, Hilal, generally in the "Haberler (News)" section or in specific articles, attempted to inform its audience about Muslim countries. By doing so Hilal wanted to create awareness regarding the problems of these countries and to increase the sense of brotherhood with them. In parallel with the circumstances of the period, coverages regarding the situation and problems of Algeria, Iraq and United Arab Republic (UAR)/Egypt were prioritized.

Algerian War of Independence was dealt extensively. Even, the ninth issue, of September 1959, was devoted to that matter. Likewise, until the end of the war, the military situation and the developments were covered in almost every issue. The main theme of the news about Iraq was the anti-communism. While communists, described as the enemies of Islam, were being criticized, religious people's revolt against them was praised. Similarly, Nasser's anti-communist policies and prohibition of alcoholic beverages in Egypt were reported approvingly by Hilal.

Furthermore, other mostly reported countries were Pakistan and Indonesia. While Ayoub Khan was being supported in Pakistan, Mashomi Party's revolt against Indonesian "dictator" Sukarno was praised. Besides, under the "Lesser Known Muslim Countries" sections, Hilal introduced lots of Muslim countries to its audience. Those include: Maldives, Kenya, Zanzibar, Niger, Mali, Guinea and Nigeria.

In addition to the country reports, Hilal included the international relations of Muslim countries, as well. As Salih Özcan was an attendant to the World Muslim Congress and the founding partner of the World Muslim League (Rabıta), it was natural for coverages being about these initiatives. The prominent contents were prepared by Salih Özcan, following the meetings[39] that he had attended. It is important to note that these contents aimed only at introducing Rabıta and informing the audience briefly about the organization's resolutions. Due to "the low profile" of this Saudi-led initiative in the diplomatic arena, these contents had very similar objectives with standard country reports: feeding anti-communist sentiments. For instance, in the article written after the Baghdad Conference of May 1962, under a specific subtitle "My Fight Against Communism in the Fifth World Islam Congress held in Baghdad, 1962"[40] Salih Özcan explains how he initiated the change of an article of resolutions of the congress. The article had been "the fight

[39] First one is the meeting of World Islam Congress, held on 29th May 1962 in Baghdad. Rabıta was also established just before the meeting. The other one was again the meeting of World Islam Congress held on 8th March 1963, in Saudi Arabia.

[40] "Bağdad'da 1962 Yılı Toplanan V. Dünya İslam Kongresinde Komünizmle Mücadelem"

against Western imperialists and the activities to liberate captive nations"[41] and after Özcan's rejection and his speech about "the realities of communist states' imperialism and the communist threat", the name of the article was changed to "Western and Eastern Imperialism" (Özcan, 1962, no.28, pp.11).

1.3.2.2. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism and Israel

As it is stated, regarding the Middle East, the predominant issue for Hilal is Anti-Zionism. Hilal identified Zionists with the communists as another archenemy of the humanity. For instance, in the cover page of the 5th issue[42], Zionists, together with communists, were illustrated as dogs. Likewise, the 8th issue[43] was devoted to anti-Zionism and its cover subject was "The Objectives of Zionism".

The source of Hilal' s hostility to Zionism was anti-Semitism. They assumed that all Jews are Zionists and thus, attributed their evilness to their nature. The way Cevat Rıfat Atılhan evaluated Adolf Eichmann Trial clearly shows this attitude. Accordingly, they denied the holocaust and blamed the Jewish lobby for spreading that fabrication.

> "Is the German militia colonel right, innocent or criminal? For now, we will not dwell on this point. If there is a truth, or a point that we would like to crystallize, it is not to prejudge in favor or against, is that in this matter World Jewism has tricked and that the world press is the pawn of this play and the main warning point is that. Once 6 million Jewish case is a great lie... Also, when we examine our homeland, there are writings that justify the Jewish as right and superior and from the most pitiful aspect offend the noble German Nation that together we spill blood shoulder in shoulder in a trench for years.... The Israelites has never been righteous and innocent in any time, in any place since the world has been established."[44] (Atılhan, 1961, no.19, pp.8)

On top of the anti-Semitic coverages, Hilal directly criticized Zionist goals of the state of Israel. Israel was regarded as the "Orta Doğunun Nifak Merkezi" (Dissension center of the Middle East) with the imperialist strategy of grabbing the

[41] "Garp emperyalistleriyle mücadele ve esir milletleri istiklale kavuşturma faaliyeti"
[42] Hilal no.5, March 1959, See Appendix B
[43] Hilal no.8, July 1959
[44] See Appendix A

lands "from the Nile to Euphrates". According to Atılhan[45], Israel was resisting the positive developments in economic fields in the region, aiming at benefiting from economic underdevelopment of Middle Eastern and Asian countries (Atılhan, 1961, no.17, pp.8). In this way, Hilal put Israel in a position of the root of all the evilness in the region. Moreover, even though Hilal upholds the US' role in the world politics, when it comes to its relations with Israel, they do not let the US off the hook.

> "Not the humans living on earth, even the monsters we call the most terrifying are not that hostile to their kind (referring to Israel). What a sorrowful transfiguration, even the America, the representative of the democracy, is deceived and from the aids they supply, incomparably the biggest aid has been supplied to the Israel. For instance, although they are providing 8 dollars per person for Europe, they supplied 48 dollars aid per person for the Jewish."[46] (Öztürk, 1959, no.5, pp.6)

Together with political and economic problems that Israel had created in the region, the tragedies of Arab people within the territories of Israel was also featured in the journal. According to Hilal, Israeli government was aiming to exterminate the lives of Arabs in its country and for this end it appropriated the incomes of the people, banned Quran and revoked the education right of Arab youth. Thus, Hilal drew a Jewish picture to its audience as an evil in nature, tormenting Muslims in its territory with the aim of conquering all the region.

1.3.3. Turkey

Hilal adopted its bipolar world view in its political perspective for the Turkish context. Representing the US foreign policy objectives, Hilal shared the common discourse with the establishment. In this sense, Hilal contributed to the internalization of the communist threat by identifying Turkish communists as the

[45] Cevat Rıfat Atılhan was almost the only writer in anti-Semitist and anti-Zionist contents of Hilal. He was a soldier during the WW1 and has fought in the Palestine Front. After the establishment of Republic, he became a radical Turkish nationalist. He was sentenced for one year for being responsible for the assassination attempt of Ahmet Emin Yalman in 1952. He died in 1967. He is known as the "Hitler of the Middle East" for his Anti-Semitist writings: http://idp.org.tr/yazarlar/cevat-rifat-atilhan

[46] See Appendix A

stooges of the greater international communism. In this context, Hilal qualified the communism as the biggest enemy in Turkey and described the main political struggle as the struggle against them.

This anti-communism was propagated in almost every occasion, throughout the period. In parallel to this, they were in favor of increasing the scope of religious freedom and of making Islam more visible in political and social life. In this respect, Hilal covertly criticized democracy and secularist laws and regulations in Turkey by predicating on the US' regime. Moreover, discussions on reactionism, prevalent in Turkish political and social life during the period, were also covered by Hilal.

Apart from these, prominent themes focused by Hilal were, state-society relations: Directorate of Religious Affairs and Religious education; Cyprus issue; and Nurculuk. Even if the contents regarding these subjects, somehow, touch upon communists, these were analyzed under specific subheadings.

1.3.3.1. Communists

As it was stated, the leitmotiv of the political perspective of Hilal during the Inception Period was anti-communism. In this regard, a communist figure with its attributes, its political strategies and the methods to fight against them were explicitly "revealed" by Hilal. Through this explicit enemy figure, it became easier to define allies in the bipolar Turkish politics and to define the arena of the fight against the enemies.

Primarily, "a communist" was defined in detail by Ahmet Kanbek, with his article "Komünisti Teşhis (Spotting a Communist). We should recall, at this point that the basic characteristics of a communist portrayed by Kanbek were similar with the ones in the pamphlets of the US Armed Forces, named "How to Spot a Communist"[47], distributed around 1955. Accordingly, the communists: 1) are atheists; 2)are the enemies of nationalism (*milliyetçilik*); 3) aim to destroy families (as a social institution); 4) use concepts like social justice, socialism, socialist,

[47] Content of the pamphlet can be reached in http://www.niu.edu/~rfeurer/labor/PDF%20Files/How%20to%20Spot%20a%20Communist.pdf

social development, land reform, peace, impartiality, people (*halk*) -instead of nation (*millet*)-, emancipation of mass from poverty, fascist, reaction, bigotry, exploitation of people, etc.; 5) spread fake news like there is not a communism threat instead the real threat is reactionism; 6) are "Russophile"; 7) never talk about the fact that the Soviet Union is the only great imperialist state; 8) provoke urban and rural people against each other and civil citizens against military, the law and the government; 9) are always drunk; like alcohol and prostitution; 10) have indeterminate income; spend more than they earn; 11) adapt to the political fluctuations of Kremlin; 12) leak into political parties, associations and organizations; 13) always talk about the freedom of thought. "We can be sure that a person who has these attributes and characteristics is a Moscow agent traitor"[48] (Kanbek, 1963, no.40, pp.3)

According to Hilal, "these communists" had their own social and political tactics and strategies to infiltrate societies. Necati Tamer explained these devices of communism, "the enemy of religion-pudicity-ethic-nationality-freedom"[49] (Tamer, 1961, no.20, pp.15). For Tamer, the most important tactic for communists is to disseminate materialist ideas and desires. By doing so, communism was claimed to aim to sever connections between generations. For this purpose, the author stated that they directly attack to nationalist sentiments and moral and spiritual values.

> "That diabolical called Communist, the traitor that is devoid of humanity and merit, will always use all the tricks in order to break the bone for a common ideal between the living generation and the next generation, making people as mean as not considering their children, turning them as miserable as not being able to imagine their grandchildren. The aim is to make the human turn into a speaking animal that lives only for itself, and understands living as only filling up the stomach, satisfying the soul for the animally desires and to make people get rid of the abstention of the sin and shame. It uses the methods of depreciating the moral values, despising the spiritual pleasure, demolishing all kinds of beliefs and extinguishing the fire of nationalism to succeed this dishonorable aim. "[50] (Tamer, 1961, no.21, pp.21)

[48] "İşte bu sıfat ve vasıflara uygun olan bir insanın Moskova ajanı bir hain olduğuna emin olabiliriz."
[49] "din-iman-namus-ahlak-milliyet-hürriyet düşmanı"
[50] See Appendix A

Among these moral and spiritual values, Hilal put specific emphasis on communism's enmity against religion. In this respect, Kemaleddin Nomer attempted to regard profanity as identical with communism. He argues that only the communists attack religion and religious values/institutions/buildings.

> "The heavy and direct offense against the religion as impoundment of mosques and religious schools, repealing Religious Affairs Administration, closure of religion spreading organizations and arresting their owners is practice that can only been a characteristic practice of the countries that are managed by a communist regime."[51] (Nomer, 1964, no.46, pp.3)

After describing a communist, the conditions where communism can utilize its devices and thus disseminate its ideas were explained, in the article "Believers' Victory Against Communists (*İmanlıların Komünistlere Karşı Zaferi*)", written by Yusuf Demirdağ[52]. Accordingly, as for the communism, enmity against wealth should be created. Later, he adds that "materialist philosophy" would need to propagate that in today's world there left no need for God. As it was stated, this propaganda would influence "enlightened pride"[53] of young citizens that had left their family and started to be cynical to their values. For this people who were estranged to religion, communism was claimed to become the end. However, it was obvious, according to Ahmet Kanbek, that communism do not transform regimes by elections. Instead, he claims that communism seek for "weak and unorganized nations" and "loom them over like a nightmare" (Kanbek, 1963, no.40, pp.2)

Furthermore, Hilal focused on the ways and methods to fight against the communists, whose characteristics and strategies had been "spotted". Religion was brought into the forefront as the "strongest" weapons against communism, as well. Besides religion, the most important issue for Hilal in this struggle was the elimination of the conditions which is suitable for communism. For this end, both political figures and ordinary people were called to have their own responsibilities.

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[51] See Appendix A

[52] Yusuf Demirdağ, "İmanlıların Komünistlere Karşı Zaferi", Hilal no.34, December 1962, p.10-11

[53] "Aydın gururu". This term may be used to refer to the common perception of (Western) educated, urban people among the right wing. "Enlightenment", as it was used sarcastically, was criticized as it only means deviation from Turkish and Islamic values for leftist intelligentsia.

Accordingly, it was translated from Naim Sıddıki, while the political elites should increase the life standards in the country, people should fight against them with ideas, ideologies and thesis (Sıddıki, 1961, no.20, pp.26). However, Hilal's political perspective made almost no references to any "thesis" of struggle beyond heroic, traditionalist and conservative thoughts. In this respect, what offer Sıddıki was the missing point in Hilal's perspective and what Political Islam would try to fill in the second period.

Hilal called state apparatuses into action in the fight against communism, as well. By doing so, as Ahmet Kanbek underlined, their fight against communism would be together with the legal establishements. The fact that this article was written up in times when "The Committee for the Fight against Communism" was established, should also be underlined.

> "To protect our country from this devastating calamity, it is an urgent need to establish an intelligence service with people that have a grasp of Communist infiltration methods, activities and propaganda techniques and specialized courts amending the articles 141, 142 according to the current conditions. The omission and unawareness in this matter can lead to irreparable disasters. "[54] (Kanbek, 1963, no.40, pp.3)

1.3.3.2. Democracy and Laicism

Hilal follows theoretical framework of democracy that it has made for global politics. In this respect, for Hilal, Turkey's democracy could not meet the criterion. Criticizing the Turkish state by exemplifying and praising the US, Hilal had avoided the risk of direct confrontation with the Turkish establishment. In addition to it, compatibility of Islamic and Turkish values with democracy was underlined, too.

Even though Hilal acknowledged the developments in the religious spheres during 1950's onwards, it still criticized the backwardness of the public status of religion in the country. Relatively low levels of religious freedom, especially during the first years of the republic was blamed for raising non-religious generations. Consequences of the one-party era, as Süleyman Teymuroğlu wrote:

[54] See Appendix A

> "What is the result, the result is a deplorable gap and by not allowing the study of the religion not even as a science, equipping the pure and clean-hearted youth of the country, who is vulnerable to inculcation coming both from outside and inside of the country, with stony-hearted feelings against their own citizens and organization"[55] (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

According to Hilal, as democracy necessitates morally superior citizens, the alienation of people, especially the youth, from their own moral values, directly and negatively affected the democracy in Turkey. Teymuroğlu addresses the democratic deficit in Turkey and claims that "first of all, we are a nation that could not establish its material institutions, its democracy and the institutions depend on it, adequately."[56] (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.22). Therefore, he presented the strengthening of the spiritual/moral institutions as solution.

On top of the democracy's requirements, and Turkey's backwardness in these senses, Hilal also put emphasis on how Turkish and Islamic values have the capacity to fulfill those. In this regard, again, Teymuroğlu claimed that religion had always played an important role in Ottoman/Turkish revolutions such as *Meşrutiyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. He adds that religion has always cultivated these kinds of modernization attempts.

> "For us, the attempts in order to save the national law from the high-handed behavior of the people, great revolutions as Constitutional Monarchy and Republic have always been with the participation of the Turkish ulema, with the effort of demanding scholars and with Muslim public that mostly take heed of legitimacy and justice and always uphold the righteous side. It will always be like this."[57] (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

Moreover, it was argued that, together with traditional heritage, Islam, as a religion, is also compatible with democracy. While Demirdağ was defining Islam as a "salvation, freedom, democracy and dynamism factor for humanity" (Demirdağ, 1963, no.37, pp.17), Lermioğlu addresses:

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[55] See Appendix A

[56] "Bir kere biz henüz maddi müesseselerimizi, demokrasimizi ve ona müteferri olan müesseseleri kemaliyle ve layıkıyla kuramamış olan bir milletiz."

[57] See Appendix A

> "The religion Islam is not a narrow-minded religion that only orders faith and worship. Islam is a religion that is suggesting an ideal democracy in every field"[58] (Lermioğlı, 1964, no.46, pp.4)

After discussing democracy in Turkey and how well Islamic and Turkish moral values can fulfill its requirements, Hilal touched upon laicism. Accordingly, it was argued that laicism was misapplied in Turkey. This led to "the exploitation of the concept"[59] and to be used as a tool by the enemies of the religion. Again, by referring to the Western practices, it was claimed that, even though laicism means the freedom of religion and separation of state and religion, it affected religion negatively in Turkey. In this context, Teymuroğlu put specific emphasis on the Western states' constitutions and its article related with religion

> "It is obvious that we execute the secularism badly or not executing it at all. In Europe after the secularism the religious organizations maintain their existence with infinite freedom both as a science and as a practice. When constitutional law of any secular European and American state is examined, in preamble or amendments, it will be observed that Jesus, church and religion is referred with high respect."[60] (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

In these regards, he asserted that, proposed improvements in democracy and laicism in Turkey would not develop only its domestic political and social environment. These kinds of improvements would also ameliorate Turkey's position on the international political arena.

> "Our position in NATO will be strengthened with this offer. Because NATO is an organization that aims to strengthen itself from both material and nonmaterial aspects. It is a fortress of defense."[61] (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

Westernization

In addition to the discussions about Western concepts like democracy and laicism, Westernization issue, that is a very important issue in Turkish political and

[58] "İslam dini sadece itikad ve ibadeti emreden dar çerçeveli bir din değildir. İslam dini her sahada makul ve hürriyeti sağlayan, mükemmel bir demokrasiyi öneren bir dindir."
[59] "Laiklik sömürüsü" was used for this concept. That basically means that communists try to make laicism be perceived as the elimination of religion.
[60] See Appendix A
[61] "NATO içindeki mevkiimiz bu teklifle kuvvetlenir. Çünkü NATO maddi ve manevi cihetten kuvvetlenmeye çalışan bir teşkilattır. Bir müdafaa kalesidir."

social life, was also covered. In this sense, Zübeyir Yetik criticized the perceptions of Westernization in Turkey and proposed different understandings for Westernization, Modernization and Civilization. Correspondingly, it supported the classical principle of "taking the good sides of the West".

> "Westernization, Modernization or Civilization is not what we need. We have no use for Westernization since we can't self-deny or throw ourselves out, for Modernization since there is no era difference, for Civilization since we already have our own; it is not even possible. However, for our civilization we have a matter called modernization... Therefore, a nation that wants to modernize its civilization, is not obligated to exactly imitate the nations that are more modern than itself. Nevertheless, the nation benefits from the common aspects and directions of the technically developed nations and creates a unique and specific civilization, more precisely modernizes its specific civilization. "[62] (Yetik, 1964, no.48, p.22)

1.3.3.3. Reactionism

The issue that Hilal had faced up most frequently was the "threat of reactionism". Hilal and others with religious/conservative world view were accused of being reactionaries by the leftist intelligentsia of the time, namely the circles Yön, Forum, Sosyal Demokrasi, etc. The religious/conservatives, on the other hand, has attacked those Leftist intellectuals and accused them of being "communist traitors". Hilal, in particular, has rejected the reactionary arguments and used them as means of promoting its anti-communism. In a sense, these discussions have helped Hilal to reify the "internal communist menace". Basically, Leftists were defined as the "enemies of national values" and that was claimed to be reason of their attacks to religion.

Hilal claimed that those Leftist were the "privileged intellectuals", who, with the aim of maintaining their positions, had fabricated the reactionism debate. Galip Erdem regarded the ideas that those intellectuals called as reactionary was in favor of the progress of the country.

> "People who do not want to grant the right of freedom of thought to anyone except themselves, accuse individuals who deal, write or speak about the history, customs,

[62] See Appendix A

> cultural values and religion of this nation, of reactionism and trying to revive dilapidated institutions. They, who have been holding the privileged position of 'Gentry/master of thought' since at least fifty years, prevented the free circulation and application of ideas that are in favor of the interests and the progress of the country, on the pretext of attacking reactionism and of protecting the revolution."[63] (Erdem, 1961, no.16, pp.20)

According to Hilal, accusing them with Reactionism was not just fabrication, it was even breaking the freedom of thought principle of the constitution. Furthermore, Özer claims that "if reactionism meant disrupting the national/religious integrity and social order; one should seek the perpetrators by excluding the prayers."[64] (Özer, 1962, no.32, pp.3) In addition to this, Özgedik defines the real reaction as to be the rejection of different ideas.

> "Whoever, that respects the ideas or beliefs of nobody but itself, and aggresses their owners, unfortunately is a mentally reactionist. For instance: if anybody claiming itself far-sighted and adorned with most beneficial ideas, attacks the people with adverse or different ideas by claiming them as reactionist, they will be the reactionist." [65] (Özgedik, 1962, no.25, pp.4)

Consequently, seen all these debates as artificial, Hilal claimed that these were made up by the communists. Orhan Özgedik argues that "the statements of the profane communists, who claims that the religion is opium, have influenced so much that"[66] (Özgedik, 1962, no.25, pp.4) everyone who talks about religion was accused of being reactionary. In that vein, Nomer rearticulated the bipolar mindset of Hilal and reiterated the "togetherness" with state

> "It is needed to show that this country is not abandoned, that Turkish Republic will be everlasting, that the social order provided by the constitutional law won't be broken and that Communism will never be allowed to be settled in Turkey"[67] (Nomer, 1964, no.46, pp.3)

[63] See Appendix A
[64] "milli ve dini bütünlüğümüzü bozmak ve amme nizamını zedelemek isteyenlerin faaliyetleri hissediliyorsa bunların faillerini abitlerin (namaz kılanların) dışında aramak lazımdır"
[65] See Appendix A
[66] "Din afyondur diyen komünist dinsizlerin sözleri o kadar tesir yaratmıştır ki"
[67] See Appendix A

1.3.3.4. Cyprus

In parallel with the circumstances of the period, Cyprus became an issue for Hilal, primarily during the late 1950's when Cyprus gained its independence, and then during 1964, when Turkish-Cypriots' riot was followed by Turkish air strikes and ended with the US' rejection, the incident known as Johnson's Letter.

In the late 1950's, Cyprus issues was not covered in its details. On the "News" sections, Hilal reported some developments regarding the island, such as that the Directorate of Religious Affairs has sent some clerics to the island (1960, no.13, p.25). On top of it, an article series written by a Turkish-Cypriot, Hizber M. Hikmet can summarize the general position of Hilal during this period. In the arguments of Hikmet, "Islamic" instead of "Turkish" values have been brought into prominence for the salvation of the island.

> "A handful of Turkish Islam community at Cyprus is shouting as "We are not Muslim, but Turkish", trying to avoid all the Islamic obligations on them and aspired to only be called and living as this… If Turkish Cypriots gather around a leader that is faithful, real mujahid and spiritualist (*mukaddesatçı*), indeed there exists such people, and set all the things right with the understanding of religion and ethics to the full, they will immediately live in peace as an exemplary community."[68] (Hikmet, 1959, no.10, pp.11)

However, as the tensions in the island and the sensitivity of the Turkish society towards the issue increased, Cyprus became a real matter for Hilal in 1964. Primarily, anti-communism has altered the circle's attitude towards the issues. Ahmet Kanbek blamed communists for the problems on the island. In this context, even ENOSIS was described as an "extension" of the international communism.

> "International communism incorporated any kind of dishonor, brutality, cruelty and any kind of ill-treatment and malice, is wandering through East-Mediterranean's warm water persistently like an octopus, under the order of historical Russian imperialism. The tentacles of this octopus which have already reached out the Asian-European countries, is now enfolding most of the Greek-Cypriots… Communist Greek-Cypriots organized under the banner of Enosis, have

[68] See Appendix A

> expanded by getting any kind of help they had demanded, to a level that they now pose the danger itself."[69] (Kanbek, 1964, no.45, pp.4)

Even though the communists were accused, Hilal criticized Turkish foreign policy, as well. According to the circle, the main fallacy of Turkish Foreign Ministry was their cooperation with Greek government on the future of the island. It was argued that Greece had no right on the island and therefore Turkey should have managed the island alone, after Britain had left. Consequently, based on this argumentation, the government of the island was declared unlawful. Even though the foreign affairs were criticized, Hilal was cautious not to touch upon neither the Lausanne Treaty nor the policies of the Republican-Kemalist elites.

Furthermore, in fact, Cyprus issue affected Turkish political and social life deeply. Specifically, Johnson's letter had increased anti-American sentiments among society and had caused questioning of Turkey's alliance with the west. Correspondingly, Hilal, too, put aside its pro-American perspective and criticized the US' attitude towards the island and questioned Turkey-US alliance, as well.

> "The West is still ripping us off! We do not believe in the sincerity of the West. If we have an inclination towards the West, it cannot pass the scope of the agreements that were based on the cooperation against International communism threat."[70] (1964, no.47, pp.16)

1.3.3.5. State-Society Relations

As for the state-society relations, Hilal focused on the institutions related with religion. While the Directorate of Religious Affairs and religious education were the predominant themes in this context, Hilal' s attitude towards Kemalism and the military should also be examined.

[69] See Appendix A

[70] "Batı bize hala kazık atmakta! Biz Batının samimiyetine inanmıyoruz. Batıya varsa meylimiz, beynelmilel bir afet olan Komünizm tehlikesine karşı, karşılıklı iş birliğine dayanan antlaşmalar çerçevesini geçemez."

Kemalism and the Military

Even though Hilal criticized low levels of religiosity and morality of Turkish society, they never directly addressed these criticisms towards Kemalism or its guardian, the military. There was only one article devoted to Atatürk. It is about a sermon that he had read in Balıkesir, approximately in 1920[71]. The content of the sermon has lots of religious references like the superiority of Islam and its compatibility with science [72]. On the other hand, the military was mentioned only after 1960's military takeover, in a laudatory tone.

> "Generally, all our politicians have become enraged and there have appeared only personal grudge, greed and hatred sentiments. Meritorious Commanders of Turkish Army has become the best who peruse this situation. Although they are not interested in politics, they have not overlooked the passionate partisanship mentality damaging our homeland. National Union Committee under the presidency of Dear General Cemal Gürsel, on 27 May 1960, has accomplished bloodlessly this extraordinary work that the whole world has raved about… It is known by our audience that our journal has never got into any political activity. However, we have found it acceptable to speak of albeit briefly, since this exceptional success of Hero Turkish Army makes us all happy. The Turkish Army, which has won glory and honor throughout history, has raised its honor once more with this last task and has released its reputation to the world."[73] (1960, no.15, pp.1)

When we consider Turkish Islamist ideologues of the late-1980's and 1990's and how they based their ideas on the brutality of Kemalism[74], this particular 'no mentioning' becomes even more important. From this point of view, it can be assumed that Hilal tried to maintain its political position by not challenging the status quo even if Kemalism and the military had affected conservative Muslims more directly than the Communists in Turkey. Therefore, Hilal not only disseminated pro-establishment ideas but also avoided criticizing it. In this sense,

[71] Hicri 1339

[72] "Mühim Bir Vesika: Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşanın Balıkesir'de Bir Cami'de Okuduğu Hutbe", Hilal no.16, January 1961, p.24.

[73] See Appendix A

[74] For a detailed analysis, see: Karasipahi, Sena. *Muslims in modern Turkey: Kemalism, modernism and the revolt of the Islamic intellectuals*. IB Tauris, 2008.

even though Hilal presents itself as pro-democratic and conservative/Islamic group, this "anti-democratic" military intervention was applauded.

Directorate of Religious Affairs

Directorate of Religious Affairs is an important institution for Turkish state to control religion and society relations. Hilal, following its laicism and democracy perspective, approached to the institution as a legitimate, and more importantly an essential, apparatus of the state. In Hilal' s perspective, Directorate was necessary to increase religiosity and morality of Turkish citizens. In this regard, Hilal published Hüsnü Dikeçgil's assembly speeches about the institution, in behalf of Justice Party. From this point, we can assume that Hilal shared the official perspective of the center-rightist Justice Party.

> "We (Justice Party) desired to raise balanced/equable generations with moral and spiritual perfection, and we do not acknowledge this spiritual formation as contradictious to the laicism. We wish to be given the necessary importance to the Religious Affairs as an institution/tool which will instrument this (Turks' spiritual and moral values), to organize it accordingly."[75] (Dikeçligil, 1963, no.35, pp.13)

Following this description of mission and function, contents about the institution were generally dealing with the organizational and financial problems of it. Accordingly, Hilal concerned to increase the autonomy of the institution together with the amelioration of its budget. In this context, following excerpt, again from Dikeçgil, was an example for their request regarding the institution in conjuncture with the period. Furthermore, similar with this example, Hilal covered any developments and discussions regarding the institution throughout the period.

> "Just as we are in other dynastic citizens living within the borders of the country, the foundations (Vakıflar) should be considered to be converted into community (cemaat) by giving to the Directorate of Religious Affairs."[76] (Dikeçligil, 1963, no.35, pp.14)

[75] See Appendix A

[76] Vatan sınırları içerisinde yaşayan diğer dine salik vatandaşlarımızda olduğu gibi, Vakıflar da diyanet işlerinde verilmek suretiyle cemaat haline getirilmesi düşünülmelidir

Religious Education

As it was stated throughout this chapter, according to Hilal, religion and morality/spirituality were very important for societies both to improve democracy and laicism and to fight against communism. In that vein, together with Directorate of Religious Affairs, religious education is claimed to have crucial role to play. According to Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, especially the youth needs religious education in order to become "a real human" and to believe in supernatural/spiritual powers. She upholds this argument, asserting:

> "Ones who do not believe and adhere to this, will disclaim the national honor, the love of freedom, territorial integrity. And the defense of the homeland and the independence cannot be expected from a godless army."[77] (Zorlutuna, 1962, no.26, pp.12)

However, according to Hilal, Turkey's religious education had not been developed sufficiently during the first years of the republic. Osman Turan argues that this backwardness in religious realms created crisis in social, political and cultural lives of society. In that sense, he asserts that religious education is an issue of "national perpetuity (*beka*)".

> "Along with these realities, we cannot forget that religious education is not only activity of individual belief, necessity or social peace and order, instead it constitutes a national culture and a matter of national perpetuity, as well."[78] (Turan, 1963, no.41, pp.1)

In this regard, Hilal acknowledged the opening of İmam-Hatip High Schools and Higher Islam Institutes. The situation of these schools and the problems of the students and graduates of them were covered in detail. Hilal published the statements of the student/alumni associations of these schools. For instance, the prohibition of İmam-Hatip graduates to study in Higher Islam Institute was the prominent issue during the period. Yet, these criticisms regarding the general

[77] "Buna inanmayan, bağlanmayan; milli şerefmiş, istiklal aşkı imiş, toprak bütünlüğü imiş; bütün bunları inkara gidiverirler, imansız bir ordudan vatan müdafaası, istiklal müdafaası beklenmez."
[78]"Bu realiteler yanında dini tahsilin yalnız ferdi bir iman ve ihtiyaç veya içtimai sükun ve nizam amili olmayıp aynı zamanda bir milli kültür ve beka meselesi teşkil ettiğini de asla hatırdan çıkaramayız."

situation of religious education were not directed towards the state. That is to say that Hilal appreciated the state's efforts in terms of religious education and called its audience/friends to ameliorate the situation of these schools.

However, despite the appreciation of state's efforts to improve religious education, Hilal attributed the improvements in this realm to the people's will. In other words, according to Hilal, the government has done what the people had wanted. This interpretation was the basis of Hilal attitude towards "Köy Enstitüleri and İmam-Hatip" discussions. In this sense, while İmam-Hatip Schools and Higher Islam Institutes were regarded as the public's will and as tools for democratic consolidation; the ones who deprecated these developments were regarded as the communists.

1.3.3.6. Nurculuk

Hilal was owned by Salih Özcan, who was a very important Nur student. Therefore, issues related with Bediüzzaman Said Nursi and his students were covered extensively in the journal. For instance, the 14th issue (April-May 1960), published just after the death of Said Nursi, was devoted to him. The most important contents were about lawsuits filed against them and defenses of their lawyers in these cases. Hilal, while defending the innocence of Said Nursi and his students, was also defining the Nurculuk by publishing the defenses of the cases against them. Moreover, those who attacked Nursi and his disciples were regarded as the communist. In this sense, Nurculuk was defined as "a school of thought" that was aiming to fight against communism.

First and foremost, Said Nursi and his exegesis, "Risale-i Nur", were praised extensively by Hilal. The prominent issues about Nursi that Hilal consistently underlined were: He was not a Kurdish nationalist; He had no connection with the 31 March Incident; and He fought in the Independence War and was captured by the Russian Army. Furthermore, the emphasis was put on "the wisdom" and "mastery" of Nursi in teaching Quran to people.

> "He (Bediüzzaman Said Nursi) is a sage of the mortals who has enlightened the bosoms of lots of Turkish children with faith and knowledge until the opening of Higher Islamic Institute and İmam-Hatip schools."[79] (Teymuroğlu, 1960, no.13, pp.22)

Risale-i Nur was described as the exegesis that "transmitted the realities and reverences of Quran in accordance with the mentality of 20th century"[80] (1958, no.1, pp.18). In this context, Hilal published how Nursi himself was describing his own work. It was important to note that anti-communist perspective was dominant in defining Risale-i Nur. In Nursi's own words:

> "The greatest and absolute solution against the Communism is the Quran. It is the Risale-i Nur (Epistles of Light) that includes the lessons suitable for comprehension of this era and the evidences of the divine truth and the witnesses."[81] (1963, no.35, pp.21)

On top of Said Nursi and Risale-i Nur, Hilal described "Nurculuk" as well. As it was cited from Bekir Berk[82]'s defense, the accusation of being tarikat or political group was denied and Nurculuk was claimed to be a school of thought.

> "Yes, there is a community. Yet, this community did not enter into the intervention of law. It does not have program, organization and members like a community. It is not involved into a political program and organization like a political party…Faith of Nur students is based on the knowledge. Yes, it is not a vain belief, belief based on knowledge. They are the biggest enemy of ignorance. According to them, belief based on ignorance is not acceptable. Belief based on science and knowledge is real belief. In this respect, calling this a school (Ecole), is more appropriate. Maybe, it is the best choice. Whereas it is not a tarikat, not a community then isn't it appropriate to call them Belief and Knowledge School?"[83] (Berk, 1962, no.32, pp.12)

In addition to the statements about Nursi, his students and Nurculuk, Hilal covered the continuous attacks against them, as well. According to Hilal, even

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[79] "O (Bediüzzaman Said Nursi), Yüksek İslam Enstitüleri ve İmam-Hatip mekteplerinin açılmasıyla vatan nurlanıncaya kadar karanlıklarda birçok Türk evladının sinesine iman ve irfan nurları doldurmuş bir piri fanidir."

[80] "Yirminci asrın zihniyetine uygun bir şekilde Kur'an'ın hakikatlarını ve hürmetlerini aksettiren"

[81] "Komünizme karşı en büyük ve kat'i çare Kurandır. Kuranın bu zamanın fehimine uygun bir dersi ve hakikatlerinin delil ve hüccetleri olan Risale-i Nur'dur."

[82] Bekir Berk was the advocate of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi and his students. After 1971, he emigrated to Saudi Arabia and there broadcasted a radio program dedicated to Risale-i Nur

[83] See Appendix A

though the trials had resulted in acquittals, communists continued to attack them. In this context, those attacks were regarded as attacks not particularly towards Nurculuk but towards religion in general. This interpretation was the reproduction of Hilal 's anti-communist approach on Nurculuk issue, as well.

> "This lawsuit is not a case of abuse of religion like first it was asserted. And at the same time, this lawsuit is not the case of this ten people sitting on the felon's dock. Essentially, in the person of them, a faith has been wanted to be choked and a war has been waged against a book. This war is the struggle of these two mentalities, these personalities are the occasion and this court room is the battlefield. And the weapon of this war is not sword but words. The target is not body but conscience. Venerable judges! Today the world is divided into two camps. Unbelievers and believers in God; ones without a book and the religion of books; slaves of material and the lovers of spirit; the servants of devil and the defenders of the right; the commands of the cruelty and the aspirants of justice; come face to face. Malice powers are fed in Zion, organized in lodges and have established their general headquarters in Moscow. The Chiefs of Kremlin and their servants who want to condemn all the humanity to its dictatorship, face with the believers in Allah and his Prophets as the only indestructible power in almost every realm."[84] (Hilal, 1958, no.1, pp.17)

Moreover, again on this subject, Hilal published Said Nursi' s own words in his defense. The main theme was the will of Nursi to be released to fight against communism. This kind of an anti-communist framing of Nurculuk can be interpreted as a strategic positioning with the aim of benefiting from the anti-communist wave, while carving out a political space for themselves.

> "I have only one goal. In this time when I am approaching to the grave, in this Islamic homeland, we are hearing the voice of Bolshevik owls. This voice is damaging the faith principles of Islamic World. It connects the people, especially the youth to itself by making them unbelievers. Struggling with them with all my power, I am inviting the youth and Muslims to faith. I am fighting with this unbeliever mass. I am desiring to go to Allah's presence with this struggle,

[84] See Appendix A

> Insha'Allah. This is all my activity. I am afraid that those who keep me away from this purpose are the Bolsheviks. Collaboration with religious forces like you who have waged war against the enemies of faith, is a sacred purpose for me. Set me free so that I can serve to reclamation of the youth who were poisoned by the communism, to faith of the country and to the oneness of the God."[85] (Berk, 1962, no.33, pp.12)

To sum up, in the Inception Period, Hilal as a pro-establishment intellectual group, adopted the US anti-communism into Turkey's Islamist intellectual life by putting emphasis on religion, and by integrating historical, traditional and national component into the ideology. By doing this, Hilal placed itself on the intersection point of the US' and Turkey's political objectives. Interpreting almost every social-political phenomenon from an anti-communist perspective, Hilal even framed the main objective of Nurculuk school as the fight against communism.

[85]"Bir tek gayem vardır. O da mezara yaklaştığım bu zamanda, İslam memleketi olan bu vatanda, Bolşevik baykuşlarının seslerini işitiyoruz. Bu ses, Alem-i İslam'ın İman esaslarını zedeliyor. Halkı, bilhassa gençleri imansız yaparak kendine bağlıyor. Ben bütün kuvvetimle bunlarla mücadele ederek, gençleri ve Müslümanları imana davet ediyorum. Bu imansız kitleye karşı mücadele ediyorum. Bu mücadelem ile inşallah Allah huzuruna gitmek istiyorum. Bütün faaliyetim budur. Beni bu gayemden alıkoyanlar da korkarım ki Bolşevikler olsun. Bu iman düşmanlarına karşı mücadele açan sizin gibi dindar kuvvetlerle el ele vermek benim için mukaddes bir gayedir. Beni serbest bırakınız, el birliğiyle komünizmle zehirlenen gençlerin ıslahına ve memleketin imanına, Allah'ın birliğine hizmet edeyim."

2.CHAPTER

TRANSLATION PERIOD: FEBRUARY 1965 – NOVEMBER 1971

2.1. The State of the World During the Period of Translation

2.1.1. The World

Second half of 1960's has witnessed a relative thawing in bipolar situation of the world. Under these circumstances, intra-bloc hierarchies started to be questioned (Özcan, 2017). Even though the centrifugal tendencies in NATO were higher, the Warsaw Pact, too, has confronted with its own fissures (Hanhimäki, 2010). However, due to the seriousness of Sino-Soviet Split[86], the nascent state of the world was in favor of the US, more than the Soviet Union (Kennedy, 2010).

Developments of post-Cuban Missile Crisis era revealed that the nuclear deterrent of the US could not keep Soviets out of Europe (Trachtenberg, 2010). In this context, European countries, that would be in a vulnerable position in the face of a possible Soviet attack, looked for ways to reduce their dependence on the US' protection. French President Charles De Gaulle's policies were the most significant ones in this sense. He adopted an independent foreign policy. He has withdrawn France from NATO's integrated military command in 1966; has vetoed Britain's entry into European Economic Community; has supported European cooperation; and has increased relations with Soviet bloc. Another example for centrifugal pressures in Western bloc was the policies of German Chancellor Willy Brandt, known as *Ostpolitik*. Similarly, Germany has reinterpreted bipolar world and aimed reconciliation with Soviet bloc countries especially with Poland, Czechoslovakia and German Democratic Republic.

[86] That has witnessed border clashes, ideological conflict and elimination of economic relation

On the Soviet Union side, as it was stated, collapse of cooperation with China affected its diplomatic power negatively. Besides, Albania has left Warsaw Pact in 1968. More importantly, Romania, by recognizing West Germany; by refusing the Czechoslovakia invasion; and by inviting Nixon, has disrupted the bloc integrity. Besides, Soviet Union halted the liberation movement, Prague Spring, with military means, and this signified that the bloc stability would be "preserved only by the threat of another Soviet invasion" (Kramer, 2009, pp.36). Together with these divergences, lost revolutionary élan, domestic economic problems and difficulty of sustaining military and technologic rivalry with the US have prevented Soviet Union from responding to the US' weakening in Europe (Trachtenberg, 2010).

Moreover, during the second part of 1960's, the Non-Aligned Movement increased its power in the United Nations as the number of newly independent countries have increased. When non-aligned countries met in Egypt, in October 1964, there were 60 countries in Cairo and that number was the half of total number of independent states (Sander, 1996).

Consequently, second half of the decade observed the university students' and politicized masses' challenging the status-quo in almost every realm including social, political and economic life. Starting from Paris, students and workers from all over the Europe revolted against their system. During this period, Mao, Che, Castro and Arafat started to influence Europe, as well (Özcan,2017).

2.1.2. The Middle East

Through the end of the first half of 1960's, rapprochement between revolutionary states has made Nasser the leader of anti-Western camp again. On the other hand, Saudi King Faisal bin Abdul-Aziz had solved domestic problems and came to power. Afterwards he has revived the pro-Western camp's efforts to balance Nasser (Wynbrandt, 2010). Therefore, during the second half of the decade, the Middle East has been divided on ideological lines, confronting the Egyptian-

Syrian axis with Saudi-Jordanian axis (Kerr, 1971). In addition, The Yemen Civil War made the state of regional bipolarity of the Middle East more apparent.

After the failure of apparently pro-western Baghdad Pact and CENTO, new alliance to compete with the anti-western bloc adopted Islamist ideology for the call of solidarity. (Madani,1981). Even though religion had always played a crucial role in anti-communist ideology, this time Islam as an ideology was put at the center. Hence, Islamic bloc which aimed to unite all Muslims, was offered as an alternative to the bipolarity of the Cold-War.

In this context, Faisal's initiative, *Rabıta*, increased its impact on the Middle East and Islamic World's political life (Landau, 94). While Rabıta was supporting political Islamist groups like Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami to disseminate their ideology and increase their social base, Saudi Arabia, on its part, tried to increase diplomatic relations of Muslim-majority countries. In this sense, for example in 1969, Islamic Summit Conference was organized with the attendance of the political figures of the Islamic countries.

As for the "superpowers" intervention into the Middle East, it was seen that old alliances have been still valid. While the US was supporting Saudi-led group, Soviet Union maintained its policy towards anti-imperialist camp. In this respect, even though Soviets could keep its alliances, Six Day War in June 1967 affected the US' relationship with its Arab allies. However, despite its backing of Israel, "oil interests and anti-Communism were able to override the stresses of regional politics and cause the two countries (the US and Saudi Arabia) to operate much more closely." (Bronson, 2008, pp. 105)

Finally, Nasser lost his reputation with his defeat against Israel in the Six-Day War, whereby Muslim Brotherhood groups following Faisal's Islamic solidarity discourse found the opportunity to fill this political vacuum (Rubin, 2010; Guazzone, 1995). Moreover, it is important to note that, even so the ideology of the political Islamist groups was anti-Western in theory, the US did not abstain from supporting this bloc.

2.1.3. Turkey

This period passed with the governments of Süleyman Demirel, the leader of Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*). This center of right party was re-elected in 1965, after the military government and CHP administrations under İsmet İnönü. In fact, when it was established, at first, the aim of AP was to unite all conservative, nationalist and Islamists groups (Ahmad, 1977). However, the divergence trend started with the depart of wing of Saadettin Bilgiç and Osman Turan, and reached its peak when Necmettin Erbakan left/was forced to leave the party. On the other hand, while CHP was trying to adapt to the new circumstances with its "center-of-left" discourse, 1965 elections brought a socialist party, Turkey's Labor Party (TİP) into the parliament. Together with this, the right-wing groups regarded the foundation of Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK), as another institutional manifestation of "spread of communist menace" in Turkey (Koca, 2017).

The first half of the 1960's ended with a crisis in Turkish Foreign Policy, the Cyprus Crisis. Johnson's letter culminated the questions of Turkish public regarding Turkey's membership to NATO, and its relations with the US (Özcan,2017). Moreover, when the US left Turkey alone in the crisis, Turkish government turned to USSR to increase economic relations, and to receive its support for the Cyprus issue. The isolation of Turkey in the international arena also changed its policy towards the Middle East[87]. By conducting bilateral agreements with Arab countries, Turkey aimed to transform its image as the western proxy. In this respect, Turkey supported Arabs during 1967 Arab-Israel war and did not let US to use its military bases (Karaosmanoğlu,1983). This attitude contributed to Turkey's efforts to create good relations with Arab countries. Despite the rapprochement with Arab countries, mainly with the traditionally pro-Western bloc, Turkey attended to the Islamic Summit only at a lower level. Its main motivation to

[87] None of the Middle Eastern countries had supported it during the Cyprus Crisis

assume such a position was the incoming criticism from country's secular establishment (Hale, 2013; Oran, 2011).

At this point, Hilal, as the contact group with the Saudi-led bloc in the Middle East, and the ideological representative of this new bloc in Turkey moved a step forward. Even, as Salih Özcan stated in his memoir, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel asked him to invite Faisal to Turkey since Faisal had not responded their calls. Accordingly, Özcan has arranged King's visit and Faisal came to Turkey on the day Sayyid Qutub was executed (Özer, 2011).

When it comes to the socio-political life, one can observe that anti-imperialist wave in the Third World (especially Palestinian liberation movement) and increasing student and workers movements all along the world have influenced Turkish society, especially the youth. Together with high urbanization, migration to big cities and increase in the number of universities, masses started to be politicized. Under these circumstances, anti-Imperialist and anti-American leftist ideas, questioning the existing order, increased their social base. During this period, previously banned Marxist books were translated and presented to the youth and the workers. This rise also increased the tension between leftist and rightist organizations.

On the other hand, right-wing social and political groups also started to change/transform. As was stated, there was not a sharp distinction between nationalists, conservatives or Islamists in the pre-1965 period, but rather they had all organized around anti-communist organizations like *İmam-Hatip* student associations, *Türkocağı,* MTTB and KMD. However, as response to the inability of anti-communist and nationalist heroism ("anti-thesis approach") in balancing the rise of the left, nationalist groups have headed towards violent activities, while Islamist groups were turning towards the other Muslim countries and their thinkers. With the translation activities, led by Hilal, Turkish right-wing has met with Sayyid Qutub, Mawdudi, Benna, etc. during the second half of the 1960's.

In this sense, the Right-Wing groups were in the same boat with the state establishment. The state, too, could not check the rise of the Left during the first half of 1960's. In this purpose, after Demirel came to power, the government contributed to Islamist groups to take deeper roots by letting them place their cadres in social organizations. *Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği* was re-established in İzmir, and Islamists, especially Nur students[88], were put in command. As for MTTB, a change in the managerial staff brought the Islamists[89] to power in this prominent rightist association as well. Moreover, Yaşar Tunagür[90] was appointed as the new Deputy Chairman of the Directorate of Religious Affairs.

In this conjuncture, politicization of Islam started with the systematic translation activities of Hilal in the second half of the 1960's. In this period, both the Turkish state and the Right-Wing pro-establishment groups were seeking an antidote against the Left. Therefore, Political Islam of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami was adopted to fill the social/intellectual vacuum, that had been filling by the Leftist ideas. Aiming to provide more powerful ideological ammunition to the Right, Hilal promoted the idea that "Islam, just like the capitalism and socialism, offers a complete system with its state, politics, economic and social principles". Together with the government incentives that let the Islamists gain foothold in public and social organizations, Political Islam found the opportunity to increase its social base.

Besides, the inception of the translation activities coincided with the emergence of Faisal's Islamic Solidarity policy. After coming to power, Faisal accelerated the activities of Rabıta aiming to support Islamist groups in their struggle against their legal establishments -namely the states of Egypt, Syria, etc.,

[88] Bekir Berk was among them. For a detailed analysis, Meşe, E. (2016). Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri-Türk Sağında Anti-Komünizmin İnşası. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.
[89] Ismail Kahraman, an Islamist, who became the Speaker of Turkish National Assembly in November 2015, was elected as president in the union in 1967.
[90] The translator of the first published book of Sayyid Qutub in Turkish. He was also a member of Rabıta and a Nur disciple. Before becoming vice-president, he was in Izmir, Kestanepazarı. There, he established Fatih College. For further information see: Cihan, R. (2009). Bir Yasak Devir Beyefendisi: Yaşar Tunagür. İstanbul: Kaynak Kültür Yayınları

the common "enemies" of Saudi-led states and Islamist groups. However, in Turkey, there was not an Islamist school of thought that can be a firewall against the Left by offering a world-view, yet there was an anti-Leftist state whose interests were overlapping with the conservative circles. Thus, ideology of the groups that Saudi Arabia/Rabıta was supporting in the other parts of the Islamic world, was translated in Turkish by Hilal with the condonation/collaboration/initiation of the Turkish state.

In sum, the international and national dynamics together with the interests of the political power centers, the states and international organizations, directly affected the politicization process of Islam in Turkey. And Hilal, by adapting to the intellectual and socio-political space granted to it, has laid the foundation of the Political Islam in Turkey.

2.2. Hilal During the Period of Translation

The second period in Hilal started in February 1965 when its headquarter has been transferred to Istanbul and İsmail Kazdal[91] has become the editor in chief. The 122nd issue, published in November 1971 was determined as the end of this period since Salih Özcan got arrested after the 12 March Memorandum, in July 1971, and fled to Beirut, Lebanon after getting released from prison in November 1971. At the same time, this was the last issue published under the directorship of Nihat Armağan[92] who was managing the journal and publishing house since the end

[91] He was the editor in chief of Hilal from February 1965 to January 1969. He was born in 1935, in Batum. He got prisoned after 1960 Coup D'état. After that, he met with Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and started his career in journalism in *Büyük Doğu*. Throughout these years he became a very close student of Kısakürek. At the end of 1964, he left Büyük Doğu and Nihat Armağan invited him to Hilal to work as editor in chief. After Hilal he established his own publish house*, İhya*. For further information see his autobiography: İsmail Kazdal, "Serencâm-Anılar (Zamana Şahitliğim)", (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2004)

[92] He also was born in Urfa, in 1935. He was a close friend of Mehmet Akif İnan and other Islamist intellectuals that were publishing *Mavera and Edebiyat.* He started to work in Hilal as its manager in İstanbul. Although he was not producing contents, he managed the coordination between Salih Özcan and the books/articles that he had brought to be translated and the editors in chief in order to prepare the monthly and the books to publication. After Hilal, he established his own publishing house, *Fikir.* He died in 16th January 2005. Mehmet Erken, "İslami Yayıncılık ve

of 1964. Afterwards the frequency of the translations decreased and Hilal lost its momentum. Furthermore, different Islamist journals and other media organs that was publishing Turkish Islamists' ideas have entered the picture following the changes in domestic and global dynamics. Moreover, especially with the establishment of National Salvation Party[93] and with increasing power of Islamist student organization[94], journals lost their importance as tools to disseminate ideology. Therefore, we can argue that Hilal completed its mission as the "introducer of Political Islam of Muslim Brotherhood/Jamaat-e-Islami" in November 1971.

During the Translation Period, total of 71 issues were published[95]. In contrast to the Inception period, Hilal has had more regular publishing interval in this period. Even, the 12 March Memorandum or the arresting of Salih Özcan would not interrupt Hilal's publications. When it comes to the designs of cover pages, as the editor in chief, İsmail Kazdal gave importance to the cover pages. Until 89th issue (January 1969), Hilal used striking cover page designs that aimed to give idea about the subject of the issue. For instance, Sayyid Qutub[96] featured three times on the front page while Zionism[97] twice, and Mawdudi[98] and Faisal[99] once. Furthermore, there were three issues which need to be highlighted. First was the

Tercüme Faaliyetlerinde Bir Merkez Şahsiyet: Nihat Armağan", http://www.dunyabizim.com/portre/27737/islami-yayincilik-ve-tercume-faaliyetlerinde-bir-merkez-sahsiyet-nihat-armagan

[93] It was established in 26 January 1970 by Necmettin Erbakan. It was the first political party of Political Islamist "National Outlook" movement.

[94] For instance, Rabıta published a report in 1978, "A World Guide To Organizations of Islamic Activities", which declared the following organizations as its branches in Turkey: "National Turkish Student Union", "Eastern Turkistan Immigrants Foundation", "Istanbul University Islamic Research Institute", "Izmir National Turkish Foundation for Building and Sheltering Islamic Institutes", "Cyprus Turkish Islamic Association", "Turkish-Saudi Arabia Friendship Foundation", "Turkish-Saudi Arabian Parliament Fellowship Association" and "Radio Turkish Voice in Australia" (Mumcu, 1984 p.242)

[95] There should be published 82 issues but in May-September-October-December 1965; January-February-May-November 1966; April 1968; and August-September 1969, Hilal was not published.

[96] On the issues 56th of March 1966, 62nd of September 1966 and 72nd July 1967, See Appendix B

[97] On the issues 75th of October 67 and 83rd July 1968

[98] On the issue 67th of February 1967, See Appendix B

[99] On the issue 61st of August 1966, See Appendix B

54th issue (published in August 1965) that was published with title "Listen only the voice of Quran"[100]; next one was the 58th issue (published in June 1966) that published a photo of the meeting of Rabıta and the last one was 74th issue (published in September 1967) whose theme was "getting freed from savior" and that had the caricatures of Nasser, Bourguiba, Sukarno and Ayoub Khan. Remaining issues published without any design on front pages. On the other hand, until 60th issue of August 1966, Hilal was published with the slogan of "religious, social monthly". Then until 108th issue of October 1970 the slogan has become "religious, scientific and political monthly" while the last 14 issues of this period reused the first slogan.

During this period, subjects related with politics became dominant. Hilal, by translating the articles and books of foreign Islamist thinkers like Mawdudi, Qutub, Benna, Udeh and Nedevi, has aimed to disseminate their Islamist ideology. By doing so, Hilal tried to form intellectual basis for Islam's political interpretation which would enhance "narrow mindset of Anatolian people". In this sense, Kazdal's expectations were two-fold: to introduce great Ulama and the Mujahedeen of Islamic World and through this introduction to provoke "native contemplation". İsmail Kazdal explained the editorial policy of Hilal as:

> "Although the translations amount to a great total in our journal, since all these translations were the products of great Ulama and the Mujahedeen of the Islamic World, they become very effective and even they have helped to raise local contemplation. HILAL, in a sense, is Turkey's window, opening to the Islamic World. By reverberating the thoughts of Muslims outside of Turkey, to the Turkish audience, we are enhancing the narrow mindset of Anatolian people and helping the emergence of native contemplation."[101] (Kazdal, 1968, no.83, pp.1)

In this context, writings of Mawdudi, Qutub, Benna, Udeh and Nedevi were dominating the journal during this period. In general, these contents were related with the theory of Political Islam, Islamic system and its differences from capitalist

[100] "Yalnızca Kur'an'ın sesine kulak verin"

[101] "Mecmuamızda tercümeler büyük bir yekûn tutuyorsa da bu tercümelerin her biri İslam aleminin en büyük alimleri ve mücahitlerinin kaleminden çıkmış olması hasebiyle çok tesirli oluyor ve hatta yerli müelliflerin doğmasına en büyük yardımcı oluyor. HİLAL, bir bakıma Türkiye'nin İslam alemine açılan penceresidir. Türkiye dışındaki Müslümanların neler düşündüklerini Türk efkarı umumiyesine aksettirmekle, Anadolu halkını kendi dar dünyalarının dışına çıkarıyor ve yerli tefekkürün doğmasına yardım ediyoruz."

and socialist systems. Likewise, as Salih Özcan was among the founding partners of Rabıta, regional politics was interpreted following the line of the Saudi-led initiative. As for the Turkish politics and other issues, İsmail Kazdal was producing the related contents. After he left the office in January 1969, Mahmut Alagöz took up the position and maintained the editorial policy. In addition to them, Halil Zafir was also an important figure in Hilal. He was the editor of both editor in chiefs. As being grandson of Zafir Efendi, Sheikh that Abdulhamid had attached to, he contributed to Hilal both by writing articles and translating writings in Arabic and English.

Regarding the departure of İsmail Kazdal from Hilal, according to him, Nihat Armağan, a supporter of Justice Party, and Salih Özcan, a candidate for parliamentary member of the same party[102], have forced him to leave Hilal because of his writings criticizing the Justice Party (Kazdal, 2004). However, analysis of the perspective of Hilal towards political parties of Turkey demonstrated that Hilal had maintained its position against AP after Kazdal, as well – despite the fact that after Kazdal, Hilal reduced frequency of translations and the number of articles dealing with political issues-.

Even if we do not have any information about how Hilal was being operated during Mahmut Alagöz period, as İsmail Kazdal stated in his autobiography, Salih Özcan gave the control of the publications to Kazdal. Accordingly, Kazdal was free to publish what he wanted. He was only held responsible to publish the translated works and the articles of Hüsnü Dikeçligil, Selahattin Cem and Kemal Pilavoğlu (Kazdal, 2004). Among those names, Hüsnü Dikeçligil and Selahattin Cem wrote only a few articles during the period whereas Kemal Pilavoğlu, who was the leader of *Ticaniler*[103], often contributed to Hilal, especially with his articles on the concept of Jihad. Besides, the fact that he was in exile in Bozcaada while his articles were

[102] It was stated that Özcan became a candidate in Sakarya list for 1967 elections but could not get elected. However, in the mentioned year there was not held any elections so most probably he meant to state 1968 local and senator elections.

[103] A Northern Africa based tarikat. They were known for their attack to Atatürk's bust and criticisms towards Turkish Ezan.

being published in the journal, demonstrated the complexities of the relationship between the state and Hilal. Again, on this connection, the following excerpt from Kazdal's memoir is exemplary:

> "After the second half of the sixties, I got into a coma when I understood that our works have been used by deep and holy/sacred state. In fact, we got confused when we have heard that the translator of the first translated book of the deceased Sayyid Qutub, "Social Justice in Islam" and the Vice-President of Directorate of Religious Affairs, Yaşar Tunagür was the spy of Fuat Doğu, the Undersecretary of National Intelligence Service. Why the state, in other words the military, translated and published the book of a radical and fundamental Arab (which, the state has adopted an anti-Arab policy) like Sayyid Qutub?" [104] (Kazdal, 2004, pp. 271)

Kazdal explains the reason behind the translation of that book as the goal of creating an intellectual base against leftist groups that have been using the "social justice" discourse. As the analysis of Hilal's editorial policy and its political perspective demonstrated, Hilal, too, was very "productive" in this cause with its motivation to generate an Islamist "thesis" against the Left. On top that, the connections of Salih Özcan indicate that Hilal had a shady foot in state, as well. However, the relationship between the right-wing groups and the state establishment has never been continuously stable in Turkey, even if their interests and premises have been overlapping since 1950's, especially in their common struggle against the Left. Therefore, while keeping this "confession" in mind, we need to elaborate on the dynamics of the period for a better understanding of the politicization process of Islam in Turkey. As the analysis made in the previous section demonstrates, politicization of Islam in Turkey is a process that was affected by national and international dynamics, not led directly by the state or intelligence services.

[104] "Çalışmalarımızın derin ve de kutsal devlet tarafından kullanıldığını anladığımda komaya girmiştim altmışlı yılların ikinci yarısından sonra. Rahmetli Seyyid Kutub'un Türkçe 'ye çevrilmiş olan ilk eseri "İslam'da Sosyal Adalet" adlı kitabı çeviren Diyanet İşleri Başkan Vekili Yaşar Tunagür'ün Mit Müsteşarı Fuat Doğu'nun ajanı olduğunu duyduğumuzda aklımız karışmıştı doğrusu. Devlet, yani asker ne maksatla Seyyid Kutub gibi radikal ve de fundamental bir Arap'ın (Ki devlet koyu bir Arap düşmanlığını politikası haline getirmişti) çevirtsin ve neşir ettirsindi ki?"

2.3. Hilal and Its Political Perspective During the Period of Translation

Hilal went through the Translation Period while the entire world was in search for an alternative to the bipolarity of the Cold-War. Both the increased power of the Non-Aligned Movement and the rise in the anti-imperialist and anti-Western social movements in the Third World, were the reflections of the questioning the existing order of the World and the dependence on the great powers, especially on the US. In the Middle East, especially in Turkey, leftist ideas were increasing their social base, being response to the intellectual pursuits of the masses.

In these circumstances, Hilal's political perspective was heavily influenced by this new socio-political landscape. During the Translation Period, Hilal adopted Political Islamist ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami as the essence of its own perspective. Translating this ideology, Hilal transformed its mindset, abandoned its bipolar perspective and proposed Islamic system as an alternative to the bipolarity of the Cold-War.

As the regional repercussion of the changing dynamics, King Faisal has enunciated his call for Islamic Solidarity, aiming both to adapt to the new political environment and to balance the Nasserist Bloc. Since Salih Özcan was the founding partner of Rabıta, Hilal constructed its political perspective towards the Islamic World in accordance with Saudi Arabia and propagated for Faisal's foreign policy objective.

Ironically, despite translating the revolutionary rhetoric of Political Islamist currents, when it comes to Turkish politics, Hilal abstained from challenging existing order. Adopting the Political Islamist discourse as an ideology for the Right-Wing, Hilal reproduced its bipolar interpretation of the Turkish Politics. Differently from the previous period, Hilal aimed to change the "anti-thesis" base of the political claim of the Right-Wing groups by proposing Islam as a "thesis" against the Left.

2.3.1. The World

Hilal, during the Translation Period, abandoned its bipolar interpretation of the world and started to offer Islam as an alternative. In doing this, Hilal criticized both communism and capitalism. Examining the crisis of Cold-War's binary understanding of world politics with an Islamist world view, Hilal claimed to have proposed an Islamic system that can solve all the modern political, economic, social, cultural and individual problems. Addressing both world views, Hilal tried to explain how Islamic system can find the balance between two ideologies. This Islamist ideology was constructed by combining the ideas of Mawdudi, Qutub, Udeh, and some other Islamist thinkers together with Turkish contributors. In this sense, instead of representing a specific ideological movement, be it Muslim Brotherhood or Jamaat-e-Islami, Hilal translated all the thinkers, just to demonstrate that "Islam is an ideology".

2.3.1.1. Capitalism

Anti-capitalism was one of the pivotal themes of Hilal during the Translation Period. Various articles, be original or translated ones, published to raise question marks for different aspects of capitalism. In this sense, Hilal highlighted the "crises of the capitalist system" that paved the way to communism. In other words, instead of revisiting the capitalism by discussing its free-trade principle or principle of state-economy relations, Hilal put emphasis on the evolution of capitalist system and the socio-economic problems that it had created.

Primarily, we should start with the arguments regarding the inception and evolution of capitalist system. Hilal averred that the Islamic Civilization had been the leader of the World until the 18th century. However, according to Mawdudi, when the Muslims have abandoned Quran, Islam lost its prominence and the Western Civilization has succeeded it. Subsequently, he claimed that what the West

did in its way to dominate the World, was to follow the principles that Islam had left.

> "And then, another civilization has appeared and started to advance rapidly. The Westerners captured the principles of intellectual understanding, working and fighting that the Muslims had left. It started to progress by following the same developing principles that had been abandoned by the Muslims. They have moved till capturing the leadership of humanity that the Muslims had lost, and then their sword conquered the better parts of the earth."[105] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.76, pp.18)

Afterwards, Hilal put more emphasis on the evolution of the capitalist system. Accordingly, it was claimed that capitalism had emanated as the movement against the feudalism, the slavery of the farmers, and the inequality. However, in a very short period of time, as it was stated by Hilal, this system has created its own privileged class: the bourgeoisie. This privileged group was claimed not to accord its fellow citizens any political, economic or social rights. Under these circumstances, as for Hilal, the farmers and workers of the capitalist world started to feel enmity against the bourgeoisie. That has finally paved the way to communist ideology. Furthermore, Devalibi adds another dimension to the discussion on the evolution of capitalist system. The point that was specifically underlined by him was that this historical evolution of the materialist system has occurred under specific conditions of the West. In other words, he asserted that Muslim countries do not have necessary conditions for this kind of a system, for example they have different agricultural production relation (Devalibi, 1967).

When it comes to the socio-economic problems of the capitalism, Halil Zafir argues that capitalism causes income inequality which results in an increasing social polarization and enmity between groups.

> "Cute houses, green gardens, fantastic roads, luxury, entertainment, debauchery. This is the one side of the mirror. When it comes to the other side: poverty, hunger, misery… Doesn't matter who is the Imam; is it possible for these two different groups to stand on the same side and to turn towards the same Kiblah with the

[105] See Appendix A

> hearts of eternal friendship? Never. Then, this method/way cannot be a method/way.[106] (Zafir, 1967, no.72, pp.28)

Furthermore, Mawdudi claims that attacking capitalism would produce many difficulties and confusions in economic, social and legislative issues. In this sense, communism, dictatorship, gender equality and high crime rates were all regarded as the possible results of these attacks.

> "It generated such crucial issues in every realms of life, every attempt to solve those created lots of new complications and confusions. For instance, attacking capitalism results in emergence and rise of communism. Attempt to relieve the democracy of its troubles caused the emergence of dictatorship. Efforts to solve social issues caused gender equality and birth control. Efforts to extirpate social malignancies by law result in a great extent of violations of law and crime rates."[107] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.20)

Drawing on this kind of an interpretation of the historical and material evolution of capitalism, Hilal held the Ulama responsible for this change of the leadership from Islamic civilization to materialist Western civilization. According to Mawdudi, the problem was their intellectual backwardness and inability to reinterpret Islamic jurisprudence and system in accordance with the era's necessities. In this respect, primarily, these defined fallacies were attributed to the Ulama's unknowing the Islam in its entirety.

> "During the time when this trouble has first begun to spread, Islamic Ulama should have reached into this stinky civilization and awakened Muslims from their centuries long sleep by learning technical sciences and practical knowledges that had helped West to rise and by melting them in Islam's humanitarian pot. Yet, many of those who we call Islamic Ulama, were even unable to understand real Islam."[108] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.77, pp.9)

Consequently, Mawdudi found the re-interpretation efforts of this "incapable Ulama" unsuccessful. This group was accused of living just like it in the 18th century. Therefore, he claimed that these new ideas had no capacity to influence any "modernly educated mind".

[106] See Appendix A
[107] See Appendix A
[108] See Appendix A

> "It is impossible to stop the juggernaut flood of the new civilization, even with the best of lethargic, old-school and stationary ideas. Dynamic forces cannot be defeated by lethargy and inactivity… It is guessed that their (Ulama's) method of interpreting Islamic procedure and principle, expels the modernly educated minds, instead of attracting them. Really, some of their interpretation is so useless and unexpected that a person would not want a non-Muslim or imperfectly educated Muslim to hear or read those."[109] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.76, pp.19)

Secularism

Hilal analyzed the secularism by considering it as a special political and cultural concept for Western countries. In other words, for Hilal, Christianity has degenerated and changed its divine laws. Therefore, secularism is considered necessary "to rescue West from the pressures of Christianity". Likewise, sectarian tension and the brutal church hegemony were claimed to force the Western people to espouse science and to limit the scope of religion with individual and cultural life.

> "Secularist (Laic) thought in Europe got inspired from the fervor of eliminating Christian sectarianism and finding a common ground for morale social development… This awakening in Europe's social consciousness took place despite Christianity, not owing to it."[110] (Anon, 1969, no.94, pp.20)

In a paradoxical way, despite acknowledging the necessity of secularism and the elimination of the Christianity from Western civilization, Hilal, with the arguments of Mawdudi, accused secularism of attacking religion and creating "False God (*Sahte İlah*)" that refers to organization of life in accordance with human expediency.

> "They abandoned Allah and raised them to the level of divinity that has caused them troubles; they started to worship their interests. This worship of fake and dangerous divinity is that pull them towards deceptive and dangerous paths in every thought and activity fields. European community planted this dirty tree to themselves and now they hate it."[111] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.20)

Moreover, secularism, too, was accused of engendering communism. Mawdudi argues that Secularism's profanity and its fight against religion resulted

[109] See Appendix A
[110] See Appendix A
[111] See Appendix A

in the rise of communism as the ideology found the opportunity to fill the vacuum left by the religion.

> "Actions like standing against religion and destroying religious functionaries were taken. Activities like imposing materialist thought to the society were seen. And all these revolutions, at the end, inflicted socialism and communism on the Western world, the old world…And communism is the latest hollow that the humanity had fallen due to irreligiosity and the exemplary of the hell."[112] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.77, pp.18)

Nationalism

In Hilal, modern nationalism was rejected by claiming it as only a racial/ethnical material bond between people. In this regard, a distinction was made by İsmail Kazdal between the meanings of *millet* and *kavim*[113]. While kavim includes material bond, millet denotes a spiritual and religious connection between people. In that sense, according to Kazdal, millet has superior/stronger ties.

> "*Millet* is the union of people adhere to the same belief system…Since it depends on the power of faith, the bonds that link the people who constitute *millet* is so deep and strong that racial kinship fails to sever those bonds and even the racial kinship has no value when compared to the Faith union."[114] (Kazdal, 1966, no.59, pp.10)

Following this definition and praising of the religious ties, Hasan el-Benna declared that supported nationalism -obviously, *milliyetçilik,* not *kavmiyetçilik*- is based on religion.

> "The dispute between us and 'so-called nationalists' is that we consider that the borders of the nation are drawn with faith, but they consider it as a geographic piece of land…Wherever there is a Muslim, that is our nation and it is sacred for us."[115] (Benna, 1965, no.54, pp.15)

2.3.1.2. Communism

[112] See Appendix A

[113] While both are translated into English as "nation", as it was stated, in both historical and religious terms, they have different meanings in Turkish.

[114] See Appendix A

[115] "Bizimle sözde vatanperverler arasındaki ihtilaf ise, biz vatan hududunu inançla çizilmiş itibar ederiz, onlar ise coğrafi bir toprak parçası itibar ederler… Nerede bir Müslüman varsa orası bize göre vatandır, mukaddestir."

In Hilal, anti-communism was very prevalent especially when compared with anti-capitalism. The most prominent theme regarding the communism was the discussions on the compatibility of Islamist and communist ideologies. Furthermore, the conditions that led communist ideas to spread in Muslim world and the communist countries' policies were discussed, as well.

"Islam and communism" discussions have intensified among Turkish, both leftist and rightist, intellectuals especially after the publication of "Islam and Socialism" of Roger Garaudy, by Yön together with Nurettin Topçu's ideas and publications about "Islamic socialism". Hilal rejected the idea of harmony between these two ideologies. Even though, the existence of some common points was acknowledged, Erdinç Beylem defined those as only being the "sentiments" that raised as reaction against capitalism's calamities.

> "These aspects of socialism that unite with Islam are nothing but views that they have as a result of the awakening of people's merciful emotions in response to capitalism's calamities in Europe."[116] (Beylem, 1965, no.50, p.26)

In addition, addressing this debate as "the fabrications" of communists, Sadeddin Raslan claimed that the communists have adopted this discourse with the aim of rallying supporters among Muslim communities. In fact, according to him, communists can articulate any idea that can help them to increase their social base.

> "… The communists, like, either (peace lover), or (defense of women rights), and sometimes (the defense of workers' and farmers' rights), with these fake names that are seemingly good but involving the most terrible poison, and by winning the confidence of some silly and foolish people among the society, are trying to co-opt people and their tails in this way are often trying to propagandize, by mentioning the religion, belief and divine leaflets, the idea that communist socialism, Marxism is Islam."[117] (Raslan, 1967, no.70, pp.18)

[116]"Sosyalizmin İslamiyet ile birleşen bu tarafları, kapitalizmin Avrupa'daki kötü neticelerine karşı, fertlerdeki merhamet hislerinin harekete geçmesiyle sahip oldukları görüşlerden ibarettir."

[117] "…Komünistler, kâh (barış severler), kah (kadın haklarını savunma), bazen (işçi ve çiftçi haklarını savunma) gibi görünüşte güzel fakat içinde en korkunç zehir bulunan bu sahte adlarla, halk arasındaki aptal ve akılsız kimselerin itimadını kazanarak, onları kendi saflarına çekmeye gayret etmekte ve bu yolda kuyrukları da sık sık din, iman ve ilahi risaletlerden bahisle, komünist sosyalizmin, Marksizm'in İslamiyet'in ta kendisi olduğunu etrafına telkin etmeğe çalışmaktadır."

Finally, about Islam and communism discussions, Raslan asked to communists that “if Islam and communism is compatible, then why do you propagate for communism, not for Islam?” (Raslan, 1967, no.70, pp.18).

Apart from Islamist and communist doctrines, Hilal also examined economic, political and historical conditions that paved the way to communism in the region. One of the most important content about that issue was the translated book of "The Revolutionary Socialism"[118], of the former Syrian President, Dr. Maruf Devalibi. On this and other writings, Hilal asserted that due to the West's colonial history in the Middle East, people of the region hate any Western thing. Furthermore, poverty and the corrupted economic system of the states also provided further opportunities for an ideology which feed” the hatred against the rich”. In this respect, again the Ulama was accused of not offering the way out and so communism was claimed to have become the only available ideology for people. Likewise, the author called the countries with Islamic regimes like Saudi Arabia, into action to do something to replace Marxism and fill the ideological vacuum in Muslim countries.

Communist Regimes

In the journal of Hilal, Gopal Mittal stated that Soviet Union failed to eliminate religion from the lives of its citizens. In this sense, Muslims in Central Asia were glorified for their resistance against Soviet’s atheist propaganda. In a more detailed way, Dr. Amir Hasan Sıddıki’s article that was covering the Muslims’ lives under Russians’ control, was translated. He claimed that over 60 million Muslims were living in Soviet Union and China and then he categorized the pressure over them with five sub-headings. These were pressures on national existence -include ban of using Turkish origin, changing of the Arabic letters, appropriation of material heritages, exiles of Crimean Turks to Siberia and Northern Russia- pressures on economic life -low rages of income-; pressures on social life -elimination of religion from social life-; pressures on religion and national culture.

[118] Dr. Maruf Devalibi, “İhtilalci Sosyalizm”

Likewise, diplomatic relations of communist countries were also covered by Hilal. The uneasy relations among communist countries, Soviet Union's losing control over other communist countries and especially the Sino-Soviet Split were the leitmotifs of Hilal regarding the communist bloc of the world.

> "Despite building on the same principle, the split between Soviet Union and China can be explained by the fact that their principle is irrational and non-scientific." [119] (Atlı, 1969, no.95, pp.14)

Again, on this point, Hilal never attributed any political or economic success to Soviet Union. For them, Stalin had dominated the world politically, thanks to German Military Staff's help and Roosevelt's credulity. As to the social and economic life within the territories of Soviet Union, it was claimed that nobody could earn their life and the state was exploiting the masses.

Moreover, even anti-Semitism was utilized by Said Şamil in making anti-communist propaganda in the pages of Hilal. This attitude of propagating anti-Semitism and anti-communism together, was also prevalent in Hilal's perspective towards the Middle East, especially towards the state of Israel.

> "Those who encouraged this freak minded (Karl Marx) in this wrong way; those who inspired him for this famous manifesto; those who finally made him write the principles of devastating materialist philosophy by subsidizing and those who after his death disseminated his writings by contemplating them and subsequently prepared it for practice, are the Jews. Therefore, even if Marx is seen as the scriptwriter of this Tragedy, his role is decreasing and turns to be a figurant in the hands of Jews.[120] (Şamil, Aralık 1970, no.111, p.19)

2.3.1.3. Islamism

> "Looking all these, do not despair and do not suppose that the World is all that. There is another world, as well. Here, everybody lives happily… Here, the rich are not hated, and the poor are not despised. Here cannot exist bosses who exploit employees and cannot be established syndicates that have an eye on the wealth of

[119] "Her ikisi de kaynağını aynı esastan almasına rağmen, husule gelen bu şiddetli ayrılık, esas aldıkları kaynağın gayri akli veya ilmi olması ile izah edilebilir."

[120] "…bu ucube zekalıyı (Karl Marx) saptığı yolda teşvik ve teşcide bulunanlar, O'na o meşhur beyannameyi telkin edenler, nihayette iaşesini temin etmek suretiyle o yıkıcı maddi felsefenin esasını ona yazdıranlar ve ölümünden sonra eserlerini ikmal edip dünyanın her tarafına yayanlar ve bilahare tatbikatını hazırlayanlar Yahudiler olduğuna göre, Marks bu Tragedyanın senaristi göründüğü halde rolü küçülmekte ve Yahudilerin elinde bir figüran durumuna düşmektedir."

> the boss. There is right, humanity, love, justice… They all rally on the same point. They turn their hearts towards the same Kiblah. This path is the path of union, path of felicity, path of humanity and path of salvation."[121] (Zafir, 1967, no.72, p.28)

As it is portrayed, Hilal proposed Islam as the hope for today's and future's world. According to Halil Zafir, both blocs were in crisis and only Islam can offer a way out. Solidarity and union are claimed to be the necessities of both the international relations and the domestic social relations of countries and in Hilal it was argued that only Islam can provide that material and spiritual union. According to Sıddıki, "closing the ranks" against "the assaults of both capitalism and communism" is the duty of the Muslims (Sıddıki, no.89, Ocak 69).

Before going into the details of the Islamic system, Hilal's arguments regarding the basic points that led both capitalism and communism to collapse and the ways that Islam find the balance between the extremes of these ideologies were examined. Under the Capitalism and Communism sections, the specific arguments related with these systems were discussed, and now "the Islamist alternative", and which specific aspects have been emphasized in portraying Islam as a world system will be discussed.

Accordingly, in the pages of Hilal, historical materialist perspective was predominant towards the West's political and economic developments. The church's hegemony, at first stage, was claimed to be exterminated by materialist movements that had both political and economic objectives. Then, the perspective continues, the materialistic world-view gradually increased its influence in social and political life and has reached its peak with the communist doctrine. Since the communism is the next level of capitalism in materialist trajectory, it was regarded as the solution for the problems of the capitalist system. However, Mawdudi claims, communism could not solve any problem since the materialistic worldview itself was one of the main reasons of the collapse of these systems.

> "All the humanity, both non-Muslims and Muslims and both Western people and Eastern people got into trouble. Their lives are managed by a culture that was born in a deep materialism and now drifting into cliff in it. This culture's theory as well

[121] See Appendix A

> as its practical politics is based on adverse and unstable foundations. Every aspects of its philosophy and scientific, moral values and social order, law and political culture has made a wrong beginning and therefore it developed in a wrong direction. And now, that collapse, complete dissolution has reached to a phase not so much away from decay."[122] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.19)

Another aspect that was put forward as the manifestation of the need of Islamist system was the discrepancies in the world. Likewise, Hurşit Ahmet claimed that even though the world was increasingly globalized, especially in technological terms, political and economic conflicts were escalating. Therefore, he asserted that the world was in need for an emotional and spiritual union as to "eliminate ideological differences".

> "…but, despite this technological union, no real agreement has been reached in the matters of providing people's unity of emotion and thought, removing the differences between the objectives of various ideologies and turning of different cultures towards a new composition…Economic and political separations are increasing day by day. Conflicts between thinking systems became more and more bitter. The world is very far away from a real humanitarian closeness."[123] (Ahmed, 1969, no.95, pp.31)

According to Sayyid Qutub, in this sense, Islam is the spiritual leader that will unite the whole world by combining material developments of the West with spiritual values.

> "The Western system has completed its period. From now on, it does not have moral system and spiritual value that can preserve the leadership attribution. There is a need of a union that has the capacity to maintain the material welfare of humanity that was reached thanks to the Europe's success in material fields and develop this by combining with meaning. Here, Islam, only Islam embraces this system."[124] (Kutub, 1965, no.53, pp.5)

In this sense, the argument that the capitalist and communist systems have been produced by "human beings who intrinsically make mistakes" was often underlined, by Hilal. Following this argumentation, confinement of divine guidance and deification of a person was defined as the root of all troubles. Therefore, Sadık

[122] See Appendix A
[123] See Appendix A
[124] See Appendix A

Özarslan foresaw that the divine laws would be important in the future and defines the 20th century as the start of "return to religion" (Özarslan, 1965, no.55, pp.26)

Proposing Islam as an alternative system to the bipolarity of the world, Hilal addressed the "extreme points" of the capitalist and communist systems. In this context, by underlining the gap between individualism-collectivism, private/public ownership, class difference and income distribution in these systems, Hilal claimed that Islamic system would find the balance between the two.

> "In this system (Islam), no one is hostile to anyone and no one is exploited ... In the system and order brought by Islam, there is a declaration of war against the following ideals: Social classification, racism and unless the righteousness and leniency are seen, the person's privileged status against others due to his wealth."[125] (Devalibi, 1968, no.85, pp.20)

Accordingly, Hilal claimed that Islam promote individualism of the capitalist world as far as it does not lead to exploitation and rebellion. On the other hand, it also upholds collectivism of socialism as far as it does not lead an individual to forget his/her own responsibilities. In parallel to this, Islamism that is propagated by Hilal supports private ownership and entrepreneurship for the sake of people's enthusiasm for earning more. According to Devalibi, limiting the level of profit that a person can get decreases the productivity. Yet, the community's benefits should also be considered and in that respect, he claimed that in the Islamic system, the rich would help the poor.

> "Islam calls all the power of the working force to work in a responsible and controlled manner for the benefit of both the individual and the community and counts the loss of the individual initiative and the destruction of the individual capacity, as damage to the community."[126] (Devalibi, 1968, no.82, pp.8)

In this regard, it was claimed by Mawdudi that Islam creates a classless society where the workers earn what they deserve and if necessary their needs

[125] "Bu nizamda (İslam) kimseye düşmanlık edilmez ve kimse sömürülmez… İslam'ın getirdiği sistem ve nizamda aşağıdaki mefkurelere karşı ilan-ı harp vardır: Sınıflaşma, ırkçılık, doğruluğu ve liyakati görülmedikçe servetinden dolayı şahsın başkalarına karşı imtiyazlı durum alması."
[126] See Appendix A

would be satisfied by the rich. Accordingly, solidarity between upper and lower classes is qualified as a religious duty.

> "…These principles secure healthy and peaceful justice, equality, generosity and cooperation. This atmosphere destroys any struggle between individuals and classes thanks to the mutual rights and interests.[127] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, p.20)

Another focal point for Hilal in evaluating the issue of Islam and Islam's relationship with other ideologies, was the intellectual attempts to interpret Islam from different Western ideological perspectives, like democracy, socialism and dictatorship. In this context, Devalibi summarized those with a critical approach.

> "Formerly, some speakers were trying to hide the characteristics of Islam in the person of Democracy's principles. They were doing this because the democracy was dominant. Or, they were trying to hide the characteristics of Islam by mentioning the rules of socialism. And they were doing this when socialism became powerful. Another group was trying hard to garnishing Islam with dictatorship. This perspective coincided with the Nazi dictators' successful days during the WWII."[128] (Devalibi, 1968, no.84, pp.12)

However, these stated arguments were criticized in Hilal by defining Islam as a distinct ideology/system which is claimed to make people live peacefully. From Sayyid Qutub, it is a summary of how the ideology propagate its superiority in comparison with all the other systems

> "As it is understood and even accepted that Islam solves all the political problems, grants the social justice with its entirety, turns us towards absolute justice in the fields of adjudication, property ownership, using the opportunities and imposing punishment, it is obvious that Islam is more powerful and mighty than other sects and principles that we are using or trying to use in our country and appropriating in ourselves by imitating or blind association."[129] (Kutub, 1968, no.80, pp.25)

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[127] "…bu prensipler etrafa sıhhatli ve sulhçu bir adalet atmosferi eşitlik, cömertlik ve yardımlaşma gelmesine sebep olur. Bu atmosfer, karşılıklı haklar ve menfaatlerden dolayı fertler veya sınıflar arasındaki herhangi bir mücadeleyi yok eder."

[128] "Evvelce bazı hatipler Demokrasi esaslarının şahsında İslam'ın karakterini gizlemeye çalışıyorlardı. Bunu demokrasi sahipleri hakimdir diye yapıyorlardı. Yahut da İslam'ın karakterini sosyalizm kurallarından bahisle gizlemek istiyorlardı. Bunu da sosyalistlerin bileği güçlenince yapıyorlardı. Bir başka grup da İslam'ı diktatörlükle süslemeye özeniyordu. Bu görüşü özellikle WWII sırasında Nazi diktatörlerin başarı gösterdiği günlere rastlıyorlardı."

[129] See Appendix

Islamic System

With translations and original works, Hilal constructed an Islamist world-view for its Turkish-speaking audience. Enunciating the materialistic world-view as the root of the crisis in both the capitalist and communist system, Hilal presented Islam as the panacea for all the problems. To support the "Islam is an alternative for the bipolarity" discourse, Hilal tried to map out how the Islamic system operates in practice. Even though no references were given to these theories/arguments in constructing political perspective towards the international or domestic politics, those articles demonstrated that Islam can be interpreted as a political system.

The principles of Islamic state, Islamic economy and the Islamic struggle were the leitmotifs of this section. However, when it comes to the details of the Islamic system, it should be noted that any persuasive evidence -except for the Golden Age- for the practicality of the system has not been conferred.

Islamic State

In Hilal, an Islamic perspective to state establishment was conveyed to audience by translating the ideas of Mawdudi, Muhammed Mazhar-ud-din Sıddıki and Abdulkadir Udeh. Based on these arguments, the main themes for an Islamic State were the sources of sovereignty and legitimacy; the government system; the balance of power, constitution and elections,

Primarily, according to Mawdudi, Islam has established its own state during the inception of its existence and it has never separated religion and politics. Furthermore, he claims that religion and state needed each other. In addition, Abdulkadir Udeh asserted that the establishing a government based on Islam was a religious duty and a must for Islam to live.

> "Oh, Islamic scholars! If the state does not apply Islam's provisions, how can teaching Islam in schools bring benefit? If the command is not Islamic, and the social, economic treatments are not according to Islam, then what is the benefit of good moral values that we are teaching in sermons?[130] (Udeh, 1967, no.67, pp.25)

[130] See Appendix A

The starting point of the discussions of the state in Islam, is the sovereignty issue. First, it was stated that Allah is the only sovereign. Therefore, the worst thing for the state and society is defined as the dominance of a human over other humans. From this point, while the sovereign de jure is claimed to be Allah, de facto government is delegated by the divine law to implement Islam's political system. This state is entitled as the Caliphate.

> "According to Holy Quran, being the representative of Allah is not an exclusive right that is inherently granted to an individual, a group or class. This is a collective right of those who accept and confirm the absolute sovereignty of Allah in their own way and those who adopt that the divine laws that the Prophet had informed is superior than all laws and orders."[131] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.67, pp.7)

Accordingly, these principles are claimed to make the Caliphate a democracy[132] but it differs from its Western counterparts in respect to the level of sovereignty granted to the governments. As for Mawdudi, the legitimacy of the Caliphate depends on his obedience to Allah and it get lost when he changed his way. Likewise, Islamic state was pictured as it bans any dictatorial tendencies and confers its Ummah the right to revolt against the dictator. However, above all, it must be noted that any legal or civil institution to measure the "Islamism level" of the Caliphate and of the other state establishments was not portrayed in Hilal.

> "Obeying the State depends on obeying Allah and His Messenger, not apart from him. The clear meaning of this is: The State, which violates the commandments of Allah and the lines drawn by the Prophet, loses its legitimacy to be obeyed by the people."[133] (Mevdudi, 1967, no.68, pp.3)

Besides, it is mentioned that the Islamic constitution is uncodified. Qur'an, Sunnah, conventions of the Rashidun Caliphate and the jurisprudence of great Islamic scholars were sources of the constitution.

When it comes to the branches of the government in Islamic state, a lousy separation of power was offered by Hilal. Laws and regulations were claimed to be

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[131] See Appendix A

[132] in Mawdudi's terminology "Theo-Democracy"

[133] "Devlete itaat etmek Allah'a ve O'nun Resulüne itaat etmeye bağlıdır, ondan ayrı değildir. Bunun açık anlamı da şudur: Allah'ın buyruklarını ve peygamberin çizdiği sınırları ihlal eden Devlet, halkı kendine itaat ettirme hakkını kaybeder."

unchangeable since they were dispatched by God. Per Hilal, only reinterpreting the jurisprudence in accordance with the modern era and elaborating the unclear parts were allowed in Islamic Law. Executive branch is only responsible for the creation of a society that will obey the rules of Islam. Judiciary's responsibilities are also briefly mentioned, and the only thing was that it is depended on Allah's laws. Moreover, while it was asserted that the Caliphate is above all three branches of the government and has the power of veto, he was also claimed to be judged by the Islamic jury.

For the government system, the Caliph is the highest authority. The president, Emir, follows him and he was elected by the people. No one or any group has a privilege for this post. The only prerequisite for being an Emir is high religiosity, morality and spirituality. Besides, propaganda and presenting himself as a candidate is forbidden during the election process of the Islamic state. Apart from the president, there is also a Consultative Committee of Caliphate which can also be elected by the people whereas during the Rashidun Caliphate they were directly appointed by the Caliph. Furthermore, Emir also has the right to abide the majority or the minority of the committee depending on what he thinks is best for the community.

Consequently, state in Islamic system was claimed to have omnipotent control mechanism both on the ruler and the ruled. In this sense, on top of the tangible political structures like elections and other institutions, Sıddıki pictures an Islamic system that guarantees social justice by imposing metaphysical obligations and concerns as extra mechanisms controlling people.

> "State and law can get in contact with only a small portion of human life, a greater part is remained uncontrolled; and in these realms the state and law cannot establish their authority… A life without believing in God and a system whose laws and spiritual values are not based on His guidance, cannot generate a strong, sustainable social order. Neither law, nor state, nor conscience or social thought will keep us steady in the way of virtue, unless we think that we are accountable to and answerable for someone one day. You can trick the police, you can enforce the law

in accordance with your purpose and you can even misguide the public opinion, but you can never cheat and outwit Allah."[134] (Sıddıki, 1966, no.61, pp.22)

Islamic Economy

Following the Islamic principles of the state, economic feature of Islam is another prominent topic during the Translation Period. In this regard, how Islam encourages Muslims to earn income and the methods of "just and fair" income extraction and wealth distribution, were examined in Hilal. In this context, the ideas of Mawdudi, Menna El-Kattan and Adnan Moldibi was translated.

First, Hilal touched upon the religious duty of earning income, that is imposed both on male and female Muslims. Accordingly, it was stated that the Qur'an does not approve of seclusion from worldly desires and it commands to establish a harmony between the two, to fulfill both religious and material duties. By translating Menna el-Kattan's arguments, legitimate conditions for individual property was explained that it is met with the personal effort, rejuvenation of a useless area, takeover from a boss or a manager, inheritance or spoils of Jihad (Kattan, 1966, no.60).

Furthermore, as for the nature of income extraction methods, a specific emphasis was put on the interest and business/commercial ethics (*ticari ahlak*). Accordingly, the Islamic law considers moral and ethical individual gains like rental, disposal and saving lawful whereas interest is banned by it. It is prohibited because interest rate was based on the logic of earning money with money. Thus, it was claimed to widen the gap between the lower and higher classes. Therefore, this system was considered by Mawdudi as a threat for social solidarity.

Another principle of Islamic economy, addressed by Adnan Moldibi, is the prohibition of accumulation of national wealth and capital into the hands of a group of people.

[134] See Appendix A

> "Islam is based on the absolute distribution of national income and prohibited the circulation of the income among a particular group" [135] (Moldibi, 1965, no.49, pp.20)

For this, Islam's inheritance law and state budget regulations were mooted. For instance, the inheritance law's principle of "one person cannot inherit more than one third of total inheritance" was put forward as it being the solution of capital centralization issue. Regarding the state budget, it was stated that Zakat is the biggest revenue item of the Islamic state. While Muslims give 2,5% of their income as tax/Zakat, the non-Muslims, since they are exempted from this obligation, pay double import tax. This system, too, was promoted as a system of redistribution of national capital that also hinders the centralization issue.

Islamic Struggle

On top of the economic and institutional principles of the Islamic system, the basis of the struggle to establish that system was also elaborated. While specifically focusing on Jihad and the youth's role in it, Hilal used the arguments and conceptualizations of Sayyid Qutub, Mawdudi, Semahaddin Cem and Kemal Pilavoğlu.

Firstly, specific conditions and dynamics of countries was acknowledged by the Islamist ideology promoted in Hilal. In this context, Mawdudi emphasized the necessity of a political action plan that is in accordance with the country's "historical, ethical, religious and spiritual culture" (Mevdudi, 1968, no.81, pp.11). On top of it, fundamental features and basics of Islamist call for Muslims were: "staying away from evil; accepting Allah's commandments; getting through the mentality of racism and regionalism; breaking off relations with every "ism" that is not compatible with Allah; being patient to maintain this situation and keeping

[135] "İslam dini milli gelirin mutlaka dağıtımını esas almış ve gelirin muayyen bir zümre elinde devri daim olmasını men etmiştir."

working to stay away from divergent and deviant ways."[136] (Mevdudi, 1968, no.78, pp.8)

Before going into details of conceptualization of Jihad and the role of the youth in this action, it is important to mention Mawdudi's thoughts on the Islamist movement and the concept of Hezbollah in order to understand the nature of the Islamism's political and social call.

> "Islam is a social revolution movement. It primarily aims to demolish idols that had first enslaved people and attitudinized fake divinity with a pack of lies. The call of Islam is the call of recovery and reform, of demolition and constitution. This is not special for a region or a race, but it includes whole humanity. Islam calls whole humanity. Every individual who accepts this call and believes in it is a member of the Islamic community, a member of the Islamic site. This is the way that the universal party, called Hezbollah in the language of Allah, emerges. Before starting the jihad in the name of Allah that has the purpose of making the intention real, this party cannot be counted as actualized. The nature of Islam is the destruction of systems that have been built on orders other than Islam."[137] (Mevdudi, 1968, no.80 pp.27)

Jihad

Primarily, the goal of Jihad is set to overthrow "superstitious systems" and to establish Islamic system. "This holy war" was expected to start in the mujahideen's country and gradually disseminate all around the world (Mevdudi, 1968, no.81). Followingly, Sayyid Qutub's modernized political conceptualization of "Dar-ul Harb" was used by Hilal with the purpose of identifying the enemies in this holy war.

> "Allah obliged everyone, every government, every state, every community to wage Jihad against these enemies of Islam in every country in the world. When they have the opportunity, they have to explode the harsh smack of Islam on their faces. Because we are at war with them until they give up being enemy to us."[138] (Kutub, 1967, no.77, pp.14)

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[136] "Her kötülükten uzak olunması, Allah'ın emrine evet denmesi, ırkçılık, bölgecilik zihniyetinden sıyrılmak, Hak ile bağdaşmayan bütün "-izm" lerden yüz çevirmek; bu durumu muhafaza etmek için sabredip ayrı ve sapık yollardan uzak kalmak için çalışmağa devam etmektir."

[137] See Appendix A

[138] "Allah, her insana, her hükümete, her devlete, her cemaate ve dünyanın her beldesinde bu İslam düşmanlarıyla cihat etmeyi farz etmiştir. Fırsat buldukları anda İslam'ın sert sillesini

In addition, this struggle was claimed not to have a political, economic or racial orientation, one can say that, it was all about "to be Islam or not to be Islam". "*Ya küfür ya iman! Ya Cahiliye ya İslam!*" (Kutub, 1966, no.62-63, pp.13)

On top of it, it was asserted that, the Jihad is fought both with swords and science against the "Dar'ul Harb". After the actual combat has finished, as Semahaddin Cem argues, the "jihad with science and publication" starts. Even, the one with science was praised by also quoting a Hadith: "the composite of a scholar is superior than the blood of martyr (*Alimin mürekkebi, şehidin kanından efdaldır)*" (Cem, 1965, no.51, pp.7).

From this point of view, struggle with self-desires was also included into discussion and this was conceptualized as the "Major Jihad", while the actual combat was defined as "Minor Jihad".

> "Struggle with self-desires is considered as the greatest jihad. The fight in the jihad against the enemy lasts a day or a month. However, the fight with the awful sense inside of a human, is lasting. For that reason, it is called Major Jihad."[139] (Pilavoğlu, 1966, no.56, pp.31)

Even though the Major Jihad was preferred and glorified in Hilal, the need for a war with weapons was also acknowledged by Pilavoğlu, especially for the times that it becomes necessary. He argues that "jihad with sword" would be necessary when "ill-minded people originated among public, in order to silence them and to spread the truth"[140] (Pilavoğlu, 1967, no.67, pp.14)

Consequently, while Allah was granted as the only authority whose orders should be followed, finding a leader in this path was considered as crucial, too. The primary source of inspiration and knowledge for the leader, as to Qutub, was Quran.

> "There absolutely needs to be signposts along the path for a leader who has embarked that journey: the signs that the leader will learn the nature of the role, the

suratlarında patlatmalıdırlar. Çünkü bize düşmanlık yapmaktan vaz geçinceye kadar onlarla savaş halindeyiz."

[139] "Nefis ile mücadele, en büyük bir cihat addedilmiştir. Düşmanla cihad da savaşmak muayyen bir gün ve aya tabidir. Halbuki, insanın içindeki kötü hislerle savaşmak, daimidir. Bu cihetle, bu cihad-ı ekber addedilmiştir."

[140] "Halkın içinde kötü fikirli insanlar çıktığında da onları susturmak, hakikati yaymak amacıyla…"

> realities of his duty, the backbone of his objective and the starting point of this long journey. From those signs, he will also learn his position against the Jahiliyyah on the earth." [141] (Kutub, 1966, no.63, pp.29)

The Role of Youth

A particular emphasis was put on the youth along the path of the Islamic struggle. While the Ulama was accused of being incapable of adapting Islamic system into the modern era, the youth was sermonized to advance all the Western positive and social science together with Islamic knowledge. When we consider the rise of student movements in this period, translation of this kind of contents became more meaningful.

> "By learning the all these sciences (philosophy of scientific knowledge, sociology) in depth, let's reach the level that people has passed throughout different periods in history. However, if we want to live and die like a Muslim, we should study and instruct these sciences and technics by examining after regenerating/correcting them. Because if we would not do this and keep this current situation, without a doubt, they will detract us from Islam under these circumstances."[142] (Mevdudi, 1968, 87, pp.13)

Another prominent topic about the youth was related with their attitude towards the governments. First the respective governments were called into action to avoid corruption and immorality within all the political institutions. Then, it was stated that when the western-oriented governments act against Islam, the students should stand against the foreign ideologies and get organize in their schools.

> "Yes, if the students think that this foreign culture is a disease and believe that it is detrimental, it would be possible to eradicate this negative ideology. They can do it in the homes of science (schools). All my wish is that the evil would find a response in student circles. These are the two basic principles that students can do: First one is to avoid the evolvement of negative ideologies in schools. Second one is to cancel out the evil influences in the thought and morals." [143] (Mevdudi, 1968, 86, pp.27)

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[141] "Bu yolculuğa çıkmış bir öncü için de mutlaka yolda işaretler olması lazımdır; rolünün tabiatını, vazifesinin hakikatini, gayesinin bel kemiğini, bu uzun yolculuktaki başlangıç noktasını öğreneceği işaretler. O bu işaretlerden aynı zamanda yeryüzündeki cahiliye karşısındaki mevkiini de öğrenecektir."

[142] See Appendix A

[143] See Appendix A

2.3.2. The Middle East and Muslim-Majority Countries

During the Translation period, both the frequency and the elaborateness of the contents regarding the politics of the Middle East and Muslim-majority countries have increased. Hilal, as an unofficial representative of Rabıta in Turkey, adopted its and King Faisal's regional objectives into its political perspective. Interpreting the Middle East and Muslim-Majority countries' politics from this perspective, Hilal reproduced regional bipolarity by defining an Islamic World Cold-War between "Saudi-led Muslims" and "traitor and communist stooge Nasserist". In this respect, the themes that dominated the period were the propaganda for Islamic Bloc, news from Muslim-majority countries and, especially after 1967 Six Day War, the Anti-Zionism.

2.3.2.1. Islamic Bloc

In parallel with the global trends, with the rise in the importance of the Third World, King Faisal's call for Islamic Solidarity came to forefront in regional politics. Correspondingly, regional issues became more and more important for Hilal. Being the unofficial representative of Rabıta in Turkey, Hilal started to propagate Faisal's call. Besides, Hilal supported its "ideological father" organizations, Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, in their political struggle against their state establishments.

Championing for these associations and political movements, Hilal produced a binary approach. Accordingly, it was claimed that there were only the Muslims and the others, and a constant conflict was taking place between them. Therefore, while an Islamic unity was being prioritized, especially the historical enemy figure of the Crusaders and their attacks against Islam was often utilized by Hilal. For instance, Christians' purpose was not portrayed as the dissemination of Christianity but as to destroy Islam. Likewise, Hilal made the Crusaders scapegoat of the intra-Muslim disputes, as well. Moreover, the communists, too, were incorporated into this anti-Islam bloc that made the union of Muslims a must. Salih Özcan calls Muslims to unite against the Crusaders and the communists:

> "We should unite the Muslims. Abolishing hostility, eliminating disagreement, making the relations among the sects and minorities closer, improving the relations between the Muslim leader and presidents must be our first and one of most important tasks. All Muslim society must completely align against communism and the crusaders."[144] (Özcan, 1965, no.55, pp.32)

In this respect, every meeting and the resolutions of Rabıta and World Muslim Congress were covered extensively. In addition to the corporate policies and perspectives, Hilal published the thoughts of the leaders of these associations, as well. Together with the translations of the ideas of Mawdudi and other foreign Islamist thinkers on the Islamic Union, Hilal also made interviews with important figures from these initiatives and published them in the journal. Examples of these kind of contents can be the interview with Surrur el-Sabban (the general secretary of Rabıta) and Inamullah Khan (the leader of World Muslim Congress) and detailed reports by Salih Özcan regarding these organizations.

Moreover, in addition to translating the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, Hilal propagated for these organizations and analyzed the problems that they have been facing with their legal establishments. Imprisonment or the execution of Muslim Brotherhood leaders like Hasan-el Benna, Sayyid Qutub or Abdulkadir Udeh[145] and that of Jamaat-e-Islami leaders, like Mawdudi, were always pronounced on the front page of the journal. Besides, developments regarding them were published as well. Also, Hilal produced contents to disseminate the idea that these groups are important for the union of all Muslims.

Being the leader of the Islamic Solidarity discourse, King Faisal was introduced in the pages of Hilal not as the king of Saudi Arabia but as the servant of the "Islamic Bloc". He was defined as "a leader who, with Islamic Brotherhood slogan, knows to confront Nasser's Arab National-Socialism that had directed

[144] "Müslümanları birleştirmeliyiz. Düşmanlığı yok etmek, fikir ayrılıklarını ortadan kaldırmak, mezhep ve azınlıklar arasını yaklaştırmak, Müslüman lider ve başkanlarının arasını yapmak ilk ve en önemli vazifelerimizden olmalıdır. Bütün Müslüman alemi, komünizme ve haçlılara karşı tam manasıyla bir kitle ve birlik halinde olmalıdır."

[145] Abdulkadir Udeh, who was executed in 1954, appeared on the 68th issue's front page by describing as "Victim". See Appendix B

towards subverting Islam"[146] (Öztürk, 1966, no.61, pp.8). Accordingly, it was claimed that Faisal was to adapt Islamic system to the modern era, just like what the Catholics have done to Christianity. In this sense, Nasser's era was asserted to come to the end and it was the time for the Islamic Bloc. The ones who did not support this idea were demonized as Zionists, communists, imperialists, Westerners, Jews and irreligious people, in short anyone who is not "Muslim". Together with this discourse, the enemies were gathered under one banner, "The Enemies of Islam".

> "Rather than the west's policy to divide and hegemonize the Islamic nations, which lasts for centuries, not preventing the Muslim nations from uniting against the communism thread and even encouraging them is a must. This is an exceptional opportunity which has never been seen in the history before. All Muslim nations are obliged to benefit from this."[147] (Edip, 1966, no.61, pp.4)

On the other hand, Hilal also dealt with Nasserist camp's accusations on the Islamic Bloc. As Hilal was stating, Nasserists were denouncing the Islamic Solidarity idea as a pro-Western initiative by declaring Faisal as a pro-British King. The other criticism was addressing the possible problems that Muslim-majority countries' different histories, traditions, politics and societies might create. According to Hilal, there was no evidence proving the connection between Faisal and the West. It was claimed that the petrol had already been exploited and the West had already built its military bases in the region therefore there is claimed to be no way for the West to benefit from Islamic Union. As for the other criticism, the NATO and Warsaw Pact were exemplified as previous practices of union of different countries. Consequently, Hilal claimed that as Islam orders brotherhood among Muslims; as the countries are neighbors; and as the circumstances of the period were forcing countries to cooperate, there left no obstacle in front of this kind of a union.

[146] "Nasır'ın İslam'ı içinden çökertmeye matuf Arap Nasyonalist-Sosyalizminin karşına İslam Kardeşliği parolası ile çıkmasını bilen bir lider…"
[147] See Appendix A

The Islamic Union was not claimed as a political union instead it was a rapprochement and cooperation among Muslim-majority countries. Because a political union was considered as a very hard task while a cooperation and common action of Muslim-majority countries, especially in foreign policy issues and diplomatic relations, especially in Kashmir, Cyprus and Palestine issues, is seen as a necessity. Moreover, economic and cultural cooperation and reconciliation were regarded easy to obtain, as well. These, as stated, might include, student exchange programs, lifting visa requirements, eliminating trade restrictions, etc.

Following this argumentation, it can be claimed that although an Islamist ideology and political system had been narrated as a basis for "Islam is the third way" discourse, when it comes to the Muslim-majority countries' diplomatic relations, ideological principles didn't come into prominence. Thus, Hilal interpreted the regional politics from a dichotomous perspective. In other words, according to Hilal, Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia were struggling against Western and Communist imperialists and their stooges like Nasser. In this sense, the main objective for the regional politics was not the establishment of an Islamic system, it was to eliminate the enemies and to create a web of brotherhood that arouse from Islamic values. In short, the objective was to gain diplomatic supremacy in the regional politics.

2.3.2.2. News from Muslim Countries

In addition to the propaganda for the Islamic Bloc, number of news and reports from Muslim-majority countries were increased, as well. In parallel with the bipolar interpretation of the region and positioning on this arena, detailed analysis of the countries and criticism towards their political situations began to appear in the pages of Hilal.

As Bulut Gürpınar's analysis of the foreign policy perspective of Hilal demonstrates, during the Translation Period, the frequency of the countries mentioned or covered by Hilal was as follows: Pakistan: 28 times; Egypt: 28 times;

Israel: 16 times; Palestine: 14 times; World Muslim League/World Muslim Congress: 14 times; India: 14 times (Gürpınar, 2017).

İsmail Kazdal's article named "Getting Free from Saviors (*Kurtarıcılardan Kurtulmak*)" set the general approach of Hilal towards the politics of these Muslim-majority countries. Regarding the trajectory of the political developments in these countries, Kazdal claimed that in every Muslim-majority country, there was a "Western stooge liberator", and through him the imperialists continued to exploit the Muslims.

> "This is what they do; they do not hesitate to disregard all nations' honor, dignity, and power and to make benefits available to foreigners. Therefore, the savior qualification was given to them and they were badgered their nations to death. Yes, they were created by foreign powers as saviors and such powers, for their own interests, benefited from these persons, who they made saviors, to the extent possible."[148] (Kazdal, 1967, no.74, pp.2)

For Egypt, the leitmotif was the anti-propaganda against Nasser and the support for the Muslim Brotherhood. Nasser was defined as a dictator, villain and "modern pharaoh who was bribing Muslims' dead bodies to Russia". Furthermore, Nasser's anti-imperialist ideology was seen deceptive and he was accused of being a Western stooge.

> "It is also deceptive that they objected the West. In order to completely abolish the thought, system and acts of resistance, and revolt, rebellion, which have arisen from the greatest necessity of the history, they collaborate with one of the movements which are in fact Western but seem anti-Western. Thus, enjoy the best of both worlds. They both kill real local movement against the West and temporize the public as a man of an idea which is western but west enemy and thus satisfy them temporarily."[149] (Kazdal, 1966, no.56, pp.6)

[148] "Zaten onlar da bunu yapmakta, bütün milletlerin şerefini, haysiyetini ve kudretini ayaklar altına alıp, yabancılara peşkeş çekmekten bir an bile geri kalmamaktalar. Zaten bunun için kurtarıcı vasfı onlara verilmiş ve kendi milletlerinin başına bela olarak musallat edilmişlerdir. Evet bunlar kurtarıcı olarak dış kuvvetler tarafından ortaya çıkarılmış ve bu kuvvetler, kurtarıcı diye kabul ettirdikleri bu insanlardan kendi menfaatleri hesabına azami surette faydalanmışlardır."
[149] See Appendix A

Likewise, Hilal claimed that Nasser was considering himself as the leader of the Arab World, yet it was claimed not to be the case, just as the Yemen War had demonstrated the "victory of King Faisal".

> "The Yemen war is one of them and the greatest one in terms of meaning. However, Nasser was also defeated there, and the war was prevented thanks to the prudent behavior of the honorable Saudi Emir Faysal, who has a real Islam belief. It was prevented in such a way that Nasser's dream of being the Arab leader failed upon this result."[150] (Kazdal, 1965, no.55, pp.2)

As for the politics of Pakistan, Hilal upholds the Islamist party of Mawdudi, the Jamaat-e-Islami. The party's strategies, Mawdudi's thought on the party politics and its struggle for taking the power in Pakistan were often published in the pages of Hilal. Besides, "high numbers of communist" groups and politicians were criticized together with the disappointing voting rates of the Jamaat-e-Islami in the Pakistani elections in 1970.

In addition to the analysis of regional politics and detailed evaluation of important figures, in Hilal, almost every Muslim-majority country was somehow examined. These include news and reports of any political, economic and social developments in those countries, some of these were, Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood leaders' detentions, the Syrian Coups, Libyan King's policies, the budgets of these countries and the like.

2.3.2.3. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism and Israel

The Anti-Zionism/Anti-Semitism became one of the most prevalent topics during this period. Especially after June 1967 Six-Day War, frequency of articles aiming at Israel increased. Throughout 1967, Hilal covered the issue in detail and after this year, in the anniversaries, the issue was brought to fore again.

Primarily, the loss of the war was evaluated within the framework of bipolar politics of Arab World. In other words, defeated side was claimed to be the Arab-

[150] "Yemen harbi bunlardan biri ve mana bakımından en büyüğüdür. Fakat Nasır burada büyük bir yenilgiye uğramış, hakiki İslam görüşüne sahip Suud Emiri Faysal hazretlerinin basiretli tutumu sayesinde bu harbin önü alınmıştır. Hem öyle bir alınmıştır ki bu neticeyle Nasır'ın Arap lideri olma rüyası da suya düşmüştür."

nationalists and communists. Likewise, Salih Özcan asserted that if the war had been fought in the name of Islam, the result would have been different.

> "Gamal Abdel Nasser, who made national socialism a flag under the name of Arab nationalism and who swaggers almost every day for years that missiles are released, raised those suffering people's (Palestinian refugees) hopes. He has deceived these people with far too numerous lies for years, and, as a result, inflamed them. Both states (Egypt and Syria) denied God's religion. They allocated most of their budgets to the secret institutions which they had established in order to provoke disturbance in other Arab states. If weapons had been bought with the money spent on such institutions, the result of the last war could have been different. These two states have become a communist dagger in the heart of Arab and Islam states."[151] (Özcan, 1967, no.71, pp.18)

Furthermore, "the Jewish Lobby" phenomenon/conspiracy, as well, was included in the discussions made on the Six Day War and, more broadly, on the global political developments. The United Nations, for example, was accused of being a political pawn of the Jews. And they were identified, with anti-Semitic enmity, as "the devils on the earth".

> "It is not possible not to know those who secretly govern the states and who are behind such states. A number of patriotic books have been written in order to introduce such persons and therefore great difficulties have been experienced. The secret heroes of the state, who have been tried to be introduced are the Jews, that are cursed by Allah's damn and that are devil's representatives on Earth, in the image of a human… We do not express the tactics used by this nation. However, what we want to express is that the the so-called United Nations is not anything other than an image of the Jewish plan."[152] (Kazdal, 1967, no.75, pp.2)

Another conspiracy theory was also attached in to the anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist contents of Hilal. And this was claim of the secret cooperation, even the association of the Jews and the communists. Halil Zafir claimed that communist, by settling in Egypt and controlling its government, have "transfixed" the Arabs against Jews.

> "Is it possible to think of communists' Jew hostility? Why would the communists be enemies of the Jews? Aren't they the Jews who brought the communists into the power in Russia? Aren't those who came into power in Russia Jewish as well?

[151] See Appendix A
[152] See Appendix A

> They took the opportunity in order to fill the gap which has arisen upon the Ottoman's fading from the scene in the Middle East and could not be filled anyhow and were involved in Arab-Israel conflict. The goal came into existence when they settled in Egypt in a short time and made it impossible for the Arab nations to move against the Jews, by taking up the reins and felt that they finally control Israel. They declared their secret goal by aligning with the Americans. They stated that the danger for Israel was finally over and they could handle the issue at that moment."[153] (Zafir, 1970, no.109, pp.22)

To sum up, in Hilal, in the Translation Period, the anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist hatred was expressed in the publications by portraying a Jewish image as a community that governs the world secretly by controlling every prominent figure in the world politics. In this sense, one can see that Hilal has a tendency to combine all of the "others" in one enemy figure and concentrate on one of them depending on the topic examined. In other words, according to Hilal, the world and the Middle East was in a political structure that all the groups, including capitalist, communists and Zionists, were cooperating with the purpose of defeating Islam. This kind of "us vs. them" bipolarity was the main rhetoric of Hilal in the Translation Period, just like in the first period.

2.3.3. Turkey

One of the novelties of the Translation Period is that Hilal circle began to use an Islamist perspective for the political issues that Turkey was tackling. In contrast to the notable indifference or avoidance of dealing with daily political matters in the first period, Hilal spared more and more pages in the latter half of the sixties.

However, despite translating revolutionary rhetoric of Political Islamist currents, when it comes to Turkish politics, Hilal has avoided getting into details of how to change "the system" in Turkey. Instead, Hilal interpreted Turkish politics from a dichotomous perspective that was basically the reproduction of Left-Right cleavage. In this sense, Hilal as the first intellectual group that systematically

[153] See Appendix A

disseminate the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, has laid basis of an Islamic political identity adopting "legal" political devices.

In addition to the left-right struggle, leitmotifs of this section were the student movements and the party politics. Moreover, different from the first period that the Cyprus Crisis was analyzed under specific sub-heading, during this period Hilal proposed a reorientation of Turkish foreign policy. Regarding state-society relations, Hilal's approach towards Kemalism/Military and the education was analyzed. Besides, Nurculuk is no longer an issue in Hilal. While new political orientation can be the reason, the establishment of a daily newspaper, specifically for Nurcular might also be a factor[154].

2.3.3.1. Right-Wing is Islam

Hilal did not adopt the revolutionary Political Islam in its perspective towards Turkish politics. However, it constructed an Islamist point of view and interpreted the political life of Turkey from this perspective. The guiding principle is the "Right Wing is Islam", the objective is to generate a "thesis" against the Left.

By addressing the "completeness" of the system that communism offers for its followers, Hilal averred that the Right-Wing political groups were deprived of this kind of an ideal. Therefore, Islamism was regarded by İsmail Kazdal as essential to transform the struggle against communism from a reactionary nature to that of an action based. In other words, Hilal, in building a political stance, acknowledged the shallowness of "anti-thesis" approaches that heroize national/religious values and then stressed the importance of offering a "thesis" to solve the problems of the modern world, just like the "rival ideology" was doing. This spotted incompetence of the Right-wing ideologies became the main motivation of Hilal during the translation period. By translating the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Mawdudi, Hilal aimed to fill this deficiency.

> "The right wing is deprived of this opportunity. Even if they seem like they are in unity, they still have not adopted a common ideal…We have said that it is time to

[154] İttihad newspaper was established by Salih Özcan, as well.

> describe the Right!... It is necessary to bring the Right an identity/characteristic that answer for here and there (referring this and the other world). This identity/characteristic is expressed with one word: Islam… Even if it is superstitious, the only way to compete with an ideology is the ability of confronting with it with a worldview that is excellent in every aspect. It is the only remedy to transform the struggle from reaction to action… Yes, communism can be resisted not with disorder but only with an order. Those who claim that they are against communism, should know that. Without interpreting the realities from an Islamic perspective, the progress/rise of communism cannot be stopped. The superstition is not confronted with a superstition"[155] (Kazdal, 1965, no.54, pp.4)

Since the objective is the struggle against communism with Islam, the Right-Wing groups were called to embrace it. Characterizing the Rightist ideologies as local, non-reactionary and distinct, Hilal adopted a binary approach towards Turkish politics. This perspective means that in Hilal's world view there were only left-wing or right-wing political ideologies while the concepts like the "center of left" were regarded as fabrications. Likewise, İsmail Kazdal claimed that all the Muslims were constituting the right-wing, whereas all the others were identified as the leftists since the "profanity is one nation"

> "Let's first determine what it is not. The right is not an American capitalism, west liberalism; fascism is not a manifestation of Nazism in Turkish-racism style, contrary to what the leftists determine. In short, it is none of the ideologies whose roots are abroad. The right is not an antithesis of any idea or a reaction to any movement. It takes its strength from the greatest reform of the humanity, who made this nation the representative of a great civilization in the history. Therefore, all of the ideas who are made up by the human minds are entirely antithesis and reactions

[155] "İşte sağcı cephe bu imkândan mahrumdur. Birlik içindeymiş gibi görünmelerine rağmen, henüz müşterek bir ideal benimsememişlerdir…Sağcılığın tarifini yapmak zamanı gelmiştir dedik!... Sağcılığa, buraların ve ötelerin hesabını veren bir hüviyet kazandırmalıdır. Bu hüviyet de tek kelime ile ifade edilir: İslam…Batıl da olsa bir ideolojiyle mücadele edebilmenin tek çaresi onun karşısına dört başı mamur bir dünya görüşüyle çıkabilmektir. Mücadeleyi reaksiyondan aksiyona inkılap ettirebilmenin tek çaresi budur… Evet komünizme nizamsızlıkla değil, ancak bir nizamla karşı konulabilir. Komünizme karşı olduğunu söyleyenler bunu böylece bilmelidirler. Gerçeklere İslam gözüyle bakılmadıktan sonra, komünizmin gelişmesine mâni olunamaz. Batılın karşısına bir başka batılla çıkılamaz."

of the right. In other words, right is Islam so rightist is a Muslim."[156] (Kazdal, 1966, no.57, pp.9)

> "Allah, who stated that "profanity is one nation" perfectly draws the boarders of the conventional divisions, like he gives the dimensions for every concepts… The rightist is Muslim. He is a man who believes that every meaning and belief, every positive action and understanding is in Islam. Those who do not believe in this are totally leftist. Even if they have different colors. Because, the opposite belief of 'profanity is one nation' is 'Faith is one nation'"[157] (Kazdal, 1966, no.58, pp.6)

2.3.3.2. Left-Right Conflict

After conceptualizing the left and right of Turkish politics, Hilal tried to spot the aspects of the actual conflict between these two groups. In this sense, while the leftists were being demonized, the rightists were regarded as the victims of them. In this sense, Hilal asserted a communist threat in Turkey by allegedly pointing out the increasing power of the Left and privileged position granted to it by some state institutions and some groups among society. For instance, according to İsmail Kazdal:

> "While the pieces of Marks, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Nazım Hikmet, Abidin Dino occupies the bookstores' and even newsstands' display windows and nobody is initiating prosecution proceedings against them, writings and words of Gazali, İmam-ı Rabbani, İbn-i Teymiyye, Said-i Nursi, Seyyid Kutub, Necip Fazıl and Sezai Karakoç, who are Muslims that rest upon, first of all, Muslims' sole inspiration, Quran's, and him, are being either censured or made subject to prosecution proceeding by the Turkish prosecutors." [158] (Kazdal, 1968, no.78, pp.2)

Afterwards, Hilal blamed the leftists for being insincere in their request for freedom of thought. By calling the left to increase the scope of this request to

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[156] "Evvela onun ne olmadığı tespit edelim. Sağ, solcuların tespit ettiği gibi Amerikan kapitalizmi değildir, garp liberalizmi değildir, faşizm, Nazizm'in Türk ırkçılığı şeklindeki tecellisi değildir. Uzun lafın kısası kökü dışarıda olan hiçbir ideoloji değildir… Sağ hiçbir fikrin antitezi, hiçbir hareketin reaksiyonu değildir. O kuvvetini bu milleti tarihte büyük medeniyet temsilcisi yapan beşerin en büyük inkılabından almıştır. Böyle olduğu için yeryüzünde beşerin kafasından çıkmış kaç batıl fikir varsa topyekûn sağın anti-tezi ve reaksiyondur… Yani sağ İslamiyet'tir, sağcı da Müslüman."

[157] "Küfür bir millettir buyuran Allah'ın Resulü her mefhumun ölçüsünü verdiği gibi, içtimai ayırımların hududunu da bu muazzam ifade ile çizmiştir… Sağcı Müslüman'dır. Her mananın ve inanışın, her müspet hareketin ve anlayışın İslam'da olduğuna inanan adam. Buna inanmayanlar da külliyen solcu. Ayrı ayrı renkte olsalar da. Çünkü 'küfür bir millettir' in zıt olduğu inanış 'İman bir millettir'."

[158] See Appendix A

include the Islamist as well, Hilal reiterated its confidence in Islam as an antidote to communism.

> "As a spiritualist (mukaddesatçı), we are not, and we cannot be against securing the freedom of thought. However… Freedom with all of its dimensions… A person wishing to have freedom of thought has to be honest in the first place; if he/she doesn't want the freedom of thought for his/her opponents, he/she is a coward and therefore is insincere. As spiritualist (mukaddesatçı), we are not afraid of any idea; however, we are against the fact that we are silenced while our opponents are totally free to spread their ideas… Then, we are proposing the leftist gentlemen that they wish the freedom of thought, which they desire for themselves, for us as well and they should try to abolish not only 141 or 142 but also all rules restricting political thoughts and then they are invited to the idea duel field and the public becomes the referee; is it okay with you honorable leftists? Please be sincere just once."[159] (1965, no.49, pp.16)

Besides, Hilal declared that the freedom of conscience and thought should be granted to Muslims. Accordingly, Muslims were identified as the "real owner of this homeland". In addition, their legitimization for this request was the claim that the Muslims were "pro-status-quo".

> "Because, if this right (freedom of thought and conscience) is not conferred, the Muslims, who are the real owners of this land, will seem against the State when they speak of Islam and suffer torment. Everybody knows that the Muslims are pro-status-quo, not anarchist. Nobody has the right to present them as anarchists."[160] (1967, no.69, pp.31)

Another contention point is related with media. Accordingly, the media was claimed to be controlled by a group of "communists, renegade (dönme) and Godless" (1965, no.53). Furthermore, Hilal, at times, passed the limits of criticism

[159] "Bir mukaddesatçı olarak fikir hürriyetini temin etmenin karşısında değiliz ve olamayız. Fakat… her cephesiyle hürriyet… Bir insan fikir hürriyeti isterken evvela samimi olması gerekir, kendisi için istediği fikir hürriyetini muarızları için de istemiyorsa, o bir korkaklık ve ondan doğan bir samimiyetsizlik içindedir. Biz mukaddesatçılar olarak hiçbir fikirden korkmuyoruz, ancak biz susturulup, muarızlarımıza alabildiğine kendi fikrini yayma imkânı verilmesine karşıyız… O halde solcu efendilere teklif ediyoruz, kendilerine istedikleri fikir hürriyetini bize de istesinler, sadece 141 ve 142 değil bütün siyasi fikirleri kısıtlayan müeyyideleri de kaldırmaya çalışsınlar ve o zaman fikir düellosu meydanına buyursunlar, millet de hakem olsun olmaz mı sayın solcular? Bir kerecik olsun samimi olun fazla değil."

[160] "Çünkü bu hak (fikri vicdan hürriyeti) verilmediği takdirde vatanın hakiki sahipleri olan Müslümanlar İslamiyet'ten bahsettiği an devlete karşı görünecekler ve eza görecekler. Herkes bilir ki Müslüman nizamcıdır, anarşist değil. Onu Anarşist durumuna düşürmek kimsenin hakkı değildir."

and insulted the leftist press by pointing some members as targets to its audience. Çetin Altan, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Ercüment Karacan, Ahmet Emin Yalman, Hasan Ali Yücel ve Ali Ulvi Ersoy were among those names. The way Hilal gave information about those leftist press members clearly showed its enmity. For example, about Çetin Altan, it was stated that "it is said that his mother is a whore"[161] (1965, no.53). Another example is about Ahmet Emin Yalman. Hilal insulted him by calling him a Jewish.

2.3.3.3. Student Movements

Depending on the political environment of the period, a specific emphasis was put on the student movements. Primarily, İsmail Kazdal, by referencing the Hadith of "The youth is a branch of frenzy"[162], discussed the relationship between the youth and the politics. In this sense, the youth was framed as an immature group that can easily be provoked. Criticizing the high politicization levels of the youth, Kazdal accused the elder politicians of abusing the "youthful exuberance".

> "Everyone is provoking the youth; the representatives of every ideology create anarchy hiding behind the youth. Making the youth an instrument in these purposes is the easiest job on earth. Give him some things he cannot get, use him as you wish. For instance: money, women and fame."[163] (Kazdal, 1968, no.85, pp.3)

Whatever the way it approached to the student movements and the relationship between the youth and the politics, Hilal positioned itself with nationalist/conservative organizations, mainly MTTB and KMD. Even, especially towards the end of 1960's when its relationship with Justice Party deteriorated, Hilal attached greater importance to the Muslim youth in the fight against left. The way to describe the characteristics of the members of those groups and to report their confrontation that took place in the fall semester opening ceremony of the University of Istanbul, have shown this positioning[164] of Hilal.

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[161] "Annesinin fahişe olduğu söylenmektedir"
[162] "Gençlik cinnetten bir şubedir"
[163] See Appendix A
[164] Hilal considered itself among these groups so much that whenever a student from a rightist organization was killed, Hilal informed its audience about the incident by calling them as "our martyrs". Some of them were Zihni Hızal, Sait Mutlu, Sabri Arslan (August 1968) Ahmet Yücel

> "Here, in our country, two youth group confronted with each other because of the opening ceremony of the University. The first group, adhered to Turk's spiritual base, the quintessence of faith is shining in their heart and the representatives of our hundred years history. There against, those who attacked with stone and stick were wretches who are the miserable supporters of Moscow and Pekin type doctrine. They did not hear the sound of Yunus and Mevlana arouse from their spiritual climate in the heart of Anatolia and they did not get their share from the historical heritage of the founders of a world empire, Fatih and Yavuz. It is what a sorrowful situation that they alienated from spiritual values of our homeland at which they looked with confounded eyes. Therefore, being captivated by foreign currents, they desired to be a death tornado for their homeland."[165] (1968, no.88, pp.16)

Moreover, Hilal re-specified "generating a thesis against the left" discourse as well, in examining right-wing student groups. In this sense, Hilal appreciated the leader of KMD, Saffet Solak and congratulated him for bringing a "thesis" into the organization. Likewise, another incident to demonstrate the emphasis put on Islamist thesis against communism was Hilal's compliment to the banners of "The greatest force against communism is Islam *(Komünizmin karşısında en büyük kuvvet İslamiyet'tir)*" and "If you want social justice Islam is sufficient *(Sosyal adalet istiyorsan İslam yeter)*" (1968, no.86), unfurled in one of MTBB's meetings.

> "While, two-three years ago there were attacks only towards dishonorable people, in this meeting it is not stopped only with this. Thesis that will save Turkey and whole humanity was expressed, as well. While, in the previous meetings, the racists, who assume the world is small and lack the intelligence and comprehension, were dominant, but today the Muslims, who hinge on the only system that would overpower communism, have dominated."[166] (1968, no.79 pp.16)

When we consider the importance of the Bloody Sunday incident in Turkish political history, a parenthesis should be opened to examine the attitude of Hilal. In

(October 1969), and Ruhi Kılıçkıran, Mustafa Bilgi, Bahattin Dedesan, Mustafa Kahraman, Kenan Ertürk, Süleyman Özman (March 1970)

[165] See Appendix A

[166] "Bundan iki üç sene evvel, sadece ciğeri üç kuruş etmeyen insanlara taarruz edilirken, bu mitingde yalnız bununla kalınmadı, Türkiye'yi ve bütün insanlığı kurtaracak "tez" de açıklandı. Evvelki mitinglerde, dünyayı küçücük kabul eden idrak ve izan yoksunu ırkçılar söz sahibiyken, bugün komünizmi kahredecek tek nizamın bağlıları, Müslümanlar mikrofonun tek hakimiydi."

the issue published just after the incident, Mahmut Alagöz accused the leftists of organizing an anarchist movement.

> "The same events took place in İzmir, Trabzon and Adana. The demonstration which was in fact organized by the young communist leaders is an anarchist walk under cover of 6th fleet and is always a disorderly movement. Hiding the actual goal and demonstrating the Turkish nation's such harsh slap as a reaction movement is a new example of the accustomed betrayal of the communist press"[167] (1969, no.91, pp.17)

In addition, five months after the incident, an Uzbek flotilla came to Turkey. Hilal commented on this visit by recalling the 6. Fleet Protests. In this article Hilal put forward its perspective towards the US by describing 6. Fleet as "guest American soldiers".

> "I believe those who were attacking the guest American soldiers like mad dogs until a short while ago has watched admiringly the Uzbekistan flotilla with a huge red flag on its chimney"[168] (1969, no.95, pp.16)

2.3.3.4. Party Politics

While the Inception period did not include discussions about the political parties -except for some, infrequent support for Democrat Party-, during the Translation Period, Hilal published lots of articles, being written by Kazdal or anonymously, dealing with the situation of the parties in Turkey. By criticizing or supporting parties, Hilal added another dimension to its Islamist ideology for Turkey. In this context, Hilal revealed that, together with student organizations/movements, political parties are legitimate political devices as well, for Islam. On this point, high level of interest shown to Mawdudi's Islamist party had also served to the purpose of demonstrating the political parties as compatible with Islam.

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[167] "Aynı olaylar, İzmir'de, Trabzon'da ve Adana'da da cereyan etmiştir Aslında komünist genç liderlerin düzenlediği bu miting, 6. Filo protestosu perdesi altında anarşist bir yürüyüş ve daima nizamı sarsıcı bir hareketti. Komünist eylemli basının asıl maksadı gizlemesi ve asil Türk milletinin bu şiddetli şamarını, bir irtica hareketi gibi göstermesi her zamanki ihanetinin yeni bir örneği." Hilal, "Hadiselerin Ardından", Hilal No.91, Mart 1969, P.17

[168] "Daha çok yakın bir zamana kadar kuduz köpekler gibi misafir Amerikan askerlerine saldıranlar herhalde bacasında koskoca bir kızıl yıldızın sırıttığı Özbekistan gemisini hayranlıkla seyretmiştir."

During this period, two general (October 10th 1965 and October 12th 1969) and one local elections (June 2nd 1968) were held. Republican People's Party (RPP) and Turkey's Labor Party (TLP) were always criticized and demonized, whereas the conditional support given Justice Party (JP) was maintained up until 1969. Even though the changes in the attitude of Hilal did not stem from the election processes, it roughly overlapped with their timing.

Around 1965, RPP was the main target of the criticisms of Hilal. One of the main subject was the positioning of RPP on the "center-of-left". This political strategy was regarded as nothing but communism by Hilal. Furthermore, just before the elections Hilal claimed that "the CHP, that insists on not knowing the people, has already lost the election while amusing itself with artificial precautions."[169] (1965, no.49, no.17) And on the issue published just after the 1965 elections, Hilal appreciated the results and revealed its conditional support for Justice Party. Accordingly, Hilal claimed that Justice Party had won the majority thanks to the absence of any other alternative. Therefore, AP was requested to consider this fact and to adopt Islam to its politics as it was claimed to be people's will.

> "And when ballot boxes are opened it was seen that people… who have been waiting for five years to slap the party, used their votes to raze it to the ground… It became a necessity for this party, which got most of the votes and came into power, to examine itself and to go through the reasons that brought itself to this situation, and to assess them in a correct perspective. The one and only reason of people's votes have been flowing itself for long years, was the strong rancor against the party that has been arbitrarily using its position in this country against people in defiance of people, finding ingenuity in themselves would be a great mistake… A.P. executives! Comprehend the real reason of the choice of the ones relying on you, show this prudence. Embrace this nation's nuisance, melt in them so much that no party could ever find a way to separate this nation and you, who came out of them. The only way to become so powerful is to melt yourselves and to make them melt in Islam pot with a greatest love, not with anything else, only with this…"[170] (Kazdal, 1965, no.55, pp.4)

[169] "Milleti tanımamakta ısrar eden CHP, hala sun'i tedbirlerle avuna dursun seçimleri şimdiden kaybetmiştir."
[170] See Appendix A

Since 1968, Hilal's attitude towards political parties, particularly to Justice Party, started to transform. After the local elections of 1968, Hilal claimed that there was an ideological war in Turkey and criticized the government for rejecting the existence of this war. In this regard, political parties were categorized as the ones aiming to topple the system (TİP, CHP and Republican People's Peasant Party (RPPP)), and the ones aiming to maintain the status-quo (AP, Trust Party and New Turkey Party). Furthermore, Hilal expressed its thoughts on TİP in a more detailed way. Accordingly, the political goal of Turkey's Labor Party was described as:

> "So, semi-official Marxist party, named TİP, knowing that they could come to power with a coup, will try this nation's patience by taking anarchist actions, people will beat them on the streets and even at their homes, so that they will be titled as oppressed, when they make people to acknowledge themselves as oppressed, armed forces will give the power to Karl Marx supporters by tearing down the current government. Yes, they are hoping for this at any time."[171] (1968, no.87, pp.17)

Furthermore, as it is stated, in 1968 Hilal started to stand against Justice Party. In this sense, according to Hilal, despite having won the elections thanks to the votes of Muslims, Justice Party had cooperated with the Leftists, even granted privileges to them. In addition to it, Hilal started to define Justice Party as the "American Rightists" with the article of İsmail Kazdal.

> "Yes, many Muslims have told that parties, which had been sitting at the parliament chairs thanks to stilted claims, were enemies against the true meaning of the religion. Number of Muslims, who are understanding that saying "Cenab-ı Hak" was a deception and the only aim was to take the power with Muslim's votes, are increasing day by day. We are not taking offence at all! From us to be raided, while communists are finding opportunity to act freely. Because we are not expecting anything else from this mentality and we know that sooner or later American rightists will not hesitate to join leftists against us. Because American rightists and leftists in Turkey are both in wealthy class, and eventually uniting

[171] "Yani, TİP namlı yarı resmi Marksist parti bir darbeyle iktidara gelebileceklerini bildiği için anarşist hareketlere başvurarak milletin sabrını taşıracak, millet kendilerini sokaklarda ve hatta evlerinde dövecek, böylelikle de mazlum sıfatı kazanacaklar, mazlum olduklarını kabul ettirince de silahlı kuvvetler mevcut nizamın hükümetini alaşağı ederek iktidarı Karl Marks temsilcilerine teslim edecek. Evet her an bunu ümit etmektedirler."

against the poor will be needed. We are rejoicing! Because we are right in the cause we believe in. That is why we are strong."[172] (Kazdal, 1968, no.78, pp.2)

The process of abandoning the support given Justice Party accelerated with two important incidents. One was the Right-Wing groups' inclusion into the law against the radical movements. Hilal reacted harshly to the statement of Minister of Justice. İsmail Kazdal even claimed that the main purpose of the law was the Muslims, not the communists. Likewise, he adapted Hilal's discourse of representing the will of people, to this discussion, as well.

"In the eye of government, these pointed ends were communists and Muslims. Namely in another saying, the non-believers and the believers. In another saying, with a clear thinking and seeing, it was the rabid ones to wage war on Allah and the ones struggling in the name of Allah. This draft law's one fourth is for communists, three fourth are for Muslims. We see this clearly, when we read the draft law… Yes, there is no doubt that today's government is against communists too, they even mess around with them too. The reasons for this are that they are clearly against them and they are exceedingly disturbing the government. Otherwise, the government would certainly not discomfort them, unless they disturb them so much. These sold ones, who push forward this to an extent to disturb the army, are aiming at some other goals for sure. Those other goals are discomforting and bothering them. As the head of the state was tilting with vigor at Sharia supporters on Muslim's happiest day, the head of government gave a speech, saying that there was no place for theocratic thought on this land. I wonder for what reason there is a need for these speeches… This last draft law in broad terms will put the government in inconvenient situation, not Muslims. Tomorrow, they will stand in front of the people and ask for their votes. As democracy requires the principle of fulfilling people's will, it will bring even Sharia, if the public wants it. In democratic order, people have the principle of self-governance."[173] (Kazdal, 1969, no.92, pp.26)

The other one was Necmettin Erbakan's divergence from the party after the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges incident. Erbakan's appearance on the political scene was regarded as the start of a new struggle as he was defined by Hilal as "the real son of the nation" who has revolted against "freemasons".

"Like a pilgrim, who is gone without water for days, looks for water, this unprotected nation is looking for a hero. Latest Union of Chambers incident made us hope for a fortunate possibility. Bonded to our soul's root, Necmettin Erbakan

[172] See Appendix A
[173] See Appendix A

> legitimately confronted with Masons, the ideological mafia. Was that an accidental chair fight? Or was a first step of a determined, methodological and comprehensive movement that will cover whole Turkey? So, was Erbakan, worthy of his surname, taking a whole movement's weight on his shoulders and entering the field of contest? Although first round ended with defeat, in fact this entirely belongs to the other part. This oppressed and innocent people welcomed and supported any politician who promised even a little hope. Whereas Erbakan is hundred per cent own and real son of this nation. To stick heart and soul to him is a sacred duty for all believers. Independent group organized by Erbakan should enter to the parliament in full. For this pursue, people should be mobilized and not a single omission should be prevented. There is not a single moment to stop for the followers of Muslim Turkey idea."[174] (1969, no.96, pp.17)

2.3.3.5. Turkish Foreign Policy

Hilal preoccupied extensively with the foreign policy issues during the Translation period. In parallel with offering Islam as an alternative to bipolar world and its propaganda for Islamic Solidarity, Hilal propagated for the reorientation of Turkish foreign policy. Accordingly, Salih Özcan argued that Turkey should turn its face towards the Muslim countries while adopting the West's scientific and technologic developments.

> "We are supporting the west's science and technic, but we are against their worn-out customs and traditions. For years, we have been alone by being offended with the east, parasite to the west and enemy to Moscow. In my opinion, we will find our true identity and get our deserved place within nations on the day, when we bound to Islamic nations with brotherhood and get only science, technic and system of the west."[175] (Özcan, 1966, no.56, pp.7)

First, according to Hilal, the West would never accept Turkey as its ally. Therefore, by praising the Ottoman imperial history, Hilal asserted that Turkey, by following an independent foreign policy, should be the leader of the Muslim world.

> "As far as with our current power we cannot find an opportunity to lead neither the West nor the communist bloc following it, we have to try hard for the union of a world that we can lead and to be a representative of it. And this world is the Islamic world that we have been leading for centuries."[176] (1966, no.62, pp.3)

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[174] See Appendix A

[175] See Appendix A

[176] "Bugünkü mevcut gücümüzle ne garp ne de onun yolunda yürüyen komünist blokun önünde bulunmamıza imkân bulamayacağımıza göre, önünde olabileceğimiz bir alemin birleşmesine ve

This kind of a re-orientation was proposed to solve Turkey's problem of being isolated from World politics especially after the Cyprus Crisis. Therefore, together with the opportunity for being the leader, Nihat Armağan regarded relations with Muslim countries as requisite for ameliorating Turkey's position on global politics.

> "If it comes to Turkey, Turkey has been punished until recent history due to its resentment to the east and especially to Muslim states; turning its back on them; leaving them alone. Here is Cyprus. Turkey has understood its own fault. This understanding of fault will save itself. It is already the time to open foreign policy to Muslim states to the end."[177] (Armağan, 1966, no.56, pp.)

Furthermore, as part of the benefits of relations with Muslim countries, Hilal claimed that "all of the Middle Eastern countries are in need of Turkey's specifically the agricultural products. In these countries, even our water can find buyer"[178](1966, no.62, pp.). Hilal supported its arguments by publishing the ideas of Hasan Kutbi[179], from an interview made by Ali Haydar Öztürk, regarding "the economic and cultural benefits of Saudi-Turkish cooperation" and regarding the support of Saudi Arabia to Turkey on Cyprus Issue (Öztürk, 1966, no.58, pp.31). Likewise, King Faisal's visit was covered in detail in Hilal by welcoming it as a development on the way of Islamic Union.

Consequently, on the foreign policy perspective of Hilal, arguments in the 77th issue, December 1967, that was devoted to Cyprus were summarizing the issue. Following the Greece's Junta government's attacks on the island and the UN's decision to disarm the island, Hilal analyzed the position of Turkey on global politics and reiterated the benefits of cooperation with Muslim countries, especially with Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In short, Hilal claimed that the US was supporting

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onun temsilcisi olmaya gayret sarf etmeliyiz. Bu alem de asırlarca öncülüğünü yapmış olduğumuz İslam dünyasıdır."

[177] See Appendix A

[178] "Bütün orta şark memleketleri Türkiye'nin bilhassa zirai ürünlerine muhtaçtır. Bu memleketlerde bizim suyumuz bile alıcı bulur."

[179] Who was introduced as a businessman and later served as the Minister of Hajj

Greeks due to Christianity, the UN was in the hands of Christians and Zionists and the Soviet Union was benefiting from chaos.

2.3.3.6. State-Society Relations

In this period, on contrary to the previous one, Hilal preoccupied extensively with the political debates. Therefore, themes like religious education of İHL/Religious Institutes and Directorate of Religious Affairs became less important. In this regard, Hilal's attitude towards Kemalism/military and education system in general will be discussed in this section.

Kemalism and Military

Although Hilal was propagating the necessity of right-wing to embrace Islam, the reorientation of the foreign policy perspective and the incompatibility of Western systems in Turkey, it has never challenged the status-quo. In other words, Hilal adapted the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood to Turkey by limiting its scope within legal political structure of Turkey. In this regard, Hilal neither desired to transform Turkish system to the Islamic system nor directly took position against the Kemalist modernization project.

However, the ideas of Hilal seeing the governments of revolutionary leaders of the Middle Eastern countries as the continuation of Western imperialists, can also be used to find out its position regarding the Kemalist elites. In this regard, the only overt criticism towards the founding elites of Turkish Republic was about the Lausanne Treaty. When we consider the fact that the treaty was the foundation document of Turkish Republic, we can argue that Hilal, despite concealing its intention, had been against the Kemalist elites.

> "Because on Lausanne Treaty's unrevealed pages, there was our heroes' (!) signature under the statements that claim Cyprus and islands are not included in our cause. Some men signed such treaty in the name of Turkish parliament… Being loyal to "Peace at home peace in the world" slogan, Turkey however would not

> look back at the process (It was claimed that Greece stuffed Greeks to the island while it was under British control.)"[180] (1967, no.77, pp.2)

On the other hand, Hilal has never touched upon the military institution. We can say that staying away from the military was easier in this period especially when compared to the previous period during which a military take-over was staged and followed by the governments under military tutelage.

Education

During the Inception period, Hilal, in parallel with its editorial line and İnan's personal connections, has mainly focused on the religious education and its problems. Whereas, in this period, Hilal examined education system as a whole and emphasized on the social problems that "bad education" had created. In this regard, "national, religious, morale and ethical" education given children both by the state and their families was identified as the solution.

The first problem was spotted as the education of young generations by "western imitated systems". This was claimed to have deteriorated the moral and spiritual values and to have alienated the youth from its own national values. In this sense, according to Demiray Şaşıhüseyinoğlu the education system that would raise the necessary generations should be:

> "Instead of short-tempered savings, the magical object, that is future proof, conscious and founder of systematic movements, would be the work of a national, rational, investigating, inventor and enforcer system." [181] (1965, no.49, pp.30)

Correspondingly, Hilal asserted that these low levels of morale education opened the way of communist doctrine to find a social base. Furthermore, as a solution to this perceived communist threat, İsmail Kazdal emphasized the

[180] "Çünkü Lozan antlaşmasının bize gösterilmeyen sayfaları arasında, Kıbrıs ve adalar diye bir davamız olmadığını ilan eden belgeler altında bizim kahramanların (!) imzaları bulunuyordu. Böyle bir antlaşamaya, Türk hükümeti adına birtakım adamlar imza atmışlardı… Yurtta Sulh Cihanda Sulh sloganının sadık bendesi Türkiye nasıl olsa ameliyeye (İngiltere kontrolü altındaki dönem Yunanistan'ın adaya Yunalı doldurduğu iddia ediliyor) dönüp bakmayacaktı bile."

[181] "Aceleci tasarruflar yerine geleceği gören, etrafını gözden kaçırmayan, sistemli hareketleri kuracak olan sihirli nesne ancak milliyetçi, akılcı, araştıran, bulan ve tatbik eden bir terbiye sisteminin eseri olacaktır."

requirement of a new generation that would grasp "the perversion" of the communists.

> These imposters' (the communists) masks are teared and showed but there is no respondent at all, so called respondents have blind eyes, deaf ears. You need to raise a cadre to with eyes to see, ears to hear and most importantly ability to understand this gravity, so that it would be meaningful, when you expose these types."[182] (Kazdal, 1965, no.51, pp.11)

In this sense, responsibilities that the families have in order to protect their children from profanity was highlighted. Especially in terms of religious education, families were assigned by Fevzi Aksoy to raise generations that would be aware of "the social dangers".

> "Let's pay attention to the ones we brought up and are brought up. Faithlessness and immorality spread faster than plague, tau, cholera and are more destructive. There are precautions that we take against this attacker. However, today's Muslims, especially majority of the youth are observed that they are open to this threat, do not require any precaution. From this perspective, it is already the time that mother and fathers should comprehend the weight of their responsibility and never forget their biggest duty and pursue to accomplish them. This duty is to teach their children an unbroken faith and required knowledge religion, make them have the true faith."[183] (Aksoy, 1965, no.51, pp.22)

Consequently, in addition to the importance of education for the youth, Hilal published Saffet Solak's ideas regarding the religious education institutions in Turkey and the significance of the religious teachers' capacities.

> "Eventually, it is understood that religious education and infusion are certainly necessary, and even it has late to fulfill this necessity. One should know that positive science may be provided as abstract information, but religion instructor must have two characteristics: to know well and to practice this knowledge himself first. With this respect, when religion lessons are accepted to be given in principle, instructors must know the fundamentals and spirit of Islam from a to z and combine his knowledge with his life style. Otherwise, there will not be beneficial result from religion lessons which is given by instructors whose words and essence, thoughts and actions are conflicting with each other. It is desired that this is first accepted, and then competent instructors are provided."[184] (Solak, 1967, no.72, pp.17)

[182] See Appendix A
[183] See Appendix A
[184] See Appendix A

Hilal during its second period, with translations, has pictured the Islamist ideology to its audience and has proposed a political perspective with its editorial staff. In this sense, political interpretation of Islam was introduced to Turkey by a group who was associated with Rabıta and had close contacts with the government and the intelligence. Demonstrating a point of view towards issues that range from socio-political, to micro-economic to foreign policy, Hilal laid the foundations of the “Islamic political identity” in Turkey together with ideological origins of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami school of thoughts. In this regard, first generations of the followers of Political Islam were interpreting the world system by acknowledging only a portion of the problems of the capitalist system but directing the main criticism against "enemy" socialism. Accordingly, the main rivalry between Islam and socialism was defined as the fight to replace the “failed” Western capitalist order. Following this, the main struggle for the Middle East was defined as to replace dominance of revolutionary states whereas in Turkey the main political motivation became the ideological/intellectual war against leftist groups.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of the thesis "The Evolution of Political Islam in Turkey: The Case of Hilal Circle" has been to explore the international/national dynamics' and the local groups' international connections' impacts on the politicization process of Islam in Turkey. Examining the perspective of Hilal towards the World, Middle Eastern/Muslim-Majority countries' and Turkish politics, I aimed to understand: How the Political Islamist ideology first presented to Turkish audience? How was the political perspective of Hilal before the translations began? How did it change? How was the global/regional/domestic political environment before and after the translation activities have begun? How the ideological climate inside the country has influenced Hilal's perspective while adopting the ideas of Muslim Brotherhood/Jamaat-e-Islami into Turkish politics?

Based on a detailed analysis of the publications of Hilal during the 1960's, the most active years of the journal, I determined the arrival of İsmail Kazdal as the turning point of the editorial policy of Hilal. Accordingly, during the first half of the decade, Hilal produced contents predominantly from an anti-communist perspective. In this context Islam was used only as a historical, cultural and national reference point during the *Inception Period*, while the main political objective was to "exterminate national/international communist menace". After İsmail Kazdal, extensive and systematic translation activities have begun, and anti-communism was replaced with Islamism. Interpreting the world from an Islamist perspective, Hilal spared more and more pages to the political discussions during the *Translation Period*.

During its Inception Period, Hilal adopted Eisenhower doctrine as the essence of its own perspective and reproduced anti-communism by putting both systems' perception of religion to the center. Positioning itself with the Western-Bloc, Hilal describes democracy and laicism as freedom of conscience, exemplifying the high importance given to the religious and spiritual values in the US. Communism, on the other hand was defined as the enemy of these values. Hilal used Marxism's principle of "religion is the opium of people"; historical enemy

figure of “Moskof” and “Chinese”; and Soviet and Chinese imperialist policies towards the Turkish-Muslim communities in the Central Asia, in constructing its anti-communist world-view.

Hilal’s political perspective towards the Middle East/Muslim-Majority countries, was, too, influenced by the Western-Bloc’s position. Since the US and its regional stooges, including Turkey, did not have decisive roles in the diplomatic relations of the Muslim countries, especially in intra-Arab relations, contents related with the Middle East/Muslim-Majority countries remained very limited. Hilal only applauded the anti-communist developments while it was avoiding dealing with intra-Arab relations.

Representing the US foreign policy objectives, Hilal’s political perspective has overlapped with Turkey’s domestic and foreign policy objectives, as well. In this context, Hilal’s interpretation of Turkish politics has been shaped by the anti-communist, pro-Western, and pro-establishment attitude. Hilal contributed to the internalization of the communist threat by identifying Turkish communists as the stooges of the greater international communism and created an “us vs. them” dichotomy by accusing anyone attacking religious, national, cultural and historical values of being a communist.

The beginning of the extensive and systematic translation activities coincides with the global trend of questioning intra-bloc hierarchies; with the new diplomatic initiative of Saudi King Faisal, Islamic Solidarity discourse; and with the re-election of a center-of-right party in Turkey. After solving domestic problems, King Faisal accelerated the support given to Muslim Brotherhood/Jamaat-e-Islami groups with the aim of strengthening its regional diplomatic power and balancing Leftist and Ant-Western ideas. In this context, this new discursive ammunition of anti-Leftist bloc was welcomed by the US, as well. Similarly, in the Turkish context, Islamism was used as an antidote to the Left. Therefore, in the face of “a common enemy”, Turkish state’s and the Right-Wing groups political and social interests have overlapped and Political Islam of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami has been translated in Turkish.

When we examine the transformation in the political perspective of Hilal, we observed the ramifications of the changing dynamics. During the Translation Period, Hilal adopted Political Islamist ideology of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami as the essence of its own perspective. Translating this ideology, Hilal transformed its mindset, abandoned its bipolar perspective and proposed Islamic system as an alternative to the bipolarity of the Cold-War. Since Salih Özcan was the founding partner of Rabıta, Hilal constructed its political perspective towards the Islamic World in accordance with Saudi Arabia and propagated for Faisal's foreign policy objective.

Ironically, despite translating the revolutionary rhetoric of Political Islamist currents, when it comes to Turkish politics, Hilal abstained from challenging the existing order. Adopting the Political Islamist discourse as an ideology for the Right-Wing, Hilal reproduced the bipolar interpretation of the Turkish Politics. Differently from the previous period, Hilal aimed to change the nature of the political claim of the Right-Wing groups by proposing Islam as a "thesis" against the Left.

As my findings indicate, Hilal changed its political perspective from anti-communism to the Islamism, being influenced by the global, regional and domestic dynamics and changes. Even if Rabıta was established in 1962, and Salih Özcan's connection with Arab and Asian figures was built even before 1960's, the translations have begun after the appropriate conditions have emerged. This might prove the deficiency of considering translation activities as personal pursuits of Islamist groups, since they were rather related with the Cold-War dynamics and changing political interests. Likewise, as the political perspective of Hilal demonstrates, the circle adapted to the political landscape very pragmatically, and followed its "ally's" political objective. Both during anti-communist and Islamist era, Hilal interpreted the world in accordance with the Zeitgeist. In other words, the ideological stance of Hilal is a kind of opportunistic/populist orientation, instead of an idealistic "commitment" to a school of thought.

Moreover, even though the introduction of the Political Islamist thought into Turkish political life has been directly influenced by the global/regional and domestic political power groups, this impact manifested itself as an attempt to provide a perspective towards the political, economic and social matters of the era. In this sense, the impact of the extraneous factors on the inception phase of Political Islam has not been limited with some networks and connections. The political objectives of these groups have also been reflected in Hilal's adaptation of the ideas of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami. Therefore, the relations between Hilal and Turkish establishments cannot be described as a dependency relationship, but it is the reconciliation of stronger/weaker groups owing to common benefits. Because neither Turkish state and its ideological foundations are compatible with radical Islamism nor Hilal has adopted statist discourse with its entirety. Even though Hilal abstained from challenging the existing order, it has contradicted with the interests of the state/military/intelligence/government from time to time. And as it was seen at the end of the Translation Period, Turkish establishments have faced with "unintended consequences" of Political Islamists thought's introduction to the Turkish political life.

All in all, the ever-changing, intricate and instable relations between Turkish State – Right Wing politics- Islamist groups that became prevalent after 1970's, assumed similar characteristics in the inception phase, too. Even if Hilal has not adopted the revolutionary rhetoric of Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, and even if this demonstrates that Hilal has benefited from the political space opened up by the overlapping of interests, post- 12 March 1971 Memorandum developments indicate that, adopted Political Islam always has the possibility to portray legal establishments, too, as target. Therefore, for a better understanding of the trajectory of Political Islam in Turkey, how the worldview of the Islamist currents evolved and how the global trends/paradigms have been adopted by them should be examined. With this, both the nature of the relationship between Turkish Islamists and Turkish-Saudi or American states and how the ideology has increased its socio-political power can be analyzed.

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APPENDIX A

1.3.1. The World

“(Emperyalist devletler) Adı geçen devletler arasında batılı olanlar sömürgelerini anavatanlarına ilhak iddiasında bulunmamışlar ve mücbir faktörlerle karşılaştıkları takdirde oralardan çekilmeyi zımnen kabul edercesine idare etmişlerdir. Rusya ve Çin ise bu zihniyette değillerdi ve sömürgelerine “Sömürge” demek yerine anayurtlarının bir parçası derlerdi ve imkân buldukça bu iddialarını gerçekleştirmeye çalışırlar.” (Buğra, 1961, no.17, pp.19)

“Çarların ve Kızılların Kuzey Kafkasya’yı parçalamak hususundaki gayretleri yukarıda da söylediğimiz gibi bu memleketlerin aşılmaz bir granit kaya halinde karşılarına dikilmiş olmasından ileri gelmektedir…Kuzey Kafkasya’da tatbik edilmekte olan Sovyet sistemi tam manasile muvaffak olmaktan çok uzaktır. Zira halk bu sisteme karşı her şeye rağmen mukavemet etmektedir.” (Avar, 1961, no.20, pp.23)

1.3.2. The Middle East and Muslim Majority Countries

"Alman milis albayı haklı mıdır, masum mudur, yoksa mücrim mi? Şimdilik bu nokta üzerinde durmayacağız. Bir hakikat varsa meydana çıkarıp tebellür ettirmek istediğimiz bir nokta varsa o da lehte veya aleyhte peşin hüküm vermek değil, bu meselede Dünya Yahudiliğinin oynadığı ve bu oyuna alet olan dünya matbuatı halidir ve asıl ibret noktası da buradadır. Bir defa 6 milyon Yahudi davası kuyruklu bir yalandır... Memleketimize baktığımızda da Yahudi’yi haklı ve üstün gösteren ve en acıklı tarafı senelerce omuz omuza bir siperde kan döktüğümüz asil Alman Milletini rencide eden yazılar... İsrailoğulları dünya kurulalı hiçbir zaman, hiçbir yerde, haklı ve masum olmamıştır..." (Atılhan, 1961, no.19, pp.8)

“Dünyada yaşayan insan değil, en korkunç dediğimiz canavarlar bile hem cinsine bu kadar düşman değildir (İsrail’den bahsediliyor). Ne hazin bir tecellidir ki demokrasiyi temsil eden Amerika bile aldatılmış ve yaptığı yardımlarla kabili kıyas olmayan en büyük yardımı İsrail’e yapmıştır. Mesela Avrupa’ya adam başı 8 dolar yaptığı halde, Yahudilere adam başı 48 dolar yardım etmiştir.” (Öztürk, 1959, no.5, pp.6)

1.3.3. Turkey

1.3.3.1. Communists

“İşte komünist denen o melun, o insanlık ve fazilet yoksunu hain, daima, yaşayan neslin gelecek nesil ile ülkü ilgisini kesip koparmağa, onu evladını düşünmeyecek kadar alçalmış, torununu tahayyül edemeyecek kadar sefilleşmiş hale getirmek için her türlü çareye baş vurur. İnsan ancak kendisi için yaşayan, yaşamağı da sadece midenin dolması, nefsin hayvani arzuları için tatmin bulması ve bunun için beşerin ayıp ve günah sakıncasından kurtulması şeklinde anlamış birer konuşan hayvan durumuna getirmek ister. Bu alçak emeline nail olmak için de manevi değerleri küçümsemeği, ruhu zevkleri hor görmeyi, mukaddesatı yıkmayı, milliyeti söndürmeyi şiar edinir.” (Tamer, 1961, no.21, pp.21)

“Dine bu derece ağır ve cepheden tecavüz ile camilerin ve din tedrisatı yapan okulların kapatılması, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı’nın lağvedilmesi, dini neşir organlarının kapatılıp sahiplerinin tevkifi gibi hususlar ancak ve sadece komünist rejimin hâkim olduğu memleketlerde görülen karakteristik tatbikattır.” (Nomer, 1964, no.46, pp.3)

“Memleketimizi bu yıkıcı afetten korumak için komünist sızma metotlarına, faaliyetlerine ve propaganda tekniğine hakkile vakıf insanlardan müteşekkil hususi istihbarat kadroları meydana getirmek ve 141,142. Maddeleri günün şartlarına göre tadil ederek ihtisas mahkemeler, kurmak acil bir ihtiyaçtır. Bu hususiaki ihmal ve gaflet telafisi imkânsız facialara yol açabilir.” (Kanbek, 1963, no.40, pp.3)

1.3.3.2. Democracy and Laicism

“Netice ne oldu, netice işte elim bir boşluk ve dinin ilim olarak bile hiçbir şekilde okunmasına müsaade etmemek suretiyle hariçten dahilden her türlü telkinata açık saf temiz memleket gençliğinin bizzat kendi vatandaşı aleyhine, kendi müesseseleri aleyhine bir takım sevgisiz hislerle techiz edilmesi oldu.” (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

“Bizde milletin hukukunu şahısların keyfi hareketlerinden kurtarmak için girişilen teşebbüsler, Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet gibi büyük inkılablar hep Türk din ulemasının iştirakiyle, talebci ulumun gayretiyle ve alelumun müslüman halkımızın meşruiyet ve hakka verdiği ehemmiyet ve daima haklı tarafı iltizamı farz bilmesinden ileri gelmiştir. Bu daima böyle olacaktır.” (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

“Layiklik meselesini fena tatbik ettiğimiz ve yahut hiç tatbik edemediğimiz meydandadır. Avrupa’da layiklikten sonra din müessesesi ilmen ve amelen sonsuz bir hürriyet içinde idamei mevcudiyet etmiştir. Laik Avrupa ve Amerika devletlerinden hangisinin Anayasasına bakılırsa dibace (preamble) ve

maddelerinde İsa'dan Kiliseden Dinden kemali hürmetle bahsedildiği görülür." (Teymuroğlu, 1959, no.11, pp.23)

"Bizim için gereken Batılılaşmak, Muasırlaşmak veya Medenileşmek değildir. Çünkü kendimizi inkâr edemeyeceğimiz, bir tarafa fırlatıp atamayacağımıza göre Batılılaşmaya; arada asır farklı olmadığına göre Muasırlaşmaya, kendimize göre bir medeniyete sahip olduğumuza göre yeniden medenileşmeye ihtiyacımız yoktur, bu mümkün değildir. Ancak medeniyetimizi muasır bir seviyeye getirmek, muasır bir medeni seviyeye çıkmak diye bir meselemiz vardır… Demek ki muasır bir medeniyet seviyesine yükselmek isteyen bir millet medeniyette kendisinden üstün milletleri aynen taklit mecburiyetinde değildir. Ancak medeniyetlerin müşterek bir ciheti, yönü olan teknik bakımdan o ileri milletlerden faydalanır ve kendine has bir medeniyet yaratır, daha doğrusu kendine has olan medeniyetini muasır bir seviyeye çıkarır." (Yetik, 1964, no.48, p.22)

1.3.3.3. Reactionism

"Kendilerinden başka hiç kimseye fikir hürriyeti tanımak istemeyenler, bu milletin tarihi ile, örf ve adetleri ile, kültür kıymetleri ile ve nihayet dini ile ilgilenen ve bu konularda yazan, söyleyen kimseleri gericilikle, köhne müesseseleri diriltmeğe çalışmakla suçlandırırlar… Memleketimizde en az elli yıldan beri "fikir ağalığı" imtiyazını ellerinde tutanlar irticaa hücum ve inkılapları müdafaa teranesiyle çok defa milletimizin menfaatına uygun ve kalkınmasını mümkün kılacak fikirlerin serbestçe ifadesine ve tatbik bulmasına mani olmuşlardır." (Erdem, 1961, no.16, pp.20)

"Kendi düşünce ve inançlarından gayrilerine hürmet etmeyen, onların sahiplerine tecavüz eden, maalesef fikren mürtecidir. Mesela: kendisini ileri görüşlü, cemiyeti için en yararlı fikirlere sahip olduğunu sanan bazı kimseler zıt kanaatta onlara ve başka fikirlere sahip olanlara mürteci diye saldırırlarsa, bu saldıranlar mürtecidir." (Özgedik, 1962, no.25, pp.4)

Bu memleketin sahipsiz olmadığını, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti 'nin ilelebet payidar olacağını, Anayasanın kurduğu içtimai nizamın bozulamayacağını ve komünizmin Türkiye'ye yerleşmesine müsaade edilmeyeceğini göstermek lazımdır." (Nomer, 1964, no.46, pp.3)

1.3.3.4. Cyprus

"Kıbrıs'ta bulunun bir avuç İslam Türk topluluğu "Biz İslam değil, Türk'üz" diye bar bar bağırıp, üzerlerinden bütün İslami mükellefiyetleri atmaya ve sadece böyle anılıp böyle yaşamaya özenmektedirler…Kıbrıslı Türkler imanlı, gerçek mücahit ve mukaddesatçı bir liderin, ki böyle kişiler mevcuttur, etrafında toplanıp, tam bir

din ve ahlak şuuru ile her işlerini yoluna koyup yürütecek olurlarsa hemen örnek bir topluluk olarak huzur içinde yaşayacaklardır." (Hikmet, 1959, no.10, pp.11)

"Her türlü alçaklığı, vahşeti, gaddarlığı ve ne kadar insanlık dışı davranış ve melanet varsa hepsini nefsinde toplayan beynelmilelci komünizm, tarihi Rus emperyalizminin emrinde ve bir ahtapot halinde Doğu Akdenizin ılık sularında gezmektedir. Bu ahtapotun kolları Asya-Avrupa ülkelerine uzandığı gibi Kıbrıs Rumlarının ekseriyetini de çoktan sarmış bulunuyor… Kıbrıs adasındaki teşkilatlı komünist Rumlar Enosis bayrağı altında istedikleri her türlü yardım ve müzahereti görerek tehlikenin bizzat kendisini teşkil edecek derecede genişlemişlerdir" (Kanbek, 1964, no.45, pp.4)

1.3.3.5. State-Society Relations

"Genel olarak bütün siyaset adamlarımızın gözü dönmüş, ortada yalnız şahsi kin, hırs ve nefret hisleri görünür olmuştu. Bu durumu en iyi tetkik eden Türk Ordusunun değerli kumandanları oldu. Siyasetler alakadar olmamalarına rağmen memleketin zararına yönelen bu muhteris particilik zihniyeti onların gözünden kaçmıyordu…Sayın Org. Cemal Gürsel'in başkanlığında MİLLİ BİRLİK KOMİTESİ 27 MAYIS 1960 tarihinde bütün dünyanın hayranlıkla bahsettiği bu fevkalade işi kansız olarak başarmıştır…Mecmuamız öteden beri siyasi hiçbir faaliyete girmediği okuyucularımızın malumudur . Bununla beraber Kahraman Türk Ordusu'nun bu fevkalade başarısı hepimizi sevindireceğinden az da olsa bahsetmeyi uygun bulduk. Bütün tarih boyunca şan ve şeref kazanan Türk Ordusu, yaptığı bu son vazife ile şerefini bir daha yükseltmiş, ününü bir daha dünyaya salmıştır." (Hilal, 1960, no.15, pp.1)

"Biz (Adalet Partisi) maddi ve manevi mükemmellik içerisinde muvazeneli nesillerin yetişmesini arzuluyor ve bu ruhi oluşu layikliğe aykırı olarak kabullenemiyoruz. Bunu (Türk'ü manen) cihazlandıracak cihaz olarak da Diyanet İşlerine gereken ehemmiyetin verilmesini ve buna göre teşkilatlandırmasını kabullenmekte ve istemekteyiz" (Dikeçligil, 1963, no.35, pp.13)

1.3.3.6. Nurculuk

"Evet ortada bir topluluk vardır. Fakat bu topluluk kanunun müdahale çerçevesine girmiyordu. Bir cemiyet gibi program, teşkilatı, azası yoktu. Bir parti gibi siyasi bir programa ve teşkilata tabi değildi… Nur talebelerinin imanı irfana müsteniddir. Evet, kuru bir iman değil, irfan üzerine kurulan bir iman. Cehaletin en büyük düşmanıdırlar. Cehle müstenid iman, onlarca makbül değildir. İlim ve İrfan temelleri üzerine kurulan iman imandır. Bu itibarla buna bir mektep (EKOL) desek daha münasip olur. Belki de en doğrusu budur. Madem ki tarikat değil, cemiyet

değil, o halde İman ve İrfan Mektebi demek münasip olmaz mı" (Berk, 1962, no.32, pp.12)

"Bu dava, bidayeten iddia edildiği gibi dini istismarı davası değildir. Ve aynı zamanda bu dava, karşınızda maznun sandalyasında oturan bu on kişinin de davası değildir. Haddi zaatında onların şahsında, bir iman boğulmak istenmekte, bir kitaba karşı savaş açılmış bulunmaktadır. Bu savaş, iki zihniyetin mücadelesi, bu şahıslar onun vesilesi, bu salon muharabenin meydanıdır. Ve bu şavaşın silahı kılınç değil kalemdir. Hedefi beden değil, vicdandır. Muhterem hakimler! Bugün dünya iki kampa ayrılmıştır, iki cephe halinde saf bağlanmıştır. İmansızlar ile Allaha bağlananlar; kitapsızlarla kitaplılar; maddenin esirleriyle ruhun aşıkları; şeytanın uşaklarıyla hakkın müdafileri; zulmun emirleriyle adaletin talipleri karşı karşıyadır. Şer kuvvetleri, Siyon'dan gıdalanmakta, localarda teşkilatlanmakta ve Moskova'da genel karargahnı kurmuş bulunmaktadır. Diktatoryasına, bütün insanlığı mahkûm etmek isteyen Kremlin şefleri ve onların uşakları, her yerde, karşılarında yıkılmaz tek kuvvet olarak, Allah adına, onun peygamberlerine bağlananları görmektedirler." (Hilal, 1958, no.1, pp.17)

2.3.1. The World

"Ve sonra başka bir medeniyet sahneye çıktı ve hızla ilerlemeye başladı. Müslümanlar tarafından terk edilen akli feraset, çalışma ve mücadele prensipleri batı milletlerine geçti. Müslümanlar tarafından terkedilen inkişaf ettirici aynı prensipler üzerine hareket ederek ilerlemeğe başladı. Müslümanların kaybetmiş olduğu beşeriyet liderliğini yakalayana kadar ilerlediler ve sonra onların kılıcı arzın daha iyi kısımlarını fethetti." (Mevdudi, 1967, no.76, pp.18)

"Şirin evler, yeşil bahçeler, şahane yollar, lüks, eğlence ve sefahat. Aynanın bir yüzü bu. Diğer yüze gelince: fukaralık, açlık ve sefalet…İmam kim olursa olsun bu iki ayrı zümrenin aynı safta yan yana durup, kalpleri ebedi dostluğa doğru aynı kıbleye tevcih etmelerine hiç imkân var mıdır? Asla. Öyleyse bu yol da yol değildir." (Zafir, 1967, no.72, pp.28)

"O hayatın her cephesinde öyle ciddi meseleler meydana getirdi ki, onları çözmek için yapılan her teşebbüs birçok yeni güçlükler ve karışıklıklar doğurmaktadır. Mesela; kapitalizme hücum komünizmin doğup büyümesine netice vermektedir. Hastalıklarından demokrasiyi yaşatma teşebbüsü, diktatörlüğün doğmasına yol açmaktadır. İçtimai meseleleri çözme gayretleri kadın erkek eşitliğine ve doğum kontrolüne sebep olmaktadır. Kanunla içtimai kötülükleri söküp atma gayretleri büyük çapta kanunu ihlal etme ve suç işlemeyle neticelenmektedir." (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.20)

“Bu hastalık ilk olarak yayılmaya yüz tuttuğu zamanlarda İslam alimleri bu kokmuş medeniyetin içine dalıp batılıların yükselmesine vesile olan teknik ilimleri, pratik bilgileri öğrenerek İslam’ın insani potasında eriterek Müslümanları asırlar boyu süren ölüm uykusundan uyandırmalıydılar. Fakat o İslam alimi dediğimiz kişilerin birçoğu hakiki İslam’ı anlamaktan bile acizdiler… Allah’ın ebedi ve ezeli kitabından, Peygamber’in kâinatı kaplayan sünnetlerinden sentez yaparak İslam ideolocyasını kurup, değişen çağın icaplarıyla bağdaştıracak güçten yoksundular. Ancak geçmişi körü körüne kuru taklit hastalığı yaygındı.” (Mevdudi, 1967, no.77, pp.9)

“Yeni medeniyetin her şeyi silip süpüren seylabını ataletle ve modası geçmiş durgun fikirlerin en iyisi ile bile durdurmak imkansızdır. Dinamik kuvvetler atalet ve hareketsizlikle mağlup edilemez… İslami usul ve talimleri izaha çalıştıkları (Ulama) tarz, modern tahsili olan zihni cezbetmekten ziyade defedeceği tahmin edilmektedir. Gerçekten onların izahlarından bazısı o kadar ham, o kadar beklenmedik şeylerdi ki herhangi bir gayri-Müslim yahut da kusurlu yetiştirilmiş bir Müslüman tarafından asla duyulmuş ve okunmuş olmasını insanın cidden arzu etmeyeceği şekildeydi. Bu ulema hala 18. Asırda yaşamaktadır; onlar hala o eski dünyada nefes almakta, yaşamakta ve düşünmektedir; sadece o dünyaya has manada ve o dünya ile ilgili tabirleri konuşmaktadır” (Mevdudi, 1967, no.76, pp.19)

“Avrupa’daki laik düşünce, Hıristiyan mezhep kavgalarını geride bırakmak ile birlikte moral ve sosyal inkişafa müsait müşterek bir zemin bulmak iştiyakından ilham almış oluyordu… Avrupa’nın sosyal şuurundaki bu uyanış Hıristiyanlık sayesinde değil, fakat ona rağmen vuku buluyordu” (Anon, 1969, no.94, pp.20)

“Allah’ı terk ettiler ve onları vahim güçlüklere sokan ilahlık seviyesine yükselttiler; menfaatlerine tapmağa başladılar. Bu sahte ve tehlikeli ilaha tapmadır ki şimdi onları bütün düşünce ve faaliyet sahalarında aldatıcı ve tehlikeli yollara sürüklemektedir…Bizzat bu muzur ağacı kendisine diken batı halkı, şimdi ondan nefret etmektedir.” (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.20)

“Dine karşı cephe almak, din adamlarını imha etmek gibi faaliyetlere girişildi. Maddeci görüşü topluma zorla kabul ettirmek gibi icraatlar görüldü. Ve bütün bu inkılapların sonunda batı dünyası, ihtiyar dünyanın başına sosyalizmi ve komünizmi musallat etti… Ve komünizm dinsizlikten dolayı insanlığın düştüğü en son çukurdur ve cehennemin bir misalidir.” (Mevdudi, 1967, no.77, pp.18)

“Millet aynı inanç sistemine bağlı fertlerin mecmuudur… İnanç kuvvetinden geldiği için milleti meydana getiren fertlerin birbiriyle bağları o kadar derin ve o kadar kopmaz bir halkadır ki bu bağı koparmağa irsî yakınlık kâfi gelmemekte ve hatta İman rabıtasının yanında irsî yakınlık hiçbir kıymet taşımamaktadır.” (Kazdal, 1966, no.59, pp.10)

2.3.1.3. Islamism

"Bütün beşeriyet, gayri-Müslimler kadar Müslümanlar ve batı halkı kadar doğu halkı da bugün vahim bir belaya duçar olmuştur. Onların hayatları koyu bir materyalizm içine doğmuş olan bir kültürle idare edilmekte ve şimdi de tamamen onun içinde uçuruma gitmektedir. Bu kültürün nazariyesi kadar pratik siyasetleri de ters ve kararsız temellere dayanmaktadır. Onun felsefesi ve ilmi, ahlaki, değerleri ve içtimai nizamı, kanunu, siyasetleri kültürün her cephesi yanlış başlangıç yapmış ve bu yüzden de yanlış bir istikamette gelişmiştir. Ve şimdi o çöküşü, tamamen yıkılıp yok oluşu uzak olmayan kritik bir zeval safhasına ulaşmıştır." (Mevdudi, 1967, no.75, pp.19)

"…ama bu teknolojik birliğe rağmen, insanların duygu ve düşünce birliğinin sağlanması, çeşitli ideolojilerin amaçlarındaki ayrılığın giderilmesi, ayrı kültürlerin yeni bir terkibe yönelmesi konusunda gerçek bir anlaşmaya varılamamıştır…Politik ve ekonomik ayrılıklar her gün daha fazla artıyor. Düşünce sistemleri arasındaki anlaşmazlıklar daha çok keskinlik kazanıyor. Dünya gerçek bir insani yakınlığa çok uzaktır." (Ahmed, 1969, no.95, pp.31)

"Batı nizamı devrini tamamlamıştır. Onda artık liderlik sıfatını muhafaza edebilecek ahlak sistemi ve manevi değer kalmamıştır. Avrupa'nın maddi sahada göstermiş olduğu muvaffakiyet sayesinde insanlığın kavuştuğu maddi refahı, manasıyla birlikte geliştirecek ve devam ettirebilecek kudrette bir liderliğe ihtiyaç vardır… İşte İslam, yalnız İslam bu nizamı kucaklamaktadır." (Kutub, 1965, no.53, pp.5)

"İslam çalışma gücü olan herkesten bütün gücünü gerek şahsi menfaat gerek cemiyetin menfaati icabı sorumlu ve kontrollü hür çalışmaya sevk etmektedir ve ferdi teşebbüsü ve onun kudretini zaafa uğratmayı cemiyetin zararı saymaktadır." (Devalibi, 1968, no.82, pp.8)

"İslam'ın, bütün siyasi problemlerimizi hallettiği, sosyal adaletin bütününü bize bahşettiği, hüküm verme, mal-mülk sahibi olma, fırsatları kullanma ve cezayı tatbik etme hususlarında bizi mutlak adalete döndürdüğü fikri anlaşıldığına ve hatta kabul edildiğine göre, şüphesiz ki o (İslam) şu anda memleketimizde kullandığımız veya kullanmaya çalıştığımız ve taklit veya körü körüne ortaklık yolu ile kendimize mal ettiğimiz diğer bütün mezheplerden ve prensiplerden daha kudretlidir." (Kutub, 1968, no.80, pp.25)

“Ey İslam alimleri! Eğer devlet İslam ahkamı tatbik etmezse mekteplerde İslam dersini vermekten ne fayda var? Sonra hutbede öğrettiğiniz güzel ahlakın ne faydası vardır eğer hüküm İslami olmazsa, içtimai, iktisadi, muameleler İslam’a göre değil ise.” (Udeh, 1967, no.67, pp.25)

“Kur’an-ı Kerim’e göre, Allah’ın vekili olma durumu herhangi bir ferdin, bir klanın veya sınıfın münhasıran doğumla kazandığı bir hak değildir, bu kendi usullerinde Allah’ın mutlak hakimiyetini kabul ve tasdik edenlerin ve Peygamber’in haber verdiği ilahi kanunun bütün kanun ve nizamların üstünde benimseyenlerin kolektif hakkıdır.” (Mevdudi, 1967, no.67, pp.7)

“Devlet ve kanun beşer hayatının çok cüzi bir kısmına temas etmekte, çok daha büyük bir kısmı ise kontrolsüz kalmakta ve böyle yerlerde kanun ve devlet otoritesini icra edememektedir… Allah’a iman etmeksizin bir yaşayış, kanun halindeki emirleri ve manevi değerleri onun idaresine dayanmayan herhangi bir sistem sağlam, devamlı bir sosyal yapı meydana getiremez. Bir gün hesap vereceğimiz, birisine karşı mesul kimseler olduğumuzu düşünmedikçe ne kanun ne devlet ne vicdan ne de sosyal düşünce fazilet yolunda bizi devamlı tutmayacaktır. Siz polisi kurnazlıklar atlatabilirsiniz, kanunu gayenize uygun şekilde işletebilirsiniz ve hatta halk fikrini yanıltabilirsiniz fakat Allah’ı asla aldatamaz ve onu kurnazlıkla atlatamazsınız.” (Sıddıki, 1966, no.61, pp.22)

“İslam bir sosyal inkılap hareketidir. O önce insanları köleleştirip çeşitli yalan ve dolanlarla sahte uluhiyet pozuna girmiş putları kökünden yıkmak ister… İslam’ın çağrısı ıslah ve yenilik, yıkma ve yapma çağrısıdır. Bu bir bölgeye veya bir ırka mahsus olmayıp bütün insanlığa şamildir. İslam bütün insanlığı çağırıyor. Hatta Allah’ın sınırların hiçe sayıp, yeryüzünün gelir kaynaklarını sömürmek isteyen, fakir kitleleri perişan eden zalimler güruhunu tehdit ediyor: Yeryüzünde putlaşmayın!... Bu çağrıyı kabul edip, ona inanan her fert İslam cemaatinin bir parçası, İslam sitesinin bir üyesidir. İşte Allah’ın lisaniyle Hizbullah denilen alemşümul parti böylece ortaya çıkar. Gerçekleştirmek istediği bu gaye uğrunda Allah yolunda cihada başlamadan bu hizip asla gerçekleşmiş sayılmaz. İslam’ın tabiatı, İslam’dan başka nizamlar üstüne oturan sistemleri yıkıp yok etmektir.” (Mevdudi, 1968, no.80 pp.27)

“Bütün bu ilimlerin (Scientific knowledge felsefesinin, sosyoloji) en ince teferruatına kadar öğrenip tarihin birçok devirlerinde insanların kat ettiği merhalelere yetişelim. Fakat Müslümanca yaşamak ve Müslümanca ölmek istiyorsak bu ilimleri ve fenleri ıslah ettikten sonra inceleyerek okuyalım ve okutalım. Çünkü biz bunu yapmaz ve bu durumuyla devam edersek hiç şüphe yoktur ki bugünkü durumuyla bizi İslam’dan muhakkak uzaklaştırırlar.” (Mevdudi, 1968, 87, pp.13)

“Evet talebeler, bu yabancı kültürün bir hastalık olduğunu düşünür ve zararlı olduğuna inanırlarsa bu menfi ideolojiyi kökünden kaldırıp atmak mümkün olur. Bunu ilim yuvalarında yapabilirler. Benim bütün isteğim münkiratın talebe muhitinde karşılık görmesidir. Bunlar talebelerin yapabileceği iki esas kaidedir. Birincisi tatbikatıyla ilim yuvalarında menfi ideolojilerin intişarı önlenir. İkincisi fikir ve ahlaktaki kötü tesirler hiçe iner.” (Mevdudi, 1968, 86, pp.27)

2.3.2. The Middle East and Muslim Majority Countries

“Garbın asırlardan beri devam eden İslam milletlerini parçalayıp tahakkümleri altına almak siyasetleri yerine komünizm tehlikesi karşısında Müslüman milletlerin birleşmelerine mâni olmamak, hatta teşvikte bulunmak en müttehittim bir fariza diniyedir. Bu tarihin kaydetmediği müstesna bir fırsattır. Bundan bütün Müslüman milletler istifade ile mükelleftir.” (Edip, 1966, no.61, pp.4)

“Batıya karşı çıkmış olmaları da aldatıcıdır. Tarihin büyük zaruretinden doğan batıya karşı direnme ve başkaldırma, ayaklanma, düşünce sistem ve davranışlarını kökünden kazımak için aslında batı kaynaklı görünüştüyse batıya karşı olan akımlardan birine yamanırlar. Böylece bir taşla iki kuş vururlar. Hem batıya karşı olan gerçek yerli hareketi öldürürler, hem de batılı fakat batı düşmanı bir fikrin adamı olarak da halkı oyalarlar ve böylece geçici olarak tatmin ederler.” (Kazdal, 1966, no.56, pp.6)

“Nasyonal sosyalizmi Arap milliyetçiliği adı altında bayrak yapan, yıllardan beri hemen her gün füze attığı palavrasını savuran Cemal Abdül Nasır da bu çileli insanları (iltica eden Filistinliler) ümitlendirdi. Yıllar boyu sayılamayacak kadar yalan söyleyerek bu insanları aldattı ve bu aldanma neticesinde ayranlarını kabartmış oldu… Her iki devlet de (Mısır ve Suriye) Allah’ın dinini inkâr etti. Bütçelerinin çoğunu diğer Arap devletlerinde huzursuzluk meydana getirmek için kurdukları gizli teşkilatlara sarf ettiler. Buralar harcanan paralarla silah alınsaydı son harbin neticesi başka türlü olabilirdi. Bu iki devlet Arap ve İslam devletleri bağrında birer komünist hançeri oldular” (Özcan, 1967, no.71, pp.18)

“Süper devletlerin ardında ve onları için için idare edenlerin kimler olduğunu bilmemek mümkün değildir. Bunları tanıtmak için birçok vatansever kitaplar yazmış ve bu yüzden büyük sıkıntılara duçar olmuşlardır. Bu tanıtılmaya çalışılan gizli devletin kahramanları, Allah’ın lanetine uğramış ve şeytanın yeryüzünde insan suretindeki temsilcileri olan Yahudi’dir… Biz bu kavmin kullandığı taktiklerin ne olduğunu izah etmiyoruz. Yalnız anlatmak istediğimiz şey Birleşmiş Milletler diye bilinen teşkilatın, Yahudi planının bir görüntüsünden başka şey olmadığıdır.” (Kazdal, 1967, no.75, pp.2)

“Komünistlerin Yahudi düşmanlığı hiç düşünülebilir mi? Niçin düşman olsunlar? Komünistleri Rusya’da başa geçirenler Yahudiler değil mi? Hatta Rusya’da başa geçenler de Yahudi değil mi?... Orta Şark’ta Osmanlı’nın sahneden çekilmesiyle geride kalan ve bir türlü dolmak bilmeyen boşluğu doldurmak için fırsattan istifade edip Arap-İsrail çatışmasında arz-ı endam ettiler. Mısır’a kısa zaman zarfında yerleştikleri ve dizginleri bilfiil ele almak suretiyle Arap milletlerini Yahudi’lere karşı kıpırdayamaz hale getirdiklerini ve İsrail’i artık tahtı muhafazaya aldıklarını sandıkları an maksat hasıl oldu. Amerikalılarla baş başa verip gizli niyetlerini açıkladılar. İsrail için tehlike artık önlenmiştir şimdi meseleyi hal yoluna gidebiliriz dediler.” (Zafir, 1970, no.109, pp.22)

2.3.3. Turkey

“Marks, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Nazım Hikmet, Abidin Dino eserleri boy boy kitapçı hatta gazeteci vitrinlerini doldururken ve haklarında bir kovuşturma mazbatası yapılmazken; başta Müslüman’ın yegâne feyz kaynağı Kur’an-ı Kerim olmak üzere O’na bağlı Müslümanlar olan Gazali, İmam-ı Rabbani, İbn-i Teymiyye, Said-i Nursi, Seyyid Kutub, Necip Fazıl ve Sezai Karakoç’un yazıları ve sözleri ya tektir ediliyor veya Türk savcılarınca haklarında kovuşturma açılıyor…” (Kazdal, 1968, no.78, pp.2)

“Her önünde gelen gençliği kışkırtıyor, her ideolojinin mümessilleri gençliğin arkasına sığınarak istediği an anarşi meydana getiriyor. Gençliği böyle emellere alet etmek dünyanın en kolay işidir. Onun elde edemediği bazı şeyleri kendisine verin, istediğiniz gibi kullanın. Mesela: para, kadın ve şöhret.” (Kazdal, 1968, no.85, pp.3)

“İşte bizde de Üniversite’nin açılış merasimi yüzünden iki gençlik grubu karşı karşıya geldi. Birinci grup, Türk’ün ruh köküne bağlı, gönüllerinde iman cevherinin parladığı ve bin yıllık tarihimizi temsil eden kimselerdi. Bunlara karşı taş ve sopa ile saldıranlar da Moskova ve Pekin tipi bir doktrinin çarpık taraftarı bir sürü zavallıydı. Anadolu’nun sinesinde Yunusların ve Mevlana’ların ruh iklimlerinden yükselen manevi sesleri duyamamış ve bir cihan imparatorluğunun kurucusu olan Fatih’lerin ve Yavuz’ların tarihi mirasından bir nasip alamamışlardır. Şaşırtılmış gözlerle baktıkları vatanımızın manevi hazinelerine yabancı kalmaları ne kadar hazin bir durumdur. Bu yüzden yabancı rüzgarlara kapılıp kendi memleketleri için ölüm kasırgası olmak hevesindedirler.” (Hilal, 1968, no.88, pp.16)

“Ve sandıklar açıldığı zaman görüldü ki millet… beş senedir şamarlamak için beklediği bir partiyi yerle bir etmek için reyini kullanmıştır… Milet reyinin büyük kısmını alan ve iktidara gelen partinin, kendini kontrol edip beni buraya hangi saikler getirdi demek ve bunu doğru bir perspektifle tayin etmek zarureti doğdu. Millet reyinin kendisine akış sebebi sadece ve sadece uzun seneler bu memleketteki icraatı ile millete rağmen milletin karşısında olarak istediği gibi kullanan bir partiye

olan şiddetli buğzudur, marifeti kendilerinde bulmak büyük hata olur… A.P. yürütücüleri! Size itimat eden milletin sizi tercih edişindeki hakikati kavrayın, bu basireti gösterin. Bu milletin derdini öyle bir benimseyin ki, o dertler içinde öyle bir eriyin ki, milletle onun içinden çıkmış olan sizi birbirinden ayırmanın imkânı hiçbir zümre bulamasın. Bu kadar kuvvetli hale gelebilmenin tek çaresi de en büyük bir aşkla İslam potasında erimek ve eritmekle olur, başka hiçbir şeyle değil, yalnız bununla…" (Kazdal, 1965, no.55, pp.4)

"Evet tantanalı sözler sarf ederek iktidar koltuğuna oturmuş partilerin de dinin esas manasına düşman olduğunu anlamıştır birçok Müslüman. Cenab-ı Hak demenin bir aldatma olduğunu ve Müslümanların reyiyle iktidara çıkma gayesinden başka bir mana taşımadığını anlayan Müslümanların sayısı gün gün artmaktadır… Hiç ama hiç gocunmuyoruz! Bizim baskına uğrayıp, komünistlerin serbestçe icrayı faaliyet göstermesi imkânı bulmalarından. Çünkü iş başındaki zihniyetten bundan başkasını beklemiyoruz ve biliyoruz ki Amerikan sağcıları eninde sonunda bize karşı solcularla birleşmekte tereddüt göstermeyecektir. Çünkü Amerikan sağcıları da Türkiye'deki solcular da zengin sınıfına dahildir ve eninde sonunda fakire karşı birleşmeleri zarurettir… Seviniyoruz! Çünkü inandığımız davada haklıyız, bunun için kuvvetliyiz." (Kazdal, 1968, no.78, pp.2)

"Hükümet gözüyle bu sivri uçlar komünistler ve Müslümanlardı. Yani başka bir deyişle inananlarla inanmayanlardı. Daha başka bir deyimle açık ve net olarak düşünecek ve görecek olursak, Allah'a karşı savaş açmış, azgınlarla Allah yolunda mücadele edenlerdi… Bu kanun taslağının dörtte biri komünistler için, dörtte üçü de Müslümanlar içindir. Kanun taslağını okuduğumuz zaman bunu açıkça görürüz… Evet şüphesiz ki, bugünkü hükümet komünistlerin de aleyhinde bulunmakta ve hatta onlarla da uğraşmaktadır. Bunun sebebi ise onların açıkça, onlara karşı oluşları ve onların hükümeti fazlasıyla rahatsız etmelerinden ileri gelmektedir. Yoksa onlar hükümeti fazla rahatsız etmemeleri halinde katiyen hükümet onları rahatsız etmeyecektir. Orduyu rahatsız edecek derecede işi ilerleten bu satılmışlar, elbette başka gayeler peşindedirler. İşte bunların bu başka gayeleri onları rahatsız ve tedirgin etmektedir. Devlet başkanı kalkıp Müslümanların en sevinçli gününde Şeriatı isteyenlere şiddetle çatmasına mukabil, hükümet başkanı ise teokratik düşüncenin bu diyarda yeri yoktur diyerek konuşma yapması, acaba hangi sebeple böyle konuşmaların yapılması lüzumu duyuluyor… Bu son kanun taslağı geniş manasıyla Müslümanları değil, hükümeti müşkül durumda bırakacaktır. Yarın yine milletin karşısına çıkarak onlardan rey talep edeceklerdir. Demokrasinin icabı da milletin isteğini yerine getirme prensibi olduğundan halk isterse şeriatı bile getirecektir. Demokratik nizamda halkın kendi kendisini idare prensibi vardır." (Kazdal, 1969, no.92, pp.26)

"Çölde günlerce susuz kalmış bir yolcunun su araması gibi bu sahipsiz millet de bir kahraman arıyor. Son Odalar Birliği hadisesi bizleri mesut bir ihtimal ümidine düşürdü. Ruh kökümüze bağlı olan Necmettin Erbakan kanuni bir çıkışla fikir mafyası olan Masonlarla karşı karşıya geldi. Bu tesadüfi bir koltuk kavgası mıydı? Yoksa kararlı, metotlu ve bütün bir Türkiye'yi içine alacak bir mücadelenin ilk hamlesi miydi? Yani Erbakan soy adına yakışır bir şekilde topyekûn bir mücadelenin bütün ağırlığını sırtlayarak er meydanına mı çıkıyordu? Birinci raunt her ne kadar mağlubiyetle bitmişse de hakikatte bu mağlubiyet tamamen karşı tarafa aittir… Şimdiye kadar en ufak bir ümit vadeden politikacılara bu mazlum ve masum millet sinesini açmış, onlara hiçbir yardımını esirgememiştir. Halbuki Erbakan yüzde yüz bu milletin öz ve gerçek evladıdır. O'na dört elle sarılmak bütün inananlar için mukaddes bir vazifedir. Erbakan'ın teşkil ettiği bağımsızlar grubu eksiksiz olarak meclise girmelidir. Bu uğurda seferber olmalı, en ufak bir ihmale yer verilmemelidir. Müslüman Türkiye idealine gönül verenlerin artık duracak tek saniyeleri kalmamıştır." (Hilal, 1969, no.96, pp.17)

"Batının ilmine ve tekniğine evet fakat onların köhnemiş örf ve adetlerine hayır diyenlerdeniz. Yıllarca şarka küs, garba sığıntı moskofa düşman olarak yalnız kaldık… Biz dünya İslam milletleri ile kardeşlik bağlarını kurup garbın yalnız ilim, teknik ve sistemini kabul ettiğimiz gün gerçek şahsiyetimize kavuşur ve milletler içerisinde layık olduğumuz yeri alırız kanaatindeyim." (Özcan, 1966, no.56, pp.7)

"Türkiye'ye gelince: Türkiye şarka ve hususen Müslüman deletlere küskünlüğünün, sırt çevirmenin, onları yalnız bırakmanın cezasını uzun müddet olduğu gibi yakın tarihe kadar çekmiş bulunmaktadır. İşte Kıbrıs. Türkiye kendi hatasını anlamış durumdadır. Bu hatasını anlayış kendisini kurtaracaktır. Dış politika kapılarını Müslüman devletlere ardına kadar açmak zamanı çoktan gelmiştir." (Armağan, 1966, no.56, pp.19)

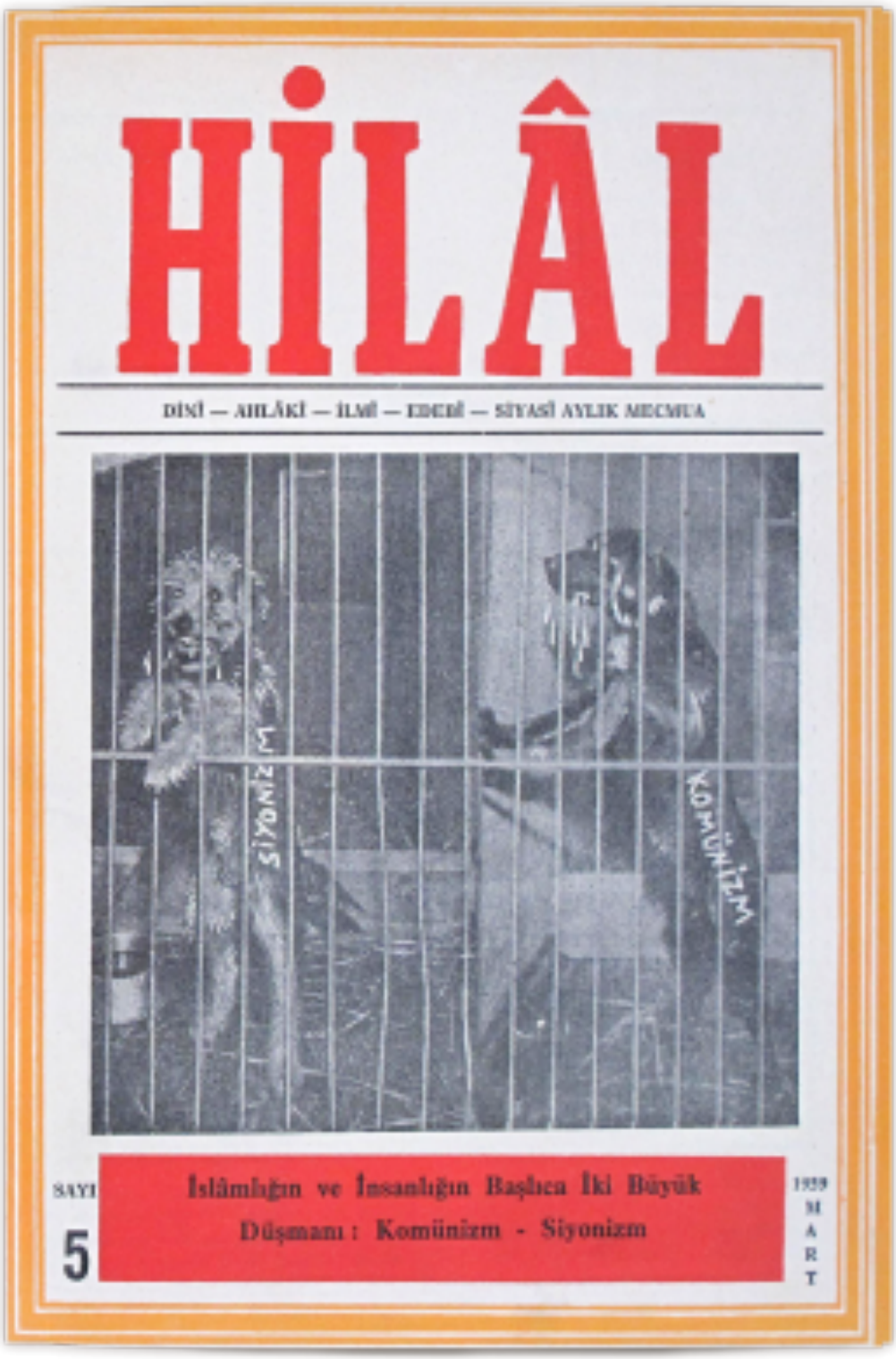
"Bu memlekette sosyalistlerin aile düzeni hakkında ne düşündüklerini, nasıl bir kadın anlayışı hayal ettiklerini, idrakleri kör olan sosyalist icazetcilerine hatırlatmak ve onları uyarmak en tabii hakkımızdır. Çünkü Komünistler sosyal adalet diye diye, bu sapık fikirlerini bazı samimi diye tanıdığımız memleket evlatlarına kabul ettirdiklerini görmekteyiz ve bu hal bizi fevkalade müteessir etmektedir… Bu sahtekarların maskelerini yırtıp gösteriyorsun fakat görecek muhatap yok, muhatap diye kabul ettiğin gözleri kör, kulakları sağır. Bu tipleri teşhir ettiğin zaman, görebilecek göz, duyabilecek kulak ve hepsinden mühimi bu vahameti idrak edecek bir keyfiyet kadrosu yetiştireceksin ki gayretin manası olsun" (Kazdal, 1965, no.51, pp.11)

"Yetişenlere ve yetiştirdiklerimize dikkat edelim. İmansızlık ve ahlaksızlık vebadan, taundan, koleradan daha süratle yayılmaktadır ve daha tahripkardır. Bu

salgına karşı olarak alacağımız tedbirler vardır. Fakat bugünkü Müslümanların, bilhassa gençlerin çoğu bu tehlikelere karşı tamamen boş bulundukları, hiçbir tedbire lüzum bile görmedikleri müşahede olunmaktadır. Bu bakımdan ana babaların ağır olan mesuliyetlerini idrak etmeleri ve en büyük vazifelerini unutmayıp canla başla bunu yapmağa çalışmaları zamanı gelmiştir, hatta geçmektedir. Bu vazifeleri, çocuklarına sarsılmaz bir iman ve lüzumlu dini bilgileri öğretmek, onları hakiki imana sahip kılmaktır." (Aksoy, 1965, no.51, pp.22)

"Nihayet, bütün bunlardan anlaşılıyor ki dini tedrisat ve telkinat mutlaka lüzumludur ve hatta bu lüzumun karşılanmasında geç bile kalınmıştır. Ancak şunu da iyice bilmek gerekir ki, müspet ilimler, mücerret bilgi olarak verilebilir fakat dini bilginin verilmesinde, bunu verenin iki özelliğe birden sahip olması şarttır: iyi bilmek ve bildiğini evvela kendisinde tatbik eder olmak. Bu itibarla, prensip olarak din derslerinin verdirilmesi kabul edildiği takdirde, bunu verecek olan hocaların, İslam dininin esaslarını ve ruhiyatını bütün incelikleriyle bilmesi ve bilgisi ile yaşayış tarzını birleştirmesi lazımdır. Aksi halde, içi dışına, sözü özüne, fikri fiiline uymayan kimselerin verecekleri din derslerinden netice alınmaz. Temenni edilir ki, evvela kabul edilir ve sonra da ehil hocalar temin edilir." (Solak, 1967, no.72, pp.17)

APPENDIX B



5. ISSUE, MARCH 1959

56. ISSUE, MARCH 1966

61. ISSUE, AUGUST 1966

62. ISSUE, SEPTEMBER 1966

HİLÂL

DİNÎ İLMÎ SİYASÎ AYLIK MECMUA

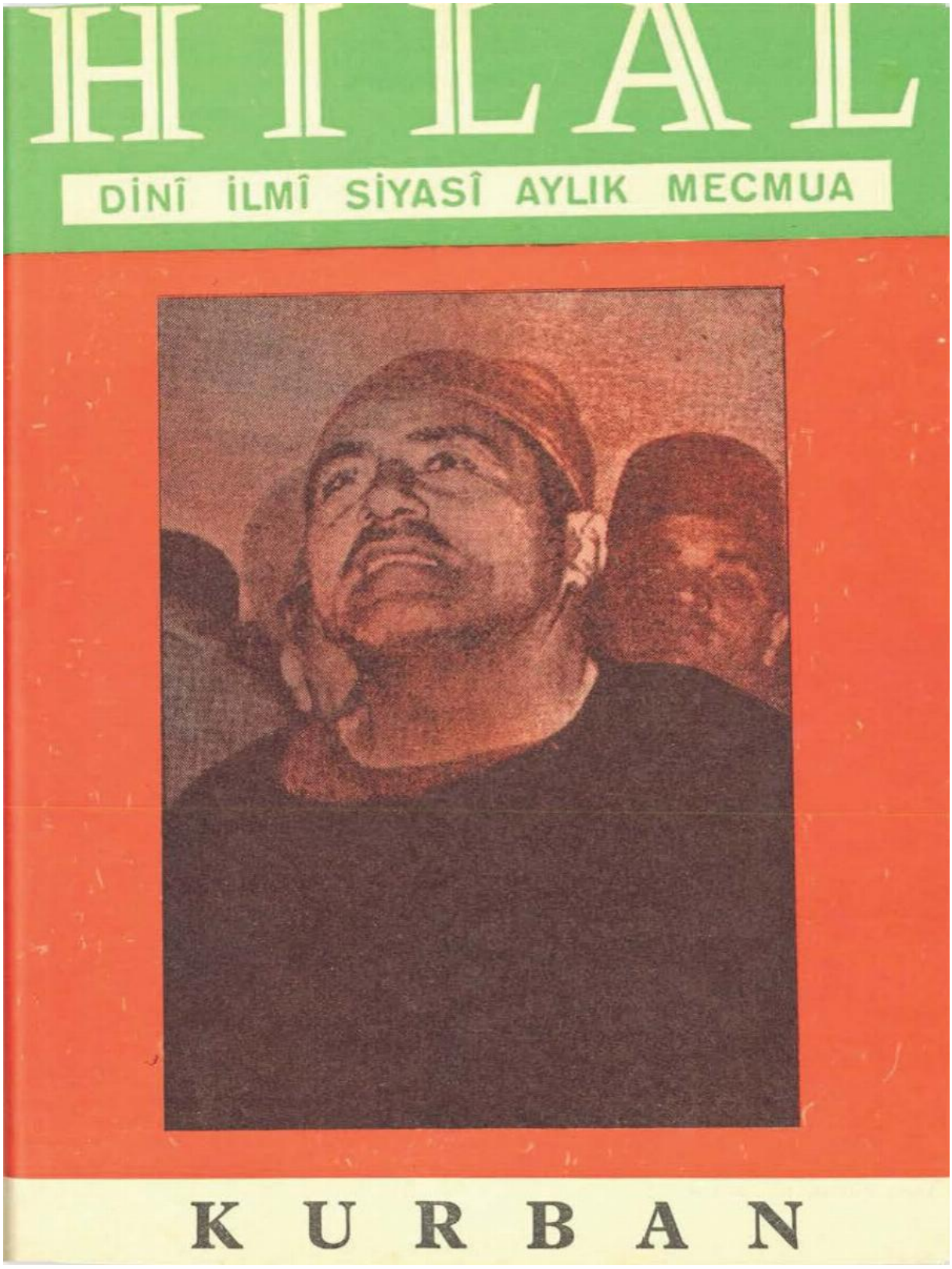
MÜSLÜMANIN KADERİ

BÜYÜK MÜTEFEKKİR VE BÜYÜK HAREKET ADAMI EBUL-ALÂ-EL MEVDUDİ DE TEVKİF EDİLDİ. NİÇİN ?..

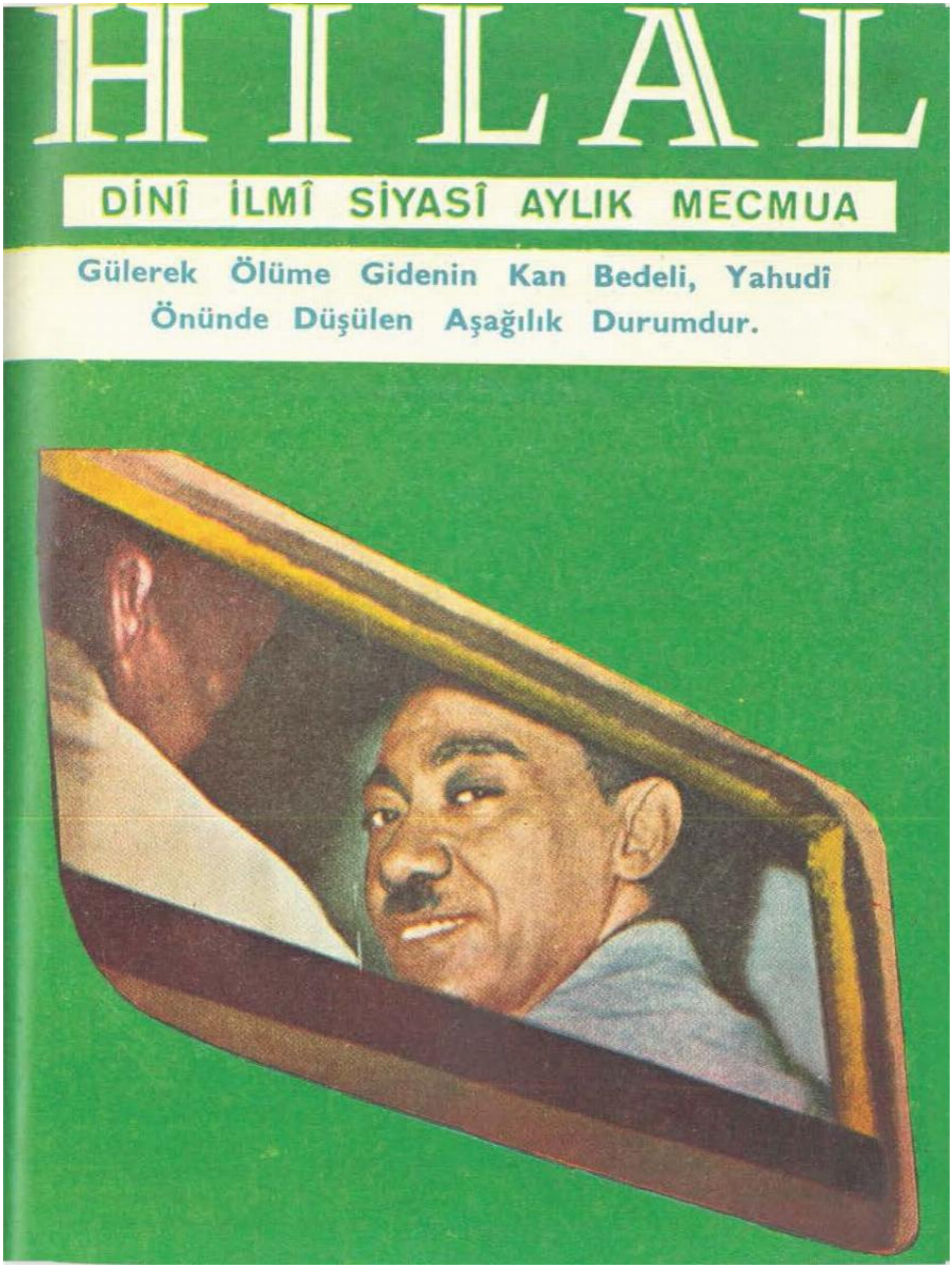
Bu kâinatın bir tek Ilâhı vardır. Ve bu ilâhtan başka hiçbir ilâh yoktur. Kâinatı yaratan ve kâinatın ihtiva ettiği her şeyi icat eden O'dur. Bütün işleri idare eden O'dur ve bu hususta bir şeriki de yoktur. Emir ve nehiy O'nundur. O, göklerin, yeryüzünün ve onların ihtiva ettiği her şeyin Rabbıdır. Değişmez bir düzenle döndüğünü gördüğümüz bu kâinatın nizâmı ancak O'nun emrine ve iradesine boyun eğerek dönmektedir. O, yerde ve göklerde bir zerrenin dahi ilminden uzak olmadığı gizli ve aşikâr her şeyi bilen, Hâkim, Kadir ve kâinatın bir muvazenesizlik ve âhenksizlik arız olmaksızın muayyen bir kader dairesinde O'nun emriyle cereyan ettiği, her türlü noksan sıfatlardan münezzeh, padişahlar padişahıdır. Insan yaradılış ve cibilliyeti itibariyle Allaha kuldur. Dünyada O'na ibadet etmek ve emirlerine inkiyâd etmekten başka bir vazifesi yoktur. Hayat, ancak bütünüyle Allaha halis bir kulluk olduğu zaman bir mânâ ifade eder. Insanın vazifesi kendi kendine bir ibadet usulü tayin etmek değildir.

DEDİĞİ İÇİN...

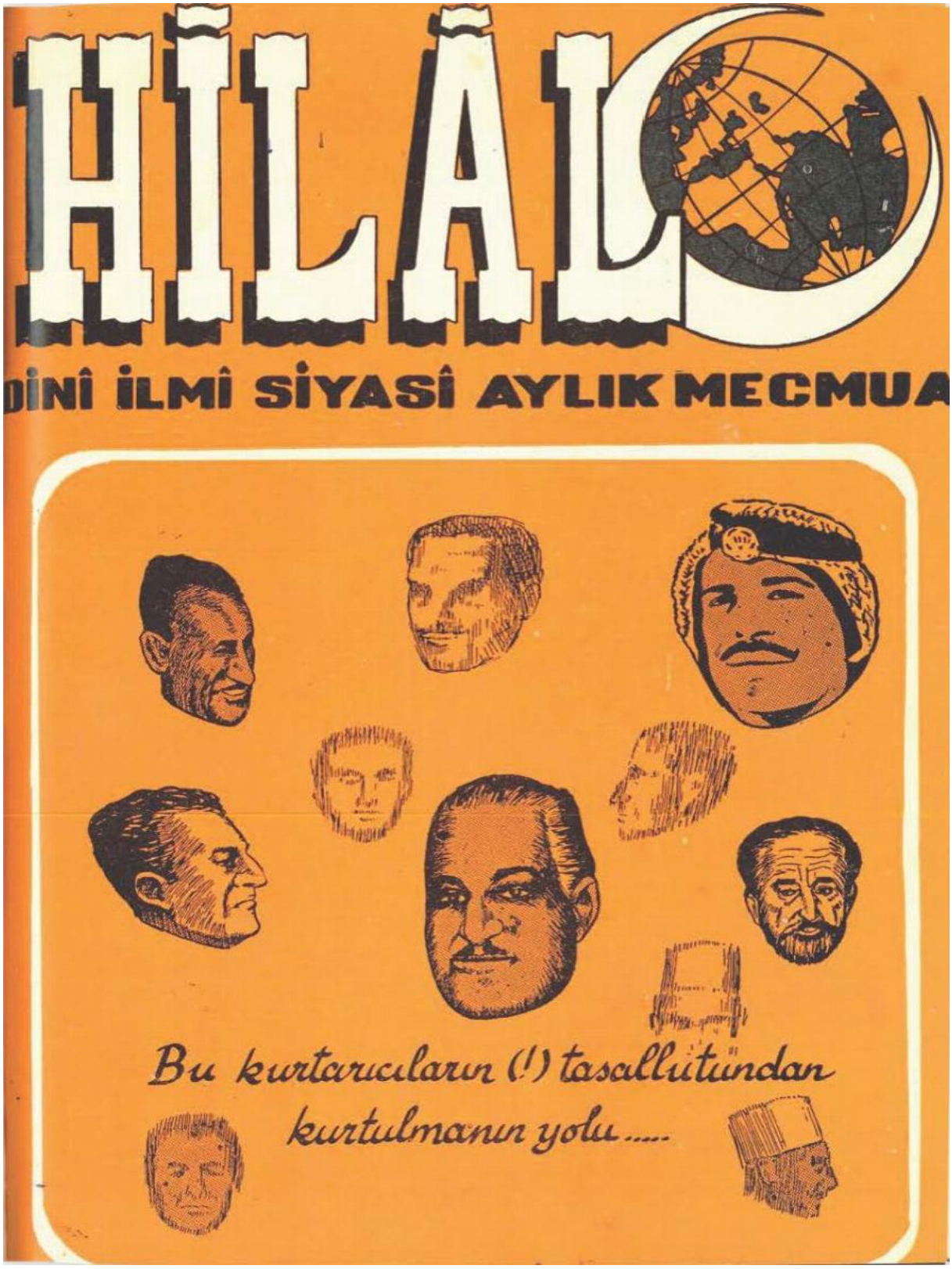
67. ISSUE, FEBRUARY 1967



68. ISSUE, MARCH 1967



72. ISSUE, JULY 1967



74. ISSUE, SEPTEMBER 1967