

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

THE AUTHORITARIAN AND RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS
OF
NECIP FAZIL KISAKUREK'S CONSERVATISM


BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DECEMBER 2015


Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences


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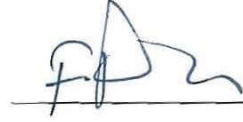

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ABSTRACT

**THE AUTHORITARIAN AND RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS
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Political Science and International Relations
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Devrim Sezer

December 2015, 80 pages

This thesis intends to study the concepts of state, leader, authority and obedience through the eye of Necip Fazıl as an Islamist conservative. It intends to reveal the place of Necip Fazıl, who has a great influence on the Turkish right wing's gaining its present identity, in the conservative political thinking. The thesis will address the arguments of conservative thinking and basic discussions within it while we study the building stones of the conservative thinking.

Starting from the thoughts of Necip Fazıl, who is one of the most important authors and thinkers of the Turkish conservative-Islamist world of thinking, on the concepts of state, leader, authority and obedience, we intend to understand better the journey which the conservative Islamist thinking has followed from the day when it rose to the present throughout the history of Turkey. Starting from the magnitude of the influence of Necip Fazıl, who has guided a great number of statesmen through his thoughts in the Turkish political history, on the Turkish-Islamist thinking, we intend to show the place of the concepts of state, leader, authority and obedience in the traditional Turkish Islamist-Conservative thinking.

Keywords: Necip Fazıl, Authority, Conservatism, Obedience

ÖZET
NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK ‘İN MUHAFAFAZAKARLIĞININ
DİNİ VE OTORİTER BOYUTLARI
Özkaya, Mustafa Cem

Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Devrim Sezer

Aralık 2015, 80 sf.

Bu tez, bir İslâmcı muhafazakar olarak Necip Fazıl’ın gözünden devlet, lider, otorite ve itaat kavramlarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, Türk sağının mevcut kimliğini kazanmasında etkisi büyük olan Necip Fazıl’ın, muhafazakar siyasî düşünce içerisindeki yerini ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışmada, muhafazakar düşüncenin yapı taşlarını incelerken, bir taraftan da muhafazakar düşüncenin argümanlarını ve içerisindeki temel tartışmaları ele alacağız.

Türk muhafazakar-İslâmcı düşünce dünyasının en önemli kalem ve düşünce adamlarından biri olan Necip Fazıl’ın, devlet, lider, otorite ve itaat kavramları üzerine düşüncelerinden yola çıkarak, Türkiye tarihi boyunca muhafazakâr İslâmcı düşüncenin palazlanıp günümüze kadar izlediği yolculuğu daha iyi anlamayı da amaçlamaktayız. Türk siyasî tarihinde pek çok devlet adamına düşünceleriyle kılavuzluk etmiş olan Necip Fazıl’ın, Türk İslâmcı düşüncesi üzerinden etkisinin büyüklüğünden yola çıkarak; geleneksel Türk İslâmcı-muhafazakar düşüncesinde devlet, lider, otorite ve itaat kavramlarının önemi göstermeyi hedeflemekteyiz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necip Fazıl, Otorite, Muhafazakârlık, İtaat

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my superior Associate Professor Devrim Sezer for his support, encouragement and most importantly being patient with me. His ideas and guidance have been of utmost importance in the shaping of this thesis. Thanks go to Professor Filiz Başkan Canyaş and Assistant Professor Onur Kınılı for their suggestions and comments. Also, I am thankful to my mother Professor Meltem Onay who has always been with me and always shared her experiences. Finally, I would also thank Şenel Karaman being a mentor for me not only during the writing process of this thesis but also watching over me since the early ages of my youth. Without the help and suggestions of these people, there would not be such a thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Necip Fazıl is considered to be one of the most controversial figures of within Turkish political thought. Initially an Istanbul Gentleman who stayed away from politics and famous for his poems without political and social contents, Necip Fazıl became one of the sharp authors of the conservative thinking after a great change which he underwent in his thirties. He assumed an Islamist personality in a short time and became a mentor who trailed masses through the articles, books and plays he wrote and conferences he gave. As the number of his followers increased, the way he expressed his ideas got harder, his language sharper and became aggressive toward any views against his ideology. This aggressive figure of the Turkish and Islamist thinking was a flag bearer now followed by nationalists and by Islamists and conservatives.

To put it in the simplest way, conservatism means to preserve anything belonging to the existing system and to want anything coming from the past to be maintained as it is. Although it is divided into categories within itself, we may say. Commitment to the old and a cautious approach to the new, selectivity in accepting the new and abstinence from change are the most significant factors underlying the conservative thinking. It will not be incorrect to date the origins of the conservative political thinking to the French Revolution. That almost every institution and organization was changed, a great many assets from the past destroyed or ruled out after the revolution doubtlessly caused a trauma in French society. The effects of this great change lasted ten years and played a determining role in the formation of French society. This sharp transition caused a reaction throughout Europe by certain persons and groups including notably French and British thinkers. These men of thought agreed that transition was unduly severe and that it would adversely affect the state of affairs in France, Europe and even in the world. These people some of whom were against the revolution and some of whom thought that revolution might only be effective when it occurred in a slow and gradual manner, were called conservatives in general.

Conservative thinking which made a tremendous impact on Continental Europe and the Anglo-American world may be defined as being against change or approaching cautiously to change as we have initially stated. Continental European conservatism was formed against the impact of the French Revolution, which was sometimes changing and sometimes destructive. Therefore, in comparison with the Anglo-American conservative thinking, it has sharper lines and has had tendencies which may be sometimes deemed 'reactionary'. After the French

Revolution, while one group argued that some change was required and, if necessary, some old institutions should be completely abolished and imposed it upon masses, another group argued that such change was too fast, that it caused much damage to all belonging to the past and that it would lead to indignation in the society. European conservative thinking was built under these conditions. And in the Anglo-American world, the authority of monarchy and the church never gained power which required them to be taken over due to the fact that the form of government in Great Britain was different from that in Continental Europe and that the influence of the Catholic Church was felt much less there than in Continental Europe. One way or another, the dominance of the royalty, aristocracy and clergy over the people and the other classes did not become so suffocating as it was in France. And just for this reason, the Anglo-American type of conservative thinking appears to be a political attitude which is relatively open to change.

Compared to its peers in the Western world, the Turkish conservative thinking displays a great many differences when we consider it in terms of historical process and cultural structure. To begin with, in the traditionalist Turkish thinking, commitment to and admiration of the past appears to be an undeniable fact. All regulations tried to be made by the early 19th century are, in fact, nothing but an effort to reclaim any and all institutions belonging to the past. The desire to return to the glorious days of the past is combined with the thought of achieving it by making the functioning institutions of the past functional again and then put into action. However, time had changed and the glorious empires of the East had become unable to compete with the rising imperial powers of the West. The Ottoman statesmen who construed this situation as a weakness and considered modernization, i.e. Westernization, to be the only way for a new period which we call **Tanzimat** (The Reorganization). The most distinct characteristic of this period covers the Ottomans' effort to assimilate their traditional institution to the Western institutions one by one and to westernize the society with a change starting from clothing. This period may be well shown as the one in which Turkish conservatism started to emerge.

This change and Westernization starting with **Tanzimat** of course disturbed some groups and pushed them to resist such a radical transformation. The most basic arguments are the longing for the past, respect for ancestors and adherence to religion. They are not for changing any traditional values and claim that those who support change were imitators and people who have moved away from their selves. The fact that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the nationalist-modernist cadres accompanying him abolished the sultanate and declared the Republic and then made reforms intended for westernization after the War of Independence disturbed those conservative statesmen and men of thought. Just as it was in the French Revolution, abolition

of any and all institutions and organizations belonging to the former regime one after the other and experience of a great many changes covering the social and political life became perturbing for Turkish conservatives just as it did the thoughts of the conservatives of Continental Europe. Turkish conservative thinking arose as a resistance to Westernization just for this basic reason and evolved in a transitional structure between Islamism and nationalism ideologies over time.

This thesis aims to study the concepts of state, leadership, authority and obedience from the view of Necip Fazıl as an Islamist conservative. It aims to point out his position, who has a great influence on Turkish right wing's gaining its present identity, in the conservative political thinking.

In the first chapter of the thesis, we will address the fundamental arguments of conservative thinking and the debates within conservatism which may shed new light on our understanding of Necip Fazıl's perspective. In the second chapter, we will dwell upon different aspects of Necip Fazıl's conservatism. Before we look into his thoughts about the concepts of state, leadership, authority and obedience, we will discuss in detail his ideas about religion, society, ethics etc. What we intend in this chapter is to reveal the deeply religious and authoritarian foundations of his conservatism. Particularly starting from the works and articles he wrote, we will dwell upon principal topics underlying his world of thinking with particular emphasis on religion, the East-West divide, nationalism and anti-Semitism.

In the third and final chapter, we will try to find the place of such concepts as state, leadership, authority and obedience in Necip Fazıl's conservatism. We will try to answer such questions as "What is an ideal state? How must the State be organized with its top cadres and what kind of a relationship must it have with society? What kind of a sense of loyalty and obedience must Turkish society have about the State?"

Through a detailed textual analysis of Necip Fazıl's writings, I aim to show the authoritarian and religious aspects of his conservatism which has been arguably a source of inspiration for Turkish Islamic conservatism. I will especially concentrate on *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (Ideological Pattern), *Benim Gözümde Menderes* (Menderes, in My Perspective), *Ulu Hakan* (The Great Khan) and his political writings. Starting from the magnitude of the influence of Necip Fazıl, who has guided a great number of statesmen through his thoughts in Turkish political history, on Turkish-Islamist thinking, I intend to show the place of the concepts of state, leadership, authority and obedience in the traditional Turkish Islamist-Conservative thinking.

CHAPTER 1

CONSERVATISM

Although the beginning of conservatism as a way of thinking and an attitude goes back to the oldest known ages of the history of humanity, the history of conservatism is relatively new as a political doctrine and a specific ideology. Considering it in its secondary meanings, conservatism emerged in the 18th century which is called the Age of Enlightenment and as a reaction to the destructive impacts of the French Revolution following it (Özipek, 2013: 66). The Enlightenment idea which intends to change almost all the values which had been known and accepted so far. Conservative thinking developed as a reaction to the philosophers who have provided the basis to the French Revolution and those who put it into practice in that period.

The French Revolution was keenly welcomed in Great Britain as well as all over Europe. For liberals, radicals and all who possessed the optimism of the thought of Enlightenment, this revolution meant the closure of an era and opening of another. It was an opportunity to clean up every kind of social degeneration and to build a more humane world. The people of France started a revolt, crying “freedom, equality and fraternity” and this revolt was the beginning of the end of the monarchy. In Great Britain, the thought of the necessity of a revolution like the one in France was spreading day by day and associations were founded and even sermons preached for this purpose (Özipek, 2013: 67).

Those who opposed to this strong wave of change were led by Edmund Burke, who would later be considered to be the founder of conservative thinking. According to Burke, who was actually not a Tory but a Whig, i.e. in the liberal wing in the political segregation of Great Britain and feverishly supported the 1688 Glorious Revolution and the American Revolution, the French Revolution was an erroneous attempt from the beginning. In his view, revolutionaries started by despising everything that belongs to themselves; they did not have respect for any opposing idea and their loyalty to their own country depended on whether or not it complied with their ephemeral projects. In his work entitled “Reflections on the Revolution in France”, Burke harshly criticized the revolutionaries and their practices. The tragic disappointment which occurred only three years after the revolution justified Burke and other anti-revolutionaries

philosophers. Criticism directed towards the Enlightenment and any political methods associated with it underlay a new ideology, i.e. conservatism (Burke, 1986: 71).

Although conservatism has been perceived anti-changist from the moment it ideologically came into being, it is in fact divided within' itself. In the most basic sense, the group led by Joseph de Maistre, which especially rose as a reaction to the destructive impact of the Revolution in Continental Europe, maintained an attitude advocating the traditional authority against change. And another group developed a type of conservatism which got a foothold in the Anglo-American world, which was not closed to change but thought that such change must be in stages and which advocated the parliamentary regimes rather than monarchies. We may describe this second group as Moderate Conservatism. Anglo-American type of conservatism extending from Edmund Burke to Russell Kirk highly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, emerged as an outcome of this tradition of thinking: Step-by-step change.

Anglo-American type of conservatism as a disposition considers society to be an organism, views basic institutions as family, religion, traditions, etc. must be conserved and which opposes to any radical and revolutionary proposals of change. It also opposes to social engineering as a natural result of revolutions. Particularly, the ideas of Enlightenment were allowed to be practiced with the French Revolution and the Jacobins attempted to establish a new order by imposing new values on the people in France drew the reaction of the conservatives. According to them, this is an unnatural change and would disturb the functioning of the society. What is natural is the experience and tradition which prevailed in the society for many years. Such institutions as family, government, religion, community, etc. which emerged as a result of these are important because they are tested and approved institutions (Özipek, 2013: 68).

There is one issue on which religious conservatives as Burke, de Bonald, de Maistre or atheist conservatives as A. Sullivan and M. Eastman agree. It is the idea that humans are imperfect beings with certain physical and intellectual limitations. On this view, a human being is a creature that is not self-sufficient and needs traditional institutions in order to live fully and find meaning in existence. He has never possessed nor will ever possess the knowledge and potential by which he will be able to perceive the universe in which he lives with pure reason. It is for this reason that any man-made radical and revolutionary changes are defective and unnatural. Such institutions and values as history, traditions, religion and experience not invented by man bear a great importance. According to the conservatives who deny the liberal or socialist

optimism about human nature, it is impossible for a human being to progress independent of society, religion and traditions (Özipek, 2013: 69).

There was a point overlooked by the radical reform and revolution supporters: a reformist action gave rise to unforeseeable negative consequences, because social institutions and practices had hidden functions not noticed by the reformist and such functions were mutually interdependent. That is, any institution or practice removed as a result of a revolution led to another deterioration even if it was not noticed at the first place. Any changed institution or practice might have visible and invisible functions and could only be noticed upon a chain deterioration which occurred as a result of a reform (Muller, 1997: 16).

Adversities occurring upon the intervention of the revolution with the structure of the society included the danger of the destruction of the intermediate institutions which keeps the society together just like a living organism and constitutes a shelter for the individual. The French Revolution attempted to destroy such intermediate institutions as guilds, communities, etc. and to fill in the gap arising therefrom with the governmental authority (Nisbet, 1986: 11). The destruction of these institutions that have gathered the society around certain values for many centuries and replacement thereof with artificial and ideological figures naturally altered the structure of the society.

We have mentioned that conservatives were, in general terms, against the changing and destructive power of the revolution, the attempt of social engineering by the cadre accomplishing the revolution and their efforts to destroy the religion and the traditional institutions and establish a new and artificial order. These may be considered to be the common characteristics of different versions of conservative thinking. However, conservative thinking displays diversity by the geography where it emerges. This results from the fact that those accepted values and institutions vary from one country to another to a great extent. Here, we will consider the types of conservative thinking in terms of both the geographies where they emerge and their approach to certain issues.

1.1. Varieties of Conservatism

In Latin, conservatism (*conservare*) means to conserve, save, collect. The term **Conservator** was adopted from the term Saviour in Greek and taken from the Hellenistic period and religious kingdom era. Likewise, **conservator** was also used in the inception period of the Romans during the reign of Augustus. Christianity uses the term **conservator** along with the term **salvator**

which means saviour. In the Roman Empire period, the term **conservator** was a title used by the church authorities in order to protect the imperial and royal rights and make assignments related thereto. (Vural, 2011: 15).

In Great Britain, conservatives were considered the “ancestors of the judges of peace” in the past, and in France, “conservatism” was a term used in the meaning of the protection and conservation of public rights and property and the protector of various rights of the society from the 14th to the late 18th centuries. Upon the emergence of basic ideological and political segregations in the British Parliament, two groups were formed in 1679: Tories and Whigs. These two currents prevailed during the 17th century. The Tories represented the conservatives and the Whigs the liberals.

Political use of the term “Conservative” was derived from the French word “**conservateur**” and started to be used immediately after the French Revolution. In its modern political use, conservatism was used in Chateaubriand’s newspaper **Le Conservateur** which began its broadcasting life in 1818. In the title of this newspaper was the expression “Le Conservateur will faithfully support the religion, king, freedom, laws and respectable people...” (Vural, 2011: 16).

Although conventional conservative thinking emerged in Continental Europe, it does not bear all the characteristics of the whole continent; because two types of conservatism developed in the continent: French and German. Pioneers of the French conservatism are such personalities as Joseph de Maistre, Louis de Bonald and François Guizot. This type of conservatism distinguished from others because of its more radical, strict, uncompromising and reactionary characteristics (Çiğdem, 1997: 32). The French Revolution had a great influence on the fact that the French conservatives got such a harsh attitude. Desire to conserve all belonging to the past against the great changing power of the Revolution has made French conservatism more conservative and reactionary as compared to the German and Anglo-American type of conservatism. It is just for this reason that this type is referred to as reactionary.

The Conservative French tradition is one in which the sense of loyalty prevails. Conservatives still maintain their loyalty to the ideas and symbols of the pre-revolution order and to the dynasty representing this order. In their view, true France is the France of the dynasty and church, orders and traditions. France should turn to this tradition. This loyalty to the past exists until the end of the 19th century within the framework of a radical or reactionary counter-revolutionary doctrine. Thus, what qualifies the French conservative right-wing is that it is

uncompromising: it denies all the legacy of the Revolution as a whole and refuses any kinds of compromises with liberalism, thereby with democracy (Beneton, 2011: 53).

Considering from this perspective, we may possibly identify Necip Fazıl with the French conservatives. Reactionary longing and ambition to the past and abhorring disturbance of the order changing with the revolution are one of the greatest signs of this. As we will mention in the subsequent sections in which we will discuss Necip Fazıl's views about change and new order in detail, he thinks that the republic and the values it has brought about has caused damages to the structure of the society and that abolition of the sultanate which was the traditional and historical form of government was a mistake. According to him, the form of government of the Turks and other oriental societies for many centuries is the one of a monarch who has received the legitimacy of government from the God. Democracies and parliamentary regimes do not belong to and are not suitable for the Oriental civilization. It is for this reason that he is against all changing impacts of the 1923 Turkish Revolution (Kısakürek, 2014: 497)

German conservatism, which is another important representative of the conservative thinking in Continental Europe, is different from the French conservatism in terms of the foundations on which it rests. Firstly, German type of conservatism has developed and shaped on philosophical aspects rather than as a reaction to a revolution as in France. While it adheres to the basic principles of conservatism, the concepts "nation" and "state" are not only deemed to be constituents of the conservative tradition but also considered to be an excellent form of rationality in the definitions of Hegel, who is regarded as the founder of the German conservatism (Çaha, 2001:103). Hegel criticizes the Enlightenment, alleging that it considers the man and the nature in a single aspect and builds a philosophical conservatism in depth upon this.

In the conservative political thinking, the element which usually comes to the fore front in German conservatives, has developed as a reaction to the modern developments (Mollaer, 2009: 91). The main objective in this is to use the old German legends and tales and revive them in the new social life. In other words, it is the thought of defining and exalting the German identity. It may be said that the reflection of this approach on arts and thought was influential in the foundation of the German union within a century and in nationalism's start to rise. This period which would last until the middle of the 20th century was an outcome of German conservatism's desire of 'glorious nation and strong state'. In other words, German conservatism created an

authoritarian and statist conservative line through such concepts and theories as cultural pessimism (*kultur pessimismus*) and specific way (*sonderweg*) (Vural, 2011: 53).

We may say that the most important characteristic which distinguishes British conservatism from Continental European conservatism is that it represents the oldest tradition of democracy in historical terms, that this tradition has been shaped through various interventions and occurred over time, that it bears a strong intellectual build-up and that it possesses an independent parliamentary regime in democratic government (Vural, 2011: 53). Differentiation of the British conservative thinking from that of the French conservatism in an apparent manner is not surprising due to these reasons. Undoubtedly, this is a true tradition of conservatism: Hostile to the geometric reason, loyal to the customs and institutions shaped by history, committed to the “natural” or inherited aristocracy, dissident or distant to democracy. However, this conservatism is much less radical, much less uncompromising and much less doctrinal as compared to its relative in France. This is both a liberal and pragmatic conservatism. British conservatism would construe Burke’s formula *lato sensu* (in broad sense) and often be reformist. Accordingly, the State which closes itself to all opportunities of change will remain defenseless (Beneton, 2011: 68).

At this point, the most important issue which must be dwelled upon is the fact that a conservatism shaped by the revolution and the traumatic condition created by the revolution has maintained a more reactionary and radical attitude as compared to the other types of conservatism. Just like the attitude which Necip Fazıl maintained against the Turkish Revolution and the modernist changes achieved by it. Neither the American nor British conservatives are closed to renovation and change like the French conservatives. They accepted the fact that change is inevitable and that it should occur in stages. However, as in the examples of France and Turkey, such reactionary and radical thoughts like that of Necip Fazıl emerged as a consequence of such sudden and all-destroying revolutions.

1.2. Basic Arguments of the Conservative Thinking

Although the Enlightenment philosophy and conservatism are the outcomes of the same environment, conservatism has various philosophical principles. For instance, the universe and man’s place in the universe occupy an important place in the foundation of the conservative thinking. Conservatives usually adopt the cosmological principle about the universe, i.e. God is the reason for being in the center of everything (Harbour, 1982: 29). Human nature is an indispensable part of the cosmological order. There is a transcendental order and a natural law

in the universe and they govern the conscience as well as the society. Against God's excellence, man is far from being excellent, i.e. he is imperfect. According to religious conservatives, a man's ethical nature is problematic due to the original sin. Likewise, against God's excellent mind, human mind seems to be rather limited and imperfect. This approach in fact underlies the conservative thinking. The essential and normative assumptions of conservatism can be outlined as follows:

1) According to conservative political philosophy, there is a kind of absolute ethical order in the universe. In the medieval Christian world idealized by conservatism, in which the church was determinative, the universe was defined as a gift of God to humanity. In this context, any designs about the universe have taken their place in the holy books (Bowler, 2001: 77). That is, acceptance of the existence of a universal concept of ethics also brings about the necessity of complying with the strict rules of this universe in which man lives.

2) Conservative thinking contains a theocentric humanism. This concept underlying the normative perspective of conservatism is closely related with the spiritual development of an individual (Harbour, 1982: 26). In theocentric humanism which also considers man to be a spiritual being, existence of man and society rests with God. Religion is necessary both for the man who is a religious being and for a well ordered society.

3) According to the conservative thinking, human mind may only know limited things. Therefore, conservatives think that the world and the universe are too complicated to be perceived by the human mind. This approach of the conservative thinking about man limits the politics and political thinking which is considered to be an unlimited and bottomless area (Muller, 1997: 293).

4) Conservatives do not trust man's ability to reshape the society by various ideals. In other words, they are extremely skeptical about radical revolutionaries who do not take their power from history and tradition to attempt social engineering because they consider an order in which they want to place them to be deficient and inadequate due to the fact that it is the outcome of the defective human mind (Ergil, 1986: 281).

5) Conservatism is against utopianism and put the emphasis on pragmatic approaches as a basis in politics. In considering various political proposals, conservatives emphasize the importance of the practical, historical and empirical conditions in which decision-makers are situated. Therefore, they deny the strategies of revolution anticipating a radical change in the formation

of man and society. Revolutions turn the social order upside down and destroy the traditional structures of authority, occupation and class. Instead, they prefer reforms achieved gradually. If any reform is necessary, this must only be in order to protect the prevailing order and conditions (status quo) (Ergil, 1986: 281).

6) Conservatives defend Christian theology against the rationalist, positivist and progressive understanding of history. When we consider it from the perspective of Turkish and Muslim world, we may identify it with the conventional Sunni thinking tradition.

7) Conservatives usually argue that the ablest individuals must rule the society (natural aristocracy). Natural aristocracy which is an elite class consists of such individuals who have promoted or displayed the ability and skill of promoting to the upper class. However, despite all these positive qualifications, there are limits to the governing privilege of this ruling cadre. They are responsible to the people and that their practices are exposed to inspection and questioning (Ergil, 1986: 282).

8) Conservatives think that a constitutional structuring is necessary in order to prevent any damages which the irrational majority will cause in society and to restrict the power of leaders in the modern political life. Further, they advocate the legal order and independent jurisdiction against the extremisms and dangers of modern democratic politics (Vural, 2011: 22)

9) Conservatives place importance on locality unlike the other ideologies which claim to be universal. Therefore, they place utmost importance on the protection of local cultural characteristics and values, on small-sized social relationships and on non-governmental organizations, communities and family institution.

10) Principles are not absolute in the conservative political philosophy but may be pragmatically changed, added or skipped (Vural, 2011: 23).

Now that we have seen the fundamental characteristics of conservatism, it might be a good idea to discuss where we can situate Necip Fazıl's perspective within conservative thinking.

Starting from the conventional Islam concept, Necip Fazıl considers Allah to be the master of the Universe and owner of all. All comes from Him and goes back to him, and Allah has communicated the basic ethical rules of the universe which He has created for the human beings who are his servants through holy books. In these terms, source of knowledge and mind is Allah Himself. Any inferences and approaches to be made without placing Him in the center of all

will be defective. In these terms, it will not be wrong to say that Necip Fazıl's ideology is a theocentric one. Compliance with the rules imposed by Allah is the most necessary requirement so that man may survive in the universe in which he lives and reach the truth and be happy. Alienation to this body of rules will lead to social and individual degeneration and chaos (Kırsakürek, 2014: 103).

Another common point of Necip Fazıl with the other conservative philosophers is his thoughts about the deficient creation of human beings. In his opinion, while man has a limited ability and intelligence, he is also a being that must be ethically trained. As required by Islamic thinking, although Allah has provided man with some noblesse in consideration of the belief that He created man in His own likeness, such noblesse is a level which a man can only reach by complying with the rules of Allah. These rules which are as old as the history of humanity not only emerged as an outcome of tradition and experience but also the outcome of a design which is too big to be perceived by man by rational methods. Therefore, man must conserve and be loyal to these institutions and traditions inherited from his ancestors. And it is just for this reason that Necip Fazıl also qualifies revolution as an action against the human and social nature just like the other conservative philosophers. He opposes to the destruction of everything belonging to the past by human hand notwithstanding whether or not they are useful. He believes that these institutions and traditions constructed during many generations have had a determinative role in the regulation of the social life and the existence of the individual. He opposes to any kind of social engineering which will move the society away from traditions, history and his ancestors' experiences (Kırsakürek, 2014: 169).

As we will discuss further in detail in the subsequent sections, Necip Fazıl is an elitist. He believes that the society must be ruled by the ablest, most intelligence and most ethical individuals. In this respect, he appears to be highly critical of the egalitarian characteristics of democratic politics. In his view, democracies are an outcome of the populist approach of the Western culture and are quite far from the ideal form of government. What must be done is that the most exquisite ones must be selected in each and every subject and that they must rule the society. In the ideal society which he describes in his book entitled *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (Ideological Pattern), he mentions that rulers should establish an inspection mechanism among themselves and that they should be responsible for one another and for the people (Kırsakürek, 2010c: 60).

Similar to the other conservative philosophers, Necip Fazıl also emphasizes the importance of locality. In his opinion, each society has generated some values starting from its own experiences and keeps living in line with such values. For this reason, he does not accept the concept of universal truth other than the rules of Allah. Form of government in each society rests on its specific historical experiences and these are habits which must be maintained. To aspire any values which other societies have created and generated and to give up its own values will be suicidal for a society (Kısakürek, 2014: 255).

Finally, such intermediate institutions as family, community, guild, etc. which occupy an important place in the conservative thinking are also very important in Necip Fazıl's ideology. An individual may be trained and harnessed by the family or community in which he lives. In any areas where the governmental authority fails to reach, these intermediate institutions have been the outcome of a tradition which has lasted many centuries in order to satisfy the needs of the individuals. Additionally, in his opinion, while there is a single leader in the government, jurisdiction maintains its independence and even judicial bodies may judge the leader as well. This is a system which exists in his definition of ideal society and government.

1.2.1. Tradition

Tradition conceptually accommodates several meanings within itself. In the simplest meaning, tradition means *traditum*; *traditum* is anything handed down or bequeathed from the past to the present. Tradition is something which was created, executed and believed in the past (Shils, 2003: 102-103). One of the basic emphases in the conservative thinking, tradition is a requirement of which importance must be perceived as an indication of respect for the order. As tradition materializes a certain life style for many generations, it accommodates wisdom rather than individual in itself. It is more accurate to rely on traditions instead of abstract theories. (Vincent, 2006:117)

Conservatives did not approve everything coming from the past. The philosophy of conservatism is a selection as in all similar philosophies. A useful tradition should come from the past and have some attraction in itself (Nisbet, 2007: 82). Whatever inherited from the past has a psychological and sociological function by which men will make use of them. This is the most basic argument which the conservatives put forth against the liberal reform bills in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Edmund Burke speaks as follows when emphasizing the importance of tradition:

“We are concerned about men’s living and acting in consideration of mind only; because we think that mind in each man is inadequate and that men should benefit from the accumulation and capital of nations and epochs instead of this small mind.” (Burke, 2005: 11).

This discourse is a thought to be acceptable to both the Anglo-American and Continental conservatives and those people who have adopted the conservative opinion all over the world. Experience which is based on tradition and which has been handed down for many generations is a reference which is much stronger and more rational than a single individual’s foresight and desire to change. When the liberal thinking under the influence of the Enlightenment which destroyed almost all known values during the 19th century attempted to destroy everything belonging to the past and replace them with new values which were the outcomes of its own young mind, Burke’s warning on the matter was remarkable:

“You wanted to correct our government’s extremisms, well, why make the new ones? Why aren’t you committed to your old traditions? Why aren’t you satisfied with handling your old candour? Or if it is impossible for you to reach the lost physiology of the structure founded by your ancestors, why don’t you turn your interests towards us? There, you would have found the old common law of Europe. ” (Burke, 2005: 14).

In this criticism, Burke addresses those who carried out the French Revolution and their exploitation of it for their ambition to change the government and destroy everything related to the past. He criticizes the French revolutionaries’ destruction of the traditions which they inherited from their ancestors and tested for many centuries and historically strained under the leadership of the Jacobins. Because tradition does not only mean what remains from the past for Burke and other conservatives. They considered experience which is an outcome of tradition to be the primary source of knowledge and placed so great an importance on it. Therefore, according to conservatives, laws must also be derived from tradition. Tradition, for the conservatives, who see tradition as “an endless store of knowledge” is of great importance as the transmitter of wisdom of the past.

It is possible for us to find these traditionalist traces in Necip Fazıl’s ideas as well. He particularly makes references to the Ottoman and Islamic legacy and advocates that those institutions and organizations of the times when the Ottoman State was a super power should be revived and improved. Like Mehmet Akif, Necip Fazıl also criticized the Turkish Revolution because it destroyed all the institutions of Ottoman Era “barbarously” and demolished everything belonging to old tradition. He severely criticizes Jacobin modernist attitude intended

to break off the society's ties with the past such as the Alphabet Reform, Clothing Reform and Education Reform, etc. because for Necip Fazıl, the Islamic tradition inherited from their ancestors gave the Turks the identity and spirit that they process.

1.2.2. Religion

Religion bears a typical and critical importance in the conservative thinking. Conservative thinking re-constructs religion through earthly impetuses as its indispensable treasure and subjects it to a modern intervention. It considers religion to be inevitable in terms of social stability and permanency of authority rather than existing for itself (Bora, 1997:8). It insistently emphasizes religion in terms of the identification of common behaviors and its social functions. But this does not mean that all conservatives are zealously faithful people. They draw attention to the importance of the church because it is an authority, owner of the order and respect for tradition and a community that possesses rituals, holidays and ceremonies. Religion exalted by the conservatives has specific lines just like tradition, and conservatism tends to consider it to be a civic religion in the first place (Beneton, 2011: 110).

From the perspective of conservative thinking, religion has great importance as much at present as in the past. The issue on which the old as well as new and religious as well as secular conservatives have agreed is the indispensable importance of the values which keep the society together. As the society is a living organism from the perspective of the conservative thinking, it has senses and beliefs. According to them, what keeps the society together is the dogmas. As religion keeps the society together and even guides an ordinary man to a good deed and creates a sense of belonging within the social body, it is referred to as an indispensable social institution even for atheist conservatives (Vural, 2011: 48).

The very first precursors of conservatism placed utmost importance on the "institutionalized" religious values of their own countries. Burke placed importance on commitment to the Christian Anglican denomination; de Bonald, de Maistre and Chateaubriand to the Catholicism denomination. Also, such conservative philosophers of recent times such as Hegel, Haller, Coleridge and Nisbet likewise tried to experience religion in their own lives and considered it to be a significant cornerstone in the life of the State, society and individual. In conservative opinion, it is argued that the religion as adopted by the society must be kept alive rather than imposing a certain religion or atheism and that any intervention in this by the State of any individual is not acceptable.

Burke states that:

“It is necessary that the state is blessed by the institution of religion and must operate on free citizens with a useful grandeur; for citizens make use of a limited share so that their freedom must be secured. For the citizens, a religion which is associated with the State and their duties towards the State is more necessary than in those societies in which the conditions of deference of men are restricted by specific feelings.” (as cited in Nisbet, 1986: 139).

On this view, Burke considers religion to be a buffer zone between the State and the individual and thinks that it will consolidate the legitimacy of the State in the eye of the individual (Nisbet, 1986: 139).

We may say that the place occupied by religion in Necip Fazıl’s ideology is different although it displays similarities to the conservative thinking. Just like conservative philosophers, he also thinks that religion is an institution which provides the social order and harmony and expresses this in his articles and speeches. He argues that the society cannot live together without religion and that chaos will prevail in the absence of it. When one adds the dogmatic and ritual-based prevalence of the Conventional Islamic faith to this, the place of religion in Necip Fazıl’s thoughts becomes so much severer than that of de Boland, de Maistre and Chateaubriand of the other religious conservatives.

To begin with, the most distinct reason for Necip Fazıl’s being considered to be an Islamist rather than a conservative is that he does not only consider religion to be a traditional institution which keeps the society together. According to him, religion is the greatest institution which describes the beginning and end of all: Order, state and authority. Its absence means nullity and the primary purpose must be to establish it under any circumstances. From this point of view, we may refer to piousness which can be ranked above the Anglo-American type and much radical than the French type. His goal of designing all institutions of the State and the society in accordance with Islam appears to be the most important point which distinguishes him from conservative philosophers.

Furthermore, as we have stated above, conservatives criticized the destruction caused in the traditional beliefs of societies by the revolutions accomplished under the influence of the Enlightenment. Their basic argument on religion is to leave any religious traditions and institutions accepted by the society in general as they are and to prevent the State’s intervention in them. In other words, the State should impose neither atheism nor piousness. The principal opinion of Necip Fazıl on the other hand, is Islamization of both the State and the society. He stressed the necessity of Islam being the prevailing belief in the country and that all should be

‘Ideal Muslims’; and determined an ideological path based on counter-revolution rather than anti-revolution. He aims at further Islamizing the society that has moved away from the Ottoman tradition and Islamic institutions as a result of the Turkish Revolution and –in his own words– returning the society to its own self. Policies he targeted in order to do this were not things which would agree with the freedom concept of either the present time or that of the 19th century Europe. Just at this point, we can say that Necip Fazıl not only agreed with the conservative philosophers on religion but maintained a more zealous and more radical attitude.

1.2.3. Individual, Family and Society

Family is the leading institution on which conservatives place importance. They consider family to be the basic institution of the society in terms of its social functions. Family has not been invented by any social philosopher or political theoretician but emerged as an outcome of such natural impetuses as love, responsibility, sharing and care that are of social nature. Children do not by any means sign a contract to join in the family, but are raised, trained and guided within the family (Heywood, 2007: 97).

Conservatism considers family as follows:

“This political philosophy considers family to be both the basic unit of the society and the protector of the traditional ethics. For family creates and consolidates part of the bonds keeping the society together. At the same time, family prevents society from atomizing, provides solidarity within the society and finally serves as one of the basic institutions of education. Family also strengthens the sense of belonging to their societies in human beings.” (Nisbet, 1986: 23).

From this point of view, it will not be wrong to describe family as an institution in which an individual will feel safe and happy and which is necessary for creating a buffer zone between the individual and the State. When considered to be a circle extending from individual to family, from family to community and from community to society, dynamics of social life appear. Conservatism which considers the society to be a living organism considers that society has a spirit just like an individual. According to Burke, society which is a living organism rather than a mechanism is “a continuity established between the past, the present and the future.” (Nisbet, 1986: 25).

The subject of the political conservative thinking is communities which are non-governmental organizations, including guilds, Church, foundations, chambers, etc. According to Çaha, “Just as the subject of the leftist politics is social class and that of liberal politics the individual, the subject of conservative politics is community.” (Çaha, 2004: 70). It is just for this reason that

Nisbet draws attention to the existence of a significant relationship between the destruction of intermediate institutions and the emergence of a totalitarian State which oppresses man following the French Revolution. For this reason, he states that “intermediate institutions and traditions which have as a buffer role, must be conserved.” (Nisbet, 1986: 11).

Individualism was generally accepted after the French Revolution. According to this thinking system which started with the Enlightenment, an individual is self-sufficient. Attempts were made in order to minimize the effectiveness of those institutions including family, society and intermediate institutions which shaped the individual and even to destroy religious values. But political conservatism defends the opposite idea. According to political conservatism, the State and the individual do not have any superiority and priority in the social model based on the hierarchy of family, community and intermediate institutions. As the individual is considered as not self-sufficient due to his “limited creation and the original sin”, the society and the intermediate institutions emerge as important figures which propagate and protect the individual and give him an identity and personality (Bora, 2014:58)

We may say that Necip Fazıl shares thoughts similar to those of the conservative philosophers on the matter. He is also for protecting the family and community tradition and using the same in shaping the character of the individual. Moreover, as Bora has also stated, “In the conservative thinking, Nation is another description of the meaning attributed to Community; just like community, it represents a transcendental and sacred historical bond and a shield against the atomized relationships. As a matter of fact, the formation of the Nation in several societies is further an outcome of the religious community’s re-definition of itself. Further, the importance placed on Nation also symbolizes the emphasis “society but not individual”. (Bora, 2014:58) And in Necip Fazıl’s ideology, influence of the community on the individual and its functionality in the social order are at a perceivable level. As a group with religious faith as its common point, community is an institution which forms, protects and gives an identity to the individual.

1.2.4. The Limits of Mind

We may address the limitation of mind principle as another sensitivity of the conservative thinking. Inadequacy of human mind has been dwelled upon as an approach continuing from the 19th century conservatives until the present-day conservatives. In *Reflections*, Burke

represents his doubt about the limited mind which an individual possesses and his trust in tradition and prejudice as follows:

“In this enlightened age, I am brave enough to admit that we are men of such thoughts which have not usually been pre-designed and not composed on a set purpose. Instead of abandoning all our old prejudices, we embrace them to a substantial extent... We are afraid of allowing men to live and do business by using their own private mental accumulation because we suspect that this capital in each man is too small. We think that it will be better for individuals to benefit from the general bank and capital of nations and ages.” (Özipek, 2005:49).

According to traditional conservatism: Practices, prejudices and habits not theoretical mind form the basis of our actions. These practices materialize the practical mind. Prejudice is not only an irrational behavior, on the contrary, it is something coming from the experiences acquired for many generations. Prejudice is the method of knowing what to do and is superior to abstract reason due to its nature. To take action by prejudice is to behave like one’s ancestors and prejudice is tradition in essence (Vincent, 2006: 91).

As we have referred to in the conservatives’ thoughts about tradition, they state that wisdom rising as a result of the experienced handed down for many generations gives rise to prejudice. Here, prejudice is a type of tendency which enables us to know how to behave and where rather than a negative concept in its meaning which we use at present. It appears before us as a kind of self-defense mechanism and is a result of our ancestors’ handing everything they experienced down to us.

And just for this reason, prejudice which is the databank of nations and ages is a much more reliable source of knowledge rather than individual mind which is considered limited and inadequate by conservatives. Revolutions and comprehensive programs of change which arise as an outcome of human mind are projects which have been thought upon and designed and contain defects and deficiencies as they are man-made although they are invisible. Minor deteriorations which are not noticed at first sight may give rise to consequences which may upset the whole social structure. Conservatives consider any currents which human mind including theirs created without taking reference from the past to be dangerous and agree that they will be harmful rather than beneficial to the society (Özipek, 2005:49).

We do not encounter any evaluations so distinct as in the traditional conservative thinking on the limitation of human mind in Necip Fazıl. But we may reach the opinion that he did not take individual mind seriously, considering the restrictions he anticipated about individual rights and the influence of the State as an Islamic institution on the individual in the ideal social and

governmental order which he designed in his work entitled *İdelocyâ Örgüsü*. He opines that there are those who rule and those who are ruled. At present, as in the past, there is a hierarchy based on mind and ability among individuals and he argues that those who are ruled should therefore conduct in compliance with social reason and ethics based on historical experience. He also considers changing actions and reforms that have emerged as an outcome of individual mind to be incorrect and deficient. He curses any kind of public actions of change accomplished differently from traditional reason and ethics. However, what is interesting is that he has also designed an Islamic revolution and that he attempts a social engineering arising from a superior mind – here, he takes reference from Islam. To return the society to the past constitutes the basis of his thought.

1.2.5. State, Hierarchy and Authority

One of the unchanged thoughts of both conservative philosophers and their followers from Burke to the present day is the respect for the State and the authority. And this is underlay by faith and thought of stability. Burke's "the chain of hierarchy extending from individual to family, from family to community, from community to society and over to the God constitutes the basis of the conservative concept of authority." (Nisbet, 1986: 92).

According to Bonald, sovereignty only rests with God. He may assign His sovereignty to family, church and political government. And the main principle in the distribution of sovereignty is that each institution has full sovereignty within itself; and institutions are autonomous within themselves and their relationships are based on mutual respect and the violation of any will result in tyranny. Therefore, the government and the authority should not destroy autonomy (Nisbet, 1986: 93).

Burke's concept of State and authority is as follows:

"We have exalted the State in order to protect it against the malignancies of irresolution and diversity which are ten thousand times worse than stubbornness so that men should approach to the defects and malignity of the State in a more careful manner and that no one should try to correct it by destroying it; in other words everyone should consider the wrongdoings of the State with a religious reverence and great care as if he dresses the wounds of his father." (Burke, 1986: 432)

According to the conservatives, the State is neither an organization which has a negative meaning in society and which restricts the freedom of an individual as in liberal contract theories nor an institution which owns the production and which has a superior authority over the individual as in socialist contract theories (Scruton, 2002: 48). The duty of the State is

limited to the protection of peace and stability between the family, community and guilds which are basic institutions in the society through laws arising from traditions (Sigler, 1968: 21).

As it is seen, while the state is an authority of which existence is not disputable in the conservative thinking, it is also an institution which recognizes the autonomy of the intermediate institutions of the society and which regulates the relationships between them. This is important for the fact that it should not give harm to the rights of these intermediate institutions but leave their order coming from the historical tradition as they are and that it should not transform into tyranny. The concept of sovereignty's resting with the God which is feverishly argued by particularly religious conservatives has been an issue which they take as a basis in their description of this chain of authority. God hands down His sovereignty to earth through such traditional institutions as the State, church, etc. It is for this reason that the State and the church are God's reflections on the earth. While this is an opinion which is completely dissimilar to the secular concept, it has been the most basic tendency on which the philosophers of the Enlightenment disagreed.

The "Sovereignty rests with Allah" approach which we also observe in Necip Fazıl display similarity to this thought of the conservatives. Allah is the alpha and omega of all. All starts and ends with His will. In consideration of this thought, it will be much easier to comprehend the meaning of his attaching not only the State and the institutions related to it but everything to Allah. However, considering religion to be an absolute truth and making it prevail over the State and the society is an erroneous conduct and this is what the Enlightenment thinking is against. Necip Fazıl is in agreement with religious conservatives at this point and argued that power of sanction and legitimacy of religion-based authority over the society would be much stronger (Kısakürek, 2014: 298).

What is different about him is the State's influence on the intermediate institutions and power of intervention over the society. In his opinion, the State is an institution assigned by Allah in order to make Allah's sovereignty on earth permanent. This must be the ideal state. In order to make Allah's rules functional in all governmental agencies and intermediate institutions of the society, the government should have a strong power of sanction so that all would be in compliance with Islam. Anticipating an order which a great number of intellectuals including conservative philosophers may consider as tyranny in the West, Necip Fazıl takes the traditional Islamic thinking as a base to legitimize his ideology. He mentions man's need for an authority due to his nature and the necessity of the state and state's obligation to exercise such authority

in a manner which will take man to absolute salvation. Considering from this point of view, we see that, in Necip Fazıl, the idea of authority has evolved to a dimension which is much more advanced than the conservative thinking which we compare with him.

According to O’Sullivan, another conservative philosopher, the view of conservative political concept about the limits of the authority is as follows:

“It should not be compared with those authoritarian governments which support the concentration of the political power in the hands of a person or group, which are against individual and political freedoms, which deny almost all forms of political involvement and which accept the exercise of pressure and force. Conservative political authority is only one of the types of authority in society and its area of influence ceases when it reaches the limit of the area of influence of the other authorities.” (O’Sullivan, 1994:53).

From political conservatives such as Disraeli, Newman, Bourget, Godkin, Babbitt to present-time conservative like Oakeshott, Voeglin, Jouvenall, Nisbet and Kirk, all have stated that the state should stay back as much as possible in economic, social and ethical affairs. According to Oakeshott:

“Duty of a government is not to impose other beliefs and activities upon its subjects nor act as a guardian for them, nor make them better or happier through other ways, nor guide them, nor activate them for an action nor coordinate them to give rise to a potential conflict, but the duty of a government is to set rules only.” (Oakeshott, 2009:42).

Therefore, for the past two centuries, the distinctive characteristic of the conservative politics in the United States as in Europe has been, in practice, to strengthen the decentralization to respect the private sector, family, local community, economy and private property and the collective rights of the state and the small units in the society.

As we have stated above, this is the most significant point which distinguishes Necip Fazıl from the conservative thinking. In his opinion, the state must be intervening because it has a cause. That cause is to make Allah’s orders prevail on earth and destroy any people and forces denying it. Upon the Islamic revolution he designed, the state will emerge as an institution which represents Allah’s will on earth and its aim will be to establish **Shariah**. Duty of the state is to provide the welfare and salvation of the people who are its subjects. In his opinion, this may only be possible within the Islamic framework.

1.3. Necip Fazıl and Conservatism

In the preceding section, we have tried to compare the conservative thinking which we studied in detail with Necip Fazıl's ideology in their similar and different aspects. Here, in the final analysis, we aim at emphasizing why we have considered Necip Fazıl in terms of the conservative thinking. Considering in terms of both historical process and of dynamics of thought, we have reached the opinion that this form of thinking mainly displays similarity with that of Necip Fazıl. We have dwelled upon his approaches different from the conservative thinking and tried to show such difference.

To summarize the criteria of the conservative thinking that have not changed from the past to the present, according to Zürcher:

- a. the fact that religion is important,
- b. (being against such social interventions as revolution due to) danger of doing wrong to individuals under the designation of reform,
- c. reality and desirability of segregation of ranks and positions (commitment to hierarchy),
- d. immunity of private property,
- e. the fact that the society is an organism rather than a mechanism,
- f. bonds established with the past (Zürcher, 2004: 40).

When we start from this definition of conservative thinking, it will not be wrong to describe Necip Fazıl Kısakürek as a conservative. However, it will not be sufficient to describe him as a conservative only. As we discussed in the preceding section, he seems to agree with all of the conservative philosophers in terms of the fact that religion is important. We may even say that he agrees with the French religious conservatives who became more sensitive on religion in the process of destruction caused on religious institutions by revolutionaries after the French Revolution. Just like religious conservatives, he also argues that religion is the pillar of the society and that the society cannot stand without religion. He further suggests that religion is the only approach which explains the basic existence of human beings in this universe and builds all his political ideology on this approach.

In terms of anti-reformism and anti-revolutionism principle, Necip Fazıl also shares similar ideas to those of the other conservative philosophers. When we consider in terms of the change and destruction it caused on the religious and social institutions, starting from the thesis that

French and Turkish revolutions display similarities, he also thinks that revolution is a harmful action because it disturbs the traditional order. Modernist revolutionaries' policies intended to break off all bonds of the society with the past are incorrect and these policies demoralize the society. He severely criticizes the abrogation of those organizations and institutions which were the outcomes of the traditional Turkish and Islamic culture which had been survived for hundreds of years, with a sudden impact. And the counter-revolution which he himself designed aims at returning Turkey, which had been tried to move away from its traditional values and concept by Turkish Revolution to those values which it had in those times when the Ottoman state was a super power. It is just for this reason that he is described as a reactionary (Kısakürek, 2014a: 68).

On the reality and desirability of segregation of ranks and positions, Necip Fazıl speaks of the same things as the conventional conservative discourse. He believes the natural aristocracy, that is, that those who are most ethical, most intelligent and ablest must be in government. In his work entitled "Ideological Pattern", he mentions an assembly consisting of the notables of the society, which is not elected through democratic ways while talking about the governing cadres of the ideal state. Members of this assembly are such individuals who will permanently maintain their representation power and what he expects of them is that they should be the most selected individuals of the society in science, arts, politics, philosophy, religion and ethics. He considers and suggests this as a manifestation of the principle of necessity of government of the best which has been maintained during history.

Although the private property is not an issue on which he particularly dwells, he describes himself as an anti-communist and curses Communism. In his opinion, communist form of thinking is contrary to Islam and unacceptable. Considering this fact, we may say that he opposes to the state's intervening the private property. Likewise, we may say that he does not think about the principle that argues that the society is an organism rather than a mechanism as Zürcher does. However, we may state that he takes the society as a single body and believes that its health and strength must be observed by the state and says that the state should shape the society through specific interventions when necessary (Kısakürek, 2014: 233).

Finally, in terms of the principles of bonds established with the past, we may place Necip Fazıl in the conservative thinking. As a matter of fact, roots of his ideology lie in history. He built all his political ideology on the East-West conflict and explained the global order through the East-West conflict. He argues that, in historical perspective, the West has surpassed the East in the

past period of five hundred years that it has suppressed it, exploited it and imposed its own values on it as if they are absolutely true. In his view, the way to salvation is not to westernize but, on the contrary, to turn to the East, which is the origin. To follow the way our ancestors followed for many centuries and embrace their values will be the formula of salvation for us. He thinks that we should restore our old institutions with the experience coming from history and tradition and make efforts to turn to our origins rather than keep pace with the times. *Büyük Doğu* (The Great East) after which his ideology is named just marks this point. He dreams of the days when the East will be great and powerful again and is enlightened by history.

CHAPTER 2

NECIP FAZIL'S CONSERVATISM

“Our epoch is the judgment day of ideologies... One who is brave enough to take pen in his hand must relate the best metaphor he will make and the meanest joke he will use to the standards of a world view familiar to everyone.

One writes, another one draws; one says, the other keeps silent; one boasts, the other swaggers; what is the basis for this pell-mell? If those authors who rattle are asked:

- What is your world view?

I wonder how many of them have the skill to answer. A nondescript idea, a nondescript art, a nondescript society, they are not an object I understand...

And this is why I will announce what is going on, not waiting my readers to understand me with fragments they will gather from each article of mine just like doing a crossword puzzle. Such announcements are topics of ideas in the most concise and sharpest way just like entitling a book (Kısakürek, 2010c: 59).

This is what I am:

- 1- Asian-ist (against imitated European-ism.)
- 2- Extreme nationalist-Anatolian-ist (against non-nationality perception.)
- 3- Spiritualist (against Materialism.)
- 4- **Trans-ist** (against fanatics and atheists.)
- 5- Personality-ist and Qualification-ist (against the rights of vagabonds, against standard measures)
- 6- Property restriction-ist (against large personal capital.)
- 7- Selective and seeker of purity in arts, ideas and sciences (against rootless and careless description systems.)
- 8- Classist in terms of mental and moral superiority (Antidemocrat)
- 9- Interventionist around a single view (Anti-liberal)

Summary based on the present world regimes:

From a personal perspective anticommunist, antifascist, anti-liberal.

Here are my basic thoughts! I report these urged by the virtue of idea and in the form of headings. Those who take the trouble of reading and seeking me may unlock my cells with this key. Thus, (How) the criteria announcing (What) is going on are will be revealed. I have the right on the architecture of this (How) from verse to epic and from an anecdote to a book.” (Kısakürek, 2010c: 60).

In the book series entitled **Çerçeve** (Frame) which was first printed in 1940, Necip Fazıl outlines his ideology in this way. We see that these principles each of which must be individually studied constitute the core of his way of thinking. He has always been a clear and precise man of literature and ideas in every matter. It must be why he has written such an article as he must have found it necessary to explain the basic elements of his political views. In this chapter of the thesis, we will try to study Necip Fazıl's conservatism. We will make efforts to understand under what conditions he has adopted the principles which he has mentioned above and how he developed and disciplined them. While trying to draw an ideological portrait of this intellectual

who did not hesitate to disclose his view on almost all subjects, we have deemed it proper to study Necip Fazıl's thoughts on essential matters under individual headings in order to make both narration and comprehension easier. We think that these main headings which we will address will guide us in relation with his character, spiritual world and political views.

2.1. Religion and Faith

Undoubtedly, Necip Fazıl is an Islamist and believes that Islam's order must be established in his interpretation. He tries to find its source in the History of Islam and Islamic Thinking. He places Islam in the foundation of not only his religious, ethical and social thinking but also of his ideas in all areas as well. He particularly makes it felt strongly in his articles and conferences after his thirtieth year of age which he calls the "second period of my life". And this is why we first have to try to perceive Necip Fazıl's concept of Islam in order to understand his world view. We have to try to understand his faith in which he places life and death, state and society, ethics and thinking in the base of everything so that we may cast some light on the origin of his views (Kısakürek, 2010: 28).

Necip Fazıl started to learn the Quran in the mansion where he was brought up, guided by his grandfather whom he liked as if he were his father, as from his early ages. This enabled him to meet with Islam and the religious education which he received from his grandmother who was one of the most influential figures in the development of his spiritual world. We can say that he was a Muslim who had faith but failed to fulfil the requirements of the religion during the period until he was thirty years old, until he met with Abdülhakim Arvasi. He was a person who took alcohol, gambled, who did not avoid having extramarital sexual relationships, who may even be taken as a womanizer within the society of poets and men of literature in which he lived and who wrote poems on the female body in some periods of his life. During and after the period when he went to Paris, he maintained this life style until one day he came across Abdülhakim Arvasi, whom he incidentally met (Karatekeli, 2013: 22).

It must be due to the fact that he grew up as the only male child of a deep-rooted family in luxury and was well educated. Fame, reputation, women, gaiety were determinative in his life for a rather long time. When the Bohemian lifestyle he led in Paris and İstanbul and the information transmitted by those who knew him personally is considered, this is the case. (Karatekeli, 2013: 23).

However, whatever happened, he felt that he was not satisfied by the life he led and started to move away from his materialist life which was based on pleasure. We may possibly ascribe it to the emotional tidings he experienced. He had not yet been married when he reached his thirties and was not a person acceptable to the society in which he lived due to his sharp tongue and arrogant personality. Although he won general approval owing to his poetic identity, his sharp personality prevented him from being popular. This spiritual deficiency and feeling of emptiness which he experienced made him closer to Abdülhakim Arvasi Efendi, whom he called master, and his teacher. Their relationship which started just as a casual mysticism chat turned to a mentor-disciple relationship over time and continued until Abdülhakim Arvasi's death. Necip Fazıl explains in a very nice way how he was influenced by this person and how empty his life had been before he met him in his book entitled *Tanrı Kulundan Dinlediklerim* (What I Listened from a Human Being).

Being a person who had also knowledge about religion and mysticism before he met with his mentor, Necip Fazıl started to thoroughly study History of Islam and Islamic Philosophy once he had found the meaning of life and existence in religion. His thoughts on religion were not based on pure dogmatic faith. Here, we report a section of what he wrote on time and universe: "It appears before us in all its grandeur in the structure of the universe. Time!.. What an awesome thing! The greatest evidence of Allah's supremacy... Allah has laid the time over us just like a net... Time is above all, all! For instance, Avicenna assumed the light out of time. However, it has been proven today that light runs at a speed of 300 thousand kilometers per second, depending on time... There is nothing out of the time; there is something in us, which wants to climb out of the time... A human being has something which outgrows the time, and it is the soul! For it bears the memoirs of the realm of timelessness. But we are not aware of it.

Mysticism defines the time as follows: A dance, a coherence between the existence and absence... One existence, one absence; they follow each other.

The gate of the riddle which is called "Unity of Existence"... Just like a gateway to the unity of existence of the body... An existence is followed by an absence. Here, who knows how many times I have existed until I have uttered this sentence. But the events designed just like a film strip by time run in such a way that we see perpetuity in everything. We suppose we have seen perpetuity." (as cited in Okay, 2009: 32: Kısakürek, World Expects a Reform: 12-14).

Setting off from these articles of Necip Fazıl related to time, we may get the opinion that he found some Mystic meaning within the Islamic faith. This is one of the greatest evidence as to the fact that Necip Fazıl, unlike most Islamists of the period, did not consider the Islamic belief to be comprised of only traditions and faith. His efforts to question his faith in astrophysical terms and rest it on a rational framework are an indication of the fact that he did not hesitate to include his mind related to religion into the matter.

In another passage in which he states his views about religion, he says:

“The very first idea in the human beings was ‘There is god’. And this will be the last idea as well... While mountains leap up just like the corks of bottles, humanity will scream ‘There is God’... This world started saying, “There is God” and will also come to an end saying, “There is God”.

The most important fact which the Western system of thinking has reached, is that humanity would not even invented the wheel if it were not for religions. Those who study history of religions well know: this prophet was endowed with this skill and that prophet with that, Enoch was a tailor; Noah a shipbuilder, and so on... However, these are perfunctory precepts. Prophets revealed that substance which only exists in human beings, that mentality specific to human beings. And then, this mentality found the ground on which it would attract the whole world. Therefore, religion which is an intangible breeze of thinking became an institution which made the mind and the soul in human beings. In these terms, divine religions need not be evaluated within themselves and by Islam. For religion is only Islam.”¹ (Okay, 2009: 230).

As it will be understood from these words, Necip Fazıl perceives Islam as the only real devotion and religion. He believes in the existence of Allah in the base of all and believes in Allah to whom all serve. He shaped this belief with Islamic Philosophy and started to live his life accordingly. It is interesting that his belief is so great and binding and he makes it his business to share it with all humanity. In other words, being in the trace of, as it is in the conventional Islamist discourse: the Prophet and the ideal of propagating the name of Allah all over the world.

Here, Islam, which underlay Necip Fazıl’s political view, became his life style in all aspects rather than being a belief which he enjoyed in his own personal world only and he also placed it in the heart of his ideology as in all areas. In each article he wrote and in every word he uttered on ethics and society, the effects of his Islamic Thinking were so enormous. As we mentioned before, the other conservative thinkers believe that the religion has a major importance in political life. Conservatives such as de Bonald, de Maistre and Cheateaubriand are the pioneers of religious conservatives in France. Like Necip Fazıl, they argue that, the religion is one of the main pillars of the order of society. In Anglo-American world, thinkers like Burke and Nisbet, claim that the relation between the state and the religion is unbreakable because of the legitimacy of the state concept. In other words, the religion makes the state legitimate in the people’s eye. In this perspective, Necip Fazıl and the conservatives we mentioned are like-minded. In Necip Fazıl’s view, there would be no ethics without Islam and the society might not stay together without Islam. Therefore, he tried to cause Turkish society in which he lived to adopt Islamic life style and make it to live it quickly. This is the only and real way for him:

¹ Orhan Okay (2009), “Dünya Bir İnkılap Bekliyor, 12-14.ve Orhan Okay (2009), ‘Necip Fazıl Kısakürek Kendi Sesinin Yankısı’, İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları

To make Turkey a place where Islam prevails. To build a society in which each individual lives by Islam.

Well, how should a person whom Necip Fazıl defines as the ideal man and who lives by the Islamic faith be? Here, we can also refer to his own sentences:

“A real and deep Muslim has three aspects: **Sheriah**, mysticism and soul and mind which may achieve their wisdom... To consider these aspects as a whole and compound at the moment, the judgment is as follows: **Sheriah** which is the harmony of absolute and constant criteria being the leading one, all is nothing but fulfilling these three schemes of reality, the lower one being subject to the upper one.

Thus, a real and profound Muslim is the **Sheriah** which is the sign of endless and baseless secrets each within the framework of mathematical expressions and the basic norm of society and the criteria of reality. He will consider the mysticism which is the esoteric aspect of the former to be the treasure hiding the maturity secret of the universe and the man and mix and join them in his soul.

Thus, a real and profound Muslim who has a thorough command of the scheme of events and phenomena and a power which screens the earth in a sieve with all its tangible and intangible components consists of his mind which is a device of understanding and questioning with its wings on the left and right comprised of the **Sheriah** and mysticism when he rises to the stratosphere of wisdom and reality. However, what flies, exalts and matures is the **Sheriah** and mysticism that are the supplement and generator of each other. And what is exalted and matured is the personal soul and mind.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 180-181).

To interpret it, Necip Fazıl’s definition of a real Muslim is a man who has thoroughly perceived the rules of the **Sheriah** and lives with this, who has understood the mysticism which is the invisible and hidden face of the **Sheriah** and who has disciplined his soul and body accordingly. He is a person who places these two aspects in the heart of his life and walks and improves himself in their light. Necip Fazıl must have considered himself in this way, so he expected this virtue of the people before him. His ideal society and government existed in an order where everyone was a Muslim according to this definition and where the **Sheriah** prevailed. After such a definition, I am of the opinion that it will not be wrong to describe him as a follower of **Sheriah** in the deepest sense. To Burke, Coleridge, Southey, Disraeli and Newman in England or Bonald, de Maistre and Cheauteaubriand in France, the religion is preeminently public and institutional, something to which loyalty and a decent regard for form are owing, a valuable pillar to both state and society, but not a profound and permeating doctrine, least of all a total experience. (Nisbet, 1986:69) So, the other conservatives we have mentioned are less fanatic about the interfering role of the religion. Despite of Necip Fazıl is a radical religious, the followers of classical conservative thinking, do not put forward their religious believes on their political ideology. This is a major difference between Necip Fazıl and the other conservatives.

2.2. Ideal Society

In this case, how would Necip Fazıl set up the **Sheriah** which was his ideal order? How would ethical society be in his opinion? Here, we will also try to understand his road map through quotations which we will take from his own articles. First, we can say that what is required to build such a society designed and idealized by Necip Fazıl is an Islamic Revolution. He defines the revolution he expects as follows:

“The picture we have drawn is of a nature which makes it clear that we definitely expect a transformation. It is certain that a reform is necessary for a nation which has not lost its power of existing under the present day conditions, if not, the case is non-existence. This transformation is not an issue which contains static and partial efforts of improvement and minor improvements within the same course at all times. It is an invigorating cause of uprising, attempt and rampancy in the most vigorous and severest sense of the term ‘dynamic’... an uprising, attempt and rampancy which will hold all roads, streets, squares and gates at a stroke, which will mess up the former order and replace it with the new one and which will clinch the new order... In this case, this movement is worthy of being referred to as a ‘revolution-transformation’.

However, this movement is only a revolution and transformation in souls and within the framework of thinking. Its tools are words and pen. Its objective is to enter the skulls through eyes and ears and to instill under the brain membranes. The staff members of this movement are the faithful and nationalist youth and the supporting class is all who recite the words of witness... The location of this revolution and transformation is Turkey with all its big cities and towns; and its time is precisely the present time.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 195).

As seen, the movement in Necip Fazıl’s mind is one which will embrace the whole country and instill in souls and thoughts. This movement which is nothing but an Islamic revolution and transformation may be defined as a movement which aims at taking hold of the whole society and which will not stop until it make the **Sheriah** order prevail in the country. This cause which takes faithful and nationalist young people as soldiers for itself is therefore considered to be one of the ideas which constitutes the backbone of Turkish conservative thinking.

Necip Fazıl also has a reference from history when designing his movement. He believes that the Ottoman State was established and rose under these principles and draws attention to the necessity of such a revolution so that the Turks may rise again. In his own words:

“If we now clearly see what has become of us due to the systematic attrition of our spiritual base and ethical root which gave us a whole world empire for a quarter, half, whole and one and a half century and if we definitely perceive that each disaster is caused thereby, then it means that we possess the essence of the transformation we expect in our hands.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 196).

Necip Fazıl is a fanatical anti-Western orientation as we will discuss in more detail in the subsequent stages of this section. He criticizes the Ottoman institutions and society which started to Westernize under the name of modernization beginning with **Tanzimat** and identifies

the recession of the Ottoman State from the 19th century as Westernization. In his opinion, it is a great mistake that the Ottoman intellectuals considered Westernization to be the only way of progress and this belief was a disaster for the state. Also, as we will discuss later, he praises the Pan-Islamist policy pursued by Sultan Abdülhamid II against that Westernization wave in his work entitled *Ulu Hakan* (The Great Khan) in which he writes the biography of Sultan Abdülhamid II, modernists in the whole history of the Ottoman State and Turkey, in his view, are such people who are copy cats and alienated to themselves and he points out such people as a cause for our underdevelopment. For him:

“The only real deliverance is to return to the self, to Islamize: In this case, it is required to see and show the necessity of embracing our essential and truest concept and accordingly lead and cause to lead to a stupendous idea movement. And this is the essence of the transformation we expect! A single word: pure and plain Islam.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 196).

As it is seen, what must achieve Necip Fazıl’s ideal order is a total Islamic Revolution and Transformation. He never stopped to show as a goal each and every aspect of the movement from its form to its cadres and from its location to its time. Well, what is this order he wants to establish, then? What is it that Necip Fazıl wants to achieve and what is it that his cause for which he has sacrificed his years? We can answer these questions by first understanding what the ideal society in his mind is.

Necip Fazıl is a radical Islamist. The state, society and order which he has idealized has entirely been designed to **Sheriah**. The order he expects is the following in his own words:

An order which will enable this nation which has been living incapable of making even a pin for many centuries to make its radios, cars, tractors, sewing machines, etc... An order which will say: “Make them of tin if you wish, but do it yourself!”

An order which will not allow any single material belonging to the West to pass through Turkish customs other than those of vital importance for the state... An order which will not see any other way out until the rise of a Turkish industrial and productive power with such materials...

An order which will cease the whole Western world to be considered a charmed magician in the eyes of the Turks and all the Asians under its spiritual control... An order which will reveal that the Europeans do not have any assets worthy of imitating in a spiritual sense... And an order which will ingeniously steal the existing Western knowledge and skillfully adapt them to the Turks...

An order which will not allow any single coffee house and save a national energy of 35 million kWh all over Turkey... An order which will definitely rationalize cinema, theatre, world of thinking and even science in a national way... An order which will elevate them to an international level once they have been nationalized...

An order which will shut down all pubs, casinos and all houses of scandal... An order which will not allow the foes of the holy criteria on which we rest our souls and the raw zealots who seem to be friends but cannot understand such criteria to survive...

An order which will show what it means to be original from socks to hats, from letters to buildings and from the codes of conduct to all types of expression...

An order which will immediately kill a murderer and which will make a thief not be able to steal again and which will show the citizens shelters safer than their homes in all social disturbances...

An order which will specify how men of cause will work, which will urge its most successful surgeon to sacrifice his life at the time of the most dangerous epidemics and which will ensure the most successful instructor to live just like a gendarmerie soldier in the remotest village...

And finally, an order which will gain Allah's consent but not the enmity of the people and which will scratch the words "Sovereignty rests with Allah!" on the great wall of the Parliament: Islam..." (Kısakürek, 2014: 598).

As it is seen in the foregoing lines which we have quoted from his own words in their entirety, Necip Fazıl expects an extremely unusual order with an extremely radical action plan. His slogan "All or Nothing" which is one of the most distinct characteristics of his personality shows its effects here as well. Necip Fazıl deems it permissible to shed blood for justice; close down to the world in order to nationalize; prohibit anything for morals and die for the cause. He also believes that the conditions required so that the citizens who are the parts of the system he idealizes will unconditionally obey this system are Islam. According to him, this order may exist only if each individual in the society from the top to the bottom is Islamized. He, therefore, places Islamic faith in the basis of his utopia.

Necip Fazıl describes the members of his ideal society when he establishes his ideal order:

A judge who believes in the verdict he makes... A law which makes the judge believe in it... A lawyer who considers any case he undertakes is justifiable or not... A convict who may say "The sword of justice has no scabbard"... When these exist, then justice is complete.

A tradesman who knows that Allah sees it when he changes the setting of the scales and whose fingers shake for this reason... A client who considers it bad suspicion and vain trouble to look at the scales... A merchant who thinks about the probability of excessive profits to come from the profits which a number of poor people fail to earn... A government which does not feed an army of policemen to track tax evasion by merchants but sanctions this through the knowledge of Allah... When these exist, then the sanction is complete.

An employee who enjoys a sense of peace and satisfaction for any surplus labor acquired on him as if he himself saves and deposits it in the society's account... An employer who puts his pricked foot on his knee to dress it... The criterion which determines the harmony between the employer and the employee in an orderly manner just like an orchestra... When they exist, then the business manner is complete.

An intellectual who clings to the community of the most underdeveloped, poorest and most desolate village with a sense of duty and feels responsible for them in his palace in the most advanced, richest and most crowded metropolitan city... A system which keeps open the bond of existence between the most sophisticated intellectual and the most primitive peasant... When these exist, then the order is complete!

A governor who avoids involving his weaknesses and sins in any of his administrative and social powers and who does not seek benefits... A social atmosphere which considers an infectious sin to be the greatest disaster... When these exist, then moral is complete!

A patient who knows that even if he accepts his sensual sickness, the society will not accept it and it will seek and find him wherever he hides... A heart which believes that such terms as human right, freedom, democracy, etc. before the authority of science and reality at a hospital and which is fed by such belief... When these exist, then the fact is complete! (Kısakürek, 2014: 548-550).

What is meant here is that a person who experiences a weakness of personality, especially a person who has weaknesses which do not comply with general ethical norms, is expected to know that even if he is satisfied with himself, the society will not withstand him and make efforts to 'correct' himself. Just as science is obvious, what must be done is obvious in a hospital and such concepts as human rights, freedom, democracy may not be resorted to under such conditions; but any event is immediately intervened, Necip Fazıl considers immorality or indecency to be a 'sickness' at this point and thinks that it must be treated as soon as possible.

'A student who initially learns that failure to learn is treason... A teacher who considers it to be equal to treason to give extra grades as a favor... A family and society who have assigned all their rights to the school and the teacher... When these exist, then education is complete!

A policeman who will have the real pleasure not when he catches criminals, but when there is no criminal to catch... A thief who does not consider the policeman to be a person who is incidentally assigned to represent the opposite of his own profession but to be an official who is assigned to maintain the public order... A government which protects a policeman's rights instead of frightening the police in return for those whom it frightens with the police... When these exist, then the security is complete!

An imam who does not think how much he will get for the Quran he will recite in the evening... A congregation of millions of people each member of which is all alone with Allah when he closely stands side by side another member and enjoys the same social solidarity in each and every field... That pure knowledge which does not lower the religion down to the dark basements of blind and dumb personalities and which does not even diminish a particle from its essence and cleanliness... Then faith is complete!

The mentality which adopts the motto "Sovereignty rests with Allah but not with people!"... People who believe that they will have power only if sovereignty rests with Allah but not with them... A government which says to the people, "You may know what is good for you; only Allah knows and shows it! And the real freedom is this submission!"... When these exist, then democracy is complete!" (Kısakürek, 2014: 551).

As we will refer to in the subsequent sections, Necip Fazıl, in fact, is not a person who supports democracy. He usually used the term **Democracy** to describe those states belonging to the Western Civilization. In his opinion, it was not possible for a people to self-govern. As a product of the conventional conservative mentality, Necip Fazıl thought that it was wrong to give the choice to the people only and the order he idealized, as we will discuss later, was maintained by those authorities who would make decision on people's behalf: Sovereignty only rests with Allah and it takes morally justified deputies to maintain his order on earth. Necip Fazıl's concept of government is usually oriented in this way.

‘‘A scholar who does not change the history and the facts just to please the statesmen... Then thought is complete!

A poet who believes that art is for art’s and everything’s sake and, in the first place, for the sake of absolute fact and society... Then feeling is complete!

A politician who is frightened to death of his own shadow for the sake of right and conscience after he has spread majesty and fear in the shadow of the illusion of principles which exceeds every one and his own self rather than everyone... Then the state is complete!

Masses of people who need you and who fill up the public squares without even calling your name... Then society is complete! Community each part of which is happy in itself and trust each other within the Divine task division and rank distribution between the brain, heart, fist and sole...

Sincerity which does not leave any distance between the truth-telling hearts which Allah does not even give to his angels and the tongues which are the voice of truth... When these exist, then all and everything which we have mentioned from the beginning is complete!’’ (Kısakürek, 2014: 551-552).

As it is seen, in this section, Necip Fazıl describes his ideal society in depth. Members of society with the faith and fear of Allah in their hearts and the government which regulates everything from their food to drinks and to clothing and further how they must behave. Further, unlike the conventional Western thinking, he addresses the sovereignty concept as a mystical phenomenon. The claim that sovereignty rests with Allah but not with the people is perhaps the most important of the conclusions which underlie Necip Fazıl’s political ideology. He believes that an individual cannot have the skill to make a decision all by himself and that the government must be the only and strongest institution which will ensure an individual to live by the law of Allah.

As we mentioned before, the interfering role of the state is irrevocable on conservative thinking. To the conservatives, the family is the basic unit of the society and it should be protected by the state by using traditional instruments. According to Nisbet, family prevents society from atomizing, provides solidarity within the society and finally serves as one of the basic institutions of education. Family also strengthens the sense of belonging to their societies in human beings (Nisbet, 1986: 24). Like the most of the conservatives, Necip Fazıl believes that the state has the right to interfere the family institution to keep together the society. In a broad sense, Necip Fazıl is unanimous with the other conservatives to regulate the society depending on their targets. Furthermore, Necip Fazıl believes that Islam is the one true way to reach the ideal state and society, this makes him intolerant against the other approaches to organize the society.

Necip Fazıl believed that Turkish society had lived in a manner which he himself described until **Tanzimat** Period. In his opinion, the Ottoman State had established an order in compliance

with the principles mentioned above during the period from its foundation to its rise and over to its becoming a world empire. Therefore, it managed to be such a super power. In his opinion, Turkish society's starting to degenerate and Turkish State's starting to lose prestige occurred with the reforms brought about by *Tanzimat*. Modernization movement caused the Turks to move away from themselves and gain an imitating identity. In the next section, we will discuss the eternal East-West dichotomy in Necip Fazıl's thought.

2.3. Eternal Division of Eastern and Western Civilizations

In Necip Fazıl's perspective, Asia and values belonging to Asia represent the Eastern Civilization and values originated from European nations represent the Western Civilization. Turks have been the principal actors of the Eastern Civilization especially as from their acceptance of Islam and their settlement in Anatolia and foundation of great empires under the leadership of Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties. Turks are an Asiatic society, i.e. one whose origins are in Asia and are Oriental but not Occidental. According to him, these people who are Oriental remained underdeveloped because they could not keep pace with such time-changing reforms as Renaissance, Geographical Discoveries and Industrial Revolution in Europe and found the solution in resembling them. This is a great mistake. Efforts to aspire and imitate the West are in vain because the East's customs and traditions are different from those of the West. What must be done is to return to self and to reform and restore its own institutions as in the golden ages of the Eastern Civilization but not to Westernize as in the period starting with *Tanzimat*. If this reformation, i.e. restoration, regulation, policy which is one of the most basic arguments of Turkish Conservatism has been properly achieved for two centuries as Necip Fazıl puts it, first the Ottoman State and then Turkey would not have been in their present state. Therefore, he finds reformation in improving the functioning institutions of the past.

“That we find our own selves, that we catch up with the Europeans in terms of mental and material abilities and that we mature this competence in our own soul and appear before them as a new and advanced nation will only make them startled and unhappy and cause them to attack us by a myriad of methods let alone cheering them. It is because we are not a nation which the Europeans assume to be of their own family. No matter how we claim that we belong to them or disguise as them and write in their letters, the Europeans will laugh at us inwardly, will loathe us and will make any mimicry in order not to miss this game that falls into the trap in his own will while applauding this claim and even our success in this claim.

If we want to see ourselves just as the Europeans in fact see us, we have to say to ourselves and them “I am I and you are you” in terms of the whole history, religion and root of civilization. For he keeps telling it inwardly at all times and takes action according to this criterion. “I am I and you are you! I suggest you to aspire my status and imitate me blindly in order to separate you from yourself and exterminate you!..” (Kısakürek, 2014: 78-79).

As it will be understood from the foregoing lines belonging to Necip Fazıl, he does not regard the Europeans as friends. He thinks that it is a futile attempt to try to resemble the Europeans formally and mentally. He even thinks that it is a betrayal of history, religion and core origins. He argues that notwithstanding how much Turkish people try, they cannot be part of the Western Civilization for they were not part of it in the past. He thinks that the Europeans degenerate and stall the Turks and cause them to move away from themselves by assimilating them.

“All our concept of reformation since **Tanzimat** has not been anything but settling in this trap of self-denial and destruction which the Europeans put up against us now through Freemasonry and capitalism seeking international market and now directly through imperialism and armed pressure a little more and mincing false tales of liberation in that trap.

Eastern and Western civilizations that have put up the most aggravated fights against each other throughout history have been in mutual agreement since the time when the West eventually made the East a colony and reached achievement in it through mental and material control. According to this agreement: the West would produce all civilized concepts and devices and the Easterners would use them as stupid consumers and cultivate their fields for the Westerners and put their raw materials at their disposal. In the meanwhile, the Easterners’ way to approach the Westerners is just made up of admiration and imitation of them on condition that their masters would hold the tip of the line in hand.

And Turkish Nation fell prey to this historical trap of the West under the designation of continuous reforms and liberation recipes as a game of the heavy industries, big capital accumulation and Western imperialism under the command of the former as from the 18th century. Abdülhamid the Second, who got wind of all these crafts and displayed a unique genius in order to prevent them, was a victim of the Western Freemasonry, capitalism and imperialism just because of this nationalist front and dethroned by those people each of who had been brought up by Freemasonry guilds.

Tanzimat was a Freemason reform and the Constitutional Monarchy was directly governed by Freemasons and it was decided to enslave the Turks altogether after the First World War. To do this, they decided to make a change which would entirely cause us to move away from our historical origins in terms of regime. Thus, the real transformation which must have been done went down in flames by falling into this trap called ‘Transformation.’ (Kısakürek, 2014: 79-80).

As it will especially be understood from these lines, Necip Fazıl is against both **Tanzimat** and the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy and the reforms of the Republic period. Even if he never openly acts as an enemy to the Republic anywhere, we can say that he is not for the republic due to his opposition to the slogan “Sovereignty Rests with the Nation” and his definition of the democracy culture far different from that we know as we have said in the previous sections. And even considering that he thinks the Turks were moved away from their traditional forms of government and alienated to their origins through regime changes, we may say of Necip Fazıl that he is for Sultanate. This is why he frequently speaks highly of Sultan Abdülhamid the Second’s reign and why he considers him to be one of the greatest Ottoman sultans and why he applauds his authoritative policies and Panislamist ideology. Like conventional conservatives, he thinks that absolute monarchy is the most natural way of

governing the society. We will discuss his views about government and authority in detail in the next section.

Necip Fazıl, in his book entitled *İdeolocya Örgüsü* which we may qualify as the map of his world of thinking, studies this phenomenon under four major headings while making a distinction between the West and the East. West's view of the East; West's view of itself; East's view of the West and East's view of itself. He evaluates the East-West distinction and division under these headings. Now, on the basis of these headings, we will try to discuss the West and the East in Necip Fazıl's mind and their eternal division.

‘‘Above all things, it is the Westerners who first made a distinction between the East and the West. Herodotus, father of the science of history in ancient Greece, considered the Western World which he considered to be only consisted of his own people, i.e. ancient Greeks and the Persian groups attempting to invade it, to be two different communities. He limited the nucleus of sense and thought of these two communities as two different worlds basing upon climatic differences: East and West. Greeks now found an etiquette which will suit any different ones who would appear before them through the Persian raids: Barbarians... In their opinion, humanity was only Greek and anything and anyone who came to ruin it was barbarian.

Since then, the Western world has sought for a spiritual and intellectual state of mind which will separate it from them in whatever happened in the Eastern world. As far as the East is involved, the Westerners, as in Ancient Greece and Rome, have always tightly clung to a meaning which defined a fundamental and defective race thereof after the Renaissance and up to the present day. This mentality is briefly and mainly as follows: a community of stupid human beings who may not scientifically and logically comprehend and avoid comprehending the incidents, who have conceded themselves to the course of the nature within nondescript empty fancies, who do not intend to defend and improve themselves! A community of sick human beings who have so terrible a spirituality on one side but are unable to place mind into the heart of their system of thinking on the other, who have an indescribable power within but bear an incomprehensible weakness without.

As from the renaissance, the term *Orient* on the tongue of the Westerners left a mark as an inferior and evil definition in the mind of ordinary people. The Easterner is different, wrong and enemy. Even though the intellectuals of the West noticed and acknowledged the inexplicable depth and spirituality of the East, even though they knew the primeval culture of thousands of years of the East and that it was a civilization hosting prophets, their view of the East may not go beyond a land of fantasies and fancy of ‘‘Thousand and One Nights’’ in the final analysis either. The most popular perception of East among the literate people of the West is comprised of this.

Finally, as defined by the middle-class intellectuals of the West: ‘‘An Easterner always lives in the past, fails to perceive what is going on and is scared of looking into the future. He has neither science nor criticism... He may be religious but may not be a thinker who goes after the cause-and-effect relationship. He believes in whatever happens but never feels concerned about researching and proving. Therefore, he knows neither what is to be believed nor what is not... He only believes but may not know! He may not reach a determinative power in order to control the nature. He may not invent anything in order to ensure the mind to have superiority over the material. He may not reconcile with sciences. You may never find something visible, tangible and provable in an Easterner's mind. Thus, an Easterner believes in every unprovable thing and is possessed by the unreal invitations of bodiless entities. He keeps living without having any control in the world of incidents and phenomena.’’ (Kısakürek, 2014: 21-24).

As it is seen, according to Necip Fazıl, the East is inferior in the eye of the West. The West considers the East inferior and different from it and describes it distant from it in everything

from its frame of mind to life style from its faith to action. They always considered the Persians in ancient Greece and Rome, Arabs in the Medieval Europe and then Ottomans to be different and inferior to them in terms of world of thinking.

According to Necip Fazıl, there are three inseparable basic elements in the Western view of itself: Ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity. Here, he makes use of the notes of the Western intellectuals in order to see the West through the eyes of the West. He mentions the following in quotations which he makes without giving names:

“A detailed operation of measuring and weighing and consequently a search for enlightenment and clarity.” A Westerner believes that Ancient Greece underlies the philosophy and intellectual disciplines. Ancient Greece accommodates those disciplines which give all to the higher man, make the higher man the base of all, has the ability to knead and shape all out of higher man and put all in an extremely clear manner. A Westerner says, ‘It first inspired the relation of material and spirit to the man; it drew the soul out of the unknown of fancy and dream; it elaborately cast a light on the unknown and obscure aspects of the soul, always Ancient Greece...’ And science was borne out of this intellectual discipline. It is that science which is the sign of victory underlying the whole Western civilization and Western thinking.

And in the eye of the West, Rome is the greatest example of the well-organized and founded man power. State, empire, institution, law, order, organization, sense of superiority, consciousness of activation, stupendous harmony of individual and society, sense of winning and sense of domination spread all around... In short, order and movement... This is Rome.

Christianity... At this point, it is understood that the West found ethics and spirituality in Christianity besides the science and philosophy in Ancient Greece and order and organization in Rome. According to a Westerner, this religion is the representation of the need for a man’s being lost deeper in his own inner world and building an inner life, an inner moral and insight. According to a Westerner, Christian faith is a resource one may refer to in the solution of all worldly and ethereal issues. It evaluates faith and mind, research and verification, work and idea, work and purpose, freedom and loyalty, principle and mercy, justice and self-sacrifice, individual and society, man and woman; and consequently, material and spiritual forces, their division and harmony between themselves with the inspiration it takes from Christianity.

What a European means is that Ancient Greece is the primary resource which clarifies the limit of the interest and relationship between nature and man through rational thinking and sense; Rome is the consciousness which displays the power of disseminating this frame of mind over the broadest area in a well-organized manner; and Christianity is the center of interpretation, approach and ethics in the innermost plan of all these conditions.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 25-27).

That is to say, in Necip Fazıl’s opinion the basis of the Western Civilization is Ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity. Science and philosophy of Ancient Greece, organization, governmental order and self-confidence of Rome and spiritual and moral aspects of the Christian faith have given the West its form and consciousness.

“With Islam, the East within Islam is now capable of fulfilling all material and spiritual requirements in all aspects. Islam came in the form of an invitation for humanity to the only and absolute reality, away from any and all kinds of defects and free from time and space. But the West was buried into the darkness of the Medieval Era upon the fall of Ancient Greece and Rome and could not make its presence felt other than through the Eastern Roman Empire. In this period, the West was considered to be in a fall and breakup in the eye of the East. This situation and the West’s view of the East continued in this way for 7-

8 centuries until the Renaissance. The West's view of the East is equal to the view of a man who is needy and deviant by a man who is superior in all fields. Islam represents an old and eternal order which has completed all criteria of maturity in the form of a tight ideological pattern in spirit and material. Every community which does belong to it and which is in denial and blasphemy is a single nation for it. To say of that period, it is the West.

The East's most pathetic and most doomed view of the West is only after the Renaissance when the present-day West started to take shape. This also coincides with the time when the weaknesses of the Islamic cadre started to appear and thereafter the East only became a mere spectator of the West becoming superior step by step. The Eastern Civilization which had achieved superiority over the West in all aspects for many centuries gradually started to withdraw in itself and to submit to the superiority of the West. For the past four or five centuries, the Eastern World has been consisted of slaves and mediums who lost all mental and physical capabilities on one side and people who found consolation and development in the denial of their identity, who considered their own person to be a loser and imitated the West and sought temporary measures. This is the greatest distress." (Kısakürek, 2014: 27-31).

At this point, Necip Fazıl bases the East-West conflict on the conflict between Ancient Greece and Persia. In his opinion, Ancient Greece which was Western discovered itself earlier in terms of mind and scientific method and considered itself to be superior to that which did not belong to it due to these differences. But Persia, which was the principal actor of the Eastern Civilization in that period failed to benefit from Greece's science and thought during its conflict with the latter and to provide the Eastern World in which it was the leader a consciousness which would unite it. In Necip Fazıl's opinion,

"The only power which united the Eastern World under a single roof was Islam during history. The rise of Islam and Europe's burial in the darkness of the Medieval Era occurred in succession and the Eastern Civilization established superiority over the West for 7-8 centuries. It was when Europe was the stage of a **Rebirth** which started with the Renaissance that the Western Civilization started to rise and the East remained a mere spectator of it. Opening of new trade routes upon Geographical Discoveries caused the riches of the East to reduce, and the capital accumulation in the West and subsequent Industrial Revolution made the West to be thoroughly superior to the East. Moreover, due to production which increased as a natural consequence of the Industrial Revolution and in order to satisfy the need for raw material for such production, the West colonized the East stage by stage. And this appeared before us in the form of the West's imperialism. In the last analysis, the East submitted to the West's superiority and turned into a stupid consumer community who unquestioningly purchased and used each and every asset and material produced by the latter." (Kısakürek, 2014: 33).

In Necip Fazıl's opinion, this is the summarized story of the East and the West.

Further, the West has started to market any kinds of thinking system, government system and value which are specific to it, which have come out of it and which have been formed in accordance with its norms to the rest of the world as if they are absolutely true and make them accept these values. In Necip Fazıl's opinion, the so-called intellectuals of the countries other than those of the West are but stupid people who fell into that trap and accepted the Western values in their entirety, imitate them and deny their own identity.

At this point, the approach of Necip Fazıl to the division between Western and Eastern civilizations reminds us the distinction of friend and enemy is the essence of political existence by German radical conservative Carl Schmitt. Since the enemy may be an entirely imaginary one, the claim to offer a ‘realist’ version of the organic ideal is difficult to distinguish from demagogic scapegoating (O’Sullivan, 2005: 155). To Necip Fazıl, there is a great distinction of European and Asian civilizations and he attributes it to the eternal enmity between them. Since, the European imperialism has begun to colonize the Eastern countries during history, the Easterners should defend their rights and independence. To him, this is a war between Western and Eastern worlds.

According to Necip Fazıl, salvation is to return to one’s self as we have said earlier. There is no other way out than studying and improving the institutions and organizations merely coming from experience and history of the Ottoman Empire, which was a world empire. He believes that anything from thinking system to government system, from family to social structure, to ethics, traditions and customs must be re-organized accordingly. And the most important of all, it is required to deem Islam to be the only and true guide.

2.4. Islam Based Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

First Islam and then Turkish consciousness are two important values in Necip Fazıl’s emphasis on identity. In his opinion, Turks served the Islamic faith just like a victorious standard-bearer who took the name of Allah far into Europe on the prophet’s track as from their acceptance of Islam. It is why Necip Fazıl is a nationalist who is proud of his Turkish origin. His Turkish Nationalism is one which is based on Islamic Civilization. He also guided the nationalism concept of the Islamist-conservative thinking following him in this respect.

“Nationalism is a device which he exploits in order to reach the principal ideal Islam rather than an objective. “In Islam, nationalism is not an institution which is chased off and abandoned. One may not be reproved because he loves his nation, he may love it. However, here, nation is not a concept to be clung to. Nation itself is clung to spirit, to the main cause. It is why love of nation is one which is useful. And its school is one which is useful.” (Kısakürek, 2007: 311).

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl intends to set up a structure which combines the nationalist and Islamist branches of Turkish Conservative Thinking to each other as we have tried to categorize in the beginning of our thesis. Even today, the concepts of nation and religion which are two values bringing the nationalists and Islamists closer to each other are such elements which must not be separated from each other in his opinion. However, according to Necip Fazıl, a Turkish consciousness which does not contain an Islamic faith may not be deemed possible.

As he frequently says, “If the objective is Turkishness, one must definitely know that the Turks became Turks once they had become Muslims.” And this sharp statement perhaps caused him to fall apart from the founding cadre of the Republic on the basis of nationalism. The War of the Independence and victory gained under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal is accepted as the victory of nationalists. Afterwards, the declaration of the Republic and the subsequent reforms divided the nationalists into two main groups within themselves. First of these groups is the Western-style nationalists which gathered around Atatürk and then İsmet İnönü and which did not have religion in it. This model of nationalism which was intellectually founded by Ziya Gökalp, systematized by Yusuf Akçura, adopted and applied by Atatürk is based on the allegation that Turks were a great nation before they were Islamized. It is why the old Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations which were not dwelled upon at all during the Ottoman period were studied and tried to be associated with the old Turkish Civilization. What is intended is to prove the thesis that what makes the Turk was not the Islamic faith.

However, Necip Fazıl does not think of a Turkishness concept apart from Islam. To define nationality and nationalism in his own words:

“Unlike false nationalism, nationality view is not a concept which contains but is one which is contained. It is a matter of spirit but not material and time not space. It is not a nationalism based on race. It devoted itself to the spiritual unity and what desires to reach it and tries to let this teaching live is the spirit of unity and integrity. To love this spirit means to love one’s race. All states of nationalism out of this criterion damage itself. A narrow and ordinary personalization is nothing but raw and fanatical idolatry... Our nationalism is one for Turkish spirit devoted to Islam to maintain the Turkish feeling and thinking characteristics within this integrated cadre!” (Kısakürek, 2014: 234-236)

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl defines Turkishness as a tool serving Islam. The principal object which must be reached is Islam. Well, which group does he consider to be the greatest obstacle in achieving this principal object? What is the greatest enemy before his greatest ideal Islam’s becoming the dominant power in the world? According to him, this enemy is the Jews. One of the most important bases of Necip Fazıl’s thinking system is Anti-Semitism. He has a great hatred of the Jewish communities all over the world and of the community called **Converts**, who were once Jewish but later became Muslim in Turkey.

Jews, in Necip Fazıl’s view, are a treacherous and harmful community. He articulates that the Jewish community has been involved in almost all the instigations and disturbances throughout history, starting from the treachery against the prophet Moses on his way up to the Mount Sinai. He relates the Jews’ destructive impact on faith, from Christ’s delivery to the Romans and Islam’s division into sects. In his opinion:

‘Jews spread all over the world and were excluded and driven away by those societies whom exploited. They were finally driven away from Spain and took refuge with the Ottoman Empire. They laid hands on the economy of the Ottomans over centuries and started to have a say in the government as Muslim-looking Jews under the leadership of Sabbatai Sevi, who came from Salonica, to extend over to the post-Republic period (Kısakürek, 2014: 473).

It was they who started the French Revolution; it was also they who made a mess of the economic system of the revolution through various tricks afterwards. It was they whose principal object is to damage France by supporting the revolutionaries on one side and the royalists on the other... It was also they who requested a small piece of land in Palestine in return for the payment of the liabilities of the Ottomans in order to be able to settle in the heart of the Islamic World during the reign of Abdülhamid the Second and whose request was hatefully denied by the Great Sultan, but who eventually caused the sultan to be dethroned by the members of the **Unity and Progress** (Turkish: İttihad ve Terakki)... It was they who first discovered the money and inflated capital in the world and who destroyed it through Karl Marx and who were among the guiding elements in the 1917 communist revolution... (Kısakürek, 2014: 474).

It was also they who claimed that we had to abandon Islam and give up our holy values and who succeeded in it in order to prevent the Western countries which intended to annihilate the Turks and, in their persons, Islam from attacking us and to ensure our perfunctory freedom once the National Liberation Movement won the victory over the Greeks in Turkey... And finally, it was they who achieved their schemes everywhere, who set up the environment of prostitution, immorality and economic collapse in Turkey, who founded the tiny state of Israel which was the model of the hidden empire and who settled in the most critical point in the Islamic world and world of oil and who caused the Arab world which is far bigger than them to go bankrupt... It was they who were cursed by their own prophets and who were the target of Allah’s curse in the Quran...’ (Kısakürek, 2014: 476).

Necip Fazıl further mentions the programme of deportation of the Jews entitled **Arch-Supremal Commands** (Başyücelik Emirleri), which we will discuss in more detail in the next section. According to this programme:

“Any necessary measures shall be taken so that Turkish homeland would only belong to the Muslims and Turks and it would be thoroughly cleansed of any treacherous and dark elements. The fundamental elements which must be cleansed are the Converts and Jews. They are followed by the Greeks, Armenians and other minor communities (Christians) that must be removed as they are not compatible with our religion, spirit and values. The major criterion in cleansing Turkish homeland from all treacherous and dark elements is only consisted of: “either be one of us or just leave us!” Thus, the Christian communities will be one of us if they sincerely assume the Muslim and Turkish identity and submit to our government. However, the only class whose request for becoming one of us will be denied in advance is the Judaism. In history, Converts have told that they are one of us but shown that they are not for many centuries.

In this case, the method of solution planned to apply is to deport the Jews, Converts and Armenians and Greeks, who do not accept to be one of us but want to stay Christian. The Price of the assets which the Armenians and Greeks own here shall be paid to them, but attention shall be paid that they shall not have any properties in Turkey. But the Jews shall not have such rights. It is not an acceptable situation that they hold one tenth of the total wealth although they constitute three ten thousandths of the total population in Turkey. All their assets and wealth shall be confiscated and they will be deported en masse, providing them with an opportunity to live off for one year.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 334-335).

As it will be understood by the foregoing article, Necip Fazıl cannot even withstand the existence of the Jews. He believed that the greatest power behind the underdevelopment of Turkish and Islamic World was the Jews and therefore hated them to even venture to deport all

the Jewish citizens or citizens of Jewish origin in Turkey. Still more interesting, Necip Fazıl bases *Tanzimat*, Constitutional Monarchy and Republic on the Freemason organizations which he believes were backed by the Jewish communities. He believes that the West debased the Turks under the disguise of modernization and made Turkish homeland home to immorality in order to move them away from themselves and Islam and to assimilate them. He considers Salonica, which is also the birthplace of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, to be the home of the Converts and accuses all statesmen who originate from Salonica to be Converts even if he does not clearly utter Atatürk's name.

So far, we have discussed the topics constituting the outlines of Necip Fazıl's conservatism. Having thoughts which are definite and interconnected almost in all matters, Necip Fazıl developed thoughts in the form of solutions to several issues he identified as he was a man of action as well. The concept he uses to define this plan of thinking and action is *Büyük Doğu*. The East which has returned to its great and old victorious days is his greatest fancy: The East where Jerusalem, Mecca and Kaaba are located; the East which is the home of prophets. In his opinion, the East is the origin of all. And we have to seek salvation in the East where we were born. We have to return to ourselves and be our own selves. We have to perceive the West's superiority and try to surpass it. We have to be fed by history and experience and try to surpass it in science, technique, arts, thinking and all matters. And this is the thought underlying the *Büyük Doğu* movement.

CHAPTER 3

NECIP FAZIL ON THE STATE, AUTHORITY AND OBEDIENCE

We tried to describe the outlines of Necip Fazıl's thought in detail in the previous chapter. Each point we addressed in relation with his character and ideology provided clues about the way he considered the state, authority and obedience concepts we will refer to in this section. His view point about the change of Turkish-Islamic society from past to present, his comments on Turkey's political journey, the ideal order and social structure he intended to construct ensured us to understand a great many details of his world of thinking. In this section, we will discuss how the state must be, its power over the society and the limits of its power and its form of functioning from Necip Fazıl's view in connection with the abovementioned matters. In addition, we will try to describe how he considers the issues of leadership and obedience to leader. We will address the superior-subordinate relationship and the relationship of the figure of state he idealized and the society from his point of view. And finally, we will discuss his view and counter-theses about the Western style institutions which started in the 19th century and consolidated with the Republic regime declared in 1923. We will try to reveal his anti-democratic and anti-liberal ideas -as he called them- which might be dangerous not only in the era he lived but in each and every age, trying to understand their origins.

3.1. State as an Absolute Authority

Before we start to discuss Necip Fazıl's thoughts about state and absolute power of the state, we have to refer to his definition of state and regimes which are the functioning mechanisms of states. According to Necip Fazıl:

“State and form of government is a matter of invention and creation based on free and advanced mind. In this cause, free and advanced mind is hundred percent free to choose or invent the most correct, best and finest form by adhering to the main criterion at all time and following the adventure of communities and orders of state throughout history.

Humanity accepts three types of governing which holds all the powers and responsibilities: individual, people and class; ruling of such groups staffed around Sultanate, Republic and various social system schemes... (Monarchy, Democracy and Oligarchy) Ancient history has various examples of the first one; the new history of the second one and the newest history of the third one and of all three. That is, humanity has not been able to find any form other than these three to govern itself so far. Time and experience have shown that the core of these three systems alone or that of those systems functioning in a mixed way is the spirit to which they are bound to not their form. All consists of the cadre which will put the main theme believed into practice.

For statesmen, the form of a state may never be the principal objective. At the very most, it may have been defined and designated in the best way by its form. If it is formally closer to monarchy, it may be

designated as Sultanate and if it is closer to democracy, it may be designated as Republic. What is important is not the regime of that state but its spirit and objective. A Republic may not serve the principal spirit and objective as a Sultanate which does not exercise its power and responsibilities in a personal and arbitrary manner will do. Thus, in a deep and true faithful sense, state is an institution which is not based on any form, which has only been shaped by the spirit and main criteria of Islam, which is single in terms of power and authority but general in terms of coverage, which always improve and renew itself (Kısakürek, 2014: 225-226).

As it will be understood here, for Necip Fazıl, it is not so important what the regime of a state is. At the very most, it may be given a name considering its form of functioning. What is essential is whether or not such state runs in accordance with its objective. Whether it is monarchy or democracy, such state is at a loss if it is not governed in accordance with its objective and spirit.

“In a deep and true faithful sense, the state is the one which is the farthest from the people’s rule and the one which is the closest to people’s interest. Because a form of state which will really serve the interests of people must never be in the hands of aimless crowds. The state is responsible for putting the people into the right way by guiding it without discriminating between individuals, groups or classes just like a doctor who treats his patient without asking him. This right way is the way of the cause; and the cause means that the main spirit and criteria of Islam are to be fulfilled. How stupid is it that those who have failed to perceive the eternal and perpetual endlessness of Islam see our brand new ideal and call us sultanist and reactionary! In our opinion, the state is an institution which claims the representative of justice and truth under absolute submission to the Prophet of the Prophets and of which loyalty to Allah and the people increases as it achieves it. The cadres of this institution must be of such exaltation and virtue which will understand its greatness and will be entitled to be a part of it. Our ideal which is consisted of such cadres is comprised of the **Council of Supremes** (Yüceler Kurultayı) and the position of **Arch-Supremacy** (Başyücelik), which we consider to be the most advanced form of the form of republic.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 227-228).

According to Necip Fazıl’s definition, the state is responsible for putting all the individuals, groups and classes which are submitted to it into the right way. In his opinion, there is a definite justice and it is truth; and truth dictates the **Sheriah** which is Allah’s command. Each part of the society must individually be controlled until the terms of **Sheriah** are satisfied and this must be one of the state’s most important duties. The state’s main objective on earth is to guide the individuals under its sway into the right way and keep them in the right way. Those who will govern that ‘virtuous’ state must be of such exaltation which will serve its objective of existence that, in Necip Fazıl’s opinion, such people must be elected among the most superior ones of their society in each and every field. He calls this assembly the Council of Supremes. The person elected by the members of this council, who has such qualifications superior to all of them is granted the position of Arch-Supremacy. As a matter of fact, the name which the state will take after the Islamic Revolution idealized by Necip Fazıl shall be the Arch-Supremacy of Turkey.

3.2. The Structural Organization of the State

In his *Büyük Doğu* ideal, the people is represented by the Council of Supremes instead of the national assemblies of which examples are available all over the world. The members of this assembly consists of elites of the nation who act in the field of religion, thought, art, science, politics, trade, military, in business life, that is elites who have works, inventions and views in every field. This assembly is initially consisted of the Assembly of Founders. Then, all the members of the assembly other than those whom the members of the assembly gather and decide to exclude from the assembly remain in their positions forever. The number of the members of the Council of Supremes is one hundred and one. In such cases as the death, fatal disease or resignation of any one of the members, a new one is immediately elected. Council of Supremes grants those of the most notables of the country who deserve to be members thereof the title of “Candidate Member for Council of Supremes”. Such person waits on standby to be a member if necessary although he is not entitled to cast votes. When he commits any smallest baseness or indecency showing that he does not deserve this position, he loses his title of “Candidate Member for Council of Supremes”. Council of Supremes elects the new member among such candidates (Kısakürek, 2014: 285).

The following plate shines on the Council of Supremes: “Sovereignty Rests with Allah”. If a nation is governed by an assembly founded by the most notable ones of the society in all areas of which members come therefrom, such nation has been doomed to justice and truth. The greatest view which the Council of Supremes will never tolerate even for a moment is “This is what the nation wants!” Any kind of freedom and idleness demanded upon such view is denied by the Council of Supremes. Process of voting only calculated in consideration of the majority of votes is in fact the reflection of the decisions which voters make in accordance with their interests and freedoms. This manner of election is not one which is understood and approved by the Council of Supremes. According to him, let us repeat once and a thousand times, freedom is slavery to truth (Kısakürek, 2014: 286).

“Members of the Council of Supremes consist of those people who have reached material and spiritual maturity, being not younger than 40 years of age and not older than 65 years of age. He must acquit himself before the nation and the council through his private life, actions and the reactions he faces in his life. Such acquittal continues from the day when he is elected a member to the day when he ceases to be one. He must be a pacemaker for the society with his faith, moral, ideas and thoughts and live his life free from earthly weaknesses. The policies he applies are above all interests and influences. He must never remain under any influence. As we have said above, the honesty of the members is controlled at all times by the assembly and the people. Within the assembly’s own functioning, there is a mechanism which controls its members to the finest details. The Council of Supremes has a constant system which dismisses those members who have lost such superior qualifications or neglected to improve such qualifications. In addition, members of the Council of Supremes are those members not elected by the nation but by Allah.

As in the national assemblies existing in the other parts of the world, the whole will and power of decision of the nation is the Council of Supremes. Each and every judgment of the Council of Supremes is a law and each law thereof is an ideological pattern which is consisted of an integrity of non-conflicting ideas. The objective of this assembly is to establish and maintain the ideology it belongs to. It takes its power from this fact.

The head of the state is the **Arch-Supreme** (Başyüce) elected among the members for a period of five years. The whole balance of forces is between the Arch-Supreme and the Council of Supremes provided that both parties are attached to the same ideology. While the Council of Supremes sees in the Arch-Supreme the leader who has been elected by them and who represents them and is the head of the government, the Arch-Supreme sees in the Council of Supremes a cadre consisted of the most elite people of the society, which has elected and placed him in this position and which constantly watches and controls him. The Council of Supremes is an assembly which has been established by Allah's will but not by the votes of such uncontrolled people whose origins we do not know. It is there not to please the people who cast their votes now to this party and now to another depending on their interests but to serve justice and truth at all times. The Arch-Supreme who is the head of both this assembly and the state represents the supra-national will of justice and truth, coming to the fore elected by assembly. The Council of Supremes is the inner conscience and the Arch-Supreme the will.

Thus, two major centers have been created, which are needed by justice and truth and which continuously watch and control each other; and the power which will rise from the collaboration of these two major centers in ideas and actions will achieve the freedom which democracies have not been and may not be able to achieve and the discipline which the anti-democratic orders have not been and may not be able to achieve. The Arch-Supreme, who is the head of the state, and the Council of Supremes functioning as the national assembly create a mechanism which constantly controls each other. Arch-Supreme is the person whose approval must be obtained by the Council of Supremes when recruiting and dismissing members. He is a power which controls the Council in the name of the nation but who leaves the power to make decisions to the Council.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 288).

In the event that the Council of Supremes finds out that the Arch-Supreme is involved in an unexpected adverse action which contradicts the cause, they are entitled to overthrow him upon the decision of a majority which must reach at least 75% and to substitute him with another one until the final decision is made. And the Arch-Supreme is not entitled to directly dissolve the Council of Supremes, but if he finds out that some groups involved in some adverse actions which contradict the cause were established and started to grab the whole cadre in the council, then he may directly request the nation to be an arbitrator between him and the council, taking the support of at least 40% of the council. If the nation decides in favor of the Arch-Supreme as a result of the plebiscite, then those members of the council who take side with the Arch-Supreme keep their positions and the remaining members are dismissed from the council. Candidate members are appointed in place of the dismissed members. If the nation decides against the Arch-Supreme, then he is immediately overthrown from his position and a new Arch-Supreme is elected. Apart from this, the Council of Supremes carries out such ordinary operations as the election of the Arch-Supreme every fifth year and may go to plebiscite in cases where they consider the will of the nation to be necessary. The authority who will make this decision and similar ones will be the **Arch-Supremacy Government** (Başyücelik Hükümeti) consisting of the cadre to be elected among the members of the Council of Supremes. (Kısakürek, 2014: 289).

The Arch-Supremacy Government consists of a prime minister and eleven ministers. The ministers are directly elected and controlled by the Arch-Supreme. Each is divided into three undersecretariats. These three undersecretariats within the ministries are assigned with different tasks: These are:

- Ministry of Education: divided into three undersecretariats called “Sciences and Fine Arts”, “Public Education and Community Centers”, “General Education”.
- Ministry of War: divided into three undersecretariats called “Land”, “Marine” and “Air”.
- Ministry of Economy: divided into three undersecretariats called “Industry”, “Commerce” and “Agriculture”.

- Ministry of Finance: divided into three undersecretariats called “Budget and Overall Balance”, “Taxes and Minting” and “Banks and Monopolies”.
- Ministry of Health and Care: divided into three undersecretariats called “Recovery”, “Physical Reclamation” and “Reproduction”.
- Ministry of Justice: divided into three undersecretariats called “Courts”, “Correctional Facilities” and “Laws”.
- Ministry of Media and Propaganda: divided into three undersecretariats called “Media”, “Propaganda” and “Tourism”.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: divided into three undersecretariats called “East”, “West” and “Intelligence”.
- Ministry of Internal Affairs: divided into three undersecretariats called “State Organization”, “Municipalities” and “Public Security”.
- Ministry of Transportation: divided into three undersecretariats called “Facilities”, “Highways” and “Means of Transport”.
- Ministry of Regulation: divided into three undersecretariats called “Order of Organization”, “Order of Business Life” and “Social Security” (Kısakürek, 2014).

As it is seen, organization of the state and the government occurs in this way in Necip Fazıl’s ideology. Further, in terms of constant goals, eleven causes are pre-eminent among innumerable causes which the Arch-Supremacy Government pursues on the great platform of faith and world view which is its goal of existence. These are:

- Spirit and Moral Cause: It is very important that the Arch-Supremacy state and government brings up the nation which it embraces just like parents embrace their children in terms of spirit and ethics. It will be the responsibility of the Ministries of Education, Media and Propaganda and Internal Affairs to establish a mechanism which will control the people to perform their material and spiritual affairs in compliance with ethics and spirit of truth.
- Dissemination of Science Cause: It particularly aims at settling and traditionalizing the positive sciences of the West throughout its own territories. It will be the responsibility of the Ministries of Education, Media and Propaganda and Economy to settle the tradition of generating sciences in real terms in every corner of the country from the smallest village to the biggest city, quitting everything which is performed as an imitation and aspiration.
- Village and Peasant Cause: It aims at regulating the spirit, body, budget, devices used, yield and trade of the peasants as well as completely improving him from his outfits to his house and to the landscape of his village. This will be the common responsibility of the Ministries of Education, Internal Affairs, Media and Propaganda, Health and Care.
- Urban and Development Cause: This is the cause of glamorizing big and small cities and giving them a unique character. It will be the common responsibility of the Ministries of Interior Affairs, Media and Propaganda, Transportation and Health and Care.
- Army Cause: This is the cause of establishing the most superior army of the world in terms of character from faith to ethics, from training to order, from science to weapons, from outfits to form, regardless of quality... In this cause, the General Staff and the Ministries of War and Education are in cooperation.
- Internal Security Cause: This is the cause of establishing compatibility and order between the animals living naturally within the country. In this case in which it is essential to ensure peace and security, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice collaborate.
- Foreign Relations Cause: It requires that the foreign policy of the country is addressed as the East as a whole and the West as a whole in accordance with the main ideology. Mechanism of establishing a foreign policy according to the strengths and weaknesses of all the nations of the world with extremely gentle and quick moves, placing the national interests in the center functions through the joint efforts of the General Staff, Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Media and Propaganda.
- Supervision and Control of All Media and Press Cause: This is the cause of controlling and routing to the main ideology any kinds of books, newspapers, periodicals, cinema, radio, theatre, conferences, exhibitions and other means serving to transmit any feelings and thoughts. Ministries of Media and Propaganda and Education are jointly responsible for this cause.

- Occupational Safety and Harmonization of Work Sites Cause: This is the cause of protecting compatible collaboration among all ministries and all the rights of the national groups of laborers and civil servants, pursuing the complaints of the people and reporting the same to the competent authorities and regulating the great state organization. Ministry of Regulation is in cooperation with all the other ministries in this cause.
- Increasing, Beautification and Consolidation of Population Cause: This is the cause aiming at increasing the population in number, beautifying the society in the most elegant and agreeable contours of humanity and taking various measures and protecting the health of the people. Ministries of Health and Care, Education, Media and Propaganda, Internal Affairs and Economy collaborate in this cause.
- National Wealth and Economy Cause: This is a cause of organizing the organization of an entirely national economy ideology. It aims at increasing the national wealth, ensuring and maintaining the welfare of the people and establishing the distribution and balance of income. Ministries of Economy, Finance and Transportation collaborate in this cause (Kırsakürek, 2014: 297-298).

As we have described in detail above, the state order in Necip Fazıl's ideal consists of such cadres that who work eagerly and in harmony for the main cause from the bottom to the top. As he always stated, the Council of Supremes holding the power in their hands by Allah's will and the Arch-Supremacy Government comprised of its organization and the Arch-Supreme in his capacity as the head of the former work for the same cause in order to achieve justice and truth and put the society in the right way. That cause is formed by the fundamentals of Islam and it is the cause of restoring the East and bringing it back to its good old days.

We see that the regime of the state organized by Necip Fazıl is specific. Those people who will remain members of the assembly until they die, an Arch-Supreme who has been elected among them, who is duly authorized and vested with extraordinary powers and who will be inspected by the assembly and the government directly reporting to the Arch-Supreme. Each part thereof individually reports to the Arch-Supreme and he may replace the government and when he deems it necessary. We see that Necip Fazıl organizes the top levels of the state to lead to an extraordinary authoritarianism with these characteristics. This superior-subordinate relationship which has been explicitly divided is doubtlessly divided in this way in order not to allow any opposition or division of opinion to exist so that the main cause may be achieved. It is expected that all of those who will govern the state will such people who will serve the same cause. And considering from this standpoint, it displays similarities with the fascist regimes established in such countries as Germany, Italy and Spain in the period between the two world wars. That the state has an official ideology, that those who remain out of this ideology are excluded from the government and pushed out of the political life may be considered to be the most distinct characteristics of this type of regimes. In these terms, Necip Fazıl's Arch-Supremacy of Turkey displays totalitarian and fascist tendencies with its appearance as a state

governed by an assembly with permanent members who have gathered around a single leader vested with extraordinary powers (Kısakürek, 2014: 296-299).

Necip Fazıl describes the place and role of the army in the construction of this regime as follows:

“Army does not ever get involved in every day politics nor support any group or class at home nor provide them with political advantages. If, by chance, it starts to take action out of these terms, then it will have betrayed the holy value it possesses. This is the basic criterion of *Yeni Altın Ordu* (The New Golden Army) in our ideal. The principal objective of this army is to represent the pompous and discouraging aspect of the great and holy cause externally. It only receives orders from the headquarters of the cadre of the cause. The army is merely a power of the command of spirit and intelligence. Just as an arm fails to function without brain’s command, the army is committed to the brain of the cause in the same certainty. It will know to die when the brain tells it “Die!” and to live when the brain tells it “Live!” Each part of this holy army will be glorious soldiers who will reach the post of martyrdom when they perish for the sake of the cause. Soldiers of this army will not only be consisted of such men who do it as a profession but be able to keep the whole nation ready for a full scale war. Officers of this army shall be consisted of such highly ethical and faithful people who will risk death and the soldiers under their command will not be anything but sacrificial sheep none of which will be wasted under the command of those select officers. This is what the army serving the cause requires.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 268).

“The Islamic revolution is militarist but the army does not exist for itself but for the nation. Just like an arrow, it goes in the direction which the officers who are the hands shooting it send it. And the officers are also attached to a single spirit and such spirit is the idea and the truth. And the spirit which guides that spirit is just the nation itself. There has not been any revolution made in Turkey so far which has not been completed without being supported by the army. This is why we cannot say that any movement of change has occurred with the will and action of the people since the *Tanzimat*. There is not even a single movement of restoration achieved with an idea and such idea’s being put into action and with the participation of the people. The army has always been involved in the affairs and all changes have been ensured by brute force. Therefore, the *Büyük Doğu* ideal, which is entirely an army-ist thought, considers the army to be an instrument of action under the command of a superior world view. It is primarily and especially essential to serve a cause in which the officers who are the think tank of the army are ensured to be attached sincerely. At this point, the reason of existence of the army is to serve that holy cause. It is the only duty of the army to spread the national spirit and to protect its existence.” (Kısakürek, 2014:269).

“Just as the soldiers are the protectors of the society against outsiders, the police are the sacred representative of the same act of protection at home. Just as the evil is organized under cover in a community, the police take their place in the forefront of the society in so clear a manner. They are the watchers of the chastity, commodity, life, peace and security of the individuals against domestic evil. In this respect, the police are the most prominent of the executive power of the nation’s will. The prestige of the police must be completely equal to that of the existing government. Where the police are disliked, it is in fact the government itself which is disliked. Police are the most important instrument and mirror of the government.” (Kısakürek, 2008: 272).

Considering what he says of first the military and then the law enforcement forces, we can understand Necip Fazıl’s viewpoint on the use of force. In his ideology, army means the strength of the Cause outside the country; and the police mean the body which is most necessary to establish and maintain the cause at home. It will not be wrong to say that he actually intends to found his own ideal state by use of force while saying any revolution has not occurred without use of force. Of course, what is essential for Necip Fazıl is the spirit of the cause and to spread this spirit of cause throughout the country. We may not say that he intends to achieve a

revolution without this and only by brute force, but the army and police must be the lead players so that the *Büyük Doğu* ideal may be institutionalized, established and maintained once the **new order** has been set up.

At this point, it is required to mention Sultan Abdülhamid II, whose biography Necip Fazıl wrote and whom he had great respect and considered one of the greatest rulers of Turkish history. During his reign, the police and intelligence organization became very important as it had never been before. In that period which was referred to as the Period of Despotism in Turkish history in which the state's authority strengthened and in which there were agents directly reporting to the Sultan everywhere, a great number of dissident politicians and intellectuals were imprisoned. Necip Fazıl explained and glorified at great length how great a sultan Abdülhamid II was in his biography which he entitled **The Great Khan**. We do not deem it necessary to tell it at great length here, but we are of the opinion that it is a proper example in order to understand Necip Fazıl's viewpoint about authoritative police states.

3.3. Leadership and Obedience

As we mentioned in the previous section, for Necip Fazıl, a leader is the highest position reflecting the will of the society he represents. His prestige, authority and power of sanction bear so great an importance because he is directly submitted to Allah. In this section, we will discuss his conception of leadership. Starting from the duties and responsibilities which he assigns to the position of presidency, we will try to understand his viewpoint about the head of a nation. At the same time, we will analyze his approach to Sultan Abdülhamid II and Adnan Menderes, who occupy a prominent place in his works.

The ultimate purpose of our analysis will be to demonstrate the intimate connection between his understanding of leadership and obedience. To repeat, the Arch-Supreme is the head of the Arch-Supremacy of Turkey, which will be the new state to be established after the Islamic Revolution. He is elected among the members of the assembly which he calls the Council of Supremes for a period of four years by their votes and returns to his seat in the assembly once his office period has expired. That is, presidency is not permanent. What we understand from this is that he did not design an eternal position of leadership in his opinion, a leader is a man of duty and must assign the position of leadership to another man of cause with the same sense of mission once he has completed his mission. Despite this, the Arch-Supreme possesses superior powers which will not be encountered in democracies during his mission.

Necip Fazıl described the Arch-Supreme in the following manner: Arch-Supreme is not a head of state in the coarse and general meaning of the term. He is a full representative of the society. As the most mature member of the society, he is in charge of ensuring the unity between Allah, his inner conscience and his nation. It is also he who will ensure such unity with unique harmony without including his own desires. The message he will give shall be “I am seemingly the most virtuous, most sophisticated and smartest member of my nation!” (Kısakürek, 2014: 291). To put it in the simplest way, a political leader in Necip Fazıl’s ideal must be a person who is mature enough to put aside his own desires, who sacrifices himself to his state, nation and Allah and who has devoted himself to the purpose of being the most superior of the society which he represents in faith, morals and science. Under these conditions, this leader may completely serve the cause.

As for his powers and responsibilities: The Arch-Supreme may not and does not give any commands against the laws enacted in each and every area by the Council of Supremes, which are compatible with one another; but, his every command is a separate law which supplements and determines the law. In cases where the law does not stipulate anything, the Arch-Supreme’s command is the law. A government is replaced upon a word of the Arch-Supreme. All the members of the government are subjected to him and under his command from the bottom to the top. The whole organization runs on his behalf and justice is distributed in his name. The Arch-Supreme is the head of the army as well (Kısakürek, 2014: 291)

It is understood that the Arch-Supreme is the ideal person called **Ulülemr** (Ideal Ruler in Sunni Islam) by Islam, who represents the higher social will and executive position without including his smallest desires and ambitions into this position. The Arch-Supreme shall be enslaved more than everyone and everything in this holy order in which the criterion of faith and truth enslaves everyone and everything even at the most advanced level of freedom. Arch-Supreme will be first crushed and will train his self and become mature under this unlimited meaning which he represents and will then exalt his position which he fulfils as a holy duty. As an indication of power and magnificence, the position of Arch-Supremacy does not only belong to him. It is a virtue coming from the world of truth where the meaning of everything is hidden, which comes into being in the person of the Arch-Supreme and then is reflected on the nation (Kısakürek, 2014: 292).

We may easily say that, in Necip Fazıl’s perspective, a leader must be the most virtuous person of the society he represents, who has become the most ideal person. As is mentioned above,

“*ulülemr*” which is defined as the ideal ruler in the Sunni Islamic culture is much suitable for his leadership concept. A head of state who has given up all earthly pleasures, trained his self and is almost like a prophet is idealized. His office period is limited to five years, thus trying to be prevented from getting used to his seat and attempting to remain there permanently. The Council of Supremes is there as a body which constantly watches and controls the Arch-Supreme in case of any probable fault of him. If any member of the council who has drawn a profile eligible for the position of Arch-Supremacy until he is elected starts to take action in a sensual and arbitrary manner afterwards, then he may be dismissed from his position as the Arch-Supreme by minimum 75% of the votes of the council. That is, even if the Arch-Supreme is vested with such powers which are not seen in democracies during his office period, such powers are not unlimited. However, even if he is controlled, how the statesman who is the head of an ideological programme defined as a holy cause can act in a fair way while exercising the unlimited powers he has is another question.

Of course, the position of Arch-Supremacy is a utopian position idealized by Necip Fazıl. A surrealistic position which will be filled by a surrealistic person may describe the ideal leader type in Necip Fazıl’s world of thinking. However, in the real world, there are real leader types and we have to try to understand and comment on the thoughts about such leaders on the basis of his own articles. As we have mentioned previously, what Necip Fazıl writes about Sultan Abdülhamid II, whom he admires so much and considers one of the greatest statesmen of the Islamic world is worth studying in this context.

“Each *Büyük Doğu*-ist knows that Abdülhamid II is a great Turkish ruler who has been treated and is still being treated unfairly by certain groups. The services he rendered to the basic existence of the Turks have been overlooked and his savior identity disregarded. Our cause is to know the group that has treated him unjustly and dethroned him rather than Abdülhamid himself. It should be clearly disclosed that Abdülhamid was the sultan who took a stand against the uncontrolled blindfolded Westernization policies during the *Tanzimat* period and its aftermath. He ruined the plans of those internal and external forces who wanted to suppress Turkish spirit and turn it to an imitating monkey several times. For us, Abdülhamid is great just for this reason.

The agents of the material and spiritual Western colonialism, Judaism, conversion, freemasonry, cosmopolitanism, snobbery, Levantines and those false reformists who followed their tales of freedom, equality and justice came up with a great many lies about Abdülhamid once they had overthrown him. They intended to injure Abdülhamid’s spiritual legacy and to discredit him. However, they defiled the history and raped the reality which is the most important identity and basis of humanity.” (Kısakürek, 2014a: 11).

As it will be understood from these two paragraphs which are the summary of the history of Abdülhamid and his enemies as Necip Fazıl related in detail in his biographical book entitled *Ulu Hakan* which he wrote about Abdülhamid II, Necip Fazıl is a great fan of Abdülhamid. He

refers to him as the great Turkish-Islamic ruler and says that he was a sultan who always served the Islamic cause during his reign. He claims that he was therefore dethroned by the Unity and Progress Society supported by the Western forces, Jews and converts. His most basic argument is that the Unity and Progress Society financed by the Jews and converts took the opportunity of the March 31 Uprising to dethrone Abdülhamid II and replaced him by Mehmed V in the period commencing when capitalist Jewish businessmen wanted to purchase a small land in Palestine from the Ottoman Empire and offered to settle all the foreign debts of the Ottomans in return but Abdülhamid refused it.

Considered to be the most authoritarian sultan in the last period history of the Ottoman State, Sultan Abdülhamid II ruled the country in a manner which we may call **despotism**, that is, absolute and arbitrary ruling system for many years. He established a strong intelligence organization and wanted to be monetarily kept posted about what was going on against him at home and abroad. He was called **The Red Sultan** by his opponents who were imprisoned during his reign and **The Great Khan** by his supporters during his reign and had to die in reclusion with a lot of unknown about him. During his reign, he pursued an Islamic policy in the East and a policy of balance in the West. According to Necip Fazıl, all these were actions which Sultan Abdülhamid took for the sake of his love for the country, nation and religion. Once he has lost his power, his opponents who had overthrown him defamed him.

In his writings Necip Fazıl paid particular attention to Adnan Menderes who was accused of being a dictator by his opponents during the period when he was the prime minister in the Democrat Party government. In the period when the Democrat Party held the power, he wrote a lot of articles containing recommendations for Adnan Menderes. On the basis of these articles, we will discuss Necip Fazıl's views about the Democrat Party government (Kısakürek, 2013: 166).

Democrat Party was founded under the leadership of Celal Bayar in 1946 by the cadres opposing İsmet İnönü. As a matter of fact, the Democrat Party, which was made up of such people who had left the Republican People's Party and who were more conservative in terms of social transformation and more liberal in terms of economy, rose to the power in 1950. When Celal Bayar replaced İnönü as the president after that victory in the elections, Adnan Menderes, who was a young and energetic politician, was appointed as the prime minister. During the decade following it, the Democrat Party maintained its reign and was a party which Necip Fazıl sympathized from the day when it was founded to the day when it was closed down. We can

say that the greatest reason for this was the fact that he was a great opponent to the RPP rather than being a genuine supporter of the Democrat party. Rapid westernization movement which occurred in the period following the declaration of the Republic and the reforms closely following one another aroused disturbance in Necip Fazıl as in all conservative intellectuals and politicians. This is why the Democrat Party which accommodated a great number of politicians whom we may call conservative and Islamist was a political formation which was worth supporting for Necip Fazıl. In this section, we will try to reveal the role of the Democrat Party and Adnan Menderes in his intellectual world on the basis of the articles which Necip Fazıl wrote addressing the cadres of the Democrat Party and its leader Adnan Menderes.

In an article which he wrote in the *Büyük Doğu* newspaper in July 1952, Necip Fazıl describes the importance of the leader in a cause in the following manner:

“One of the former deputies told me ‘You give an impression in your articles that you believe in and follow Adnan Menderes rather than the Democrat Party.’ Former RPP deputy told me, ‘One should adhere to a party not to a single person... The person heading the party may change tomorrow, but his party will survive. So adhere to the party so that they may keep supporting you regardless of the person who comes and goes.’ I replied that former deputy who is unable to think of any policies other than daily and cheap interests as follows: ‘You are quite right in your opinion. We attach ourselves to a single person, i.e. Adnan Menderes, because this attachment is the example of our commitment to the cause. Our attachment to a single person and our risking all our goals together with that single person shows that we have full confidence in both our cause and our leader. It does not interest us whether or not he remains in government; if he goes, we also go with him and put up our struggle alone as we have done in the past. If he remains in government but disappoints us in this way of that, we cease to follow him. If he fails to remain in the government and leaves because he adopts our cause, then we consider him even greater and sacrifice all for his sake. If he both remains in government and adopts our cause, then we will be proven right. To wit, each and every cause which has friends and enemies and which conflicts with all ideologies contrary to it is absolutely under danger and risk. It should cease to be a cause so that it may occur otherwise. Then there will be no opinion but empty talk and only those who utter such empty talk may attach themselves to this party or that. And now, we are attached to Adnan Menderes because we own an opinion and a cause and because we consider him to be worthy of representing them. As we are not of those who are lazy and pursue policies of interest and because we say “All or Nothing!” We are bound to him.” (Kısakürek, 2013: 76-77).

As it is seen in this passage, what is essential for him is the cause itself. His ideal of accomplishing the cause at all times and in each period is above all of his political choices. That he turns to Adnan Menderes as a person rather than the Democrat Party, as we have mentioned above, is because Necip Fazıl is not a supporter of the Democrat Party in real terms. As a conclusion, even if the Democrat Party accommodates some Islamists, it is a party the majority of which is consisted of former cadres of RPP. The Party policy is still Kemalist and Westernist. They are, at the very most, conservative reformists who plan the Westernization to occur more slowly and step by step. Therefore, Necip Fazıl made it certain in many articles that he could not find what he expected during the Democrat Party government. The principal purpose of

Necip Fazıl is to take Adnan Menderes, who is the leader of the party, under his influence and include him into his *Büyük Doğu* cause.

Necip Fazıl, in an article which he wrote in July 1952, addresses Adnan Menderes in the following manner:

“You may terminate the rule of a mentality which sets free desecration of any values and people whose holiness has been proven by divine commands but which does not allow its own taboos and idols to be touched! You may clear up those religious fanatics who have been overcasting our spirits for many centuries and cause us to meet with real Islam and give it its freedom again! You may terminate the government of those who have made it a system to imitate the West in almost all areas from private life to public life. You may say stop to Turks’ being distracted from their roots, identity and history. You may pass these paths as the beloved one of Allah, the Prophet, Turkish nation and Turkish history and rise as a true and great hero after false heroes!” (Kısakürek, 2013: 94).

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl intends and hopes burdening Adnan Menderes with a great task. In his opinion, the Westernization movement commencing with the *Tanzimat* destroyed Turkish and Muslim consciousness upon the declaration of the Republic and the reforms. Statesmen who have kept office so far have failed to say stop to this regression, but if Menderes adapts the *Büyük Doğu* ideal, this fall of Turkish and Islamic world will come to an end. This is how Necip Fazıl feels. Therefore, he never stops raising hope on Menderes and always keeps giving him recommendations until the fall of Democrat Party.

In the two articles he wrote in the *Büyük Doğu* newspaper in 1952 and 1956, he speaks of his expectations of Menderes in a beseeching manner:

“Dear Prime Minister, why are you not holistic? Why aren’t you at least holistic in some matters? I just cannot get it. Why aren’t you holistic even though you are intelligent enough to be able to understand that we may get rid of the beings of this deviant order by being holistic?” (Kısakürek, 2013: 28).

What we understand from this is that Necip Fazıl expects Menderes to be more resolute and wants him to make more definitive decisions. As from its foundation, the Democrat Party made religious values an instrument of its politics in order to gather those groups opposing to RPP around it and to look sympathetic to the traditionalists and conservatives who resist the westernization policies applied by RPP. Having adhered to this way of politics until it succeeded to power, DP maintained this attitude at regular intervals and doses once it had come to power. Necip Fazıl should have been encouraged by this attitude of DP that he encourages Menderes to maintain such discourses and put them into practice, but Menderes never pursued Necip Fazıl’s Islamist political line.

“... Be holistic! Build what is necessary and sort out what is not needed. The nation and justice will be on your side in this issue! Let us be clear and frank; what does being holistic mean? What is the goal of being holistic? How and against what does one become holistic? The answer is: Being holistic is a man’s putting all his ideas into action without feeling the burden of his ideas. Holism is doing what is to be done in one move and in a radical way. Being holistic is for the person whom we are addressing now, to utterly defeat the opponents in and out of his party in terms of their ideas and personalities.” (Kısakürek, 2013: 268).

Four years had passed since the very first article in which the term “being holistic” was mentioned, but Necip Fazıl’s invitation for Menderes to be clear and frank did not come to an end. Disappointments which Menderes caused him to experience should also have brought such about peevishness that his language became sharper and he became so vengeful to recommend him to destroy the opposition in and out of the party.

This ill-temper of Necip Fazıl is not only caused by Adnan Menderes’s failure to satisfy his expectations but by his failure to satisfy the expectations of the people and his party. After the Democrat Party came to power for the second time, the opposition inside and outside the party started to cause Menderes to experience hard times. In this period, Necip Fazıl represents his anticipation about what will happen once Menderes has lost the government in the following manner:

“If Menderes quits but if the Democrat Party remains in power, regardless of the person who will replace him, anarchy will prevail and the opponents will bring the country in a chaos situation with the support of their Russian, Israeli and American masters. They will start to harm Turkish nation spiritually and materially. If Menderes will leave, and RPP replaces him with all its group, everything will become worse. The RPP spirit which has not unfortunately been destroyed but only hindered for a while will start with such ambition that it will cause much harm to the nation if it succeeds to the government once again. Therefore, RPP is in fact the greatest enemy of the people of whose support they need to be reelected and it tries to deceive the people who are their enemy.

Let any real Turks know that Menderes is the only person who may satisfy the principal causes, longings and expectations of this country no matter how he is criticized in terms of his personality and the things he has done. And if he leaves the government together with his party, there will be nothing left behind other than oppression, enmity and treachery.” (Kısakürek, 2013: 292).

This article shows that Necip Fazıl still considers Menderes and the Democrat Party to be the sole remedy. His enmity for İnönü and RPP brings him closer to Menderes and his party which he considers is closer to him. What is interesting is that he believes that there will be anarchy, that external forces will cause chaos in Turkey and that kind of a conflict atmosphere will be experienced if RPP comes to power; that he thinks that the will which will ensure the security of the nation and the state is that of Menderes; and that he believes that he and his party were

the sole hope of this country. This way of thinking seems to affect his approach to the concept of opposition.

Dissenting voices started to rise within the Democrat Party as from 1956. Some persons including, but not limited to, Fuad Köprülü did not approve the policies pursued by Menderes. This confused environment within the party was, in Necip Fazıl's view an indication of weakness and fatigue. He explicitly states this in the following manner in a letter he wrote to the deputies of the Democrat Party:

“...There is a voice rising throughout the country. This voice is the voice of Turkish nation, who wants its spirit and substance to be developed and improved. And the only person to whom it directs this request and from whom it expects a reply is Adnan Menderes. No mother in this Turkish homeland has given birth to a son who will say stop to this five hundred years of poor conduct and who will satisfy Turkish nation's requirements better than Adnan Menderes for five centuries. However, he is sorry, hurt and hesitant just like all great people whom Allah always tests. Furthermore, even if the nation and Allah favor him, he unfortunately takes an attitude which is extremely gentle and good-mannered... Whoever the enemies of Adnan Menderes are, they are also the enemies of the Turks, Anatolia, Turkish peasants, Turkish history, Islam and finally Allah.

You, the members of the Democrat Party group, the real Turkish children and representatives of the national will! Will you give a chance to the enemies of Menderes to disturb the order of your party with their lies of freedom, justice and reform while your party is marching towards the *Büyük Doğu* ideal? No, we wish you instead of giving them this chance, to stand up just like an inner fortress next to your leader Adnan Menderes as you tread on the way of justice and destroy those who want to sow discord among you in the name of Turkish nation that is the main fortress.” (Kısakürek, 2008: 20).

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl talks to the members of the Democrat Party group and invites them to support their leader Adnan Menderes. Even when one considers the way of praising a statesman in that period, Necip Fazıl's eulogies of Menderes are rather high in number. He considers the Democrat Party to be an instrument to take Turkey to the reform of his dreams and exalts Menderes as the only and real leader of this movement. His invitation for the party members to destroy those who oppose to Menderes is a separate indication of intolerance. Moreover, in another article in which he addresses Menderes and says that he supports him against the intra-party opposition, he says:

“No group, class or person within the Democrat Party may overwhelm you as long as the Democrat Party survives and remains in government! You are the head and spirit of the Democrat Party! You will be gone only if it completely falls. Otherwise, you may not be prevented from being the head and the spirit by any intra-party action! They will be crushed and gone and you will exist as long as the Democrat Party survives.” (Kısakürek, 2008: 33).

This intolerance of Necip Fazıl towards the opposition is not only valid for the intra-party opposition but for RPP, which is the extra-party opposition as well. Necip Fazıl, who, as a matter of fact, hates the RPP policies to a great extent, considers İnönü and RPP's tough

opposition to be responsible for the country's thorough confusion after 1956. In fact, he expects Menderes to erase RPP from the stage of politics completely. We may infer this from an article of his dated 1954: Once Menderes has said, 'We are a revolution government!' Reality of these words is hidden in that the people have assigned him with this task but not that his is such a government. Turkish nation has voted for and elected the Democrat Party as their representative so that they say stop to the despotism of the People's Party. If the Democrat Party were really a revolution government, it would first erase the government it has replaced from the stage of politics. It would destroy the whole spirit, meaning and cadres of that government. However, the Democrat Party has kept the cadre of the government it took over completely just like the crew of a ship with a new captain." (Kısakürek, 2013: 252). It should be clear by now that, Necip Fazıl did not accept any people and organizations which constituted an obstacle before the accomplishment of his holy cause and tried with all his might to eliminate them. This was literally a fight for him. Parties of that fight were the *Büyük Doğu*-ists on one side and the communists, Zionists, freemasons and those groups belonging to many different disciplines and doctrines on the other. It appears that Necip Fazıl did not even have any tolerance to the existence of these groups. In the next section, we will discuss Necip Fazıl's approach to the groups and classes differing from his own understanding and approach and the policies he pursued against those who were in his ideal order.

3.4. Anti-democratic and Anti-liberal Tendencies

'Man is not free. Who is free may be, at the most, animals. It is not fit for a man to live in such freedom which is specific to animals without restraining or putting clamps on one's own self. Even animals eat, reproduce, live and die under certain rules. There are two essential identities specific to human beings; and while one sets the person free, the other causes him to be put into dungeons: spirit and desire (Turkish: Ruh ve Nefs). Spirit finds freedom in being the slave of the reality. But desire sees freedom to be able to do anything it wants. While spirit considers itself to be in need of disciplining itself constantly, desire is continuously in search of satisfying itself. It desires and consumes everything that is worldly. But spirit must disobey its desire in order to get enlightened by mystical criteria and to reach that supreme spirit (Kısakürek, 2014: 424).

In this case, considering in personal terms, what disobeys spirit is desire, and in social terms, what disobeys the society's moral is that of an individual. In both fronts, desire and an individual's moral should be disciplined in an equitable manner and put into the right way for the good of the community. While those nations who want freedom just for freedom's sake avoid being prisoners of their own selves, they are convicted to be prisoners of other forces for freedom must not be a goal but a tool and when it is possible to reach one's goal. Tool may not be transformed to goal. The essential goal is to surrender to Allah and Allah's commands, but not to be free.' (Kısakürek, 2014:425).

These statements are those which best describe Necip Fazıl's perception of society and state. In his opinion, a society should be protected just like a child requiring to be matured and tamed by the state which is its parent, not to be allowed to do whatever it wants but be disciplined.

The Quran, which is the words of Allah, must be taken as a criterion of such discipline and individual and social life must be designed as commanded by Allah. This is the essence of Necip Fazıl's thought. Any and all personal rights and freedoms may be restricted until the **Shariah** order is achieved because what is prohibited and limited by religion is in accordance with human nature. In this context, in his utopia, he mentions that the state should pass various laws in order to maintain the social order and personal maturity.

Necip Fazıl calls such laws and prohibitions the **Arch-Supremal Commands**. In the Arch-Supremacy which is Necip Fazıl's ideal state order as we discussed in detail in the previous section, the Arch-Supreme, the head of the state as a duly authorized figure of authority, Arch-Supremacy Government directly under the Arch-Supreme and the Council of Supremes elected by anti-democratic ways, which constitutes both, constitute the cadre of the state. New laws and commands passed by this cadre contain restrictions unprecedented in democracies. In Necip Fazıl's opinion, the goal is to discipline the society and made it compliant with Islam collectively and individually through such laws and prohibitions (Kısakürek, 2014: 315).

‘‘Except for the compelling reasons within the limits of our main criterion, a man's killing another man is a major crime. Death penalty is given by the court that gathers and decides in a short time and capital punishment is performed immediately. Except for legitimate compelling reasons, punishment for a person who kills a man is retaliation. If punishment is intended to prevent any evil action from being committed and to get such evil action not to be repeated, the most effective and sacred method in the world is to cut off one of the arms of the one who steals. By any means, one arm of a person who has definitely committed theft shall be cut off at a public place. He shall bear a mark on himself during his lifetime in order to show that lack of one arm has not been caused by an accident or handicap but theft. As this dreadful punishment will remove the action of theft from the whole society, those people who sympathize theft may only argue that it is so cruel a punishment. Here, it is not intended to cut off an arm but to abolish theft which harms the people's trust in one another. Moreover, any kinds of offenses such as bribery, corruption, embezzlement, etc. committed against the society are punished just as theft, thus leaving a mark on the one who has committed the offense, which will ensure him to live shamefully during his lifetime (Kısakürek, 2014: 316).

As the punishment of denial of Allah and blasphemy is death, owner of any thought which contradicts our social conscience and faith, including but not limited to communists, will be sentenced to death. Any infidel who will be treated as if he has committed the offense of treason, he is tried for his thoughts and actions which will set people against one another, create trouble and cause a chaos. Likewise, bandits and terrorists will also be sentenced to death. In this way, we will reveal the legal spirit of the new order and will not stop until we achieve Islam, which is our essential criterion. Even if it is necessary to put the whole society to death until only a man and a woman is left out, we will not hesitate to maintain the justice of Allah in order to ensure the welfare of the society. This is our only method and the basis for all our issues. It is our essential purpose to build the superior community deserving the friendship of Allah and the Prophet.’’ (Kısakürek, 2014: 317).

Any **Shariah** punishments imposed on murder and theft considered to be the greatest crimes in all monotheistic religions are inevitable in Necip Fazıl's utopia in order to maintain the public order. This system of punishment which is impossible to see in modern democracies is

doubtlessly a method of punishment remaining from ancient times. He considers these severe punishments to be so necessary in order to build the superior Islamic society.

The above mentioned crimes and punishments are those related to one's injuring the assets or life of another. Necip Fazıl further anticipates some penalty sanctions for one's personal choices which he experiences in his own self.

“There will be rules about pleasure, discipline, codes of conduct and aesthetics within the framework of the deepest understanding, morals, customs and traditions to be enacted by the Council of Supremes. If such rules are not complied with, the person who commits the action will be punished in the most drastic manner by the security forces and the other members of the society. It is only in this manner that the society will be cleared of all its evil and degenerate members. In the *Büyük Doğu* society, there will no such people who wander about in streets, disturb the people, make a lot of noise, spit and blow their noses and assume rakish and indecent attitude in several manners nor such ruffian-like people who disturb the social harmony, cause confusion and chaos in streets and highways. Moreover, there will not be any such people who look like Westerners, hippies, and snobs, indecent women, tramp-looking artists and such people who intentionally or unintentionally rebel against the general ethical rules of the society either. These types shall be under watch and continuously pursued by special police forces that are established under special laws. Such people will be given such punishments which will teach them discipline, pleasure, morals and good conduct as well as aesthetic until they cease to repeat their improper actions.

Gambling is definitely prohibited. This prohibition also includes horse races and all kinds of lottery owned by the state because they aim at earning money without making any efforts. Those who gamble, those who allow people to gamble and even those who just watch people gambling, will be sentenced to imprisonment. Alcohol and drugs are definitely prohibited. It is prohibited to produce, sell, keep and consume any alcoholic drinks which provide any kinds of intoxicating feelings. It is prohibited to keep, sell and use any kinds of drugs and pleasure-giving substances. The general criterion of this law is the **Hadith** meaning “Anything intoxicating is forbidden”. Adultery and prostitution are prohibited within the territories of homeland. Adultery means an illegitimate sexual intercourse between a man and a woman out of marriage and prostitution is the occupation and art of such incident. What is essential here is that sin lies on their part as it is not possible to watch and control any sexual intercourse experienced between a man and a woman within an enclosed space and as such individuals live such a crime arising out of their illegitimate intercourse between them and Allah. As it will not be in compliance with Allah's commands and social ethics to pursue a person under prejudice, this is not our business. As this is the case, the criterion is the following: if the action of adultery has taken place before four eyewitnesses, then the case is different. In this case, the judgment of **Shariah** is practiced.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 317-326).

In Necip Fazıl's ideal society:

“It is not possible for an individual to make decisions by himself and perform improper actions against the rules of religion. In order to control and prevent such actions, security forces which we may call vice guards are assigned and those who commit such actions must be punished pursuant to the Islamic law. In the last analysis, we may say that the abovementioned actions must not occur in a superior and faithful society. These actions originate from a man's failure to deny his self but emulate the West and move away from the ethical lines and social norms. Individuals must never by any means be allowed to go astray and disciplined under the severest rules (Kısakürek, 2014: 336).

In the accomplishment of the *Büyük Doğu* ideal, apart from watching and controlling people's behavior and actions, it is of utmost importance that elements providing the proper conditions will be under the control of the state. Radio is one of the most effective weapons of the *Büyük Doğu* cause. Radio broadcast addressing millions of people must completely be owned by the state and used as an instrument of propaganda. Likewise, cinema must be definitely under the state's control. To import movies shot by the Western world with commercial concerns which do not fit our customs and traditions means undermining the foundations of the society. Each of the movies imported from the United States and Europe are allowed

to run once they have been inspected down to the last detail and made certain that they are appropriate for Turkish culture and moral. As nine hundred ninety-nine per thousand of the Western and world cinematography is not appropriate for us, such movies may not be allowed by any means. Any dances and sculpture not originating from our own culture are also prohibited. These so-called art branches entered our life upon the *Tanzimat* and did not serve anything but deteriorating the morality of society.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 338).

“Furthermore, press and media are not free in the sense known to us in the *Büyük Doğu* ideal. Once we have moved away from the nonsense of freedom for freedom’s sake, newspapers, books, periodicals, booklets, posters and any media organs will be put under the state’s control. Any artists and intellectuals may print anything he draws or writes after the approval of the state. Every thought is not and must not be free. Those thoughts capable of addressing and affecting millions of people may sometimes be dangerous thoughts not appropriate for us. Therefore, until everyone understands what real freedom is, and until individual and social outcomes are obtained in accordance with the personality of such freedom, freedom of the press and media will be restricted by the state. All articles which are not of good quality, which fail to serve any value for the sake of thinking and arts and which injure people’s faith and ethical system are prohibited. Further, any articles adapting any ideologies contradicting ours in their entirety without considering them with their negative and positive aspects are also prohibited.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 340).

“Essential purpose is not to allow any ideologies which encourage one to live in a brutish freedom and guide him not to give a damn to the most basic rules of living together and which make him disregard Allah’s words. In the *Büyük Doğu* ideal, people know how to live in the freedom of the divine truth and are extraordinarily satisfied with it. We, in fact, now set free any freedoms that have been restricted so far. For instance, clothing: our essential purpose is to make free the Western style clothing which entered our life upon the *Tanzimat* and has been imposed recently. What is essential is that any one may wear whatever he chooses within the Islamic limits in accordance with Turkish customs and traditions. Targeting to achieve enlightenment in spirit but not in outlook, the *Büyük Doğu* ideal does not like hat just because it is a hat and does not find a fez strange just because it is a fez; what is important is whether or not it complies with the moral and aesthetic rules. Woman’s clothing in our ideal is neither burqa covering the whole body just like canned food nor immodest like food thrown before hungry dogs. A committee which consists of the leading clergymen and aestheticians of the country decides how women will properly clothe themselves. From now on a *Büyük Doğu* woman will be one who is superior enough to be taken as an example by all the world nations for her beauty, elegance, the way she stands, sits and gets up.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 364-365).

“The relationship and marriage of a woman possessing these superior characteristics and a man who will be suit her, must also occur within the social order. With regard to reproduction, our prophet of prophets has great edicts on that we have to reproduce uninterruptedly, without delaying and increase our number continuously. We have to follow his example in order not to deprive our Prophet, Master of the Universe, who reports that he will take pride of the multitude of his *Ummah* on the Judgment Day, of this sense of pride. Marriage is so important in the *Büyük Doğu* ideal. This is why it is the state’s and family’s common task to ensure the young people to get married and have children at very early ages. Measures must be taken to encourage the young people to get married and have children so that the relationship between the individual, family and state may be consolidated through such measures. Here, the most important task falling upon the society is to encourage their children who reach the age of marriage to get married and have children and not give the right for happiness to those who are not married and do not have spouses and children.” (Kısakürek, 2014: 265-267).

Earlier in this section, while discussing the outlines of Necip Fazıl’s ideology, we could see that he is anti-liberal as he defines himself. In his opinion, a society needs an authority which will discipline it at all times. As a man obeys a doctor at hospital, a commander in the army and a teacher at school and does not claim freedom before him, a society also has certain rules and norms and they also require obedience. A state authority is required to control and punish those who break such rules. As Necip Fazıl’s ideal state is an Islamic state, such state organizes itself

in accordance with the **Shariah** and concerns about maintaining this order. Any threat against its order is an enemy and infidel. And the punishment for such traitors and the enemies of the order is death for they are against the divine values. Finally, in his opinion, the address of the freedom is neither a political party nor a newspaper nor a bar nor a harbor statue in the United States. The appropriate address of freedom is Islam itself.

According to Necip Fazıl, democracy is not a form of government suitable for our social and state traditions. Earlier in this section, we have referred to a section of an article in which Necip Fazıl describes his ideology in his own words. He described himself as anti-liberal there and said that men were divided into classes in terms of superiority of mind and soul. In this section, we will discuss what democracy is and how ideal government must be in Necip Fazıl's world of thinking. When we consider the organization and functioning of the state in the Islamic Revolution idealized by him, we could well see that the system was not democratic at all. Now, we will try to reveal how democracy is perceived in our society and why it is not a form of government which is not needed through Necip Fazıl's perspective and through inferences from his own articles (Kısakürek, 2014: 500). According to Necip Fazıl, democracy is a political form which has come out of the West's deviated world order and which is not suitable for Turkish and Islamic society. It is not a system needed by the Oriental civilization in the *Büyük Doğu* ideal. It is a system which allows for an environment where everyone speaks of something different, where certain groups poison society's moral and soul by conveying their own deviated choices and ideologies. As we have especially repeated here in this section several times, the members of Necip Fazıl's ideal society are not free to do whatever they want. Democracy is a form of government is based on individual freedoms and pluralism. Necip Fazıl's authoritarian conservatism represents a repudiation of such a form of government. In his view, it is essential to control society and each group within society. Everything from clothing, to manner of behavior, of thinking and form of expressing thoughts should be under the control of the state to be founded as a result of the Islamic revolution. Individuals cannot usually make correct decisions when they are left alone. If they are not strictly controlled by the state, they will first harm themselves and this will inevitably lead to the collapse of all social order. The state exists in order to prevent such corruption. The ideal state is obliged to protect all individuals and groups under its sway from any and all unhealthy tendencies and ideologies and this is its first and foremost duty to guide them to the right way, to the way of the truth and of Allah (Kısakürek, 2014: 500-502).

CONCLUSION

We have dated the emergence of the concept of conservative thinking in modern sense to the French revolution. We have addressed the termination of the old regime and formation of a new government, construction of a new order by this government, its imposition of this upon the people by unexpected methods and the conservative thinking as a current emerging in the subsequent process. The historical development of conservative political thinking has shown us that there were groups resisting each change, which would be sometimes called 'reactionaries', sometimes 'zealots' and sometimes 'conservatives'. In Turkey, although the historical roots of conservatism can be traced to the resistance towards the reforms initiated in the *Tanzimat* period, conservative thinking seems to have taken its current meaning in the aftermath of the Republican Revolution. We have examined different aspect of Necip Fazıl's thought which appears to represent the Islamist and authoritarian wing within Turkish conservatism. We have primarily focused on his political writing, where he encounter his conception of the state, leadership, authority and obedience.

As a result of the study, we have reached the conclusion that Necip Fazıl's perspective has strong authoritarian tendencies. Furthermore, we have started that his Islamist outlook adds a religious dimension to his authoritarian conservatism. Although we have benefited from his other articles, our most determinative resource has been his work entitled *Ideological Pattern* in which he has described his utopian state in detail. As he describes his ideology to the finest detail in this work, we have unfalteringly obtained Necip Fazıl's thoughts about authority, obedience, state, morality and religion. The new order which Necip Fazıl describes as the *Büyük Doğu* ideal placed Islam in the center and attributed everything to it without any exception. This order designed to the finest detail illustrates a state and society order established to create and put into practice Islam in his mind. He considers the state and the regime to be an instrument to establish this new Islamic order. Concepts of democracy, freedom and equality do not mean anything for him. Those concepts might only be instruments at the very most. The only and real objective is Islam.

The state in the *Büyük Doğu* ideal is the Arch-Supremal State. In that state, the head of the state is the Arch-Supreme, the national assembly the Council of Supremes and the government the

Arch-Supremal Government. These cadres are not elected through democratic ways but are an assembly consisting of the most superior ones of the society from which they have been emerged in moral and professional terms, which took office after the constituent assembly created by the Islamic revolution as Necip Fazıl put it. Members of this assembly are not elected by the people and their office period continues until they die, resign, go senile or overshadow the virtue of the cause by committing a disgraceful offense. The head of the state who was elected from among the members of this assembly called Council of Supremes is called the Arch-Supreme, and the government established by the ministers elected among the members of this assembly and directly reporting to the Arch-Supreme was called the Arch-Supremal Government. Top levels of the state were comprised of these three bodies. Laws enacted are called the Arch-Supremal Commands and have an anti-liberal and anti-democratic content which might be considered 'extreme' not only in the present day but also in that period. These laws are intended to regulate and control all spheres of social life from clothing and speaking, to nutrition. Here we see the radicalism of Necip Fazıl's authoritarian vision.

For Necip Fazıl, a man is not free and must not intend to be free. His principal purpose is to be suitable for Islam, to train his self and lead a life complying with the general mentality of the society. If an individual refuses to comply with these conditions, then the state guides the society to expel him from the society. Apart from casting out, it is anticipated that such an individual must be punished by the state even if he does not give harm to the rights and freedoms of other people. He believes that the state must discipline each individual under its sway just as parents discipline their children. In these terms, it may be easily seem that Necip Fazıl's utopian state order is anti-liberal.

Necip Fazıl is an anti-democrat as well. The form of government of his ideal state is oligarchy which is a kind of class government. As he describes, the state may only be governed by those members of the society who are most superior in such fields as ethics, science, trading, education, etc. He thinks that those politicians who are elected by the votes of all people will degenerate in consideration of being elected, tell lies and deviate from the path of justice and candor. He argues that they will be apt to do what the society believes is right for itself but not what is right for the society and that they may move the society away from the truth and the way of Islam. He therefore designs an assembly of which members are not elected by democratic methods. This Council of Supremes which we have also mentioned above consists of such members who believe in a single cause and pursue a single ideology. In Necip Fazıl's ideal state, there is no room for any cause other than the true cause of justice and truth which

the Council of Supremes pursues at all times. He considers such concepts as communism, liberalism, socialism and capitalism to be concepts belonging to the West but not to us and describes those who pursue such currents are on the wrong way.

Nation, state, leader, cause... They are such values that cannot be considered separately and chaos will prevail when they are separated from one another. As long as these values act all together for the same ideal, then the *Büyük Doğu* ideal will start to come into being. An epos of uprising which will set an example for all the oppressed nations of the East will start to be written. The epos of returning to one's self and revival of the Eastern nations that have been captured by the imperialism and capitalism of the West may only be written in this way. This is Necip Fazıl's cause. In his view, the Western civilization enslaved by the Jewish capital considers the other world which does not belong to it to be a domain to be exploited. The Western world expects the other world to consume the goods it produces without questioning, to aspire it and consider it to be advanced and developed and determines all the policies within the framework of this principle. This irrational consumption is supported by the Jewish capitalism and the greatest offenders are these Jewish capitalists in that the world has now become a place suffering from wars, starvation and diseases. And this is the origin of the anti-Semitism and anti-westernism which underlies Necip Fazıl's conservatism.

Necip Fazıl was a faithful man of cause. As a man of both thought and action, he was deeply interested in practical politics and made thousands of people follow him. He seems to be confident that his perspective is deeply rooted in the social and political thought of Islam and the mentality of Turkish society, and that precisely because of this he has enjoyed great popularity among Islamist and conservative circles. The conservative thinking which currently exists in Turkish politics manifests itself in almost each word of Necip Fazıl. The figure of father in the family and the local culture and the authority of the elders in the society and the unyielding and divine power of the state are among the basic foundations of Necip Fazıl's thinking. Considering from this viewpoint, Necip Fazıl wants to preserve the existing customs and traditions. He is disturbed to the point of disgust by westernization and leading a western life style. A Turk is a Turk and he must live as his ancestors and their forefathers did. Whatever his ancestors achieved must be likewise achieved by him, following the footprints of his

ancestors. He must take lessons from whatever his ancestors did wrong and must return to the well-functioning institutions of the past.

Necip Fazıl's narcissistic complex is so strong that he neither resembles anyone else nor is inferior to anyone else. He is a man of action who has devoted himself to his cause with strong determination. He sees himself as one of the greatest poets and philosophers of the world. He considers himself this way and believes in this with all his heart. He does not have a nature imitate someone else and cannot acknowledge that Turkish nation of which he is a member, will emulate and try to resemble any other nation. In these terms, Necip Fazıl is a trueborn enemy of Westernization. He criticizes and even humiliates any kind of movement called modernization which started with the *Tanzimat* period. In his mind, the supporters of Westernization are nothing but imitating monkeys who deny their roots. Necip Fazıl speaks highly of the place of the Turks in the stage of history after they accepted Islam in masses. For him, the greatest empires of the time founded by the Turks are such states which must be taken as a model. Today, notwithstanding what occurs in the Western world or in the rest of the world, Turks must find the form of government which suits them best by looking back into their own history. And this form of government is certainly not a democratic republic.

In his view, the declaration of the Republic and the modernist reforms achieved under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey are nothing but the imitation of the West from Necip Fazıl's standpoint. He considers each and every change and reform movement from the Alphabet Reform to the Clothing Reform to be moving Turkish nation away from its roots and criticizes them. He does not consider the superior position which the European civilization has acquired from the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution to be permanent. He construes this with the probability of Europe's losing its advantage just as the Islamic civilization lost its advantage in the medieval times when it was far advanced than Europe. He points out that, considering that any values and thoughts which have each emerged as a result of the historical journey of the Western civilization today will lose importance in the forthcoming centuries, it will not be beneficial to us to imitate them. Instead of imitating the West, we must rather accept and practice the values belonging to our own history. And this an expression of Necip Fazıl's hostility to the Westernization.

His desire to reach Islam, which is his principal and only ideal, can be seen in many of his writings. In this sense, Necip Fazıl is one of the most radical Islamists of the Republic period. It is Necip Fazıl's real cause to regulate the state according to Islam and to Islamize the society.

All values and thoughts belonging to the present time will cease to exist just like those in the past. There will only remain the Quran as the words of Allah, and Islam as the whole of his commands. Regardless of the geography where they live, all the people of the world will either hearken take this reality seriously or walk in wrong paths and waste both this present life of theirs and their life after death. And this is why the greatest duty of a state is to discipline the peoples of the land where it reigns and put them onto the way of Islam. Thus it will both have them attain a real and natural happiness in this world and deliverance in the other world. The state is the symbol of Allah's will on earth. It is and must at all-time be obliged to fulfil its laws completely. This is Necip Fazıl's vision of the state. Which seems to be an excellent summary of the Islamist and authoritarian dimensions of his radical conservatism.

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