

Tarih ve Günce

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
Journal of Atatürk and the History of Turkish Republic
1/3, (2018 Yaz), ss. 187-216.

FUNDAMENTALISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE EAST-WEST DIVISION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK

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Abstract¹

This study aims to reveal the fundamentalist and anti-semitist ideology of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and to explain the East-West Division through the eye of him. It intends to show the place of Necip Fazıl, who has a meaningful influence on the Turkish Islamism gaining its present identity and in Turkish Islamist Thinking by explaining concept of Büyük Doğu-ist.

Starting from the thoughts of Necip Fazıl, who is one of the most important authors and thinkers of the Turkish Islamist world of thinking, 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 importance 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 religion, society, family and morale in the traditional Turkish Islamist-Conservative thinking.

Keywords: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Conservatism, Fundamentalism, Islamism

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¹ Along with the article from the previous issue of Tarih ve Günce named Authoritarianism from the Perspective of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, this article is the edited version of the Master Thesis named The Authoritarian and Religious Dimensions of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek's Conservatism prepared by myself.

NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK'İN PERSPEKTİFİNDEN KÖKTEN DİNCİLİK, ANTI-SEMITİZM VE DOĞU-BATI KARŞITLIĞI

Öz²

Bu çalışma, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in kökten dinci ve anti-semitist ideolojisini ve onun gözünden Doğu-Batı Ayrımı'nı incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Türk İslamcılığı'nın bugünkü kimliğini kazanmasında önemli bir rolü bulunan Necip Fazıl'ın *Büyük Doğucu* düşüncesini de açıklayarak bir çıkarımda bulunmak amaçlanmaktadır.

Türk İslamcılığı'nın en önemli düşünür ve yazarlarından biri olan Necip Fazıl'ın düşüncelerinden yola çıkarak, Muhafazakar ve İslamcı düşüncenin Türkiye'deki yolculuğunu anlamayı amaçlamaktayız. Necip Fazıl'ın düşüncelerinin, birçok ünlü Türk devlet adamına kılavuzluk ettiği bilgisiyile, Türk siyasal hayatına ve Türk-İslamcı düşüncesine etkileri ve bu ideolojinin din, toplum, aile ve ahlak kavramlarına nasıl yaklaştığını ortaya koymak niyetindeyiz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Muhafazakarlık, Kökten Dincilik, İslamcılık

Introduction

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.³

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,

² Tarih ve Günce Dergisi'nin bir önceki sayısında yer alan Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in Perspektifinden Otoriter Rejim makalesiyle birlikte, bu makale de, tarafımdan hazırlanmış olan, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in Muhafazakarlığının Otoriter ve Dini Boyutları isimli yüksek lisans tezinin düzenlenmiş halidir.

³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2010. *O ve Ben*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.28

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. ⁴

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. ⁵

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.

⁴ Karatekeli, Hakkı. 2013. *Necip Fazıl Kısakürek*, İstanbul: Kaynak, p.22

⁵ Karatekeli, Hakkı, *ibid.*, p.23

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. " 6

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

⁶ Orhan, O. 2009. *Necip Fazıl Kısakürek Kendi Sesinin Yankısı*, İstanbul: Etkileşim, pp.12-14

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.”⁷

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. 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

⁷ Okay, O. 2008. *Dünya Bir İnkılap Bekliyor*, İstanbul: Yağmur, p.230

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.”⁸

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.⁹ 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.

1. Necip Fazıl’s 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

⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.180-181

⁹ Nisbet, R. 1986. *Conseroatism: Dream and Reality*, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.69

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 instil 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.”¹⁰

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:

¹⁰ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.195

“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.”¹¹

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.”¹²

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.

¹¹ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.196

¹² Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.196

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..."¹³

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

¹³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.598

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!"¹⁴

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!

¹⁴ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.548-550

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!"¹⁵

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!

¹⁵ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.551

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!"¹⁶

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.

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.¹⁷ 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

¹⁶ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, pp.551-552

¹⁷ Nisbet, R. 1986. *Conservatism: Dream and Reality*, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.24

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 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. 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 being 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!..”¹⁸

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 agree-

¹⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.78-79

ment: 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." ¹⁹

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

¹⁹ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideology Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, pp.79-80

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." ²⁰

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

²⁰ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.21-24

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."²¹

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.

²¹ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.25-27

“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.”²²

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:

²² Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.27-31

“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.”²³

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.²⁴ 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 im-

²³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.33

²⁴ O’Sullivan, Noel 1994. *Conseroatism, Contemporary Political Ideologies*, (ed. R. Eatwell ve A. Wright), London: Pinter Publishers, p.155

perialism 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.

3. Fundamentalism, Racism 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." ²⁵

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

²⁵ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2007. *Sahte Kahramanlar*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.311

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!"²⁶

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

²⁶ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.234-236

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.²⁷

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...²⁸

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

²⁷ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.473

²⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.474

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..."²⁹

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."³⁰

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

²⁹ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.476

³⁰ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, pp.334-335

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.

Conclusion

We have examined different aspect of Necip Fazıl's thought which appears to represent the Islamist wing within Turkish conservatism. We have primarily focused on his political writing, where he encounter his conception of the religion, society, family and morale. As a result, the conclusion that Necip Fazıl's perspective has strong fundamentalist tendencies. 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 religion, morality, state, obedience and authority. 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.

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.

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 Islamist 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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