THE POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
AND THE AKP TRADITION:
WHY DID TURKISH MODEL FAIL IN EGYPT?

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_____

Prof.Dr. Meliha B. ALTUNIŞIK
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin BAĞCI
Head of Department

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

_____

Prof. Dr. Süha BÖLÜKBAŞIOĞLU
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Işık KUŞÇU (METU, IR)   _____

Prof. Dr. Süha BÖLÜKBAŞIOĞLU (METU, IR)   _____

Prof. Dr. Recep BOZTEMUR (METU, HIST)   _____

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Name, Last name : Düzgün ARSLANTAŞ

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
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Arslantaş, Düzgün

M.Sc., Department of International Relations

Supervisor   : Prof. Dr. Süha Bölükbaşıoğlu

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This thesis aims to analyze the transformation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the AKP tradition in Turkey with a reference to the model debate. Actually, toppling of the Mubarak regime following an uprising that started on 25th of January 2011, has changed the political map of Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood-backed Freedom and Justice Party's (FJP) victory in post-revolutionary period in legislative elections and Mohammed Morsi's taking of office in presidential elections revealed that Islamists were to be the strongest actor in the new political landscape. Nonetheless, AKP government's positive stance towards the Muslim Brotherhood and Turkish foreign policy activism in the Middle East during the Arab Spring has opened a debate concerning a Turkish model in Egypt. What further strengthened this trend were the views of the leaders of the

Muslim Brotherhood which refer Turkey as a model. However, the polarization of the Egyptian society on domestic issues led to the military intervention of 3 July 2013 and hence, ended the model debate. Considering the historical account of both the Muslim Brotherhood and the AKP, this thesis reaches to the conclusion that the Turkish model failed in Egypt that is attributed to five main reasons;   namely (1) different meanings and functions of the west and westernization in these two countries, (2) the existence of strong political rivalry for the Muslim Brotherhood, (3) the lack of political experience of the FJP in power, (4) the army's strong role in Egyptian politics and (5) different economic structures of both countries.

Keywords: The Arab Spring, The Political Islam, The Muslim Brotherhood, The Justice and Development Party, The Egyptian Revolution.

ÖZ

MÜSLÜMAN KARDEŞLER VE AKP GELENEĞİNİN SİYASİ ANALİZİ: TÜRKİYE MODELİ MISIR'DA NEDEN BAŞARISIZLIĞA UĞRADI?

Arslantaş, Düzgün

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu tez, Mısır'daki Müslüman Kardeşler ve Türkiye'deki AKP geleneğinin dönüşümünü, model tartışmasına referansla, ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Mübarek rejiminin 25 Ocak 2011 tarihinde başlayan halk ayaklanması neticesinde devrilmesiyle, Mısır'daki siyasi harita değişikliğe uğramıştır. Müslüman Kardeşler destekli Özgürlük ve Adalet Partisi'nin (ÖAP) yasama seçimlerini kazanması ve Muhammed Mursi'nin cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerini kazanması yeni siyasi zeminde İslamcıların en güçlü aktör olacağı algısı yaratmıştır. Bu sırada, AKP'nin Müslüman Kardeşler'e yönelik olumlu tutumu ve Türkiye'nin Arap Baharı sırasında Ortadoğu'daki dış politika aktivizmi, Mısır'da Türkiye modeline ilişkin tartışma başlatmıştır. Müslüman Kardeşler liderlerinin Türkiye'yi model ülke olarak aldıklarına yönelik beyanları, bu fikri daha da güçlendirmiştir. Fakat, Mısır

toplumunun iç gelişmelerle kutuplaşması, 3 Temmuz 2013'de askeri darbeyle sonuçlanmış ve bu durum model tartışmasına son vermiştir. Bu tez, Müslüman Kardeşler ve AKP'nin tarihsel arkaplanını inceleyerek, Türkiye modelinin Mısır'da 5 ana nedenle başarısız olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır: (1) batı ve batılılaşmanın farklı anlamlar ve işlevler taşıması, (2) Müslüman Kardeşlerin siyasi rakiplerinin olması, (3) ÖAP'nin iktidar deneyimi olmaması, (4) Mısır siyasetinde askerin güçlü rolü ve (5)iki ülkenin ekonomik yapılarının farklı olması.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arap Baharı, Siyasi İslam, Müslüman Kardeşler, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Mısır Devrimi

To love, labor, peace, and my family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) is the most organized Islamic group with its wide range of social network in Egypt and other Arab countries in the region. Its long years of strategy to stay away from violence not only affected mainstream Islamic movements throughout the world but also attracted great sympathy among Islamists. The credibility gained during the years under authoritarian rulers became the utmost reason for the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood as the largest political organization after the toppling of Mubarak regime in 2011 during the protests throughout Egypt.

Established as a religious social organization in 1928 in the city of Ismailia, the MB found itself a ground in a short period of time under the leadership of Hasan al-Banna, a primary school teacher. Since its early years, the MB has not restricted its activities to religious sphere only due to the inter-relation of religion with social and economic matters. This positioning, in turn benefited to the movement since it provided the MB an opportunity space to show its activities elsewhere other than the religious arena. Within this framework, the MB assumed a unique role among contemporary Islamic movements owing to its concern with the various political, economic, social and cultural aspects of human experience. This feature makes the MB more than a social organization or a civil society group that works in a particular aspect of one single issue. Rather, it has a function to serve as a state within the state to influence the whole society in an intended manner.

One other point that makes the MB unique among contemporary Islamic movements is its long years of suppression under authoritarian rulers of Egypt. The first wave of suppression came in 1948 under the ruling of King Faruq due to allegations for being involved in assassination of the prime minister and Cairo Chief Police Officer. The second wave of suppression came in 1954 after assassination attempt to Nasser. Radicalization of the Brotherhood under the leadership of Sayyid Qutb and his opposition to Nasser's Arab nationalism caused third wave of suppression in 1965. Assassination of Anwar Sadat by Islamic Jihad in 1981, a radical group departed from the Brotherhood, led to another wave of suppression by the regime. Fifth wave of suppression came after the activism of the Brotherhood during the earthquake in Cairo and Ikhwan's success on civil society activism in early 1990s.

Eruption of unrest in Tunisia on December 2010, which led to the overthrown of the 30 years long Bin Ali regime, showed domino effect in the region. Financial crisis of 2007, neo-liberal economic policies of the regime, lack of social equality, unfair distribution of wealth, Obama's Cairo speech on June 2009, exclusion of the opposition, suppression, censorship and lack of democratization have been critical in the participation of huge crowds to demonstrations. Although the Brotherhood was absent in the streets along with Salafis in the early days of the protests, with the flowing of middle-class professionals and urban poor to the streets of Tahrir, cost-benefit balance of both groups changed. Ultimately, protests those started on January 25, 2011 led to collapse of the 31-years long brutal regime of Mubarak and created a new space for political and civil activism in Egypt.

In the new political landscape without National Democratic Party (NDP) of Mubarak, numerous new political parties were formed in a wide range of political spectrum. Among Islamist groups, the Muslim Brotherhood established the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) while the

Alexandria-based largest Salafi group established the Nour (Light) Party. In the elections for the lower house of the parliament on January 2012, the MB led all political parties by receiving 47 percent of the seats while Salafis came second by getting 24 percent of the seats. With this electoral victory, Islamists reserved more than 70 percent of the seats in the parliament. However, on June 15, 2012, the SCAF issued a decree that annulled elections. It was based on the constitutional court decision that party members must not have been allowed to contest for the one third of the seats designated for independents.

Additionally, presidential elections were held in two rounds. Muslim Brotherhood's candidate, Mohamed Morsi and former general Ahmed Shafiq were entitled to compete in the second round. Morsi won the election against Shafiq by receiving 51.73 percent of the votes where the turnout was 51 percent. Despite his promises to be a president for all Egyptians, Morsi polarized the country with the issuing of 22 November, 2012, declaration that banned any challenges to his decrees, laws and decisions until the new constitution would be approved. In response to that oppositional figures called for protests against supreme powers of the president. The clashes lasted for two weeks and resulted in partial annulment of the decree that gave Morsi absolute power. Egyptian turmoil did not calm down and revived in the first anniversary of Morsi's presidency on June 30, 2013. After many were killed in the clashes between anti-Morsi and pro-Morsi forces, on June 3, 2013, the chief of army, Abdul Fatah Al-Sisi announced the end of Morsi's presidency. Also, the constitution was suspended and promises were given for the renewal of elections soon by the regime.

On the other hand, Turkey's "*Justice and Development Party*" (AKP), was established in 2001 by former mayor of Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The party came to a power in 2002, has won all legislative and local elections with landslide victory until now. Unlike Egyptian Muslim

Brotherhood, Turkey's Islamic-oriented political parties are successful to integrate into a secular political structure. In this sense, the AKP is a political party that reflects transformation of the Islamic identity while interacting with secular political establishment under the shadow of party closure by the regime.

The first Islamic-oriented political party in Turkey, *National Order Party (MNP)*, was established by professor of engineering Necmettin Erbakan. The ideology of the MNP was mostly derived from "*National Outlook Movement*", whose leaders opposed embracement of westernism imposed by Atatürk to replace the traditional Ottoman society. The most distinct characteristic of the movement was the anti-Semitism as part of its discourse. After the military intervention in 1971, the party was closed down by the constitutional court on the basis of its anti-secular activities, which was the first time that an Islamist party was banned; however, it has become a trend for the Islamist parties in the following decades.

National Salvation Party (MSP) was established in 1972 as an MNP successor. Throughout 1970s, the MSP found a place in coalition governments by getting 13 percent of the votes in 1973 and 8 percent in 1977 elections. While these happened, the polarization of the society between the left and right wings and killings of thousands of people brought about coup d'etat in 1980. After the coup, all political parties were banned and leftist movements were suppressed by the regime. In order to eliminate left-right cleavage throughout the country, Islamism was encouraged with the adaptation of Turkish Islamic Synthesis (TIS) by the regime.

Welfare Party (RP) was the first pro-Islamic political party established in post-coup period. RP had more chance in the new political structure of the country after the 1980 military coup due to the suppression of leftist movements that addressed workers in urban area. In this context,

military regimes' tolerance towards Islamists created an opportunity space to propagate its ideology for the Islamists. Based on this background, the RP received 7 percent of the votes in 1987 legislative elections. In 1991 parliamentary elections, RP formed an alliance with two right wing political parties and received 17 percent of the votes.

Starting from 1980s, favor towards RP increased dramatically at the societal level. The most important reason for this was the shift of the support of working class in parallel to the decreasing influence of leftist movements throughout the country. There was also the emergence of Islamic capital with neo-liberal policies of the government throughout the 1980s. These two became main motives for conservative citizens to vote for the RP. Despite giving references to Islamic terms, as some scholars argue, majority of supporters of the RP was motivated not with religious but political and economic considerations and expectations. Well aware of this fact, RP addressed voters with a comprehensive party program under the title of "*Just Order*".

1994 municipal elections had been the momentous in Turkish political history because an Islamic party had turned into a nationwide political force for the first time in the history of modern Turkey by winning mayors of Istanbul and Ankara and filling the vacuum remained from social democrats.Also, RP led all political parties in 1995 legislative elections by getting 24 percent of the votes. After the election, RP formed a coalition with center-right *True Path Party (DYP)*which only lasted for 11 months and the government resigned under unprecedented pressure from the military and civil society organizations including employees and trade unions. On January 1998, RP was dissolved by the constitutional court for being the center of anti-secular activities and some important figures of the party including Erbakan were banned for five years.

After the closure of the RP, veterans set a new political party, "*The Virtue Party*" (FP) in December 1997. While the FP was clearly the successor of the RP, it was different from its predecessor in many respects primarily including the end of its opposition towards the west and embracement of western concepts of democracy, pluralism, human rights and rule of law as its parts of new discourse. Reference to "*national outlook*" and "*just order*" was abandoned as part of being open to misinterpretation and misunderstanding together with leaving aside of some objectives such as forming an Islamic banking system and suspension of NATO membership. Whether its adaptation to western concepts was sincere or not, FP experience had great importance for reflecting the transformative power of the secular political framework on Islamic political parties.

Appeasement of the FP's policies on some critical issues such as *headscarf* and *Imam Hatip schools,* Erbakan's intervention in party politics although he was banned to do so, and decrease in the voting share from 21 percent to 15 percent in 1999 parliamentary elections brought confrontational issues to the surface. Due to the abovelisted reasons, the confrontation came into existence between the younger reformist and older traditional wing of the party. Not willing to be labelled as "*dividers*" or "*traitors*", the opponents waited for the 2000 party congress to challenge the leadership of Recai Kutan with the candidacy of Abdullah Gül. In unprecedented competition in the history of Islamic-oriented parties in Turkey, reformists lost with a small margin to traditionalists. Nevertheless, the party was again closed down for its anti-secular activities.

After its dissolution, while traditionalists established the "*Felicity Party* (SP)" under the formal leadership of Recai Kutan, the mentioned reformist-wing engaged in setting a new political party that claimed to have a broader social base to receive votes. The new moderate party was envisaged to represent the center right and was designated to get votes from socially conservative and economically liberal citizens. In July 2001, *Justice*

and Development Party (AKP), was established by the reformists under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In the first election that the party took part in 2002, AKP won with landslide victory by receiving 34 percent of the votes.

The AKP defined itself as "*conservative democrat*" party with an impression of a distinct political party from its Islamist predecessor. The term is associated with socially conservative and politically liberal policies of the AKP government particularly in its first term in power. Failure of center-right oriented political parties to create an alternative to the AKP, support of liberals due to enactment of reform packages and possible military intervention amid the debate on the election of president led to increase of the votes of the AKP to 46 percent in 2007 parliamentary elections. This trend maintained in the next general election that was held in 2011 and the AKP increased its votes up to 49 percent.

During AKP's term in power, censorship on media, suppression of trade unions, university students, journalists, and judiciary were criticized by democratic civil society organizations and oppositional figures. Alienation from the discourse of democracy increased arbitrary decisions of the government and brought about social crisis recently as in the case of Taksim Gezi Park protests those started in Istanbul in May 2013. AKP government's ambition to build a mall in a green portion of Taksim Gezi Park while cutting off trees resulted in the use of excessive force by the police where 5 were killed and thousands wounded. Then the protests spread to whole country with the participation of millions of people to demonstrations and openly manifested disturbances from the authoritarianism of the government.

The roads of the AKP and the FJP intersected after the toppling of Mubarak regime in Egypt during the Arab Spring. Turkey's foreign policy activism and regional changes after 2003 Iraqi war, which increased prestige

of the AKP in the region, led to emergence of Turkey as a model for Egyptian Islamists. The victory of the FJP in the post-revolutionary period and constant references to the AKP by the leaders of the FJP further strengthened this view. In this thesis, by analyzing the transformation of the Muslim Brotherhood and the AKP, which are the leading parties in the Middle East, the failure of Turkish model with the eruption of military intervention in Egypt will be debated. While doing that, different political, social and historical dynamics of both movements will be highlighted. Additionally, in this thesis, voter bases, electoral performances, party programs, economic policies, role of armies, westernism and ideologies of both movements will be debated in a comparative perspective. Views on women rights, foreign policy issues, social policies and minority groups are not covered in the thesis. Ultimately, this thesis aims to contribute to the growing academic literature on both the Muslim Brotherhood and the AKP and the model debate which has been very popular among scholars.

Based on the narrative presented above, this thesis includes five chapters. The thesis starts with the introduction chapter. In the second chapter, the history of the Muslim Brotherhood until the formation of the FJP will be analyzed. While doing that, the objectives, ideology, structure and financing of the organization will be highlighted. Then, the politics of the MB in its early years will be covered. Socialist-nationalist Nasser's road to presidency with a coup d'état in 1954 and radicalization of the MB during 1960s with Sayyid Qutb's leadership will be touched upon and the policies of the organization towards the regime during the reign of Anwar Sadat will be covered. Hosni Mubarak's presidency that started in 1981 after the assassination of Sadat and rapprochement of the Brotherhood and the regime during 1980s will be illustrated afterwards. The changing policy of the regime with its increasing brutality against the MB in the early 1990s will be revealed. Following that the electoral success of the Brotherhood in

2005 parliamentary elections and its re-suppression in the following years will be put forward. Lastly, the current developments in Egyptian politics will be shed light on.

The third chapter of the thesis analyzes transformation of the policies of the Islamic parties' predecessor to the AKP. It starts with the role of religion during the Ottoman Empire. The secularization of the politics with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal and the tension created among the center and the periphery until the military intervention in 1960 will be analyzed. Additionally, the development of the National Outlook Movement that established a ground for the formation of the first Islamic-oriented political party, MNP, by Necmettin Erbakan in 1970 and its party politics will be illuminated. The establishment of the MSP after MNP's closure by constitutional court and its key role in the coalitions during turmoil years of 1970s will be touched upon. Other than that, 1980 military coup and its contributions to the flourishing of Islamist movements will be examined. The establishment of the RP in 1983 by the supporters of Erbakan and its journey to power in 1995 through the changing of electoral preferences of the poor and the effects of the end of the Cold War will be touched upon. RP's closure by constitutional court in 1998 on claims of its anti-secular activities and the formation of the successor FP will be assessed. Last but not least, emergence of conflict between reformists and traditionalists after the weakening of the party in 1999 general elections and the motives behind the formation of the AKP will be listed.

The fourth chapter compares the policies of the AKP and the FJP, and consists of four sub-sections. The first section begins with the analysis of the AKP by mentioning its conservative democracy, party program, party politics, party cadres and its electoral performance until now. After that, the changing in the rhetoric of the party towards the EU and the reforms made

until 2005 will be highlighted. The evolving economic structure of Turkey with the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies will be covered as the last matter of the first sub-section. The second sub-section will name FJP's party program and its policies with great emphasis on the rivalry of the Brothers and the Salafis. The third sub-section identifies Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East until the beginning of the Arab Spring. The fourth sub-section will question the possibility of an emergence of Turkey under the leadership of the AKP as a model to the Egypt and the FJP in particular with its moves for democratization in its early years, its neo-liberal economic policies and with its character of catch-all party.

Last but not least, the thesis ends with the conclusion chapter. After the assessment of the historical accounts of both the FJP and the AKP, the reasons behind the question, "*why Turkish model failed in Egypt*", will be thoroughly examined.

CHAPTER 2

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD (1928-2012)

2.1.Muslim Brotherhood in Its Early Years

2.1.1 The Goals of the Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) or Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, whose power transcended its national border and affected mainstream Islamic movements in the Arab World, came into existence in the Egyptian city of Ismailia as a social and religious organization in 1928 by school teacher Hasan al Banna. Although al- Banna did not come from religious background, he was very successful to transform the movement into mass political movement in a short period of time. To understand the nature of the politics of the MB, one has to look at how the founder described the movement:

1) *A Salafi call (da'wa): because they call for returning Islam to its purist meaning from God's Book and the Sunnah of his Prophet*
2) *A Sunni way (tariqa): because they take it upon themselves to work according to the pure Sunna in all things especially in beliefs, badat, whenever they find a way for thatA Sufi truth: because they know the essence of goodness is purity of soul and purity of hearth and persistence in work*
3) *A political entity: because they call for the reform of internal government, and the revision of the Islamic Ummah's relations with other nations*
4) *A sports group: because they care about their bodies and believe that a strong believer is better than a weak one*
5) *A scientific, cultural solidarity: because Islam makes the quest for knowledge a fareeda (ordinance from God) for every Muslim man and woman and because the Muslim Brotherhood clubs are in reality schools for education and enculturation and institues for pedagogy for the body, mind and spirit (*Tadroz, 2012: 4)

As it could be understood from the characteristics of the movement, the Muslim Brotherhood did not restrict its activities to religious sphere only. The reason behind that was the inter-relation of religion with social and economic matters. This provided an opportunity space for the movement to be active in the fields other than religion and get the support of the ordinary people who suffered from the poor conditions of the country.

The society of the Brotherhood has unique role among contemporary Islamic movements in its assertion of the comprehensive nature of Islamic thought, perceiving Islam not merely in terms of religious observance but as an integral way of life, and concerned with the various political, economic, social and cultural aspects of human experience (Awaisi, 1998: n.p.). That is to say, the MB is more than a social organization or a civil society group that works in particular aspect of one issue. Rather, it is working as a state within the state to influence the society in an intended manner.

During its establishment period the movement was affected from the developments that took place at national, regional or international level. First, nationalist Vafd Party's landslide electoral victory in 1924 elections and its opposition to Egyptian Kingdom and British administration contributed to its establishment. Especially, Vafd Party's opposition to British rule led to the advance in organizational ability of the Brotherhood under the mandate of Britain and gain ground not as a political party but social force. Second, it was affected from the abolishment of caliphate in Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. After this development, Britain searched for a ways to revive caliphate in Egypt and strengthened Islamic movememts. By this way, Britain aimed to control Muslims under its mandate. Third, 1929 global economic crisis and and searching of solidarity of the poor people affected emergence of the Brotherhood. Particularly, during the crisis the conditions of small scale farmers deteriorated and the discourse of religious emancipation became very popular among Egyptians living in rural area. With the starting of huge migration wave during 1930s,

the movement showed its influence on urban lower and middle classes and extended its voter base (Boztemur, 2011: 63).

In its early years, the movement was more close to a Sufi order than a political movement guided by al-Banna and a small group of disciples who dutifully performed his instructions. In the following years, the few details of the organization's aims had come into being gradually through the sermons and letters of al-Banna. In 1945, aforementioned sermons and letters were codified into a set of bylaws and main goals of the Brotherhood were declared namely, precise explanation of the Quran based on its original meaning while accommodating the spirit of the age, unification of Egypt and the Islamic world with regard to the principles of the Qu'ran, strengthening Egyptian society by increasing national wealth, reducing inequality and providing social services, liberating Egypt by eliminating any foreign presence and pursuing world cooperation and peace based on freedom, human rights, and Islam. In the following decade, al-Banna elaborated several other goals for the organization by using additional statements, letters and sermons. Banning of all political parties, ending corruption in government administration, strengthening of the independence of the judiciary, expansion of government's role in supervising education and caring for public morality could be counted among these objectives (Rutherford, 2008: 79).

To reach aforementioned goals, the Brotherhood was designated to use four methods:

missionary work (al-Dawa) that would spread the Brotherhood's views through preaching, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, and books; education (al-Tarbiya) for the Brotherhood's followers and the population as a whole; indoctrination (al-Tawyih) of all Egyptians to the principle that Shari'a must govern every aspect of life; action (al-Amal) that would include building mosques, schools, hospitals and social service clinics (Rutherford, 2008: 78).

As it could be concluded different form radical Islamic movements, the movement kept some distance to using of violence to reach its goals.

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Moreover, al-Banna submitted some proposals for the reform of the government during the post 1st World War years. The proposals are significant because they correspond to the state imagination of the MB namely, an end to party rivalry and channeling political forces to a common front, reform of law to conform Islamic legislation, strengthening of armed forces and faithful youth to fight for jihad, strengthening of bonds between Islamic countries especially of the Arab countries, revival of the institution of Caliphate, halting to bribery and favoritism, weighting all acts of government in the eyes of Islamic wisdom and doctrine (Youssef, 1985: 73).

2.1.2. The Ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood

In terms of its ideological stance, since its foundation, Ikhwan was inspired from Wahhabi-Salafi ideology that was prevalent in Saudi Arabia through Salafis organizational links with the founders of the movement. Even it is claimed that the Brotherhood was the recipient of regular funding of Saudis. Especially the close friendship between Rashid Reda, who championed Salafi ideology, and al- Banna unrolled the Salafi impact on the ideology of the organization. Additionally, in its own autobiography, *The Da'wa and the Preacher*, al-Banna frequently referred to the talks of Reda (Tadroz, 2012: 10).

Anti-imperialism was another feature of the ideology of the Brotherhood due to long years of sufferance under the Ottoman, French and British rules. According to al-Banna, Egypt had suffered from two forms of imperialism. The first form was the external imperialism at the hands of Britain. Britain's de facto control over Egyptian politics was the main reason behind this view. The second form of imperialism was the domestic imperialism carried out by local elites who benefited from Britain's presence in Egypt and assisted Britain to exploit the resources of the country. According to him, Egyptians must defeat both of these forms of

imperialism to be independent (Philips, 2009: 10-11). The colonial past of Egypt which strengthened opposition to western ideologies and values differentiated Egypt from Turkey.

According to al-Banna, Shari'a, the rule of Islam, could be regarded as the replacement of foreign ideologies. Instead of slavishly embracing Western ideologies, al-Banna urged for the return to purest Islam:

The Muslim Brothers believe that when Allah most High revealed the Quran and ordered this worshippers to follow Muhammad. He placed in this true religion all the necessary foundations for the renaissance and happiness of nations...globalism, nationalism, socialism, capitalism, bolshevism, war, the distribution of wealth, the relationship between producer and consumer and everything near and far to these concerns that preoccupy the politicians of nations and philosophers of society. We believe Islam has gone to the heart of all these issues (Ghobashy, 2005: 376).

In the political atmosphere of the post- 1st World War years which brought about collapse of empires and the emergence of nation states, the significance of patriotism and nationalism was well understood by al-Banna and his followers. However, the elements of the nation state in the west put in a different manner in al-Banna's perspective. He perceived creation of state and salvation of nation from foreign domination as not the ultimate aim but as the first step toward the principal goal, the renewal of the Islamic caliphate (Tal, 2005: 2). The organization aimed to the control the state in order to transform it into Islamic state in the end. Such kind of view brings questions about the sincerity of the movement in its participation to democratic system through elections.

2.1.3. Structure and Financing of the Muslim Brotherhood

The MB has hierarchical structure in which the Supreme Guide stands at the top of power. The Supreme Guide presides over Guidance Bureau that has 13 members who retain significant decision making power on an ideological and organizational level such as formulation of policies, managing of activities and selection of leadership. The General Guide must

be at least forty years old and is elected by an absolute majority of the Shura Council from the candidates nominated by the Guidance Bureau. Members of the Guidance Bureau serve for renewable four-year terms and must also be at least thirty years of age to be selected. The 100-member Shura Council elects the members of the Guidance Bureau. It is the legislative body of the organization which is responsible for issuing resolutions and reviewing annual report and budget. The Shura Council convenes periodically in every six months; members serve for four-year terms and each member must be at least thirty years old to be nominated. It also works as a consultative assembly. The technical operation unit supports the Guidance Bureau with information and background in the fields of religion, politics and legal affairs. In addition to that comprehensive organizational structure exists on the ground: at the top lies the administrative office (usually existing at a governorate level), followed by the district level, then branch, then family. The family or cell comprised of between seven and ten people and meets for about two hours on a weekly basis to study the prescribed curriculum. This organizational structure remained essentially as the same until 1992, when a provision was added for the reelection of the general guide. With this change, terms of office were fixed at five years, although no term limits were specified (Anani, 2007: 96; Ghobashy, 2005: 377).

Despite its hierarchy at the decision making center, the Brotherhood has decentralized structure with its 7000 branch offices working at the levels of districts, municipality and locality. It maintains a huge network that composed of private voluntary organizations affiliated with neighborhood mosques and run by local clerics. The Brotherhood has wide range of duties from operating health clinics, schools and sports clubs to providing credits to the businessman through its own informal network (Philips, 2009: 12). Functioning as a state in Egypt, public approval of the organization increased dramatically in the long run.

The financing of such a huge network has crucial importance to fulfill its role properly in the society. The financing is carried out in accordance with the Islamic principle of charity which makes alleviation of the suffering of the oppressed and depressed obligatory for the Muslims. The biggest contribution to the organization comes from local clerics and professional associations. Nevertheless, Ikhwan does not limit its income to the donations at the national level. As it was mentioned before, Salafis of Saudi Arabia and rich businessmen of Sunni-dominated Arab countries transfer money to the headquarters of the MB (Philips, 2009: 13). By this way, donors have strengthened their ties with the members of the organization and gained prestige at the public level.

2.1.4. Politics of the Muslim Brotherhood

Under the leadership of al-Banna, the Brotherhood had developed into two different competing factions because of tactical differences to retain power. While the secret apparatus led by Ahmet Sanadi was in favor of military confrontation with the regime, a less harsh faction led by Hasan al-Hudeibi, called for passive resistance in the form of improvement of education and building of public support for the implementation of Shari'a. In this setting, al-Banna remained out of debate thanks to his charisma and credibility. However, his death resurfaced internal rivalry between two factions. Even though al-Hudeibi assumed the post of the General Guide after the death of al-Banna, he never succeeded to enjoy the loyalty of more violent Sanadi faction (Rutherford, 2008: 79). The rivalry of these factions maintained until Sayyid Qutb period in which radicals took the leading role.

At the first decade of its formation, Muslim Brotherhood had experienced of the usual crisis of political entities and witnessed different ideas on the same issues. Other than the rivalry of Sanadi and al-Hudeibi factions, internal criticism came out in 1930s and the group called

"*Muhammed's Youth*" was expelled for protesting leader's political pragmatism based on his candidacy in the elections of 1942 and 1945 (Ghobashy, 2005: 375-376). The change in al-Banna's attitude towards election and multi-party system contradicts with his views that oppose political parties. This clearly manifests pragmatism of the movement in its early years to obtain more ground in politics.

After the Second World War, the organization gained so much momentum that its power reached the zenith of its power through violence, student demonstrations, political murders, riots and bombing of public places. Meanwhile, al-Banna warned his cohorts to prepare for the battle and reminded that the cost of fight would not be cheap. Because of the fact that the demands of the MB were not addressed by the regime, the intimidations of al-Banna were realized. Under these conditions, the Ikhwan became a state within a state with its own factories, schools, hospitals and armies (Youssef, 1985: 73). Like any autocratic leader, King Faruq searched for measures to curb increasing power of the MB.

At this stage, the situation for the Brotherhood became much more complicated when King Farouq arrested and imprisoned members of the MB as a reaction to wave of violence in 1948. Notably, the murder of chief police officer of Cairo led up to banning of Muslim Brotherhood and arrest of its key leaders except al-Banna. Shortly afterwards, Egypt's Prime Minister Nurashi Pasha was assassinated by 23 year-old young men who was a member of the Brotherhood. The government put the blame on the MB for the assassination and launched a huge campaign against Ikhwan. Ultimately, according to some estimation, nearly one million MB members either went into exile or were driven underground by the regime. On February 12, 1949, to retaliate the assassination of the Prime Minister and killing of Police Chief of Cairo, al-Banna was himself assassinated by

Egypt's secret police. In consequence of this, the martial law was introduced and remained in force until May 1952 (Esposito, 1998: 139).

The crackdown of the organization by King Farouq became a regular trend in the following years for the politicians of Egypt. Like any other strong political movement throughout the world, the movement born out of the ashes since the motives that makes the movement popular such as the poverty and lack of social state remained valid. Thereof, even though the MB lost its undisputed leader with his assassination, it did not lose momentum in the next decades.

2.2. Free Officer's Coup and the Muslim Brotherhood

The events during Second World War years played a critical role in the politicization of Egyptian army and emergence of the Young Officers movement. As a matter of the fact already during the Second World War, Egyptian army members seek to eliminate British presence through collaboration with the Axis forces. Even, they interfered in some violent events and assassination against British officers. Additionally, establishment of Palestine and the humiliation of Arab armies in the war against Israel in 1948 increased disillusionment and politicization of the army members. Not to be indifferent to the developments in Egyptian society, several junior military officers came together and formed a clandestine military organization at the home of Gamal Abdel Nasser in late 1949. By 1950, the group was calling itself as the "*Free Officers*". They started its activities by publication of leaflets and recruitment of supporters in the military (Jankowski, 2002: 15).

The end of Second World War and the starting of Cold War greatly increased the significance of Egypt for its strategic location that connects Africa and Asia on the one hand and Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea on the other hand. Its huge population and cultural and political influence over

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Arab states reinforced these sentiments. In the new world order, King Faruq was keen to integrate into Middle East Command (MEC) under British mandate to resist possible Soviet invasion. The efforts for the establishment of the MEC only intensified anti-imperialist sentiments among students, workers and even army and police members and turned into massive rioting and looting in 1951 and 1952. On 23 July 1952, Free Officers staged a bloodless coup. Eventually, King Farouq was abdicated and monarchy was abolished (Yaqub, 2004: 26). Overthrowing of monarch is noteworthy since it introduced nationalist-socialist Arab ideology.

The MB cooperated with Free Officers to end its suffering under the authority of King Farouq despite re-legalization of the society in 1951. The expectation of the leadership was that it would get share of power in the new regime. While the regime banned all political parties in 1953, it allowed the activities of the MB based on its characterization as not a political party but an association (Sullivan, Kotob, 1999: 42-43). However, the goodwill of the newly established regime towards Ikhwan had changed in overtime as the movement strengthened and challenged the policies of Free Officers which were seen as contradictory to the rule of Shari'a.

As it is mentioned before, the most effective civilian opposition to Monarch and the Britain was the Brotherhood. This is why it was the only civilian group that Nasser and his fellow Free Officers chose to ally with in the 1952 coup. Reasons behind such a strategy was the sharing of some commitments with the MB including opposition to British occupation, support for a clean parliamentary system and economic reforms to make distribution of wealth more equal. This rationale oriented Nasser to give posts to the MB leadership in the cabinet. To illustrate, Minister of Religious Endowment was chosen among MB members. The gesture of Nasser was not limited to that; he also pardoned all MB members who was sentenced for attacks on pre-1952 regime, reopened the investigation into

the assassination of al-Banna, and chose three members of the movement to draft the new constitution (Rutherford, 2008: 79-80).

In the political atmosphere that witnessed decaying of main nationalist party, the Wafd Party, the Free Officers were against all political parties. Hence, they encouraged Egyptian citizens to join to the coup not as representatives of organization but as an individual. For the young officers, the degeneration of civilian politics would be counterbalanced by not new political parties based on different ideological stances but with military power, the bearer of purified nationalism (Alexender, 2005: 36). The interview that was made by New York Times with Nasser unfurled the stance of the new regime on ideology:

I have read much about socialism, communism, democracy and fascism. Our revolution will not be labeled as any of these names. We seek to meet the needs and requirements of our own people and we are not trying to copy anybody else's ideology. (Witte, 2004: 43).

Despite the magnitude of cooperation with the army, Muslim Brotherhood was a top potential threat to the regime. In this regard, coping with the organization was a difficult task due to its strength gained in the previous decades. In the end, the insistence of the MB to enforce its political agenda to new regime and the campaign against political arrests of new regime brought about ending of cooperation between two groups (Vatikiotis, 1978: 135). In other words, the ambitious political agenda of the MB reversed the policies of the regime.

In addition to that, it was apparent that the new regime would not restore caliphate and not meet the demands coming from Islamists. Instead of this, as being the head of Egypt in March 1954, Nasser moved to establish its ideological vision, pan-Arab socialism. According to Esposito (1998: 112), Nasser's socialist brand of Arab nationalism embodied true nature of Islam with the stress on freedom, equality and social justice. This move further created a rift with regime and communists and Islamists

(Takeyh, Gvosdev, 2004: 60). The main themes of Arab socialism are opposition to imperialism and prevention of unity of Arabs. However, the socialist character of Arab socialism is open to a question because of its rejection of class struggle and the assumption that sees communism and Arabism as exclusive to each other. In the following years, the rise of Arab nationalism was manifested in the unity of Egypt and Syria under the banner of the United Arab Republic from 1968 to 1971 (Alnasrawi, 1991: 39). Nevertheless, the ideology of Arab socialism started to lose its credibility as Egypt and other Arab states were not successful in their wars against Israel. The ideological vacuum created with consecutive defeats later filled by the Islamists.

By December 1953, the Free Officers were very much interested in the activities of the MB. Triggering event for the escalation of conflict was the nature of the relations between Egypt and Britain. At that point, anti-imperialist posture of the MB caused a disturbance for Nasser who seeks to conciliate with Britain and negotiate over British presence. Later, in January 1954, a clash between MB supporters and the members of the Liberation Rally at Cairo University led the regime to declare dissolution of the organization. The tension did not come to an end; on the contrary intensified when Nasser signed a withdrawal agreement with Britain on October 19, 1954. The agreement permitted Britain to locate its troops in Egypt for at least six more years. Having reacted both to the agreement and the regime, a more radical and militant faction of the Ikhwan attempted to assassinate Nasser on October 1954. In return for the assassination attempt, over 30,000 members of the MB and heads of executive offices were arrested (Rutherford, 2008: 80-81).

All in all, the collaboration of the secular military regime and Islamists did not last long as the Brotherhood had challenged the regime based on its public prestige. On the whole, the search of a regime for a way to collaborate with Britain and its political agenda that opposed the rule of

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Shari'a estranged the movement and Nasser from each other. In this political context, the regime did not hesitate to crackdown the organization. However, in the following decade, the Brotherhood regenerated itself with the failure of Egyptian regime to tackle with Israeli threat.

2.3. Radicalization of the Muslim Brotherhood under Qutb and Revival of Islamism

Nasser's rigid policy against Ikhwan ended when he solidified his power. The signals of appeasement could be seen in his decision to release some members of the organization. Soon, many of the released prisoners restored their previous positions within the organization. While they were in jail nearly for a decade, life for Egyptians changed dramatically under the leadership of Nasser. Especially the land reform, secularization process, the involvement of peasants and the laborers to the one party system transformed the political landscape in the country. Unable to grasp the evolution of Egyptian society because of the years they spent in jail, the sense of revenge appeared as the only aim for what did the regime do to the released prisoners. There was disseminated feeling of fear from Nasser's secret police and of alienation from the rest of the society. All these pent-up feelings contributed to an emergence of new and more radical trend under the guidance of Sayyid Qutb (Youssef, 1985: 74).

Under the leadership of Sayyid Qutb, the most radical theological trend of the MB occurred during 1960s. From the point of Qutb, Egypt was in a state of pre-Islamic ignorance in which basic necessities of Islam were not visible. Accordingly, devoted Muslims had an obligation to overthrow the regime with force. Qutb opposed Nasser's advocacy of Arab nationalism that competed with Islamism. He also made a distinction between the Islamic rule "*hakimiyya*" (justice) and "*jahiliyya*" (persistence in ignorance, perversity, and error). The former "*jahilliyya*" means glorifying of any-ism

that was communism, capitalism and fascism while "*hakimiyya*" meant to be the recognition of nationalism as belief, Dar al-Islam as homeland, God as ruler and the Qu'ran as the constitution (Lawrance, 2000: 22).

Considering the famous motto "history repeats itself", once again gathering support from military, police and the middle class, the Ikhwan was crushed by the regime. The regime arrested over 18, 000 MB members and sympathizers and executed 26 of its leaders including Qutb for the involvement in a plot to assassinate Nasser and overthrowing the regime on August 1965. Next year, the organization was in total disarray with the dissolution of its branches and confiscation of wealth. In the political atmosphere of uncertainty and suppression, the key leaders of the organization fled into exile, mostly to Saudi Arabia or Europe (Rutherford, 2008: 81-82). At first glance, the assault of the regime against Islamists seemed to be successful as the leader cadres of the Brotherhood moved away from the country. However, this situation had changed in few years with the rise of tension between Arabs and Egypt over the Palestinian Question.

The humiliating defeat of Arab armies (United Arab Republic and Jordan) and the loss of Jerusalem and Sinaian Peninsula to Israel in less than a week shocked the adherents of the regime in 1967. Islamists thought that the defeat was due to regime's leftist and secular character. From that point of view, a return to the purest Islam would ensure the nation's unity, strength, and sense of purpose. This way of thinking was propagandized with the title of "*God is the solution*" and used in the activities of the movement (Palmer&Palmer 2008: 16).

2.4. Sadat and the Muslim Brotherhood

Nasser's successor was his vice president, Anwar al-Sadat after his death in 1970. The primary expectation was that he would restore Egypt

who was demoralized by the defeat of 1967 war and economic stagnation. Within this framework, Sadat's first assignment was to announce a "*corrective revolution*" aimed at reversal of the policy of centralized economic control and expulsion of Soviet military advisors from the country. Also, the pro-Soviet faction in the state apparatus was removed and communists and Nasserist students were cracked down. Most dramatically, Islamists groups were encouraged intentionally to counterbalance the leftist secular groups (Holtmann, 2009: 6-7). This policy was repeated by the military junta of Turkey in the following decade.

Economically, the policies of Anwar Sadat were much more different from its predecessor. During the presidency of Nasser, industrial development plans were realized and since the middle of 1960s, state capitalism was adopted under the title of socialist program. At the same time, Nasser created public sector that provided two thirds of total employment. By this way, Nasser took power from rich minority but constituted strong bureaucratic organization. This situation changed with the eruption of war in 1967 with Israel. Defeat of Egypt in 1967 war led to the efforts for regeneration of its military might and fixing deteriorated economy. This, in turn, led to diverge from import-substitution model and fixing of budget with the debts received from Saudi Arabia. Sadat's infitah policy was based on these developments. Unlike Nasser who was supported by public sector and workers, Sadat was supported by private enterpreneur and bourgeoise. Under the rule of Sadat, due to detoriation of agriculture and increase in population, people living in rural areas migrated to big citites whose employment capacity was low (Boztemur, 2011: 62).

Sadat's mild foreign policy towards Israel created obstacle for the government. In 1977, Sadat visited Jerusalem and became the first Arab leader to visit Israel. Also, under the US-sponsored Camp David Agreement of 1978, Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist and Israel withdrew from Sinaian Peninsula where they occupied in 1967. The Camp David Accords

was met by universal rejection of remaining Arab states. In the Arab Summit meeting of November 1978, Arab states declared that they would suspend Egyptian membership to the League, break diplomatic relations with Egypt, move the headquarters of Arab League from Cairo to Tunis and boycott any company that would do business with Israel if Egypt takes one step more and signs a treaty with Israel. The possible enforcement of sanctions against Egypt violated a basic tenet of the idea of pan-Arabism (Quand, 1988: 103).

Looking at Sadat's policy towards Islamic groups, there were new steps of the government that eased control on Brotherhood by allowing the organization to undertake social and religious activities. Also, the MB was given a chance to construct schools, hospitals and medical clinics. Additionally, Al Dawa, the journal of the MB, was allowed. At the same time the ability of the Brotherhood to mobilize its supporters to the extent that the organization were successful to rally 250,000 of its members to attend a prayer in Cairo's Abidin Square in 1981 (Rutherford, 2008: 82-83).

As a sign of bona fida shown towards the Islamic groups, the regime gradually released Islamist prisoners from 1971 to 1975. Meanwhile, the Muslim Brotherhood resumed its social activities. In this regard, the universities were used as a battlefield to eliminate counter-ideologies such as secularism and communism (Dalacoura, 2011: 113). Moreover, Sadat frequently used religious language such as description of Egypt as a state of science and faith to Islamize society against the threat of the communists. The most evident indicator of Islamization of Egyptian state could be seen in the constitution. The constitution which was drafted in 1971 frankly implied that Shari'a was the main source of legislation (Stein, 2012: 110). Thus, the changing character of the regime during Sadat's period benefited Islamists although it did not last long.

The most prominent Islamist ideologues of Sadat period were Umar al-Tilmisani, Muhammed al-Ghazali, and Muhammad Amara. The demands

of these figures from the regime included reduction of political and cultural ties with the West, implementation of Islamic law and the cessation of contact with Israel. For economic terms, they were also against *infitah* (economic opening to West) which was related to consumerism, materialism and charging interest on loans. The ideologues also pointed out that the policy of *infitah* widened the gap between the rich and the poor by creating rich and small elite (Rutherford, 2008: 83). Focusing more on social affairs, Qutbist theology started to lose ground within the organization. However, the radicals maintained their secret activities by going underground.

As Sadat's new orientation set to crystallize in 1974, the MB departed its way from Sadat. Especially, being the first military organization to send volunteers and military assistance to the Palestinians in their struggle against Israel, Ikhwan was antagonized with the rapprochement of Egypt and Israel in that period. Apart from that the Brotherhood vehemently criticized pro-Western policy of Sadat. Although at the outset, Islamists found these steps favorable to temper the influence of Soviet Union on Egypt, later they changed their approaches and drove anti- US position (Quand, 1988: 51-54).

Although there were some signs of hope for the change in Sadat's period, the hope burned out with Sadat's rapprochement with the US and Israel. For the Islamists, it was claimed that the tolerance shown towards the Ikhwan and other religious organizations by Sadat was not sincere and it was just a part of policy to neutralize Nasserites and the leftists. In that sense, the regime did not succeed to earn the sympathy of Islamists. Not so surprisingly, the end of Sadat period came with the bullet fired by Islamists not the leftists or Nasserites.

2.5.Mubarak and the Muslim Brotherhood during 1980s

The assassination of Sadat on October 1981 *by Islamic Jihad*, the group that departed from Brotherhood and influenced by Qutbist jihadist theology, initiated a new wave of arrest throughout the country. Over four thousands members and supporters of the MB were arrested (Berman, 2009: 129).

After the assassination, Sadat was succeeded by his vice president, Hosni Mubarak. During 1980s, the Brotherhood continued to flourish in the more tolerant and less oppressive political environment and remained as the major oppositional force in Egypt. In this time period, the Brotherhood organized into bureaucracy, army, police, political parties, universities, judiciary and civil society organizations and constituted religious part of middle class that deals with trade business. Thus, it could be argued that the members of the Brotherhood integrated into capitalist system and despite its anti-western discourse, the movement supported global capitalism in the issues of investment, credit, banking and foreign trade (Boztemur, 2011: 62).

The financial resources transferred from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Arab countries allowed the MB to allocate its resources for the opening of medical clinics, schools and social welfare centers. Working as a social state within inefficient rentier state, it was not difficult to get the support of middle and lower classes expanded in 1980s. In addition to that the influence of the MB in the unions of doctors, engineers, lawyers and journalists provided it a basis to reach professional, skilled workers and managers. In a nutshell, as Atkins (2004: 215) points out incompetent to solve economic and social problems of Egyptian people, Mubarak regime contributed to flourishing of Islamist organizations.

Although the new government showed some tolerance to the Brotherhood socially and organizationally, and allowed establishment of political parties, the Muslim Brotherhood did not form a political party

because of two reasons: provisions in constitution that prohibited establishment of political parties based on religion and the strategy of the movement (Boztemur, 2011: 62). Related to that, there was internal debate on the participation to the elections among Islamists. Some associated participation to the elections with the West and the Western institutions. For these groups, it is the tactical pragmatism that directs the groups for the electoral considerations. On the other hand, proponents of participation to the democratic system through elections claimed that statements of al-Banna recommends for political participation to further the goal of Da'wa. This argument was also used by Islamist constitutionalists who defended that parliament is the most effective institution for gathering public attention and drafting law for non-covered issues under Islamic law. Accordingly, involvement in politics would advance MB's objectives through disseminating its messages and reaching the public (Blaydes, 2010: 151).

The controversy between two factions within the organization resulted in the victory of supporters of participation to the electoral process. At the end of the day, the Brotherhood took part in the elections of 1984 and 1987 through coalitions with other political parties. In this regard, general election of 1984 was a milestone for the Brotherhood due to the fact that it signed breaking of traditional approach of Islamists to the elections and democratic structure. However, being inexperienced in the elections, the Brotherhood did not show the success that the partisans expected.

The ban on the Brotherhood to contest in the elections with its own name forced the organization to make a coalition with other mainstream political parties. Infiltration to trade unions and submitting loyal candidates to the movement were two strategies that the MB followed to overcome political barriers put by Mubarak regime. In the light of this, the Brotherhood formed an alliance with the Wafd Party, nationalist liberal party that were very popular in 1920s and 1930s and reconstituted in 1983

by giving concessions from its secular notion in the parliamentary elections of 1984 (Philips, 2009: 17).

The alliance of the Wafd Party and the Brotherhood was tactical for both parties. First, the newly constituted Wafd Party, after 30 years of absence from the political sphere, was not sure of its ability to pass 8 percent threshold to enter to the parliament. For the Brotherhood, putting of its own candidates was forbidden under its own name because it was not an officially recognized political party. Thus, the alliance gave the MB a chance to circumvent the law and to run its candidates in the elections. This situation was also in line with the policy of encouraging moderate MB against radical Islamists. In the first multi-party election since Free Officer's coup in 1952, the alliance won 58 seats in the 454-member parliament by taking 15 percent of the total votes. However, the coalition did not last long and the parties departed their ways after the election (Shehata, 2007: 140-141). Despite the end of coalition in the parliament, the tactical alliance of the Wafd and the Brotherhood did not disappoint the supporters of both parties because it served for realizing the objectives of two parties.

The next election that the Brothers participated was held in 1987 which marked the end of alliance between the Wafd and the Brotherhood. For the Wafd, the search for an alliance was not necessary anymore because the party had a power to pass 8 percent threshold. The Brotherhood was in a position to find new partners to contest in the election. The Socialist Labor Party and the Liberal Party, who failed to meet the 8 percent threshold, were enthusiastic to form an alliance with the Ikhwan. Accordingly, the parties agreed to run under the list of the *Socialist Labor Party*. The Socialist Labor Party won 60 seats by taking 17 percent of the votes, 38 of which went to the Brotherhood (Shehata, 2007: 143).

Active participation of the Brotherhood to the elections of 1984 and 1987 meant to the recognition of legitimacy of Mubarak and his regime (Al-Awadi, 2005: 15). In other words, Ikhwan recognized the regime at large

and criticized the policies imposed by rulers rather than the legitimacy of Mubarak. In compliance with such a policy, the MB refrained from open confrontation with the regime.

The early years of the Mubarak were not challanging for the Brotherhood. In this period, the organization not only gained political experience in the electoral process but also actively served as a social organization for the poor people. At one point, the regime embraced the policy of "*carrot and stick*" to make Brotherhood submissive to existing political structure. In the light of this, the government rewarded Ikhwan for its passive posture towards the regime. Also, Islamists melted down within political Islam supported by the state. Nevertheless, the soft policy of the regime changed in the following decade as the Brotherhood strengthened and challenged the authority of Mubarak.

2.6. The Metamorphosis of the Muslim Brotherhood during 1990s and 2000s

The constructive political configuration of the 1980s for the Islamists changed in the beginning of 1990s. In May 1990, the Supreme Constitutional Court, the highest judiciary institution, ruled for unconstitutionality of the 1983 Electoral Law which brought party list system instead of individual candidacy for the deputies. The decision of the court was to reserve seats for the individual candidacies. Although the opposition at first backed the decision, they took notice of the intention of the Mubarak soon. After the declaration of the decision of the court, Mubarak abolished the party list system and announced a return for individual-candidacy system. By doing so, Mubarak wanted to give the impression that he respected for the supremacy of law. On the contrary, for the opponents, Mubarak's policy was a tactic for containing political opposition as it was designed before. In such a chaotic situation, the

oppositional parties lost their confidence to the regime and boycotted 1990 legislative elections except leftist Tagammu Party. The intention of the opposition was to pressurize government for more fair election but they fell short of the goal (Kassem, 2004: 61-62).

During 1980s, the policy of "*mutual accommodation*" benefited to the Brotherhood to reconstitute itself as the leading Islamic organization. However, unable to meet the expected success in the elections due to lack of transparency, Ikhwan concentrated on civil society activism. Especially, the success of the Brotherhood in the professional syndicates expanded its social service network. The candidates supported by the Brotherhood won the elections in all major professional associations except journalist and student unions. In return for providing limited maneuvering place, the state apparatus held the organization over Islamic militancy. The mood of optimism came to an end with the concerns of state security apparatus members on the rising power of the organization. The proponents of the Brotherhood were also dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the regime. In that sense, the constant surveillance, detention and arrest of its members led to questioning of the basis of accommodation with the regime and even departures from the movement (Hibbard, 2010: 84).

The year 1992 was the turning point because the state's attitude towards Islamic groups shifted from toleration to physical and legal repression. In that sense the effectiveness of the assistance under the leading of professional syndicates of medicals and engineers for the victims in the devastating Cairo earthquake drew attention of the government. While the organizational success of the Brotherhood brought prestige to the organization, government lost its credibility with its slow and inefficient program. Thereon, government approval was made obligatory for distribution and collection of donation. In the upcoming years, government pressure on the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) increased. Threatening national unity and violating public order or morals were

considered as reasons for the dissolution of the organization. This is why the Lawyers and Doctors Syndicates were closed down in 1995 and 1996, respectively (Dede, 2008: 18-19).

From 1992 onwards, the regime regarded all Islamic groups which were not under state control as hostile and stopped distinguishing between the MB and the radical militants. A new anti-terrorism law was issued that empowered the security forces to arrest any person for up to three days without charge and stiffened prison sentences for those who had sympathy for terrorists. Apart from that, the judicial methods were used to punish the sympathizers of the Brotherhood even there was no concrete evidence for the allegations. The words of Mubarak shed light on the sharp policy of the regime against Islamists:

They assassinated two prime ministers and a finance minister before the 1952 revolution. Then they pretended to back the late President Jamal Abd al-Nasser but attempted to assassinate him in Alexandria. President Sadat did not act against them early in his tenure, having been preoccupied with restoring the occupied territories, and so they killed him. The Muslim Brothers, the Jihad, the Islamic Groups, and the rest of them, are all the same (Rutherford, 2008: 86).

While these happened, the first occurrence of Ikhwan's ideological revision came out in 1994 as a response to demands of younger generations on fundamental issues covering women rights and party pluralism. Pragmatically motivated, the Brotherhood tried to take the votes of the women in the elections. Despite some changes at the level of party program, the view of former General Guide Umar al-Tilmissany on women led to questioning of the sincerity of the changes:

I do not like to talk about women. Modern people may find this shameful, or cowardly, but I want nothing to do with modern theories and the equality of men and women. I still believe that a man is a man and a woman is a woman and that's why God created her. . . . A woman who believes that she is equal to a man is a woman who has lost her femininity, virtue and dignity (Ghobashy, 2005: 381-382).

The election of 1995 was held under the shadow of assassination attempt to Mubarak in Ethiopia. On the day of the election, due to the police violence, 87 people were killed and 1500 were wounded. Key leaders of the MB were arrested. In that election, the MB gained only one seat in the parliament (Sullivan,Jones, 2008: 14). The disappointing result of the election for the Islamists set light to metamorphosis of the relation between the Islamists and the state. The less the government tolerated to the Islamists and labeled all of them as terrorists, the more Islamists resorted to violence to reach their ultimate goals.

Despite being exposed to government pressure, Ikhwan's position on key issues had become clearer step by step with the submission of more detailed reports. A document "*Statement on Democracy*", which depicted the transition to democratic regime, was significant. The paper outlined the society's view on three critical issues. First, in the context of rising attacks to Copts by radical Islamists, the equal rights of Muslims and non-Muslims was stressed. Second, the positive link between popular sovereignty and Shari'a based system was emphasized. Third, Islam's blessing of man and humanity and disregard of linguistic and racial differences were underlined (Ghobashy, 2005: 385).

Due to repressive political environment of 1990s, Egypt gave rise to the need for renewal for the movement. As a result, the Brotherhood had softened some of its policies and tried to create a perception that the movement could work within the framework of Egyptian politics. Thus, the leaders of the Brotherhood refrained from open confrontation with the regime even if the iron fist of the regime run over the movement. In fact, harsh policies of the regime benefited to the Islamists in the long run by appealing the masses because of constant perception as being sufferer.

Maturation of the views of the Brotherhood on key issues did not materialize costless for the movement. Like any other organization, the Brotherhood has seen organizational and ideological transformations: "*splits*

along generational lines, intense internal debates about strategy, and a shift in their ideological plank from politics as a sacred mission to politics as the public contest between rival interests". Ideologically, Ikhwan's paramount rupture of political engagement has been the abandonment of notions of Sayyid Qutb in 1969 and adaptation of democracy in 1995 (Ghobashy, 2005: 374-5). This was in line with the AKP's rejection of "National Outlook" and drawing its way with more liberal agenda.

The crystallization of the policies of the organization does not matter in the political context of Egypt in which the regime does not tolerate to the oppositional groups. Results of the 2000 parliamentary elections proved that the NDP won overwhelmingly by getting 388 out of 454 seats while the Brotherhood got only 17 seats. The results of the elections mirrored lack of competitive political environment in Egypt (Thabet, 2006: 17). Nevertheless, the increase in the numbers of deputies of the Brotherhood from one in 1995 to 17 in 2000 was a remarkable improvement for the Brotherhood.

The real success story for the Brotherhood came in the 2005 legislative elections which manifested organizational ability of the MB to mobilize masses for voting. Running as independents, the MB captured 88 seats in the 454-seated parliament by getting near 20 percent of the seats. With this victory, the MB became the major oppositional force by surpassing the Wafd Party which gained just 7 seats. As it was seen before, a great success of the movement sparked off government reaction and clampdown of the organization by security forces (Scott, 2010: 51).

The achievement of the Islamic party in the authoritarian state polarized Egyptian society. Among anti-Islamists, there was widespread criticism that the growing electoral power of the Brotherhood added up to location of democracy within the scope of Islamic reference and put limit on the rights of women, minorities and freedom of expression especially in

cultural affairs (Meijer, 2013: 312). This argument was resurfaced by secular and liberal groups after Mohammed Morsi became president in 2012.

Understanding of the reasons behind the escalation of the power of the Islamists in the ballot box needs more detailed and comprehensive analysis. The first reason for the MB's success in 2005 elections can be associated with the changes that occurred in the political context. Within that framework, 2005 presidential elections and civic protest movements for comprehensive reform benefited to the MB. Second, the regime itself was a factor in the MB's rising influence. Ruling NDP carried out election campaign with a heavy religious tone. Third, the MB's success was closely related to movement's long term strategy to build a societal base in Egyptian society. Investing in welfare services and contacting with citizens in daily life, the candidates of the Brotherhood gained respect and credibility. Particularly, in a society where 40 percent of the population lives under the poverty line and the political participation rate is only 25 percent, providing services in all vital sectors – education, health, and employment– has great importance to political behavior. Fourth, the Brotherhood used religious sphere as a place for political mobilization. Particularly, members of the movement took voting for the candidates of the movement as a religious duty. Fifth, the coincidence of growing internal and external pressures on the Egyptian regime was substantial for the rise of political Islamists (Antar, 2006: 4).

Before putting an end to pre-revolution history of the Brotherhood, I would like to point out that the Islamists had been on rise in Egypt before the revolution took place. However, frauds in the elections prevented Ikhwan to have a say in the future of the country. The long standing deadlock of the Islamists ended with the deterioration of the economic

conditions and with the unexpected political developments in the Arab World.

2.7.The Arab Spring and the Egyptian Revolution

The Arab Spring, which started in Tunisia on December 2010 and then spread to Libya, Egypt and Syria, caused some disturbances in Bahrain and Iraq, has changed political geography of the Middle East enormously. Without a leader and certain political ideology, activists filled the squares, marched and demonstrated against their rulers. Although the death toll did not reach to thousands in Tunisian and Egyptian case, the civil wars in Libya and Syria showed that transition to democracy would not be costless for the contenders.

There were several interrelated reasons behind the revolutionary movements. First, financial crisis of 2007 became one of the force that triggered revolutionary movements in the Egyptian society. With regard to this, the issues of social justice, social values and economic 'rights' in economic policy-making contributed to the emergence of uprising. Although average of real GDP growth has been 4.5% over the past 20 years until 2012 and reached at peak in the cabinet Ahmed Nazif from 2004-2011, this development level did not led to the decrease in the unemployment level because of 700,000 people entering the labor market in each year. Also, the market did not meet increasing demand of qualified young people due to expansion of educational opportunities. More than that, both absolute and relative poverty rates have increased in the last 10 years in Egypt. To illustrate, the rate of the population living below the national poverty line went up from 16.7% in 2000 to 22% in 2008 (Kinninmont, 2012: 4).

As it is referred in the above paragraph, the major problem for the Egyptian people was the unequal distribution of the wealth and high levels

of unemployment. The fact that Egyptian economy had been grown rapidly until global financial crisis of 2007 did not affect all the Egyptian people in the same manner. Notable, with the increase in the number of people living under poverty line, discontent from the regime increased. Thus, during the revolutionary process, improvement of distribution of wealth, taking of measures to end poverty, prevention of concentration of wealth in the hands of few people, increase in the opportunities for the employment were highly heard as the demands of millions of poor and unemployment Egyptian people (Boztemur, 2011: 58).

Most of the people in Tahrir Square put the blame on neoliberal economic policies, which was more evident in the Mubarak ruling, for the deteriorating picture. However, there were some differences in the implementation of the neo-liberal economic policies as in the case of other neo-liberal states from Indonesia to Chile. For example, Egyptian state did not allow the expansion of free market. Instead they improved the conditions of pro-governmental capital owners by giving shares in the tender. Furthermore, political connections became equally important to do business and ensure huge profits in the country. Additionally, army's huge role in the economy prevented the emergence of neo-liberal state in Egypt (Armbrust, 2011). Thus, the ruling elite and its proponents benefited from the clientelism of the country and ignored the rest of the society.

In such an unequal and deteriorating economic picture of Egypt, many but not all of the January 25 protesters opposed neoliberal economic policies of Mubarak regime and introduced themselves as the defender of anti-globalist and anti-capitalist movement. The power of the aforementioned groups can be seen in the refusal of a package of the IMF loans in 2011 by SCAF (Stein, 2012: 26). It is very debatable to say whether the Islamist groups that won the elections will protect or shift economic structure of the country.

Second, according to World Bank despite the improvements in infant mortality, malnutrition and life expectancy, the country's infrastructure, housing and social services remained as major problems for the citizens (World Bank: 2013). The incapability of the state resulted from the increase in the population growth. The system did not generate enough jobs and house for the people newly participate to the market.

Third, international context became very effective in the success of Egyptian uprising. The conditions in Mubarak's police state were unfavorable for the oppositional groups. Nevertheless, undemocratic political structure of Egypt did not attract attention of the great powers especially of the U.S. According to some writers, the U.S. tolerated the situation in Egypt for the sake of war on terror and the role of Egypt in peace process with Israel. Apart from that the moderate face of Islamists of Egypt was also significant to neutralize radical Islamists throughout the world (Russell, 2013: 108). The American approach to the domestic problems of Egypt was highly realistic and was shaped by the regional interests of the U.S.

The American approach to Egypt has changed with Cairo speech of Obama on June 2009. In that well-known speech, Obama emphasized that Islamist extremists were the victims of political, social and economic forces (Limbaugh, 2012: 323). Accordingly, obviation of the suffering of the masses could be made with the political participation. The encouragement of the political Islamists against radical Islamist groups could make sense from that perspective.

Beyond economic, political, social and international factors, domino effect of the Arab Spring, the regional dimension, should be marked to understand the timing of the revolution. The rapid overthrown of Ben-Ali regime and following civil war in Libya displayed huge impact on the

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Egyptian uprising. Stemming from similar motives such as corrupt and authoritarian governments and economic and social problems resulted from globalization and a symbolic victim like Khaled Said, the revolutions set off each other in the Middle East.

The development in the mass communication tools also precipitated the revolution. In that sense, the media hype about "*Facebook revolution*" renewed the debate over the role of Internet in mobilization for political and social change. The role of internet on the revolution was undeniable because it assisted circulation of the massages of the revolution. However, as some points out it should not be exaggerated because the revolutionary process continued even the internet was shut down by the regime. At the same time it could have reductionist aspect that ignores the role of millions actively participated to the revolution to a communication device (Aouragh, Alexander, 2011: 1344)

In a nutshell, there were multiple causes of Egyptian revolution. Growing economic disturbances, long years of political sufferance, inadequate social services, favoring international conditions with Obama and domino effect of Tunisian revolution and development of mass communication tools precipitated the revolution. As a result, Egyptian people who associated itself with any of the listed disturbances filled the squares regardless of their ethnicity, religion or political background to overthrow the regime.

Demands of the protesters at Tahrir Square primarily focused on democracy and political participation. Particularly, elimination of limited political competition that provided maintenance of the rule of Mubarak family came to the forefront for some oppositional groups. This also meant to oppose to the Muslim Brotherhood which will be the strongest candidate after regime change in Egypt. In this context, securing of political rights and

liberties, end of artificial politics, subjection of politics and execution to the judicial review, elimination of the domination of old ruling elite on politics, establishment of democratic regime were main political objectives of the demonstrators (Boztemur, 2011:58).

Besides, slogans of the revolution have worth to mention to understand motives behind Egyptian revolution. The first one *"the people want the downfall of the regime"* implies deep rejection of corruption and abuse of power by the governing authority. To be more precise, creation of entire clientelistic, authoritarian system, long years of systematic abuse of power by the police and security services, corruption from the highest to lowest bureaucrats, the rise on living costs and low wages, and unemployment were the factors that led the crowds to gather in Tahrir Square (Teti, Gervasio, 2012: 103).

The second slogan *"bread, freedom and social justice"* marks the desire for the replacement of old kind of arbitrary, oligarchic and authoritarian state administration with more inclusive social, economic and political system that addresses needs of masses. These two slogans captured the goals and values of broad range of groups from extra- parliamentary groups like leftist and liberal parties to a smaller Islamist groups like the Wasat party (Teti, Gervasio, 2012: 103).

During the revolution, instead of anarchy and sectarianism, the regime's relentless policies gave rise to unity between Muslims and Coptic Christians, and vitalized it. Although the influence of Facebook and Egypt's tech-savvy middle classes cannot be ignored, the anger against the arbitrary regime eliminated class barriers and involved significant participation by the urban poor. Despite the united image of the revolutionaries at the beginning of the revolution, acts of violence against female demonstrators on the International Women's Day and some signs of sectarian violence

overshadowed these developments (Stein, 2012: 23). The events occurred during the revolutionary process gave a clue about future developments in the reconstruction of Egyptian state and the society. Tension between Muslims and Copts and Islamists and seculars has kept going after the revolution.

2.8. Current Developments and Islamist Groups

The 25 January uprisings in Egypt that led to ending of 31-years brutal regime of Mubarak opened a new space for political and civil activism in Egypt. Egyptian opposition parties including most institutionalized the Muslim Brotherhood were absent from the revolution in the early days. On the contrary, some of the Salafi factions condemned the protesters and labeled them as haram. Apart from that, the Coptic Church and al-Azhar declared its opposition to the revolt but could not prevent participation of individuals from their communities. State- society relations in Egypt prevented open confrontation with the regime even the groups had suffered for long years from the regime. The uprising occurred within the framework of an authoritarian state in which there would be a punishment if the revolution doomed to failure. The cost-benefit analysis of the Brotherhood and Salafi leadership had changed in the following days with the flowing of middle class professionals and urban poor to the streets of Tahrir. In return for that, not to remain indifferent to the growing opposition, by the '*Day of Rage'* on Friday of January 28, the MB had mobilized its supporters to join the demonstrators (Stein, 2012: 24).

The groups at Tahrir Square did not have common ideology, serious institutionalization or history, charismatic leader and comprehensive program considering their lack of political experience. Nevertheless, three groups could be mentioned as organized forces during the revolution: modern youth that were politicized spontaneously during the revolution,

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radical leftist groups that were suppressed by the regime and the military and urban middle class that aims at democratization. The Muslim Brotherhood, not to know how the reactions of police and military would be, refrained from supporting demonstrations and assumed demands of democracy, freedom and equality as the organization of leftists (Boztemur, 2011: 58- 59).

Despite showing lack of activism at Tahrir Square especially in the beginning of the demonstrations, the Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the biggest alternative to the Mubarak regime. After the expectations came into true in the following days in the ballot box, the questions regarding the revival of Caliphate, establishment of an Islamic state with Islamic reference or Islamic democracy, unification of the Islamic Ummah across borders and territories were raised. During the revolution, it was agreed by all political forces that all messages, slogans and other idioms would be Egyptian and no flag would be raised except the black, red and white Egyptian one. As Mariz Tadros (2012: 1) puts it correctly, this situation should be understood as not the demise of Islamic identity rather should be seen as the appropriation of Islamists to the struggle against Mubarak regime.

Omar Suleiman, the vice president of Mubarak, announced on February 2011 that Mubarak resigned from his post and handing over to power to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF). Muhammed El Baradei, the oppositional leader described this moment as the greatest day of his life (Al Jazeera: 11 February 2011). The optimism of the oppositional leaders gave its place to suspects about the future of Egypt in short period of time.

The collapse of the Mubarak regime did not automatically transferred the power to the civilians. SCAF captured the power as a transitional administration. Benefited from the public trust and long

standing American support, the Egyptian military did not hesitate to take the control of the regime under the leadership of Marshall Muhammed Husein Tantawi. It was expected that the Military Council would react according to demands of the masses in Tahrir Square and hold power until the elections made in six months. However, the questions over military government increased with the issuing of interim constitution and dissolution of Lower House. Army disappointed revolutionaries by hindering democratization process (Sadiki, 2012).

In such a political turmoil, political groups divided into three camps between military, Islamist groups and young liberal and leftist groups that set off the revolution. The most challenging questions revolved around the possible tension between these groups and its implication for the future of Egypt (New York Times: 27 December 2012). Fears did not come true and the oppositional groups united against military rule until the armies fulfilled its interim role.

Under public pressure of all revolutionary groups, the SCAF moved rapidly to hold a referendum on amending the constitution on March 19, 2011. The referendum, which got 77 percent approval, opened the door for parliamentary and presidential elections. In the new political landscape without NDP the ruling party of Mubarak period, numerous new political parties were formed from wide range of political spectrum (Stein, 2012: 24). In June 2011, Egyptian Democratic Alliance was formed with the participation of around 40 political parties including Ayman Nour's Ghad Party and nationalist Vafd Party. However, some of the political parties withdrew from the alliance based on the complaints about the domination of the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP while Vafd Party withrew from the alliance due to FJP's anti-secular activities. On the other hand, Alexendria based Salafis established al- Nour Party, who see MB as a moderate Islamic, organized under the banner of "Islamic Bloc".

The leftists formed Egyptian Bloc with the alliance of socialist Tagammu Party and more liberal Free Egyptians Party (Boztemur, 2011: 66).

Implementing three steps complicated electoral system; the voting lasted 6 weeks to elect 498 members of the lower house of the parliament. When all ballots are opened on January 2012, "*Freedom and Justice Party*" got 235 seats (47.2%) and Salafi "*Nour Party*" got 121 seats (24.3%). On the other side, liberal "*Wafd*" got 38 seats (7.6%) and secular Egyptian bloc got 34 seats or 6.8 percent of the total votes. With these results, more than 70 percent of the parliament was reserved for Islamist deputies (BBC: 21 January 2012). The success of the Islamist parties and the defeat of seculars and liberals who were very active in the mobilization of the masses to fill the Tahrir Square shows the fact that one person has only one vote in the election. Even though liberals and seculars were the dynamo of the revolution, they could not endure towards numerical excess of Islamists.

The lower house of parliament, the People's Assembly, had a mission to plan economic and social development and obliged to work as an executive body. The blessing of parliament has not lasted too long under the guidance of military rule. On June 15 2012, the SCAF issued a decree annulling the People's Assembly elections, considering the Supreme Constitutional Court decision that found parliamentary elections unconstitutional. The court decision was that party members must not have been allowed to contest the one third of the seats designated for independents. On June 17, 2012, the SCAF acquired more power through interim constitutional declaration that gave it all legislative powers until a new parliament is elected. At the same time, the decree gave the generals power to form a new constituent assembly to draft the new constitution, replacing the 100-member panel which had previously been selected by parliament. The make-up of the constituent assembly was controversial. Liberals, youth activists, secularists and Christians were complaining that it was dominated by Islamists and did not reflect the diversity of Egyptian

society (BBC: 10 December 2012). Thus, the Egyptian society remained in between army and the Islamists both of which were threat for the rest of the society. The emergence of third alternative, liberal or leftist was prevented from the beginning and the people were forced to choose between army and the Islamists. This reality damaged to the plurality of Egyptian society and alienated masses from the goals of the revolution.

Later, the presidential elections were held off in two degrees when there were attempts of military council to undermine the power of presidency. The first step was completed on 23 and 24 May 2012. 13 candidates run in the first round. As the secular activists split their vote, a runoff was between a former general and the Muslim Brotherhood's candidate, Mohamed Morsi. As it was expected, Mohammed Morsi and Ahmed Shafiq, former air force commander, were authorized to compete in the second round of the elections. (Al Ahram: 28 May 2012). In the second round, Morsi won the election against Shafiq with 51.73 percent of the votes where the turnout was 51 percent. In his first speech as a president, Morsi stated that he would be a president for all Egyptians (BBC: 24 June 2012). However, he could not realize what the masses expected from him and acted like an authoritarian leader in his first months.

On 22 of November 2012, Morsi issued a declaration that banned challenges to his decrees, laws and decisions until the new constitution is approved amid the reputation he earned as international mediator in Gaza war of March. After the adaptation of presidential edict, El Baradei criticized Morsi and accused him of acting like a "*new pharaoh*" in Egypt. It was also described as a coup against legitimacy. Additionally, oppositional figures called for protests against supreme powers of the president (BBC: 22 November 2012).

The clashes that lasted for 2 weeks resulted in partial annulment of the decree that gave Morsi absolute power (Bradley, 2012). Although the constitutional crisis was overcome with this concession, violence has not

ended. Still, Tahrir Square is the center of demonstrations in every day. The polarization of Egyptian society after the election of Morsi between Islamists and non-Islamists is the main problem that is waiting for the solution in the coming years.

CHAPTER 3

ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES IN TURKEY (1923-2001)

3.1. Ottoman Empire and the Role of Religion

The role of religion in Turkish society can be best understood by analyzing the Ottoman Empire, the forerunner of the Turkish Republic. Using Islamic terms of "*jihad*" and "*fetih*" to extend its territories, the Ottomans had become one of the strongest empires in its age. Despite these Islamic characteristics, Ottomans were not labeled as theocratic state until the war with Mamluks in 1517. With this war, caliphate, the religious leadership, passed to the Ottoman Sultans.

As a result, Ottoman sultans doubled their role as the religious leader and emerged political defender of Muslim world. The title of caliphate remained stuck to the Sultans until the abolishment of the caliphate by Mustafa Kemal in 1924 (Erdemir, Kaya, 2008: 40). Put differently, after the victory of the Ottomans, the highest authority of Islamic world was Ottoman Sultans until the adaptation of secularism by Ataturk.

Apart from caliphate, "*ulama*", the religious scholars, were notable to show the influence of religion on Ottoman administration. Ottoman leaders never stood out for designating state religion despite the integration of ulama to state bureaucracy (Goldstein, 2010: 48). This trend had maintained until the very weakening of the empire in the mid-19th century.

In 19th century, Ottomans had lost its credibility and was seen as a "*sick man*" of Europe by Western powers. In that century, consecutive losses of wars and losing of non-Islamic territories were parts of drama that the centuries-old glorious Empire witnessed. With the migration of the Muslim population of lost territories to the Ottoman land, the population

increased in the remaining territories. To unite Muslim population and restore the empire's power as in the previous centuries, Abdulhamid had embraced Islamism.

Pan-Islamism of Abdulhamid was sort of the Ottomanism equipped with Islamic ideology to justify autocratic rule and assist foreign policy objectives. It was also a pragmatic policy that reflects Islamic symbols, empire's Islamic character and Muslim subjects following the consecutive losses of war (Kayalı, 1997: 31). However, the weakening of the Empire precipitated dissolution of it by giving different ethnic groups an opportunity to be independent from the domination of the Ottoman Empire. These opportunity spaces were evaluated by local leaders of different ethnic groups even if they were Muslim. Thus, the political conjuncture of the time worked against the desire of the Ottomans for unity of the Muslim people under the Ottoman flag.

The young and European-educated group of intelligentsia and army members, *the Young Turks*, emerged as the strongest group in the beginning of 20th century in Ottoman territory. The Young Turks not only became a hope for Turkish intelligentsia and military officials but also for the minorities that were not pleased from the political situation of Ottoman Empire.

To cure the weakening of the Empire, the group called for reforms and re-legalization of the constitution declared in 1876. In fact, The Young Turks had the power to take the control of the Empire as they did in 1908. Eric Zürcher (2004: 90) points out that discontent and small scale rebellions because of rising prices was one reason for the revolution of 1908. The precipitating cause for the revolution was the Reval meeting and settlement of the Macedonian problem based on foreign control that would negate Ottoman sultans' authority.

At the end of the day, Abdulhamid was abdicated with the military intervention by Young Turks in 1908. The second constitution of the Ottoman was declared and the party of *"the Union and Progress"* took the control of the country until the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923. At that point, it is worth to mention that according to some writers, political changes that took place in the eve of 20th century and the early years of the Republic had played great role on the escalation of political Islam in the long run (Rabasa, Larrabee, 2008: 32). In this sense abandoning of pan-Islamism of Abdulhamid and secularization of bureaucratic state apparatus of the Ottomans with the Young Turks created a dilemma between the secular center and the conservative periphery in the Turkish political life.

3.2. Turkish Revolution: Secularization of the Politics

The defeat of Ottomans in the First World War paved the way to the emergence of a new republic. Established from the ashes of Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Kemal, the Republic of Turkey was legally and formally a new state (Atabaki, 2007: 100). Embracing secularism and nationalism, Mustafa Kemal had changed the role of religion in state administration dramatically.

According to Bora Kanra (2009: 46), the formation of Turkey in 1923 was significant because Islamic rule lost its heavy role on administration for the first time since the adaptation of caliphate in 1517. The elements that brought about this change were the adaptation of strict secularism by carrying out the reforms including the abolishment of caliphate, the ban on religious schools and places, unification of education, elimination of Shari 'a law and introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1920s. With these reforms, the Kemalist regime sought to undermine the role of religion in public sphere and to restrict it merely on private life (Altunışık, Kavlı, 2005: 21).

The abolishment of caliphate in 1924 shifted source of political identity from Islam to secular nationalism by ending religion's power and control over political affairs although religion maintained its role as an element of national unification (Boztemur, 2001: 126). Additionally, abolishment of caliphate took effect beyond the borders of the republic. The Muslim world that was represented in the personality of the caliphate lost its leading symbolic role. In that situation, Islamists such as Rashed Reda and Hasan al-Banna searched for an alternative ways to overcome the difficulties that the Muslim world faced with and came about with new ideas to challenge secular regimes.

Ömer Taşpınar (2005: 117) notes that aforementioned reforms were carried out under the slogan of "*for the people, despite the people*" which reflects top-down restructuring of the republic by ruling elites that has no strong connection with ordinary citizens. The abyss between the ruling elite and subservient citizens was conceptualized by Şerif Mardin (1973: 169-190) as center-periphery relations. From that perspective, the political rivalry between the center (army, intelligentsia, and professional urban classes) and the periphery (defected elites, rural peasants and small business owners) still has an explaining power for the ongoing struggle between the AKP and the CHP (Tezcür, 2010: 143). Yet, according to Ersin Kalaycıoğlu and Ayşe Ayata, Sencer Ayata, the center-periphery relations has transformed due to ethnic and religious cleavages (Sayari, Esmer, 2002: 3-4).

It could be argued that the arguments of Şerif Mardin have an explanatory power for the period between 1923 and the military coup of 1980. During that time, army, intelligentsia and professional urban classes mostly advocated Kemalism and secularism. However, this situation changed with the left-right cleavage of 1970s and military's taking power in 1980. Having abandoned reformism and secularism due to fear from leftist

movements, military officials adopted the *"Turkish- Islamic Thesis"* that estranged army from its secular tradition. With that policy, Islamists were encouraged by state officials to eliminate the threat of communism from the country. When Islamists strengthened in the next decade, the military officials again changed its policy towards Islamists and re-implemented its strict secular agenda.

Some writers claim that the imposition of democracy from above without negotiating with public undermines the benefits of democracy, rule of law and secularism due to lowering in the quality of integration (Ergil, 2000: 43). The lessening of integration for the groups that oppose government policies may come up in the form of a protest or a revolt.

In its early years, the Turkish Republic had testified many revolts against the reformist agenda of the government. The most distinct example of this can be found in the Sheik Said revolt. In this case, the abolishment of the caliphate which lessened unifying ties of Turks and Kurds resulted in the Kurdish revolt in the eastern part of the country (Olson, William, 1978: 200). The revolt was suppressed by the Kemalist regime before it could have more effect in the region. Thereby, the last remnants of Islamism among Kurdish people were suppressed by ruling elite.

In the new republic, Atatürk's ultimate aim was to westernize all aspect of social, political and cultural life to create secular, national and republican state with a Western identity. Accordingly, between the period of 1922 to 1950s, state apparatus was used to monitor public space to secularize and nationalize it. The reaction to that policy varied from rebellion to full withdrawal to create inner spaces safe from the power of state. As the suppression of the state increased, more people embraced Islam as the language of opposition to challenge the policies of coercive and authoritarian state administration (Yavuz, 2003: 31). Thus, the distance

between the rulers and the ruled was on the rise with the increasing authoritarianism of the state.

The founders of the Turkish Republic made an effort to bring Islam under the state control. To actualize it, westernization was adopted. The term was used as an abandonment of traditional Islamic values. With that move, communal understanding of Umma was abandoned and individualistic understanding of westernization was embarked. This line of thought is associated with secular nationalism. Kemalism asserts that Western civilization is a "*universal*" model that shows the development for each nation. Thus, it should be taken with its all aspects without considering different contexts and conditions of different nations. However, this paradigm was put into question in the following decades. In this sense as Haldun Gülalp (1999: 22) argues with the decline of convincing ability of modernism based on Westernism. Islamism has risen as a cultural identity for masses that does not benefit from the project of modernization.

The authoritarian state structure of Turkey that was in line with authoritarian states throughout the world, did not allow the development of multi-party system until 1946. As an attempt to pierce the rule, between 1923 and 1946, six political parties were allowed to be founded. Not surprisingly, all the parties were banned and the CHP monopolized its political power (Türsan, 2004: 35-37). The argument of the government to legitimize the ban on the oppositional parties was that the parties were reactionary and prepared a ground for the flourishing of religious ideas which contradicts with the secularist understanding of the Kemalist regime.

Turkey has a tradition of parliamentarism for long years. The first experiment was began in 1877 and lasted for couple of months, the second experiment was in between 1908 and 1911 under the mandate of Young Turks, the third one was the Liberal Party of 1930. Except the period of Liberal Party which lasted for a few months, CHP dominated political

sphere until 1945 (Karpat, 2004: 71). Absence of pluralism in Turkish politics is still the most significant problem for the democratization of the country.

The end of 2nd World War in 1945 and following events opened a way for multi-party politics. In this sense, the efforts for the membership to the United Nations influenced the Turkish domestic politics. Also, complaints about one party ruling and economic deterioration during the war obliged the government to change its position and let the multi-party politics. Despite the growing frustration towards CHP, it was not expected that the CHP would lose its power in four years.

The formation of the DP, Democratic Party, in 1946 signifies turning point for the Turkish politics and political life of alienated masses. Established as a liberal conservative party to challenge secular and étatist policies of the CHP, the DP became very popular in a short period of time. Although the official results of 1946 elections were not successful enough for the DP to come to power due to alleged violations in 1946, the Party was quickly organized throughout the country. With the transition to the multi-party system, ongoing social, cultural and economic cleavages between the core and the periphery maintained in the political sphere with the predomination of peasant electorate (Toprak, 1981: 91). The electoral domination of peasant population benefited to the right-wing political parties.

In the post-war period, several political parties such as Social Justice Party, Islamic Development Party and the Nation Party addressed Islamic sentiments among public. Despite its lack radical stance, the DP was preferred mostly for its democratic stance that would allow the people to revive their Islamic traditions (Boztemur, 2001: 126). Moreover, the next election was taken place in 1950 and shifted political power from the CHP

to the DP. During its ruling term that lasted a decade until the military intervention of 1960, the DP made several concessions from solid understanding of secularism of the CHP. According to Ömer Taşpınar (2005: 122), these were the activities concerning the opening of Imam Hatip schools, reopening of religious places and support for visiting Mecca (haj). However, there was not even a partial return to Shari'a for the leaders of the DP (Boztemur, 2001: 126).

However, as the DP got used to fascination of power, the tolerance towards the opposition diminished. The party that complained about authoritarian tendencies of the CHP itself transformed into a tyranny. The increasing suppression of opposition became a major reason for the military intervention of 27 May, 1960 that cost the life of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and two of his ministers.

All in all, with the formation of the Turkish Republic, Islamic character of the Ottoman Empire was quitted. Coming from hundreds of years of Islamic tradition, many reacted against top-down reforms of Mustafa Kemal which were progressive in character. However, the reactions to the reforms were weak and divided and did not endure against the power of the state. One reason behind that was the fragmentation of Turkish politics in terms of ethnicity and sectarianism. Accordingly, Kemalists benefited from the disunity of the opposition and maintained its rule until political conjuncture forced them to give concession from its policies. Menderes's assuming of office and increasing authoritarianism resulted in the first military coup of Turkey in 1960.

3.3. Islamists Political Parties between 1960 and 1980: the MNP and the MSP

3.3.1. National Order Party (MNP)

The 1960 military coup of Turkey that resulted in the hanging of its prime minister enhanced economic and political freedom in the county by adopting a new constitution in 1961. Afterwards, the influence of the leftist movements escalated with their unique organizational ability throughout the country. In that period, instead of Islamism, socialism was seen as a cure to the problems of deprived masses. However, this was also the period that witnessed the constitution of first Islamic political party.

The first pro-Islamic Party was *National Order Party* (MNP). It was established by Necmettin Erbakan, a professor of engineering, in January 1970. The formation of the party was a milestone for Islamists because it was the first time that an Islamic party got through the mandate of central right political party, AP (Justice Party), and gained a position in the political spectrum. At the same time, establishment of a political party with Islamic overtones and strong Islamic rhetoric provided Turkish traditional Islamists a political organization in which they had a decision-making role, which was different from previous center right parties, whose class characterists were not in harmony with the demands of Islamists. Moreover, the institutionalization of political Islam also assisted to the integration of peripheral Islam as embodied in religious orders and sects, which were considered as marginal, to the political process (Boztemur, 2001: 127).

The MNP did not support direct implication of the religious rule but rather advocated moral basis of social justice to create peaceful society in Turkey (Guidere, 2012: 226). Emphasis on social justice did not get expected concern from the poor people due to increasing influence of the

leftist movements. Additionally, MNP and MSP did not adopt an agenda that sponsored violence for the sake of regime change. This political stance came up as a biggest advantage for the support of military regime to the Islamists after 1980 coup d'état.

The ideology of the MNP inherited from the ideas of the *National Outlook Movement* (Milli Görüş Hareketi) whose leaders advocated the return to traditional values and institutions. The proponents of that view insisted that Kemalist attempt to replace Islamic Ottoman State with that of Western model Turkish state was a historical mistake and source of all the ills in Turkish society. It was also argued that association of Turkish identity with the West instead of Islamic world was unacceptable (Rabasa, Larrabee, 2008: 40).

Erbakan's party was the first political party in Turkey that makes anti-Semitism an inseparable part of its political rhetoric. In his speeches, Erbakan associated Zionism with imperialism and intended to declare a jihad against Zionists (Bali, 2012: 150). Popular anti- Semitic motto '*The Jews Run the World*" became one of the major slogans of the movement. Anti-Semitic discourse of the Islamic parties lasted until the AKP period. Although there were some signs of change in the rhetorical level during the AKP's reign, the Palestinian Question reversed this tendency. More than that, the recent speech of Prime Minister Erdoğan that compares Zionism with fascism drew reaction from the world leaders (Radikal: 02 March 2013). Therefore, it could be concluded that anti-Zionist rhetoric for the Islamists in Turkey will last until the Palestinian Question is addressed.

The MNP was dissolved with the 1971 military intervention along with the Turkish Workers Party (TİP) by the Constitutional Court for becoming the center of anti-religious activities. Although the major target was the socialists, military officials wanted to show its power and to intimidate all

anti-systemic forces in the society including Islamic parties. Dissolution of the MNP was the beginning of long sufferance of party closures for the political Islamists. In contrast to the Egyptian case, the establishment of successor Islamic political parties the allowed with different names even they suffered from the same fate. Again different from the Egyptian case, the marginalization of Islamic oriented political parties rather than their suppression by the state has led to the orientation of political discourse of Islamic parties to the long standing secular framework of Turkish politics.

3.3.2. National Salvation Party (MSP)

The National Salvation Party, *MSP,* was established in October 1972 as a successor of the MNP. Benefiting from center-right Justice Party's pro-establishment image, the MSP emerged as a populist conservative party claiming to represent the interests of the petty bourgeoisie in Anatolian provinces (Taşpınar, 2005: 133). For one way, MSP was established against the big capital owners in the big cities by middle and small sized employees of the Anatolia.

Haldun Gülalp (2001: 435-436) asserts that creation of the MNP and the MSP was the result of *"import substituting industrialization (ISI)"* which showed characteristics of state-led industrial development shared by the third world countries. During ISI boom, small industrialists were threatened in Turkey. At the same time, the conflict occurred between the ISI based big industrialists in the urban area and the small to medium size business sector in provincial towns.

In the 1973 general elections, MSP showed great performance by taking 11.8 percent of the votes and 48 seats in the parliament. After the election, the MSP formed a coalition with social democrat CHP and it lasted until 1975. The coalition with the CHP and military intervention to Cyprus

in 1974 led to the decrease in its votes to 8.6 percent and 24 seats in the parliament despite outstanding success of its coalition partner in 1977 parliamentary elections (Belgenet: 1973 Seçim Sonuçları; 1977 Seçim Sonuçları).

After the breaking of the coalition with the CHP in 1975, MSP appeared in coalition governments with right wing political parties which were known as "*nationalistic front governments*". During that period, Islamic discourse was not deliberately used to challenge secular framework by the MSP. This changed with the adaptation of the discourse of right wing political parties to MSP after 1977 elections. As Jenny White (2002: 36) argues, in that period, by appropriating Islamic discourse, right wing political parties legitimized and strengthened manipulation of Islam at the expense of ensuring votes.

While these changes occurred, the main intention of the Islamists was to hold positions as much as they could within the state bureaucracy (Kanra, 2009:   178). This organizational model within state bureaucracy created a space for the settling of Islamists in the following decade. The cleanup of leftists and nationalists after 1980 gave a maneuvering space to the Islamists employed during nationalistic front governments.

Besides that the movement was greatly influenced by developmentalist approaches, what emerged in parallel to the rise of socialism in the third world countries (Çarkoğlu, Rubin, 2005: 46). Developmentalist approaches were very popular at the time due to increasing influence of Marxism and socialism. In this thinking model, inequalities in the society were stressed and more egalitarian approaches were advocated.

At the religious level, MSP did not assume strict religious stance at the level of discourse. In contrast to that the party used the term

"secularism" as a freedom of thought and belief. Nevertheless, the party cadres were against the manipulation of secularism to suppress and to alienate religious people (Çarkoğlu, Rubin, 2005: 46). During 1970s, MSP successfully harmonized its policies with secular framework. This harmony eliminated legal threats waiting a political party based its ideology on religion in Turkey.

The integration of the MSP to the secular framework of Turkish politics related to the enforcement of state power on political parties. In the constitution, the party that carries on political activities against secularism, one of the main pillars of Kemalism, is dissolved by constitutional court. To get away from this reality, MSP and its successors refrained from open confrontation with the regime. This is one of the main characteristic of Turkish Islamist parties which differentiates them from the case of the Muslim Brotherhood.

For the MSP, education in moral and ethical matters had a top priority. In the MSP's party program, Islamic moral order was described as the opposition of both communist and materialist capitalist system which based their understanding on pursuit of self-interest. Opposition to monopolistic capitalism was adopted instead of holding a position against the basic principles of capitalism such as owning private property and profit making (Gülalp, 1999: 26-27). In general, MSP did not oppose main principles of capitalism but its Western character and widening of inequalities with its one-to one implementation at societal level.

Like any other political party, MSP suffered from cliques within its organizations. Particularly, the inter-group rivalry of main two groups, Nurcus and Naksibendis, damaged to the political power of the party. In this respect, the domination of Naksi sect in the leading cadres was a problem for Nurcus because official views of the party did not automatically reflect

the views of Nurcus. Other problems within the party stemmed from partisanship, dishonesty, materialism, coalition with CHP and general amnesty. As a result of these problems, the authority of Erbakan was challenged by Korkut Özal's candidacy in the party congress of 1978. In the end Erbakan easily defeated Özal and secured undisputed command over party (Atacan, 2007: 190-91). Despite this result, division among Islamist groups continued in the following decades.

Hakan Yavuz (2003: 32) divides Islamists movements in Turkey into two categories. First, there are vertical, state-centric elite vanguard movements from above. Nakşibendi and Nurcu political support to the Democrat Party (1950-1960), alliance with the Justice Party (1960-1970) and the formation of the first Islamic political party (1970-1980) and the experiences of Welfare/Virtue Party (1983-2001) in the hope of controlling the state could be assessed under this category. Staffing in the education, legal system and social welfare were main targets for them. Second, there are horizontal Islamic movements that are society-centric and oriented from below. These are societal, everyday life based movements. Due to new opportunity spaces in economy, politics and the cultural domain, Nakşibendi and Nurcu groups are using their communication networks to develop discursive spaces for the construction of Islamic identities. In the light of these objects, MUSIAD (Islamic Business Organization) which views Islam as cultural capital, benefits from the market to create heaven on earth. In addition to MUSIAD, Mazlum-Der (Islamic human rights organization) uses associational networks to empower its community members. Such groups are performing activities in media, economy and education integrated into state structure.

Being religiously oriented party and wining most of the votes from the members of Islamic communities, cliques within the party was big challenge for the rulers. The behaviors of Islamic community members such

as adherence to the rulers and bloc voting in the elections may pose a risk for the political parties. In other words, people's association of their identity with religious community rather than classes or ethnicity may pose a risk for the survival of Islamic political parties. From that point of view, exclusion of one Islamic community group may result in decreasing of votes in the elections. To prevent this danger, Islamic political parties cautiously maneuver between different sects.

As it is marked in the party symbol, MSP was a key party in Turkish politics during 1970s. Pragmatically, the party formed a coalition with the left and right wing political parties and benefited from the opportunity of organizing within bureaucracy. Concurrently, taking place in coalition governments nearly for a decade increased the experience of the party. While these happened, other right wing political parties got used to Islamist terminology within secular framework of Turkish politics. After the military coup of 1980 Islamists benefited from this legacy and found a space to implement what they learned when they were in coalitions.

3.4. 1980 Military Coup and Islamist Movements

Widespread clashes between leftists and nationalists and killing of thousands of people in this political context became a pretext for the military intervention of 12 September, 1980. In line with the political objectives of the coup, political landscape in Turkey changed to a great extent with the elimination and suppression of leftist organizations. Turgut Özal, former secretary of State Planning Institution, and its Motherland Party came to the forefront during 1980s. Being a candidate in 1977 general elections in the list of MSP in İzmir, Özal approached to Islamist groups with a great sympathy.

After the military intervention of 1980, state's attitude towards Islamic groups changed dramatically. Hakan Yavuz (2003: 69) claims that three policies had shaped the military government's position on culture and identity. These are the perception of leftist threat, personal Islam of Kenan Evren, who was the leader of the junta, and the availability of resources. To end the increasing influence of leftist groups *"Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" (TIS)* was adopted by the military regime. With this push, official ideology of the state shifted towards less secular direction. In contrast to strong secular character of the regime, Islamism, which was defined in the framework of Turkish nationalism, was encouraged (Atacan, 2007: 192). While TIS successfully re-oriented nationalists and Islamists to the regime, leftists and non-Turkish nationalities were alienated from the state. Although the regime successfully eliminated activities of leftist organizations with ruthless methods, as it is seen in the Kurdish case, alienation of the Kurds from public sphere caused a bloody struggle between the state and Kurdish separatist groups and has constituted one of the major problems for Turkey.

Proponents of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis claimed that Islam was special for Turks because of number of similarities between pre-Islamic and Islamic civilization such as the strong emphasis on justice, immortal soul, family, monotheism and morality. In addition to that it was argued that Turkish culture was built on two pillars: 2500 years-old Turkish identity and 1000 years-old Islamic identity. In the late 1970s, TIS became very popular among Islamist National Salvation Party and Nationalist Action Party, the strongest nationalist party in Turkey. The most interesting part was that TIS was also endorsed by some military corps including head of state, Kenan Evren. After 1980 coup d'etat, to indoctrinate communism which were seen as most deadly foes for state, fierce nationalism and friendly loyalist Islam were adopted. In parallel to the Islamization of the society, the course of

"*religion and ethics*" became part of curriculum for primary schools. Aforementioned Sunni oriented religious teachings and patriotism (respect for the state, army and parents) were presented as religious duty for the new generations (Zürcher, 2004: 288).

By adopting Turkish Islamic Synthesis, main objective of the military regime was to restrain oppositional groups to challenge the regime. Brutal methods were constantly used to deter adversaries to take initiative. The policies pursued by junta had a link with international developments that took place around Turkey in Cold War context. Nurşin Güney (2007: 14) states that beginning of the Second Cold War in 1979 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Iranian revolution changed threat perceptions of Turkey and the US. For both of the countries fears for Soviet expansionism re-emerged.

Ziya Öniş (1998: 244) notes that under the mandate of the military regime, the decision making center shifted from the traditional bureaucratic elites to political elites. In these sense traditional bureaucratic elite who was stick to Kemalist ideology started to lose its dominant position in the decision making process. Additionally, perception of exclusion by Islamists began to change as they get realized to understand their potential to influence political process via setting alliances or participating elections. With the success of Islamists and right wing political parties in the elections, the old bureaucratic elite were gradually replaced by more conservative and nationalist personnel.

The military takeover created a rift between the EU and Turkey because of widespread human rights violations and the steps to limit freedom and democracy. In this setting, Turkey more actively involved in the Middle East through trade with Iraq and Iran in 1980s. Also, President Kenan Evren participated to the Fourth Summit Meeting of Islamic

Conference in Casablanca in 1984. This was the first time that secular Turkey was represented at the level of head of state in an Islamic meeting (Bac, 1997: 39).

The Middle East had secondary importance for the governments of Turkey until 1980. Even the DP governments of 1950s did not prioritize the Middle Eastern states as trade partners or political allies. The military regime's increasing relations with the Middle Eastern states was not a deliberate policy rather necessity for the regime as Turkey faced with isolation from European countries over military intervention. This was the period that Turkey started to accustom Arab capital. In the light of this occasion, medium-sized conservative exporters of Turkey to Arab countries started to develop in Anatolia and the big cities. Exporters were supported by the military regime under the framework of notorious "*24th of January Decisions*". With the decisions taken, Turkey abandoned import substitution industrialization model and instead, embraced export oriented growth strategy.

The decade of 1980 signifies magnificent growth of unofficial Islamic literature with the rise of Islamic currents such as building of mosques, enormous growth of imam hatip (preacher) schools, increase in religious content in the curriculum and state-controlled media and television, growing number of Islamic publications and bookstores and incidents during Ramadan. According to Eric Zürcher (2004: 289), even though all these elements had undermined secular character of the regime, Turkey remained legally and institutionally as a secular state. It could be argued that, the concessions given by the military junta legitimized and normalized the demands of Islamists. By appropriating the terminology of the Islamists, the regime opened a way to propagate Islamist ideology. When Islamists grew and became a potential threat to the army itself, the military re-intervened as it did in 1997.

1980s was also a decade that witnessed the emergence of Islamic intelligentsia in Turkey. In oppose to the traditionalist Islamists, new Muslim intellectuals have been trained in modern secular universities, possesed technical and scientific expertise, spoken one or two foreign languages and had a good knowledge of Western literature, philosophy and social sciences. In their academic writings and printed media, new Islamic intellectuals have opened a discussion about political Islam and popular Islam and its status versus the state. Although they easily debated their models of Muslim society with secular intellectuals, it was more challenging to coexist with mainstream Islamic movements (Boztemur, 2001: 130-131).

From these findings it could be reached to the conclusion that, by sponsoring Turkish- Islamic Synthesis, the army sought to achieve two goals. The first one was to discredit socialist organizations with brutal methods and breaking of access to political power. Thousands of leftist sympathizers were put into jail and political and social organizations of the leftists were banned. Second objective of the regime was to create apolitical youth that is loyal to state authority. The new generation was expected to react passively to the defects in political field and refrained from open confrontation with the regime. Lack of criticism and submission to the authority are main characters of the youth in 1980s. Besides, due to the fact that Islamists stayed away from violence between nationalists and leftists in 1970s, they were crowned by the regime. This was done through the creation of opportunity spaces for the flourishing of the Islamic movements. As the army itself became a potential target for the Islamists in the next decade, the regime did not hesitate to crack down Islamists organized under the banner of the Welfare Party.

2.9. Islamist Political Parties after 1980

2.9.1. Welfare Party (RP)

National Security Council, executive body of the military junta, assumed an active role in the shaping of new political order after the military coup. The military leadership aimed to prevent the emergence of former political parties under new names and engage in the activities they did in 1970s. Prevention of the establishment of the political parties that confront with the military regime was the major concern of the military junta (Heper, Evin, 1988: 73).

The MSP was banned along with all political parties in 1981; its leadership cadres were stood on trial for their anti-secular activities and banned from politics for ten years. During its mandate, National Security Council constantly emphasized temporality of its rule. In the end, political parties were allowed to be formed in 1983. *"Welfare Party"* (RP), the successor of the MSP was established by Ahmet Tekdal however the party was continued to be ruled by Erbakan behind the scenes (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 4).

The first parliamentary election under the military rule was performed in 1983. Only three parties were allowed to contest in the elections: *"Populist Party"* of Necdet Calp, *"Motherland Party"* of Turgut Ozal and *"Nationalist Democracy Party"* of Turgut Sunalp. Sunalp's party was implicitly supported by Kenan Evren. Remaining political parties and candidates were boycotted by the National Security Council. The common characteristic of the three running leaders was their connection with the military regime: Özal was a minister responsible for determining economic policy of the military regime; Sunalp was president's commanding officer and; Calp was the senior civil servant (Finkel, Sirman, 1990: 104-105). In

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the first election under the military rule, the army chose the candidates carefully to eliminate challenges to its authority. In the election, Motherland Party got 45 percent of the votes and secured 211 of 400 seats in the parliament. With this success, ANAP entitled to form the cabinet alone.

Not being allowed to contest in 1983 general elections, RP had on opportunity to contest in March 1984 local elections in which the party got 4,8 percent of the total votes. RP won the mayors of two eastern provinces, Van and Urfa. This was historical moment for the party because the performance of the mayors in the provinces became a model for the rest of the country. In that sense success of mayors in these cities assisted to the wining of the mayors of Kahramanmaraş, Konya and Sivas in the 1989 local elections and Istanbul and Ankara in 1994 local elections (Karaduman, 2012).

The increasing popularity of Islamist politicians was closely related to their success in local administration units. In that sense, the local administration reform of 1984 is significant to analyze deeply. The main objective of the 1984 local administration reform was the strengthening of local administrative units vis-à-vis the central government. In that way, it was thought that municipalities would become more responsive to the demands of ordinary citizens and they would lessen their dependence to central government. Since its early years, Turkish administrative system was strongly centralized and its impact remained high over local administration units. Endowed with limited autonomy and low levels of financial resources, subjection to central authority became usual behavior for the local administrators. Other than the influence on executives, citizens living in municipalities did not attach enough importance to local elections (Sayari, Esmer, 2002: 75-76). In the light of this reality, participation to local elections remained much lower than the general elections until the enactment of local government reform law.

Highly centralized Turkish administrative system was first challenged in 1970s with the huge migration wave from rural to urban areas, especially to the big cities. The fast-paced migration brought about difficulties for the municipal administrations of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and other large urban centers. The demands of newcomers for housing and basic services such as water, transportation and electricity created new puzzles for the rulers. To overcome these difficulties, Greater City Municipalities were formed and the powers of municipal leaders were enhanced (Sayari, Esmer, 2002: 76).

While the local administration reform of 1984 increased the power of the Islamists, 10 percent threshold in the elections created obstacle them. The decision to put 10 percent threshold was taken by National Security Council to facilitate working of the parliament without political crisis. This pragmatism meant to sacrifice pluralism and democracy, which is rarely seen in developed nations, for the sake of stability of the nation if it is possible. 10 percent threshold, the highest in the world, is the most concrete evidence of the undemocratic nature of Turkish politics. The threshold was advocated by some politicians including AKP leaders on the ground that it ensures the ruling of the country without political crisis and has a function to prevent Kurdish parliamentarians to take a seat in the parliament. However, this barrier is overcome by Kurdish political party with the nomination of independent candidates in the following elections. What is more dangerous for the development of Turkish democracy is the strengthening of the perception that sees coalition governments as a threat to stability of the nation. In one way, AKP's success in the elections can be associated with this mentality of the voters.

In the general elections of 1987, RP increased its votes to 7 percent but failed to enter the parliament due to 10 percent threshold. In the local elections of 1989, the increasing trend for the RP continued and it captured

5 mayors of provinces by receiving % 9.8 of the total votes. The reason behind the escalation of the votes of the RP was related to the decreasing popularity of ruling ANAP. Especially, Özal's assuming of presidency office in 1989 and disassociation of himself from the ANAP led Naksibendis to re-channelize their efforts on the RP (Dağı, 2001: 12).

After the defeat of the Motherland Party in 1989 local elections by social democrats, the decision for early general election was taken. The early election was held on October 20, 1991. In this election, RP formed a coalition with two right wing political parties, the "*Nationalist Action Party*" and the "*Reformist Democracy Party*" which was called as "Holly Alliance*"*, but not signed any official contract due to measures for prohibition in electoral law. Turkish-Islamic Synthesis was the anathema of the alliance and not surprisingly it was supported by Pan-Turkist organizations which led to the resignation of many Kurdish Islamist leaders within the party (Boztemur, 2001: 129). The performance shown in the election by securing 65 seats and receiving 17 percent of the votes was a proof for the increasing influence of the Islamists. With this success, increasing political power of Islamists once again was verified by elections results. Moreover, the coalition of the parties was not sustained in the parliament. As Ümit Cizre points out (2008: 206) breaking of the alliance within months in the parliament, does not overshadow the importance of appearance of the Islamists in the parliament for the first time in post 1980 period.

In his analysis of the RP, Haldun Gülalp (2001: 444-445) asserts that three groups constituted the basis of voting source for the RP. The first group was the peripheral segment of capitalist class consisting of small and medium scale provincial businessmen that opposed big capitalists of Istanbul. Second group was professional middle class who mostly had conservative and provincial background and challenged traditional Kemalist

elite. Third group was the working class, who immigrated to big cities to find a job and traditionally constituted potential source of votes for social democrats.

Particularly, working class support for the RP is substantial to understand the changes in Turkish political context during 1980s and 1990s. The shift in the voting behavior of the workers from left wing political parties to the right was as a result of decline in the power of leftist after 1980 military coup. With the coup, momentum of the leftist movements during 1970s decelerated and leftist organizations were cracked down with brutal methods. Even, CHP was closed down with other political parties and their leaders were sent to jail. Also, leftist democratic civil society organizations were banned by the regime. While the parties in the right of the political spectrum were able to re-organize in short period of time, massive crackdown of the leftist organizations prevented revival of left wing political parties.

Other than that, Binnaz Toprak (2005: 39) notes that "*the left suffered from both the collapse of the Soviet Union and the inability to originate a new program that would challenge free market economics (as did so many social democratic parties in Europe)*". As economic conditions of the poor deteriorated in late 1980s with the cutting of state subsidies, the poor searched for a party to vote in the election. The decline in the prestige of the leftist movements at international level with the collapse of the Soviet Union and at national level with the inability of the leftist movements to re-organize after 1980, were the major reasons for the transfer of the votes of the urban poor and working class to the RP.

Because of the aforementioned reasons, different than the MSP that drew its main support from towns in the underdeveloped eastern region and central Anatolian provinces, Welfare Party's major voter base extended to include urban poor and shopkeepers. Apart from that, Islamic business

community and young professionals expanded the power of the RP by internalizing Islamic identity. The contributions of these groups varied from funding of political parties, supporting of charity organizations and building of schools and dormitories (White, 2002: 115).

In parallel to the policies of the MSP of 1970s, the party touched upon the problems of citizens not with religious but political terms. Thus, the people, whose economic and social conditions further deteriorated with constant economic crisis, directed their attention to the RP. For RP, rant economy and its beneficiaries were responsible for the deteriorating economic conditions of the country. As the reactions of the poor citizens to the mainstream political parties became inflexible with consecutive economic crisis, the leadership of the RP came to realize that the party should turn into mass political movements that not only restrict its voter base to conservative citizens (Dağı, 2001: 13). With this development, the spectrum of the voter base for the RP enhanced. Hence, to take more votes from the citizens, the RP changed its rhetoric to answer the needs of the citizens that was not coming from religious background. In other words, the party had transformed itself and redefined itself with the changes in its voter base.

The terms of "*justice*" and "*welfare*" were constantly used by Islamists. Although left wing political parties used the same discourse, as a bearer of Kemalist legacy and modernization from above, social democrat political parties suffered in the elections. In this conjecture, Welfare Party rose at the expense of social democrat political parties. RP received vote from the poor neighborhood in the big cities, which were the major source of vote of the CHP in 1970s. The victory that leftists won during 1970s was repeated by political Islamists in metropolises in 1990s. In addition to that Haldun Gülalp (2001: 442) asserts that majority of supporters of the RP was motivated not with religious but political and economic demands. Thus, the

rise of the RP was mainly as a result of economic difficulties of the time and incapability of centrist parties to put a proper program to attract attention from the public. That is to say, increasing religiosity of the public was merely one reason for the escalation of political Islamists along with economic and political factors at the time.

Erbakan made a distinction between *"National Outlook"* and other political organizations. In his view, other parties were simply mimics of the West. The themes that were put forward by Erbakan and his party were social justice, Turkey's exploitation by the West, religious freedom, ethnic tolerance, promotion of private enterprise, creation of an interest-free Islamic economy, an end to state corruption, and denunciations of an imperialist Zionist system. These characteristics direct some writers to categorize RP as an anti-systemic party. Despite these policies of the party, RP cannot be treated as a radical Islamic party due to the fact that RP drew its support from larger number of Turks than the secretive and relatively obscure militant Islamists. However, it was evident that the RP was different form mainstream political parties in terms of its party organization and in the unconventional policies it pursued during the coalition government. As a party organization, it was very much influential to create connection between the party and the voters. In this regard, unlike mainstream Turkish parties, which witness abyss between elite-oriented party cadres and voters, Welfare Party was able to develop substantial connection at the grassroots level through its comprehensive organizational structure (Mecham, 2004: 342-343).

In the political context that disfavored left wing political parties due to dissolution of the Soviet Union, RP addressed the voters with a comprehensive party program. Also, the document of "*just economic order*" was published. The document has great importance because it reflects the objectives of the party and its party program. In 1993, Erbakan listed the

goals of just economic order as spiritual development, protection of environment, elimination of corruption, decentralization of administration, promotion of individual enterprise and withdrawal of state from all economic activities. In addition to these principles, it is mentioned in the document that RP was against central planning but not state regulation, was against monopoly but not free competition and was against interest but not profit. In an early brochure that expounds just economic order, the project of just economic order was presented as the combination of positive aspects of both capitalism and communism. The document was claimed to harmonize positive sides of both capitalism and communism and exclude their negative aspects (Gülalp, 1999: 27).

As it is derived from the official statement, the party advocated more egalitarian view of capitalism. The basic principles of capitalism such as profit and private property were not opposed in the statement. However, state regulation in the economy was prioritized when the system worked against the poor. Considering the fact that the voter base of the party largely came from middle and lower classes, the term "*justice*" was emphasized to address the needs of these groups. The views put forward in the just economic program were criticized by many as being utopic. Even Recai Kutan, close friend of Erbakan and head of the successor Felicitous Party, admitted in 1998 that term "*just order*" was not debated in detail in the party cadres and there was only an academic debate around the term (Çekirge, 1998). The populist program of just order was presented as something new to take attention from the voters that were estranged from mainstream political parties at the time.

The RP was explicitly anti-Western party. The party vehemently opposed Turkey's membership to the European Union and the Customs Union and harshly opposed Turkey's NATO membership. For its leader, the European Union was a *Christian Club* and there was no place for Turkey in the Union. More than that, party cadres claimed that with the membership,

cultural identity and sovereignty of Turkey would be lost and its economy would be exploited by Western powers. To confirm this in his one speech, Erbakan argued that EU membership is "*a treason against our history, concept of civilization, culture and most important of all, our independence*" (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 6).

1994 local elections introduced many crucial new trends, including increase in the participation rate to elections, growing differentiation of voter behavior for national and local elections and emergence of the Welfare Party as the strongest party in big municipalities. Parties that took place in the election realized that winning metropolises in the election could be a huge asset in their bid for power in the general elections. Being well aware of this fact, RP pursued comprehensive strategy to win big cities with the momentum that they had since 1980s (Sayari, Esmer, 2002: 78). The chance of the RP increased as a result of the divisions within social democrats and right wing political parties. In the left, there were three political parties namely SHP, DSP and CHP. On the center right, ANAP and DYP were contentious with each other for long years. RP benefited from the animosity of the same looking political parties both in the right and the left.

Results of the election proved that, RP was increasing its power throughout the country. In that election, 28 provinces were won by the RP including two biggest metropolises Istanbul and Ankara. The shocking success of the RP in the metropolises was due to social democrats' divisions in the elections which caused them to lose with a close margin in Istanbul and Ankara. Since then, social democrats could not win the elections in two biggest cities of Turkey.

1994 municipal elections were momentous because for the first time in the history of Turkey, one Islamic party turned into nationwide political force. In retrospect, it filled the vacuum that normally filled by social

democrats. The evidence of this could be found in the defeat of social democrat mayors of Istanbul and Ankara in the local election. Thus, Ziya Öniş 1997: 756) claims that there is a close correspondence between the decline of the power of secular social democracy and rise of political Islam in Turkey. Before the election took place in 1994, low and middle classes were damaged with the economic crisis. In that atmosphere, the discourse of social democrats emphasizing democratization and human rights did not match with the material and economic priorities of the ordinary people. The abstract notion of democracy was unable to compete with the discourse emphasized on material benefit to the poor. In addition to these, the division of social democratic parties and lack of consistency in the party program facilitated the rise of the Islamists

The next year, parliamentary elections were made. According to Ergun Özbudun (2000: 78), there was a worrisome change in Turkish politics with 1995 elections in which the center right and left wing political parties, which dominated Turkish politics until that time, lost their superior positions. The voting share of two left wing political parties was 25.4 while the share was 38.9 percent for the center right parties. RP secured 21 percent of the votes and became the strongest party in nationwide. There was a corresponding rise of the extremist political parties (Islamist Welfare Party, nationalist MHP, and Kurdish dominated HADEP) combining 33.8 percent of the total votes. In this setting one could argue that extremist political parties' gained a ground with the failure of mainstream political parties.

Haldun Gülalp (2001: 435) associates the rise of political Islam in 1990s with globalization and post-modernization unlike the claims of modernization theory that foresees decline in the impact of religion as a result of economic development. For Gülalp, modernization and political Islam does not necessarily oppose to each other; in contrast political Islam in Turkey actually developed under conditions of globalization by

promising different things to different classes. In this sense, the Welfare Party can be named as a populist movement because of the mobilization of the poor segments of society against status-quo under common idiom of opposition to Kemalist state. In the end, different and sometimes conflicting interests were remarkably assimilated by the Islamists.

The success of the political Islamists in the elections of 1994 and 1995 was due to four reasons for Hakan Yavuz (2005: 289). First, Turkish Islamic Synthesis was a state-sponsored policy. This prepared a ground for the flourishing of Islamist movements in the bureaucracy. Second, neo-conservative Anatolian bourgeoisie represented by MUSIAD came into existence from political and economic liberalism of 1990s. Third, new Islamic intellectuals based their writings on printed and electronic media influenced readers. Fourth, there was flexibility within party organization and the project of just order was presented and propagated in a suitable manner.

After leading all parties in 1995 parliamentary election, RP formed a coalition with central right "*True Path Party*" (DYP). The coalition had only lasted for 11 months and the government resigned under unprecedented pressure from the military and civil society organizations including employees and trade unions. The biggest role in the resignation of the government was played by five biggest associations namely "Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK), Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ), Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DİSK), Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) and Confederation of Turkish Tradesman and Craftsmen (TESK)". The ultimatum of army on 28 February 1997 became the last step in the resignation of the government (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 4). On January 1998, RP was closed down by the Constitutional Court for being the center of anti-

secular activities. Erbakan and some important figures of the party were penalized by five year political ban.

RP was the second political party of the National Outlook movement that was closed down for its anti-secular activities. The statements of the deputies of the RP against Atatürk and polarization of Turkey between Islamists and seculars triggered reaction from the army. The passivation of the Islamists completed with the judiciary procedure that closed down the party. Nevertheless, what could be derived from the election result was the invalidation of the impossibility of taking power for the Islamists in Turkey.

With the closure of the party and putting ban on its leaders to do politics for five years, the party started to lose its power. During that process, the party was not able to bring democracy and pluralism into the forefront against party closure due to its emphasis on religious discourse. Given its anti-Western rhetoric, the party was not successful to get enough support from Turkey's western allies. In the following decade, AKP learned from this example and did not repeat the same mistake.

2.9.2. Virtue Party (FP)

After the closure of the RP, veterans set a new political party in December 1997, '*Virtue Party*" (FP). The party was clearly the successor of the RP. However, party was different from its predecessor in many respects even its approach to the West. The party seemed to abandon its opposition to the West and embraced Western concepts of democracy, pluralism, human rights and rule of law as its parts of new discourse (Dağı, 2001: 20).

Each time the Islamist party was closed down, the successor claimed to be more moderate and less Islamist. In conform to this idea, Recai Kutan, the leader of the party, quitted radical tone of Erbakan. Suggestions such as forming of Islamic banking and leaving NATO was put aside by party

leadership. More interestingly, he visited the tomb of Atatürk in Anıtkabir, a gesture that marks the party's willingness to join mainstream political parties (Kasaba, 2008: 259).

As it is mentioned above, FP advocated human rights, democracy, rule of law and liberty. In addition to these Western-originated concepts, dialogue, tolerance and respect for differences were emphasized by party members (Atacan, 2007: 188). Furthermore, references to "*national view*" and "*just order*" was abandoned for being open to misinterpretation and misunderstanding (Dağı, 2001: 20). From these statements, it was evident that there was radical rhetorical change for the party.

Whether its adaptation to western concepts was sincere or not, FP experience has great importance for reflecting the transformative power of the secular political framework on Islamic political parties. This was the first time that an Islamic political party appeased its radical discourse for not being dissolved by the Constitutional Court. Remaining under the pressure of judiciary and military, the party was in a position to change its discourse. Otherwise, the state would use its enforcement power to close down the political party. Different from the case of the AKP, the change at the level of discourse did not attract votes from the public. Rather, it was a step to satisfy state bureaucracy to prevent using of its enforcement power.

The appeasement of the party politics on some critical issues such as *headscarf* and *Imam Hatip schools* for not to be seen as confrontational with the political establishment created a problem at grassroots level. İhsan Dağı (2001: 28-29) argues that cooptation with the system instead of confrontation justified the argument of the Erdoğan that the FP was not effective in opposition. Additionally, Erbakan's intervention to party politics although he was banned was criticized by some opponents. Lastly,

the loss of vote from 21 percent to 15 percent in 1999 parliamentary elections brought confrontational issues to the surface.

Due to aforementioned reasons, the tension came into existence between the younger reformist and older traditional wings of the party. Not want to be called as "*dividers*" or "*traitors*", the opponents waited for the coming party congress to challenge the leadership of Recai Kutan. In 2000 Party Congress, Abdullah Gül became candidate against Kutan. In the highly competitive contest, Gül received 521 votes against Kutan's 633. It was a competition unprecedented in Islamist party history of Turkey (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 5). Traditionally, in the political culture of the Islamists, there is an absolute loyalty to the leadership. Challenging the authority of the leader is not something common for the Islamic political parties. In the light of this reality, the candidacy of Gül was significant because this showed the prevalence of dissidents within the party.

The challenge against leadership carries some similarities with the reformist movements within the MB during mid-1990s. The effect of globalization and the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the changes of some parameters of the world order. Western concepts such as democracy, pluralism, human rights and rule of law emerged as the key slogans of the new governments. To adopt the changing environment, more moderate concepts were started to be used by political Islamists as well. However, different from the Egyptian case of the Muslim Brotherhood, the EU had played a great role in the moderation of the political Islamists. In this sense, Islamists pragmatically changed their anti-Western positions and even, adopted pro-EU stance.

Although FP refrained from challenging the basis of democracy and declared that elections were only route to political power, it was troublesome to reconcile its Islamic discourse with strong secular

commitment of the army and the judiciary (Özbudun, Gençkaya, 2009: 24). The moderation at the level of discourse was not convincing for the secular establishment to prevent closure of the party by the Constitutional Court in 2001 on the ground that it agitated the ban on wearing on turban in the universities (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 5).

At that point, it is worth to mention that party closure creates two problems for the political Islamists in Turkey. First problem occurs at the organization level. Inclusion of different conservative members for each new party brings about integration problem for new members. Second problem is related to its psychological effect on its supporters. In this regard, restriction put in front of Islamists to prevent taking of power frustrates some Islamists. Ultimately, this division creates clash of ideas between integrationist and more radical fronts. To be more specific, although young generations embrace the parameters of political system and keep track of mainstream politics, radicals or old guards show resistance to change, consider it as submission and something to fight against (Atacan, 2007: 196).

After the dissolution of the FP, traditionalists established the "*Felicity Party* (SP)" under the formal leadership of Recai Kutan. Behind the scenes, the party was ruled by Erbakan. When these happened, reformists engaged in setting a new political party that has broader perspective to attract votes. Some center right figures were announced to participate to the movement to show its moderation (Dağı, 2001: 29). The new party was envisaged to represent center right. It was designed to get votes from socially conservative and economically liberal citizens. The targeted voters were widespread in Turkish political structure. As the new party shifted towards the center, the potential votes of the party increased as a result of 70 to 30 percent divisions of right and left votes in Turkish politics.

In July 2001, *AKP, The Justice and Development Party*, was established under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He was the mayor of Istanbul and was sentenced to four months in prison because of a poem he read in Siirt. The founders of the AKP were aware of the fact that the party would have high level of support. ANAR's research in July 2001 gave a clue about possible votes of the party under the leadership of Erdoğan. In the research, it is concluded that if election is held, the party of Erdoğan would get more than 30 percent of the votes. In other words, because of the party's appeal with the charisma of Erdoğan, it was anticipated to be the strongest party in the upcoming elections (Cizre, 2008: 201-202). The anticipation came into true in 2002 early parliamentary elections.

CHAPTER 4

THE AKP AND THE FJP

4.1. Justice and Development Party (AKP)

4.1.1. Party Program and Party Politics

The party programs highlight general picture of the party politics. For the AKP, the political conjuncture of the time found voice in its party program. In the introduction part of the party program, it is emphasized that citizens were waiting for a change and is noted that problems in the fields of politics and economy affect the daily life of the people in a negative way. Citizens are claimed to be waiting for a dynamic leadership that change this negative picture. In other words, for the party, Turkey needed a new government that would promote economic development and embrace all segments of society (AKP Parti Programı).

Moreover, it is stressed that Turkey has a leading potential in the Middle East with its unique richness and is added that Turkey's problems are not unsolvable because of its resources, young and dynamic population, rich culture and history, deep-rooted state tradition, geostrategic location, touristic potential and social solidarity. The mission of the party is designated to activate this potential. It is also revealed that the party wants to embrace all citizens regardless of their sex, ethnicity, religious view and ideology with its pluralism. Similar to other political parties' programs, it is stated that the party aims to combat against corruption, poverty and inequality (AKP Parti Programı).

In the conclusion part of the party program it is declared that AKP is not an ideological oriented party but a mass party aims to serve to the

nation. Also it was claimed that AKP positions itself in oppose to the old ideological divisions in Cold War context. Additionally, the party is declared to be open to the people who believe in democracy and has respect for human rights and freedom. More than that, adoption of pluralist and moral values and adherence to the market economy is outlined as main principles of the party (AKP Parti Programı).

In his speech to the parliament for the formation of 59th government of Turkey, Erdoğan listed some of the objectives of the party:

Assuring economic stability, creation of competitive market structure, sustainable development, fair distribution of economic wealth, combat against poverty and corruption, people living in peace and wealth freely, diversities are seen as wealth not as a source of conflict, respect for universal legal norms, equality before law, local administration reform and new constitution (AK Parti, 18 March 2003).

Unlike the elements of the "*just economic order*" envisaged by Erbakan that was claimed to harmonize positive aspects of socialism and capitalism and aimed to change the system, Erdoğan's party did not give promise for radical changes. The general characteristics of social conservatism and economic liberalism are combined in the party program. For that case, what was new was the expression of the classical demands of the citizens with more credible political figures and under new party flag. These promises found voice at the societal level due to tiredness of most of the citizens from mainstream political parties.

Being very much distant from grand ideologies such as Marxism and Liberalism, the AKP's room for maneuver extended in the political arena. In this regard, policies of the party were determined by pragmatic agenda instead of definite consistent framework. The AKP's frequent surveys for voting behavior could be meaningful from that perspective. During its administration of more than a decade, AKP has been cautiously invested to

the areas such as transportation, education, health and construction that can easily increase its share of vote.

4.1.2. Conservative Democracy

The conservative democratic political ideology could not be analyzed truly without referring to the works of British politician, Edmund Burke. Despite the fact that Edmund Burke cannot be designated as the founder of conservative political analysis, his book "*Reflections of the Revolutions in France*" of 1790 is counted as the most influential book for conservatism. Until the publication of the book, Burke was known as the critic rather than the proponents of the existing British administrative system. Especially, he was famous with his opposition to the activities of the British East India Company for its behavior against Indian people (Muller, 1997: 78-79).

After that when revolutionary atmosphere started to flourish in France in 1780s, Burke's political position had changed from being critic to the defender of status-quo. Afterwards, Burke devoted himself to the critique of origins and dynamics of the French revolution. While doing that, Burke challenged pro-revolutionary groups of the British intelligentsia and politicians. He criticized the new regime in France for being ugly, dynamic and strong. Most importantly he emphasized on the reign of terror that threatened the lives of people during the period of transition and the change in France. For that reason, according to Burke the new regime in France was sublime because of the horror that the revolution perpetrated (Robin, 2011: 48-49).

Conservatism as a political ideology is hard to categorize since its adherents clearly highlights what they oppose rather than favor. Members of this line of thought refrains from using doctrines and try to address all

citizens because of the need for the unity of the nation. Ideologies are thought to be odd and pragmatism is blessed to increase votes in the elections. Different from classical conservatism (post-revolutionary French conservatism) that defends status quo, Burke's conservative democracy (Anglo-Saxon version of conservatism) heavily rests on change in order to conserve the status-quo (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 152).

There are some similarities and differences between conservative envisagement of Anglo-Saxon tradition and the AKP case. First, the AKP's imagination of the society as being organic rather than the composition of different classes is in line with the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Second, prioritization of the preservation of traditional moral values and family life is compatible with western conservatism. On the other hand, AKP's understanding of nationalism is different from the British one which is ethnically motivated. Unlike British example, nationalism is civic or territorial for the AKP (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 152-153). The last attempts of the government to solve the Kurdish problem by giving some concessions from long years of established position of the state to Kurds materialized this argument. However, one should also consider maneuvering ability of the AKP as it was seen in the previous "*Democratic Openness Process*", after which the government started to use brutal methods to crack down Kurdish politicians under the banner of the "*KCK Operations*".

Hakan Yavuz (2009: 94-95) points out that there are three elements of conservative democracy in Turkey. The first one is the stress on family which is important for the preservation of religious values and the identity of the society. It is also the characteristic of patriarchal society which gives women less role. It is clear that the AKP is a male dominated party and there is no famous women political figure in the ranks of the AKP. The second element is the imagination of Ottoman history in the form of victory, glory and Turkification. In this sense Ottoman legacy is considered as

shared identity. The last element is the sense of communalized piety. It stresses individualized religious claims but regards Islam as community building echoes. The supporters of the AKP are Sunni Muslims for whom communal prayers in the mosques come to meaning of building social capital of trust and smooth personal relations and exchanges.

Erdoğan himself used the term "*conservative democracy*" several times to eliminate ambiguities on the term. In the speech made in Washington in 2004, Erdoğan listed some characteristics of conservative democracy by pointing out that:

*Significant part of Turkish society desires to adopt a concept of modernity that does not reject tradition, a belief in universalism that accepts localism, an understanding of rationalism that does not disregard the spiritual meaning of life, and a choice for change that is not fundamentalist. Conservative democracy is an answer to the desires of Turkish peopl*e (Tepe, 2005: 76)

In his another speech to the parliament for the formation of 59th government of Turkey in 2003, Erdoğan revealed that the main intention of the AKP is the reproduction of local and rooted values system with universal conservatism through Turkish thinking tradition. It is claimed that performing political activities in line with the societal and cultural traditions of the current geography would bring a new breath to Turkish politics. He also added that diversity at the societal level is accepted and the party is calling for reconciliation in all grounds. Furthermore it is pointed out that the main political and philosophical concern of the conservative identity is to hold social organism healthy and together (Erdoğan: 18 March 2003). In other words, it is argued that the protection of society and social values should have priority for the politicians

4.1.3. Party Cadres

AKP is a catch-all party or coalition of different political views that tries to get votes from all segments of the society regardless of their ideological background. Famous journalist Ruşen Çakır (2007: 2) separates voter bases of the AKP into 4 different groups. The first group consisted of the figures associated with the tradition of the National Outlook Movement that emerged in 1960s under the leadership Necmettin Erbakan. The two key figures of the party, Bülent Arınç and Abdullah Gül, came from this background. The second faction consisted of the figures participated to ranks of the AKP from center right parties of the DYP and the ANAP. The former bureaucrats including Yaşar Yakış are consists of third group in the formation of the AKP. The last group was close associates of Erdoğan from Istanbul municipality. On the other hand, Ümit Cizre (2008: 202) names two sub-groups during the establishment of the AKP. The first group consisted of Erdoğan's associates who have been working together with Erdoğan for long years during his way to be a mayor of Istanbul. The second group was the reformist wing of the Virtue Party led by Abdullah Gül, Bülent Arınç and Abdüllatif Şener.

It is explicit that, Erdoğan's close working friends from Istanbul municipality and his fellows from National Outlook Movement had a huge role in the formation of the AKP and played the biggest role in shaping of party politics. However, as the social base of the AKP extended, the political orientation of the founders of the party have changed. Particularly, participation from central right parties of the DYP and the ANAP convinced the public in that there is a moderation in party politics. In the first term of its rule from 2002 to 2007, the AKP shifted its political position to the center-right with the implementation of democratic reforms under the guidance of the EU.

AKP's heterogeneous party structure finds its expression in some events, the most dramatic example of which was the rejection of memorandum of 1st of March 2003 concerning the deployment of the US military forces to the eastern part of Turkey during American invasion of Iraq. As a result of the voting in the parliament, 99 MP's of the AKP voted against deployment of the US troops in Turkey to attack Iraqi territories. Rejection of the memorandum with the votes of the AKP deputies along with CHP was perceived as the victory of the opposition in the parliament. However, the rejection of the memorandum was later blessed by Bülent Arınç for being the starting point of new and healthy relations with the United States (Gazetevatan: 25 March 2011). Nevertheless, the result of the voting in the parliament manifested the limits of the AKP's power.

4.1.4. AKP's Road to a Power: 2002 Parliamentary Elections and 2004 Local Elections

2002 parliamentary elections opened a new era in the history of modern Turkey by giving a power to the AKP, who will change the parameters of Turkish politics in a decade. Understanding the dynamics behind the rising of the newly-established AKP is a complex process and needs comprehensive analysis. First, 2001 economic crisis during the coalition government of DSP-MHP-ANAP greatly influenced the rise of the AKP. In fact, the November 2000 crisis was a signal for coming of a full-scale economic crisis. In that atmosphere of economic fluctuation, some private banks went into bankruptcy and the interest rate and inflation rose. Three months later, in February 2001, Turkey witnessed the biggest economic crisis in its history after alarming by political crisis. The triggering event of the crisis was Ahmet Necdet Sezer's (the president), throwing of the constitution to the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit on the allegations for corruption during the National Security Council meeting.

The political crisis heavily influenced the economic front due to lack of trust to the government. The results of the February 2001 crisis were catastrophic: unemployment of millions of people, closing of 350,000 workplace and sharp decrease in income per capita from 3255 dollars to 2123 dollars in between 1998 to 2001 (Özdalga, 2005: 199-203). As a result, the public started to search for alternative parties other than the mainstream political parties, during the ruling of which Turkey suffered from consecutive economic crisis, to overcome the negative impact of the crisis.

The failure of coalition governments particularly during 1990s was another catalyzing factor for the escalation of the AKP. As it was mentioned earlier, 1980 military regime problematized political structure of the country by creating same looking political parties in the center left and right. Although the regime secured its stability with the consecutive victorious of the Motherland Party during 1980s, ANAP's loss of power in the 1991 general election started the period of coalition governments until 2002. In that period, economic crisis of 1994 and 2001, human rights issues, the Kurdish Question and democratization problem remained unsolved.

In that favoring atmosphere for the AKP, the founders of the AKP were aware of the fact that the party would enjoy high level of support. In fact, ANAR's research in July 2001 gave a clue about possible share of vote if Erdoğan rules the party. In the research, it was presumed that if an early election was hold, the party of Erdoğan would get more than 30 percent of the votes. Because of the party's appeal with the charisma of Erdoğan, it was anticipated to be the strongest party in the upcoming elections (Cizre, 2008: 201-202).

According to Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (2007: 28), November 2002 elections showed the collapse of centrist parties including

DSP, DYP and ANAP. 10 percent nationwide threshold was only passed over by two political parties, AKP and CHP. The AKP received 34 percent of the votes while CHP had only 20 percent of the votes. Remaining 46 percent of the votes were wasted for the sake of 10 percent threshold and the result was the emergence of the first non-coalition government since 1991.

Despite the victory of AKP, Erdoğan could not be elected to the parliament because of the political ban due to religious tone of the poem he read in the province of Siirt. The crisis was solved with the renewal of election in the southeastern province of Siirt for three seats on March 2003 after the allegations of electoral violations. The AKP received 84 percent of the votes and took all three seats. After being elected to the parliament, Erdoğan became Prime Minister of the 59th government of Turkish Republic with the resignation of Abdullah Gül (Gazetevatan: 16 March 2009).

The second test for the AKP was the 2004 local elections to prove its power. The result of the elections had a symbolic meaning in that it showed that the victory of the AKP in 2002 was not coincidence. The results of the election proved rising trend of the AKP. While AKP got 41 percent of the votes, CHP received 18 percent of the votes. With these results, AKP won 58 provinces out of 81 (NTVMSNBC, 2004 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları).

The increasing trend of the AKP in its first term was mainly the results of the efforts for the EU membership, moderation of the party politics with the new participants and improvements in the economic parameters of the country. Among these factors, the EU membership process has substantial role because it gave a chance to the AKP to show its moderation to western world that had suspects from the AKP due to its Islamic roots. In that sense, the AKP's politics towards the EU and internal reforms made in the first term of its rule need more detailed analysis.

4.1.5. Turkey-EU Relations during the AKP Government

Since the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Turkey's foreign policy remained western-oriented. Atatürk's attempts for westernization and then the Cold War directed policy makers to strengthen Turkey's ties with the western partners. This was meant to be the ignorance of the Middle East where was perceived as backward and undemocratic because of the characteristics of authoritarian regimes and the national memory traced back to the 1st World War referring Arabs as traitors. In contrast to these, in its first term, AKP tried to strengthen Turkey's position in the west and the east. This change automatically raised questions over Turkey's foreign policy agenda and has started a hot debate on Turkey's shift of axis.

Turkey-EU relations are always a difficult task because of the very nature of Turkey's historical, political, economic and social structure. This paradigm is illustrated Huntington's famous book "*The Clash of Civilizations*". In the book, Huntington describes Turkey as "*torn country*" having pro-modernization western elite and the population carrying Islamic values (Faucompret, Konings, 2008: n.p.). The contrast between them was overcome in the first term of AKP with the adaptation of pragmatic agenda to lessen army's role in politics and seem like a moderate political party to convince Europeans to the changing policies of the party.

Turkey's quest for EU membership dates back to the year 1959 when she applied for associate membership and signed Ankara agreement in 1963. Signing of the agreement not only recognized Turkey's eligibility to participate to the European Community integration process but also envisaged Turkey's full membership to the EU in the future. Although for the Turkish part, joining to the EU was considered to be the logical consequence of its long years of westernization and modernization efforts (Arikan, 2006: 1), ruptures in democracy with the military interventions of 1971 and 1980 became admissible reasons for the prolonging of

membership process. Later, Greece joined to the EU in 1981 while Turkey waited until 1987 for the application for full membership. The intensification of war with the PKK, consecutive economic crisis, problems with regard to the democratization and human rights, and the EU's unwillingness for Turkish membership due to political, economic, social and religious reasons, set up a barricade for Turkey's membership.

Particularly, Turkey's rejection of candidacy in 1997 Luxembourg Summit strengthened anti-western forces in Turkey as it is manifested in the rising power of the RP. This trend reversed with the Helsinki Summit of 1999 which resulted in the acceptance of Turkey's candidacy in principle. Then, Turkish candidacy became concrete in the Copenhagen Summit of 2002. The EU declared many conditions for Turkey's full membership namely reinforcement of human rights and democracy, resolution of the Kurdish Question and ending the conflict over Cyprus and Aegean Sea. The issue of Islam and immigration were always on the forefront but excluded from official debate (Roy, 2005: 23-24).

In the first term of its rule from 2002 to 2007, AKP followed moderate approach to eliminate fears of secular establishment. To convince the changing nature of the party, the EU agenda was prioritized and reforms of the previous governments cautiously maintained. Within that scope, 9 harmonization packages were adopted in between 2002 and 2004; three of them were during coalition government and six of them were during the AKP's first two years in power. The reason behind calling the new regulations as the packages was the introduction of changes in number of laws. In essence, the aim of the reforms was the harmonization of Turkish legislation with the EU Standards (Copenhagen Criteria). In addition to the harmonization packages, new Civil Code, Criminal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Law on Association were adopted (Özbudun, 2009: 73).

The criteria for the accession process to the EU were renewed in the 1993 Copenhagen European Council by announcement of wide set of reforms. In this regard, countries on the eve of accession process have to comply with the Copenhagen Criteria to harmonize its jurisdiction with political and economic union. On the political side, the candidate countries are expected to guarantee democracy, rule of law, human rights and protection of the rights of minorities before they are entitled to start accession negotiations. On the economic side, guaranteeing of functioning market economy is demanded. Nevertheless, the criteria did not give precise checklist to the countries waiting for full accession (Akçay, Yılmaz, 2012: 51-52).

To comply with the Copenhagen Criteria, substantive legislative packages passed from the Turkish parliament. In this sense the first three harmonization packages were enacted during the coalition government of DSP-MHP and ANAP. The first harmonization package took effect on February 2002 and amended Anti-Terror Law, Turkish Penal Code, Law on the Establishment of and Proceeding at State Security Courts and the Code of Criminal Procedures. Aforementioned reforms intended to reduce state punishment on individuals accused of insulting Turkishness or Republic, eliminate restriction on freedom of expression and shorten duration of pre-trial detention of the individuals accused of terrorist activities. Second harmonization package of the same year further expanded freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and covered former convicts, facilitated publishing in mother tongue, permitted international association to conduct activities in Turkey and curbed the powers of Gendarmerie and provincial administrators to restrict these rights. The third package abolished death penalty and further expanded civil and political rights covered in the previous harmonization packages (Yeşilada, 2013: 16).

With the landslide victory in November 2002 elections, the AKP speeded up the process for the legislation of harmonization packages, which were defined as domestic and foreign policy priorities. The fourth harmonization package passed on December 2002 from the parliament to ease combat against torture by changing Turkish Penal Code. In addition to that improvement of detention conditions, reduction of the duration of detainee, extension of associational freedom, hardening of closure of political parties and easing of the procedure for obtaining property for foreign foundations were approved with the legislation of the package. The fifth harmonization package further strengthened this trend (Usul, 2009: 129-130).

Sixth and seventh harmonization packages expanded freedom of expression and association and provided safeguard on prisoners' rights. The most distinct reform in the Seventh Harmonization Package was the change in civil-military relations. It envisaged audits of the military expenditure by the Court of Accounts. Two developments significantly reduced the role of military's power in politics with the legislation of the packages. The first development was the restriction of the jurisdiction of the military courts to military matters. Second, it revised the role of National Security Council to one of an advisory committee, and eliminated the power of Chief of Staff to convene the National Security Council. The eight harmonization package maintained this trend by eliminating the right of Secretary General of the National Security Council and appointing of members to the Turkish Radio Television (TRT) and High Communication Council (Yeşilada, 2013: 17). Then, the ninth harmonization package passed on July 2004 and abolished any reference to the death penalty under any conditions and suspended military's member in Board of Higher Education (YÖK) and Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTÜK) (Sjursen, 2007: 73-74).

With the completion of legislative procedures, the EU agreed to start negotiations with Turkey on October 2005. However, the optimism was short-lived due to the demand for the recognition of Greek-Cyprus led government in the south of Cyprus as part of accession process and Austria's offer of privileged membership for Turkey. The EU's political crisis on rejection of the EU constitution in France and Netherlands in 2005 further complicated the picture. Then open-ended talks with the EU, election of Merkel in Germany in 2005 and of Sarkozy in France in 2007, and statements of the EU officials which depended Turkey's membership to "*absorption capacity*" and "*permanent safeguards*" on the issues ranging from freedom of movement to regional aid deteriorated the situation and increased questions over the future of Turkey's membership (Gordon, Taşpınar, 2009: 45-48).

Regarding the problems, the Cyprus Question is the biggest official political problem for Turkey. In its early years in power, Erdoğan challenged traditional Turkey's foreign policy towards Cyprus which has been seen as national cause especially after the intervention of Turkey to the island in order to end the suffers of Turkish Cypriots in 1974. Different from previous political leaders, by taking a risk, Erdoğan moved the issue into the public sphere and initiated public debate around the topic. He declared that solution to the Cyprus problem is possible only if both parties of the conflict give concessions. Besides, Erdoğan noted that the settlement of the conflict must be acceptable by all people of the island. He opposed hardliners who are against giving any concessions from the traditional Turkish position on the issue, and defeatist sell-out policy. In this sense, Erdoğan's favorable stance towards the Annan Plan, which envisaged unified Cyprus, openly manifested changing parameters of the Turkey's foreign policy regarding Cyprus at the expense of getting reactions from the army and nationalists (Sjursen, 2007: 74-75). Although Annan Plan was

accepted in the northern Cyprus, it was rejected in the southern part and the relations further deteriorated with southern Cyprus.

The problems of Turkey concerning the EU were not merely limited to Cyprus Question. With the decision taken on December 2006, eight chapters out of 35, which Turkey should fulfill, were blocked because of Turkey's incompliance with the requirements of the Additional Protocol which was related to Cyprus. Additionally, France announced its intention to block five chapters in 2007. On December 2009, Southern Cyprus declared that she will not let opening of another six chapters (Turkish Foreign Ministry: 01 April 2013).

After these developments, the EU process, which was the primary foreign policy concern for the policy makers for long decades, came to an abrupt end and Turkey's reformist agenda was dropped down. In this context, AKP tightened its relations with the Middle East while at the domestic level, abandoning of the EU agenda increased pressure on oppositional groups and gave birth to increase in authoritarianism of the AKP government. After these developments, the discourse that claimed for democratization with the EU was replaced by developing economically with the Middle East.

4.1.6. 2007 Parliamentary Elections: Polarization of the Society

After halting of the reform process, Turkey focused on the debate around secularism and Kemalism. Triggering event for the escalation of the tension was the announcement of Abdullah Gül as the candidate of presidency of Turkey by AKP officials. In essence, the President was chosen with the voting in the parliament. However the CHP boycotted the election on the ground that the two thirds of the parliamentarians were necessary for the actualization of the first round of the election and filed a

case in the constitutional court. The claims of the opposition party were accepted by Constitutional Court and the election was invalidated. Meanwhile, the most striking reaction to Gül's candidacy came from Turkish Military Forces with its ultimatum-like statement put on the website of the General Staff on 27 April 2007. The tone of the statement was very harsh and the timing was meaningful considering the transmission of the case to the Constitutional Court. It was the first explicit warning to the AKP by secular army because of its anti-secular activities. While these happened, AKP reacted to the memorandum and interference to president's choosing and called for early election through which the fate of the civil-military relations was left to the hands of electorates (Cizre, 2008: 159-160).

In the memorandum it was pointed out that the debate on secularism during the process of selecting a president was followed with anxiety by the army and was emphasized that Turkish Armed Forces was party to this debate and was strong advocate of secularism. Moreover, exploitation of religious feelings of the people was regarded as a threatening element to the unity of the country. What was more striking was the warning to the government by reminding of legal responsibilities of army to protect the regime (Hürriyet: 29 April 2007). In short, the military threatened the AKP for its anti-secular activities explicitly. While citizens were curious about the reactions of the government, pro-secular filled the squares in three big cities of Turkey.

With the participation of millions of people, mass demonstrations were organized in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir to take attention to the debate over the selection of the President by the parliament. To console the fears of seculars, Abdullah Gül stated to the media that "*the president must be loyal to secular principles. If I am elected, I will act accordingly*" (BBC, 29 April 2007). The statements made by notable figures of the party showed the extent of pressure on the party.

In such a polarized political environment, the 2007 parliamentary elections took place. In that election, AKP increased its votes from 34 percent to 46 percent while the main opposition party CHP received only 20 percent of the total votes. This time what was different in compare to the previous election was the passing of threshold by nationalist MHP along with the AKP and the CHP. With these results, the seats of the AKP decreased to 341 from 363 despite increasing share of its votes (Hürriyet, 2007 Seçim Sonuçları). Explicitly, the landslide victory of the AKP was a reaction to the possible military intervention and mass demonstration of pro-secular groups as it is confirmed by the statements of the deputy party leader of the CHP, Mustafa Özyürek by admitting that *"army's intervention of 27 April had backfired, by helping the AKP to win although Buyukanit naturally said he disagreed"* (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 91).

The landslide victory of the AKP did not exhaust alternative ways to end its rule. On 14th of March 2008, judicial process was initiated by Attorney General Abdurrahman Yalçınkaya for the AKP's anti-secular activities against constitution. In the indictment that called for the closure of the AKP, the allegations varied from Erdoğan's references to Ulama on headscarf issue and party's positive view to free wearing of it in public places. Arınç's view on religious presidency was also added to the indictment. It was alleged that the party sought to change the main pillars of secularism by using religious signs in the political arena and was added that dividing society between religious and non-religious meant to be the opening the future of the regime into a discussion (Hürriyet: 19 March 2008).

Despite the fact that 10 of 11 members of the Constitutional Court agreed on the accusation against the AKP for being the center of anti-secular activities, only 6 members of Constitutional Court ruled for the dissolution of the AKP which lacked one vote for closure yet cutting of half

of treasury assistance. Haşim Kılıç, the secretary of the Court at the time, noted that the decision of the Court was a serious warning to the party. While the opposition emphasized on the Court's evaluation of the AKP's anti-secular activities, Erdoğan and his party highlighted salvation of the party for unfair treatment (BBC Türkçe: 31 July 2008)

Having overcome the fear of party closure, the AKP introduced new arrangements related to the extension of limitation on drinking, selling of alcohol on public places and permission to wear headscarf in the universities (Hurriyetdailynews: 19 January 2011). Furthermore, after the controversy and polarization over the election procedure of the president, the AKP decided to amend the constitution with a referendum. In the referendum of October 2007, constitutional amendments such as the election of the President by public for five years and at most for two consecutive terms and renewal of parliamentary elections for four years were put into voting. The amendments were approved by 68 percent of the voters although the participation rate remained 67 percent (Hürriyet: 20 April 2013).

Besides the political, social and legal regulations introduced by the AKP government, "*Operation Ergenekon*" was initiated to eliminate *deep state* suspected to overthrow the AKP by force. With the finding of 27 hand grenades in Istanbul on June 2007, the investigation started. In a short period of time, investigation widened and transformed into an operation to crackdown the "*Ergenekon Terrorist Organization*" which claimed to plan for overthrowing of the government. Also, it was claimed that the organization was responsible for the assassination of famous Armenian journalist Hrant Dink and a plot to kill Nobel-prized author Orhan Pamuk. The operation was not remained limited to retired to army members and ultra-nationalists and widened to the prominent opponents of the AKP. As some observers claim AKP manipulated the operations to suppress the

opponents of the government regardless of their background and ideology (Hürriyet: 19 October 2008).

Detention of prominent intellectuals, writers, journalists, bureaucrats and military officials under the name of the '*Ergenekon Operation'* is seen as purely political by secular establishment (Laçiner etc. 2009: 385). Although detention of some generals, suspected of committing an offense against government, did not cause any reaction from the public, beginning of new waves of operations and arrests of some famous political figures contributed to the emergence of the perception that the AKP government tries to eliminate opposition by putting them under same category as being terrorists.

Ergenekon Operation was not the only operation initiated during the term of the AKP to deter adversaries to take initiative. Another operation was the "*KCK Operations"* against Kurdish politicians. The operation started in 2009 when the Democratic Society Party was closed down by the Constitutional Court for its alleged links to the PKK. Hundreds of activists of the party were prosecuted under anti-terror Law and thousands of them were imprisoned. Particularly, imprisonment of Kurdish mayors in the operations sparked a huge reaction from the public. Many of the arrested people were alleged to be a member of the "*Kurdistan Communities Union*", a Kurdish political organization consisting of political and armed groups and fights for independence Kurdish state within Turkey (BBC: 21 March 2013).

In essence, the success in the ballot box increased self-confidence of the AKP and served for the transformation of Turkish politics. Being aware of the weakness of the opposition, AKP started to behave like a state rather than a party governing the state. Such a vision contributed to the using of state apparatus to eliminate any opposition to its ruling. In this sense, it

could be argued that the operations of the Ergenekon and the KCK were not initiated for the democratization of the country but to reinforce AKP's place in the state apparatus.

4.1.7. 2009 Local Elections: A Warning to the AKP

In the local elections of 2009, the AKP received 39 percent of the votes, 8 percent down from 2007 general elections. There were two main reasons for the decrease of the AKP's votes; the first reason was the increasing activities of the PKK in the southeastern Anatolia and the second was the negative impact of the global economic crisis (Rubin, 2010: 408). On the other hand, the CHP got 23 percent while MHP's share was around 16 percent. Both oppositional parties increased their votes. However, out of 973 municipalities, the AKP won 492 (51 percent) while the CHP and the MHP totaled 322. What was interesting was the stagnant performance of the Felicity Party (the party of the National Outlook Movement), which increased its votes to 5 percent. According to Ali Çarkoğlu (2009: 1-5), the results of the elections showed that there was the deepening divide between eastern and southeastern provinces; and the western coastal provinces and the inner Anatolian and Black Sea provinces. Despite decreasing of its votes, AKP was the largest party in all regions except Western Marmara region.

A year later, the AKP prepared the most comprehensive constitutional change in Turkey but was short of approving it in the parliament without referendum. In the referendum, the amendments were approved by 58 percent of the votes. After the approval, several changes took into force such as the creation of the institution of Ombudsman, ending of the trial of civilians in the military court, restructuring of the HSYK (The Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors) and the AYM (Constitutional Court), the recognition of right for individual application to the ECHR (The

European Court of Human Rights) (AK Parti: Cumhuriyet tarihinin en büyük anayasa değişikliği).

The constitutional change of 2010 was harshly criticized by the leader of the CHP, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. In his letter to the daily newspaper Hürriyet, Kılıçdaroğlu claimed that by supervising the judiciary with the constitutional change, the AKP's main intention was to set majoritarian dictatorship. Furthermore he stated that while the number of military governments around the world is declining, the AKP's authoritarian policies which do not tolerate any opposition, constituted the basis of civil dictatorship in Turkey. It is also alleged that the AKP's authoritarian tendencies increased after 2007 parliamentary elections and the AKP created a fearful environment through the starting of illegal bugging, investigations to silence the opposition, intensifying of pressure on universities, media and some commercial companies. In this sense, especially increasing pressure on trade unions, universities, civil society organizations, judiciary and the media contributed to the emergence of authoritarianism and disappearance of pluralism in the country. Besides, the role of President and the parliament in the selection of the members of the Constitutional Court were criticized by the oppositional leader for making the Constitutional Court more of a political institution. Kılıçdaroğlu suggested that if Erdoğan wants to democratize the country, it should begin with the decreasing of 10 percent threshold in the elections (Kılıçdaroğlu: 09 August 2010).

It could be argued that after the enactment of the constitutional changes the AKP government has become more authoritarian. Especially, by supervising the judiciary, the separation of powers which is the very basis of democracy started to disappear in Turkey. It means the supervision of the judiciary over the parliament and the executive body is largely eliminated by the constitutional change. Thus, Turkey seems like a country

that does not have check and balance mechanism over the AKP's authority. Moreover, the unilateral political stance of the AKP as it is manifested in the constitutional change eliminates pluralism and changes the minds of the citizens in a more authoritarian way. Consequently, the generation of 2000s is not familiar with multi-party politics and strongly advocates one party rule for the sake of stability of the country. In other words, in Turkey, democracy and economic development are started to be considered as substitute elements to each other in the political culture of the new generation. This fact is the most concrete proof of deviation from the western model of democracy which is familiar to coalition governments.

4.1.8. 2011 Parliamentary Elections: Concentration of Power for the AKP

For some scholars such as Sabri Sayari, Yılmaz Esmer and Ali Çarkoğlu, Turkish political system has long been characterized by its high fragmentation and electoral volatility. However, with the entrance of the AKP into political scene, this assumption appears to be misinterpretation of Turkish political structure. With its victory on June 2011, the AKP continued to increase its vote for the third time in a row from 34 percent in 2002 to 46 percent 2007 and peaked at 49 percent in 2011. Ali Çarkoğlu (2011: 1-2) suggests that three consecutive election victory and controlling of the AKP's of more than 50 percent of the seats in the parliament show that the AKP's tenure changed Turkish political system into a dominant party system.

Taking the criteria of 10 percent margin or three consecutive election victories to be called as a dominant party as Italian political scientist Giovanni Sartori classifies, the AKP is obviously a dominant party for more than a decade. Before the AKP's came to a power, center right political parties won the elections with more than 10 points margin at most two

times. For example, Democrat Party secured its leadership with 13 and 20 point margins in 1950 and 1954 elections before the CHP. In addition to that AP's (Justice Party of Erbakan) victory of 24 and 19 point margins over CHP in 1965 and 1969 elections make it the second dominant party. The third dominant party was the ANAP (Motherland Party of Özal) with 15 and 12 percent margins victories in 1983 and 1987 elections over social democrats. The AKP's case is different than the experiences of the DP, AP and ANAP in the sense that the AKP won three parliamentary elections and two local elections with more than 10 point margin. For example, the party passed the CHP with 15 percent margin in 2002 elections, 25 percent margin in 2007 elections and 21 percent margin in 2011 elections. Similarly, the margin between AKP and the CHP was 19 percent in 2004 local elections and 15 percent in 2009 local elections. These statistics revealed that AKP is the dominant party of current Turkish politics. In other words, thanks to divided nature of the opposition and AKP's increased geographic reach of era, the authority of the AKP has not been challenged by any political party. If this trend continues, Ali Çarkoğlu (2011: 45) argues that victories of the AKP seem to repeat 54 years victory of the Liberal Party of Japan from 1955 to 2009, the Norwegian Labor Party's success from 1935 to 1965 and the of Swedish Social Democrat Party in between 1932 to 1976.

In the last five electoral surveys conducted on March and April 2013, it is concluded that the margin between the AKP and the CHP was more than 20 percent. While AKP's possible vote is around 50 percent, higher than the 2011 general elections, the CHP's average vote is around 25 percent (Gazetevatan: 09 April 2013). Lack of alternative party in the center right to share AKP's vote considerably effects maintenance of high level of support for the AKP.

The absence of the alternative political party in the center right of the political spectrum is the result of AKP's strategy of melting the alternative parties by adding the prominent figures to its cadres. For instance, the former leader of the Democrat Party, Süleyman Soylu joined the party in September 2012 (Milliyet: 05 September 2012). The biggest surprise was the joining of Numan Kurtulmuş, the head of HAS party, to the AKP ranks (Hürriyet: 22 September 2012).

One of his classical balcony speeches in the night of the victory of 2011 elections, Erdoğan asserted that the priority of the AKP in the new term will be the making of new constitution by negotiation and consensus. Erdoğan guaranteed that new constitution will be the constitution of all citizens regardless of their ethnicity and religion. Also, new constitution is claimed to meet the demands of justice, democracy, freedom and peace (Erdoğan: 12 June 2011).

In the AKP's 4th Congress in 2012, "*2023 Vision*" of the party is announced and it became one of the slogans that the AKP uses very often. The 2023 Vision not only has importance in terms of its contribution to the image of the AKP as a programmatic party but also legitimizes and stresses permanency of the AKP rule unlike other center right political parties which disappeared from political scene in a short period of time. There are 63 articles and many promises in the document including the target of building at least 3 nuclear power plants, gross domestic product of 2 trillion dollars, export of 500 billion dollars, doubling of current 11.000 km. railway, the production of Turkey's own plane and satellite with Turkish design, increasing of 28,5 million tourist to 50 million and generating 50 billion dollars of tourism income (AK Parti, 2023 Vizyonu Kitapçığı).

It could not be denied that the AKP's success in the election is unique in Turkey and the modern world. However, well performance in the

elections should not be the only indicator when the policies are planned and made by policy makers. At that point the rights of the citizens who voted other than the AKP should be protected in Turkey. As the AKP starts not to hear the voices of the remaining citizens, the opposition will resort alternative ways to achieve hearing of their voice as in the case of Taksim Protests. In my view, with the decline of the credibility of the party as it applies brutal methods to suppress any opposition, the years the AKP may enjoy in power shortens.

4.1.9. AKP's Economic Policies: Miracle or Illusion?

Throughout the 1990s, coalition governments could not find a proper way to deal with economic difficulties and instability that characterized Turkish politics for decades. Looking at the resignation of two governments before 2002, one can see the impact of economic conditions and corruption on the changing of the governments. First, former Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz of ANASOL-D coalition government resigned in 1999 because of allegations on massive corruption. The second government squashed under economic pressure was the Ecevit government of DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition after 1999 parliamentary elections. Ecevit government collapsed in 2002 because of failing to advance reforms and combat corruption in the banking system (Baran, 2010: 48).

The failure of the coalition governments to tackle with economic problems during 1990s became the major element in the rising of the AKP to the power. In this sense the catalyzing factor was the 2001 economic crisis, which was the most devastating event since the Second Cold War for Turkish economy and the major reason for the emergence of the AKP as the biggest party after 2002 elections. The crisis was such a destructive that according to some estimates, 600,000 business owner closed down their workplaces, 2,3 million people lost their jobs and the fall in the real wage of

the workers was 14,4 percent in manufacturing sector. All segments of society, businessmen, worker, consumers, suffered more than any time since the Second World War and justifiably reacted to that by eliminating coalition parties from the parliament in 2002 elections (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 102).

To change this catastrophic picture, the IMF was invited and they offered 12-billion dollars loan program for the recovery of Turkish economy at the time. To secure the implementation of these reforms, Turkey is obliged to design and implement sweeping reform of its banking system and economy. Considering the fact that his government was unable to develop such a program, Ecevit called for outside help and invited the Vice President of the World Bank, Kemal Derviş to the country. Derviş made some dramatic reforms and Turkish economy started to recover in the same year (Baran, 2010: 49).

After the economic crisis of 2001, the government adopted "*Transition to Strong Economy*" program to eliminate the confidence crisis and financial instability in the economy. The program borrowed its name from structural reforms associated with the post-Washington Consensus and became popular as "*Kemal Derviş laws*". There were three main pillars of structural reforms, namely banking, private and public sectors. The first one was the restricting of the banking sector through involvement in the structuring of public banks as well as of corrupt banks that came under public administration. The reforms also included measures related to the strengthening of the private banking system and improving banking regulation and supervision. The second pillar of the program was improvement in public governance, including public administration reform and pursuing further reforms in managing public expenditure. The third pillar was the private sector reforms such as the privatization, corporate governance, easing of the entry of foreign capital and reduction of

bureaucracy to promote investment. Being fundamental to the entire approach was the orientation of monetary policy toward fighting high inflation. To achieve this goal, the most significant elements of monetary policy were to restructure the banking sector to change the Central Bank Law and to adopt inflation targets (Lapavitsas, 2012: 222:223). In relation to that the independence of the Central Bank in monetary policy was sustained through the Central Bank reform of 2002 and a consolidation of banking system to prevent repetition of the 2001 economic crisis. The remaining banks were placed under strict surveillance by an independent institution formed under banking law namely, *BDDK* (Banking Regulation and Supervising Agency) to regulate and supervise the banking system (Kastoryano, 2013).

One month before the election of 2002, there was a survey about the economic condition of Turkey and its impact on the lives of the citizens. Almost 90 percent of the respondents marked the economy as "*the most important problem of the country*" while unemployment and inflation led the list of particular concerns. The economic failure of Turkish governments was also referred as the major reason for not voting for mainstream political parties (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 99). The answers of the respondents reveal the fact that voter behavior is primarily economically-oriented in Turkey as it is manifested in the historical fiasco of the coalition parties and the landslide victory of the AKP in 2002 elections.

Before the election of 2002, the AKP underlined the need for reforming of the state role on the economy by making the state retreat from the production sphere and by taking a regulatory role to reduce the vulnerability of the Turkish economy to the crises and instability. However, the party was not successful to design coherent strategy to recover the economy or present an alternative to the IMF-generated economic policies during its election campaign. The AKP was well aware of the fact that in

order to come to power in Turkey, it is necessary to build a cross-class alliance in order to get support from the poor segment of the society, the working class as well as the bourgeoisie. At this point the question emerged for the AKP leaders on how the AKP could successfully reconcile demands of lower classes for more distributive policies and social justice with economic preferences of big businessmen which prioritized stability through low inflation, low deficit and sustainable debt (Guerin, Stivachtis, 2011: 69).

In parallel to the policies of the party before 2002 elections, by taking the office the AKP declared that the immediate concerns of the government will be economic growth, decreasing of inflation to one digit numbers, elimination of the corruption and the reduction of public debt stock and bureaucracy (Erdoğan: 18 March 2003). Benefiting from the legacy of Kemal Derviş reforms, the AKP enjoyed positive atmosphere in the economy.

Turkey's economy gave recovery signals in a short period of time after the crisis. Between the periods of 2002 to 2007, which was the AKP's first term, the average growth rate was 6.8 percent which was 1.5 percent during 1997-2001. Additionally, Turkey's foreign trade increased dramatically from 87,6 billion dollars in 2002 to 334 billion dollars in 2008. Foreign investment was 1.133 million dollars in 2002 while the amount reached at 22.046 million dollars in 2007. In such a positive picture, some writers claim that the concentration of the efforts of the government on economic issues was the result of domestic stability of the country (Özcan, Elmas etc, 2009: 243-244).

The Turkish-IMF relations have been very significant part of the economic policies of the governments of the Turkey. The first agreement with the IMF was signed in 1961 and until the year 2005, when the last

stand-by agreement was signed, 19 stand-by agreements were signed. In 2008, despite the impact of the global economic crisis, the government refrained from signature of the 20th stand-by agreement. The biggest success of the government in economic sphere was the payment of debts to the IMF which harmed to the independence of the country. 23,5 billion dollars debt in 2002 decreased to the level of 2.3 billion dollars in March 2012 and it was totally paid on May 2013 (Milliyet: 15 May 2013). Payments to the IMF brought high level of prestige to the AKP due to its notorious connation with the implementation of *Structural Adjustment Programs* which translate into wage cuts and tax increases for the lower- income groups.

As a neo-liberal party, the AKP favored the development of the market economy in line with the IMF prescriptions through privatization despite harsh criticism of the opposition for lack of transparency and undervalue selling in the tenders. According to the *Privatization Administration*, which is working under the mandate of the Prime Minister, the purpose of the privatization program is to:

"*reduce the state's industrial and commercial activity in the economy to a minimum, to nurture the market economy based on competition, to reduce the burden to the state budget of financing state enterprises [and] develop the capital market*" (Hale, Özbudun, 2009: 104).

The Minister of the Finance declared that from 1986 to 2012, Turkish governments earned 45,1 billion dollars from the privatization programs in which 38 billion dollars belonged to the AKP term and he noted that the privatization is not seen as a source of income for the government but as an element for increasing efficiency, employment and investment (AK Parti: 26 November 2012).

Being different from Egypt, the Islamic bourgeoisie in Turkey evolved out of the state's neoliberal economic policies that created conducive economic conditions and the emerging transnational financial networks due to deregulation and the opening of the Turkish economy during neo-liberal economic policies of Özal in 1980s (Yavuz, 2006: 5). With the abandonment of the import-substitution industrialization model after the military coup of 1980, growth based on export was adopted by the Özal administration. In this period, small and medium sized enterprises became stronger in Anatolian provinces and through partnership with Arab capital, they earned huge profits. During the AKP reign, the Islamic capital reached its zenith of the power throughout the country. Adherents like Ülker, Kiler, Çalık, Ramsey and Medicana became stronger in the economic sphere.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (2009: 175) remarks that the main difference between the AKP and the SP is the economic success of the former one. The support for the AKP in the elections came from its image as right-wing political party but among right wing political parties, it is the economic policy and its success that matter most for the voters. Especially, the business community enjoyed the free market-oriented economic policies of the AKP. The image that the AKP serves as stabilizer in political and economic fields assists to the high rates of economic growth and unprecedented amount of foreign direct investment to the country. The main motive behind this development was the association of the stability of the country with one party rule by foreign investors. In contrast to this, in this thesis, it is strongly advocated that one party rule and concern for stability of political arena does not mean to improve political+ rights for the people and must not be sacrificed for the sake of economic stability.

The perceived economic success of the AKP is one of the most important factors for the increasing vote of the AKP along with other factors

such as the charisma of Erdoğan, improvements of health services, advancement in transportation system and the prevalence of conservatism in Turkey (Haberturk: 14 June 2011). However, the economic policy of the government was harshly criticized by oppositional leaders. To illustrate, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu expressed that Turkey's economy is financed through hot money coming from the Middle East and this is the reason for the failure of the government to create new job opportunities despite high growing rates. Most dramatically, he claimed that secularism was not in danger in Turkey but social state by transforming it into relief state (Gazetevatan: 27 September 2010).

Besides the statements of its leader, CHP prepared a report for the economic performance of the government during its 10 years in power. In the report it is stated that public debt of Turkey increased from 242,7 billion Turkish liras to 530,5 billion in 10 years. For the current deficit, while Turkey was 42nd in 2002, it became the second in the world in 2012 and its rate to national income increased from 0.27 percent in 2002 to 10 percent in 2012. In the same period, foreign trade deficit increased from 15,5 billion in 2002 to 87,1 billion in 2012 (Yurt Gazetesi: 05 November 2012).

As a neo-liberal political party, the AKP seeks to change economic orientation of Turkey in a more market-oriented way. With the pushes for privatization and deregulation in the market, Turkey is now becoming more neo-liberal economically. Flow of hot money from Muslim states, strengthening of Islamic capital domestically and the stability in the banking system constitute basic fulcrums for the economic stability during the AKP reign. On the other hand, despite some improvements at macro-economic level, increasing trade deficit and current deficit pose a risk for the economy. Failure to create employment is another problem for the government. Although Turkey's economy seems to shy with huge annual

growth rates in the recent years, the question of who benefited from this growth and who are not still sparks discussion among scholars.

4.2. Freedom and Justice Party (FJP)

The Freedom and Justice Party, the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, was officially founded in 6th of June 2011. It emerged as the biggest party in the parliamentary elections of 2011 by getting 47 percent of the seats in the Egyptian parliament. The process of the formation of the party was not painless and triggered tensions within the Brotherhood. At the end, some groups established their own political parties but most of the adherents of the Brotherhood remained within the party.

First, several prominent members of the MB disobeyed the leadership of the organization for not to join any party other than the FJP. Instead they formed their own political entities such as the al-Nahda Party which was established by senior Brotherhood members like Ibrahim al-Zafarani, Mohammed Habib and the parties of al-Tayyar and al-Masri by youths who had been active in the revolution. The MB not only established different political parties but also announced presidential candidates as in the example of Abdel Moneim Abul Fotouh, the prominent Brotherhood leader who challenged the official candidacy of Mohamed Morsi of the Brotherhood. In this complicated political picture, the Brotherhood leadership was inflexible and did not hesitate to expel all members who did not obey the orders of the party. Second, despite the existence of considerable amount of external challenges by departing groups, the biggest difficulty for the Brotherhood was the generational conflict within the party. Similar to the conservative-reformist divisions of the National Outlook Movement of Turkey, the Brotherhood which is dominated by an aging leadership exercises power in largely non-transparent ways and thus its authority is challenged by the mid-management, individuals in their late

forties and fifties who joined the Brotherhood as student leaders and who struggled to advance the activities of the movement throughout 1990s and 2000s (CSS, 2011: 2).

Despite conflicts within the organization based on the division of old guards and reformists, the wideness of the organization contributed to the emergence of the FJP as the biggest party in Egyptian politics. In essence, the Brotherhood is primarily a religious organization and for its members, the MB is more likely to seen as religious organization rather than a political entity. That's why the debates around the politics of the FJP will be solved as the party get used to the political sphere.

4.2.1. Party Program and Party Politics

Before the emergence of the Arab Spring, the Muslim Brotherhood was not sought to register as a political party. At first, the group's older members opposed the idea of the forming a party ideologically, and later, many members thought that it would be waste of time given the ongoing government crackdown and constitutional amendments introduced in 2007 including article 5: "*No political activity shall be exercised or political parties established on the basis of religion or on discrimination due to gender or race*" (Human Rights Watch, 2010: 8-9).

Different from its previous image as being radical organization, FJP is considered as centrist because it joined an alliance with other moderate groups such as Ayman Nour's *Revolution Tomorrow*. The party adopted the slogan of "*the good of all Egypt*" rather than "*Islam is a solution*" in the Lower House elections of 2011. Nevertheless, there are more moderate and radical political parties associated with the Muslim Brotherhood at one time. The former one was the *Wasat Party* or Center Party. Although it was established in 1996, Mubarak regime did not let the party to flourish, thus the party did not perform well in 2011 parliamentary elections. The latter

one was the *Gama'a al-Islamiyya* which was known for their assassination to ex-president Anwar Sadat (Russell, 2013: 358)

Understanding the very basis of the policies of the FJP necessitates taking the party's founding statement as the main source. In the statement, the policies of the party in the fields of democracy, justice, human rights, minority rights, regional role and Shari'a are outlined together with the objectives of the party. In the beginning of the founding statement, the terms including freedom, democracy, justice and human rights were praised. *Islamic Sharia* is emphasized as a main source of legislation while Egypt is defined as a civil state (reflects hope for transition to civilian administration after the termination of the jurisdiction of the SCAF) with an Islamic reference. To appease the concerns of the religious minority groups, freedom of belief is emphasized with a specific reference to Copts (The Founding Statement of the FJP: 1 June 2011).

The party's view regarding the rule of Shari'a is worth to mention. Shari'a is believed to recognize freedom of belief, worship and right of non-Muslims in referring to their religion in private affairs. Shari'a is also considered as having a role in equalizing all people in terms of rights and duties and respect for human rights. Apart from the electoral institutions, *Shura*, the Consultation Council, is outlined as a key institution because of its role in reflecting Muslim character of the state (The Founding Statement of the FJP: 1 June 2011).

Concerning foreign policy, the restoration of Egypt's leading role in Africa and Islamic Arab geography is highlighted along with the desire for comprehensive unity of Arab nation through peaceful process and by free will of Arabs. Relations with Sudan take special emphasis and removal of all barriers between Egypt and Sudan is aimed (The Founding Statement of the FJP: 1 June 2011).

Objectives of the FJP Platform give clues about the reform process during the FJP administration. First, ensuring of political reform and constitutional and public freedoms, especially freedom of political parties and civil society institutions in full transparency were highlighted but need more clarity. Second, promoting and deepening the true ethics, values and concepts of the principles of Sharia is emphasized. The third aim is to enhance the Egyptian economy to establish a balanced, sustainable and comprehensive economic development. Fourth goal is to provide a decent life for all citizens and securing the basic needs and services to them (food - clothing - home health - education - transportation - security - ways of entertained recreation); thus, social state is emphasized in contrast to the rentier state of Mubarak reign. Fifth goal is to improve caring for education and scientific research which is the most important means in the creation of the new Egyptian citizens and enhancing the economy. Sixth, building a strong and effective civil society is stressed. Seventh, respect for diversity in an integrated manner culturally, spiritually, mentally and physically, including the preservation of their identity is underlined. Eight, strengthening of the national security and restoration of the leading role of Egypt in its regional and global areas is outlined. Lastly, the preservation and the protection of the environment are emphasized in the founding statement (The Founding Statement of the FJP: 1 June 2011).

In contrast to the promises given in the founding statement of the party, the controversy amid the approval of constitution proves that the FJP and the Brotherhood have a long way to go in democratization process. Morsi's issuing an edict in late November 2012 declaring his decisions immune from judicial review until the holding of the constitutional referendum was perceived as the acquiring of a dictatorial power by the opposition and it was protested by the pouring of the oppositional groups in the streets. Although the edict was repelled by Morsi later after huge protests, the credibility of Morsi undermined. The critics of the new

constitution include the argument that the constitution passed in a short period of time without any debate. Liberals, Christians and other minority opposition groups declared they felt excluded from the Constituent Assembly that drafted the constitution and the constitution does not reflect their views. The vague language used in the constitution is also criticized by the opponents. On the other hand, supporters of the constitution admired the protection of personal rights and provisions on the handling of judicial system. The new constitution was criticized by the Human Rights Watch on the ground that it protects some rights such as measures for basic protections against arbitrary detention and torture and for some economic rights but undermines others such as ending military trials of civilians or protection of freedom of expression and religion (CNN: 26 December 2012). Additionally, the Amnesty International criticized Morsi for limiting fundamental freedoms and ignoring the rights of women (Amnesty International: 30 November 2012). Nevertheless, the constitution was approved by public vote and was put into force by Morsi.

Similar to the AKP, no specific task is outlined in the founding statement of the party. The problems during Mubarak reign such as economic inequalities and lack of political freedom are promised to be solved after the FJP takes the power. The stress on the respect for human rights and diversity and strengthening of civil society organizations could be regarded as positive steps considering suspects on the nature of the movement. Unlike the AKP, Egypt is defined as a civil state with Islamic reference and Shari'a is blessed in the party program. Additionally, there is no reference for the implementation of neo-liberal economic policy. The policies of the party will crystallize in the upcoming years.

4.2.2. Intersection of the Islamist Politics: The Rivalry of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafis

The Muslim Brotherhood is not alone in the political sphere that addresses conservative citizens. Salafism, an ultra-conservative movement, has always been the competitor of the Brotherhood in Egypt. In fact, Salafism over the last 20 years has grown significantly in Egypt due to two reasons, namely funds coming from the Arab Gulf donors and the indirect support of the Mubarak regime, which encouraged its growth to counterbalance the Brotherhood's influence. Before the downfall of the regime, Salafis criticized the Brothers for compromising with the regime for the sake of participating in politics. During the transition process, Salafis changed their political position and have engaged in a variety of political activities ranging from forming parties to staging mass demonstrations (CSS, 2011: 3).

The Saudi influence on the rise of the Salafis is undeniable. Salafism, which has long been fostered as a counterweight to the Brotherhood and took Saudi support, remains as a second option if the Brotherhood disappoints, although the Salafi movement is far from monolithic structure and may not remain as an ally of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf monarchies as they imagine (Stein, 2012: 27).

The success of the Salafi movement in Egypt by getting 24 percent of the seats under the banner of Al-Nour Party raised an alarm for the Brotherhood and created dilemma for the party. After the announcement of the results of the election and the success of the Al-Nour Party, the Brotherhood has remained in between obtaining votes from the most conservative cross-sections of the electorate or from the center by functioning as a modern, democratic-leaning force (CSS, 2011: 3). Being pragmatically oriented, like any other right wing political party, it is highly possible that the FJP will shift to the radical politics to get more votes from the ultra-conservative segments of the society.

The ability of Islamist groups to mobilize masses in the March Constitutional Referendum and one million plus protest demanding the implementation of the Sharia on 29 July 2011 lead some writers like Mariz Tadroz (2012: 2) to suggest that Egypt is far from being remote to Islamic future. The argument makes sense considering the mobilization ability of the Islamists through mosques, religious institutions and social organizations. However electoral considerations are not the only factor that affects political orientation of the party. The Brotherhood is also in a position to not radicalize due to the fear of isolation from the Western powers like Hamas faced after winning 2006 elections.

In the comprehensive article written by political analyst Ammar Ali Hassan, the relationship between the Salafis and the Brotherhood is analyzed. According to him, there are parallel antibiosis, organizational and ideological osmosis and symbiotic buttressing between the two organizations.

For the parallel antibiosis, the differences and the criticism of two movements were highlighted by the writer. Salafis, who left the mother organization on the ground that it no longer reflected what they believed to be true Islam, is the foremost rival of the Brotherhood. In this sense, the main reason behind the participation to the politics of the Salafis was monopolizing power of the Brotherhood together with the possibility of seizing control of the pulpits through which the Salafis had long disseminated their ideas during the pre-revolutionary period. In addition to that Hassan Al-Banna, who was the founder of the Brotherhood, depicted as "*a man who erred and led others to err*" by some radical factions of the Salafis. In the political sphere, disagreement between the two sides reached their most intense levels on the issues regarding the question of whether women and Christians should be entitled to serve in high office. While the Muslim Brothers have shown some signals of moderation on these matters,

the Salafis uncompromisingly opposed these on theological and legal grounds. Foreign policy issues are another source of conflict for both sides. Tolerant views of the FJP and Morsi towards Shi'a Iran, the West and Israel sparked reaction from the Salafis. On the other hand, the Brotherhood questions the connection of the Salafists with the Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia and other such connections in the Gulf region. The Brotherhood asserts that the connections make the Salafists potential instruments for foreign powers who are uncomfortable with the Brotherhood rule in Egypt because of Brotherhood's mobilizing ability in the region of its branches against the ruling regimes in the Middle East (Hassan: 12 June 2012).

Despite their differences, two groups converge in some issues such as their capitalist economic outlook, notably the right to have private property. They also converge in their ultimate aim, which is to Islamize society, even if their methods differ to achieve this goal. Some branches of the Brotherhood and Salafis also share same Qutbist worldview. In this regard, the Brotherhood successfully managed how to turn the Salafis into an asset for itself as it's entering into tactical alliances with the Salafis on certain issues. A primary case of this was the joining of the Brotherhood and the Salafis against the Egyptian left and liberals in the 19 March 2011 referendum that opened a way for the Brotherhood's arrival in power. On the other hand, the future of the relationship will be shaped by two factors, namely the position and relative strength of the secular camp which creates common cause for the two organizations and the extent to which the Muslim Brotherhood is willing to share the political pie with the Salafis (Hassan: 12 June 2012).

Different from the case of the AKP's success in 2002 elections which resulted in the melting down of the more radical Felicitous Party by only receiving two percent of the votes, the Salafi oriented Al-Nour Party is a strong competitor of the FJP. The results of the Lower House elections in

2011 prove this kind of argument. In the following elections, the strategy of the FJP will be shaped mostly by the strength of the Al-Nour Party. If Salafis weaken in the political sphere, the FJP will have more space to be more moderate and refrain from possible isolation in the international arena.

4.3. Turkey's Foreign Policy towards the Middle East until the Beginning of the Arab Spring

Up until the beginning of the AKP period, governments in Turkey usually ignored the Middle East region. There are two main reasons behind the emergence of this picture. On the Arab side, in the post-independence period led by nationalist-socialist leaders, Ottomans were portrayed as colonizers who were responsible for the backwardness of the Arab world. On the Turkish side, feelings shifted from the positive image of Ottoman heritage to a sense of "betrayal" following the Arab Revolts during the First World War (Altunışık, 2010: 7). Thus, lack of trust because of historical reasons shaped the relations between two sides until the AKP period.

In addition to that developments during the Cold War deteriorated the relations between these two partners further. After the end of Second World War, Turkey allied itself with the capitalist block while nationalist-socialist regimes started to take ground in the Arab geography. In this conjecture, the dominant perspective in the Arab world perceived Turkey as a stooge of the U.S. This apprehension was reinforced by Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949 and Turkey's involvement in the establishment of the Baghdad Pact in 1955. However, Turkey's alliance with the US did not last long when the relations broke down over the opium production and the Cyprus issue in 1960s and 70s. From 1980 onwards, the interests of Arabs on Turkey once again increased due to strategic factors, such as the increasing perception of threat from the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as well

as the withdrawal of Egypt from regional politics due to its peace with Israel. Besides, Turkey's isolationism from Europe after the military intervention of 1980 increased economic ties with the Middle Eastern partners. During Özal reign, increasing number of Arab students coming to Turkey and booming of tourism and trade between Turkey and the Arab world intensified the relation. Such a positive picture reversed towards the end of the 1980s, after Turkey launched its extensive GAP Program (Southeastern Anatolian Project) to utilize the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates to irrigate lands in the southeastern part of Turkey when there was Iraq-Iran war and Syria was dependent on water. The PKK issue was another factor for the deterioration of the relations with neighboring states particularly with Syria when Turkey sent its troops to borders to guarantee that leader of the PKK left the country in 1998. Strained relations with the neighbors started to change after 2003 Iraqi War (Altunışık, 2010: 7-8).

Before analyzing the reasons of the increasing role of Turkey in the Middle East region after 2003 Iraqi invasion, it could be useful to look at the changing rhetoric of the foreign policy with the appearance of Ahmet Davutoğlu in the foreign policy making. Davutoğlu is known as the intellectual architect of the Justice and Development Party's foreign policy and was thought to be the person who changed the rhetoric and practice of Turkish foreign policy towards more multi-dimensional and dynamic orientation. According to Bülent Aras (2009: 4), Davutoğlu developed his foreign policy on the basis of a novel geographic imagination which intended to eliminate Turkey's alienation from its neighboring countries by making negative images and prejudices particularly towards the Middle East a matter of the past and emancipating Turkey's foreign policy from the chains of the domestic considerations.

Davutoğlu (2008: 84-85) formulated the term "*zero problem policy*" to describe improvement of the relations and solution of the problems with

the neighboring countries. He mentions four main principles of new rhetoric of foreign policy towards the Middle East. The first one is the adherence to security for the entire region. Second, the dialogue is defined as the basis of solution for the problems of the countries. The third principle is the acceptance of economic interdependence. The last principle is about cultural coexistence and plurality which aims to prevent religious and ethnic conflicts.

In addition to the new vision of Davutoğlu towards the Middle East and improvements in Turkish-EU relations particularly with the start of accession negotiations on December 2004, some regional political, economic and strategic developments led to changing perspectives on Turkey. These include the collapse of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process in 2000 and the deterioration of the Palestinian conflict; the US invasion of Iraq in 2003; Iran's rise as a regional power; intra-Arab divisions; Turkey's response to the Gaza War and the so-called Davos affair in 2009. the intensification of intra-Arab divisions and the emergence of a vacuum in regional politics due to the fragmentation of the Arab world not only weakened states' capacity to tackle with regional problems such as the Palestinian issue and the Iraqi crisis but also allowed foreign powers to intervene in the affairs of the Middle East for their national interests. The power vacuum in the region was due to the failure of the Bush administration in 2003 Iraqi invasion. The power vacuum coupled with an ideological one and constituted with the decrease in the U.S. power and credibility in the region was filled by regional powers like Iran and Turkey. According to Altunışık (2010: 10), unlike Iran, Turkey emerged as an "*independent, credible, and respectable*" third party due to its ability to talk to all parties in the region. However, this situation has changed after Turkey's deterioration of relations with Israel and Syria.

Alper Dede (2011: 28) argues that besides the regional factors such as Erdoğan's popularity in the Arab world with regard to the Palestinian issue; Turkey's gradual distancing from Israel, domestic factors like Turkey's process of democratization, rising economic performance, and the AKP's cultural-religious affinity with the people of the region in contrast to the Kemalists and secularists have huge impact in the rising popularity of Erdoğan. In essence, Turkish domestic stability and its ability to fill the vacuum in the Middle East after the Iraqi War of 2003 led to the increase in the popularity of AKP government in the region.

After the AKP came to power, bringing peace to the region through economic interdependence and dialogue is claimed to be major concerns for Turkish foreign policy. In this designation, Turkey positioned itself as the leader of the Middle East region. Although Turkey successfully increased its trade with the region, she was unable to repeat the same success story for the ongoing problems in the region. Even when the relations were at peak with Syria, Turkey did not conclude any agreement for the resolution of Hatay issue and water problem in the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The situation became much more complicated with the starting of the Arab Spring and the AKP's apparent animosity against the rule of Assad. In addition to that, alienation of Israel for the sake of improvement of the relations with Hamas and for enhancing the domestic popularity of the government as in the cases of Davos crises and the Mavi Marmara incident eliminated Turkey's role as the single party capable of talking with every regional actors. This situation resurfaced the debates on shift of axis of Turkey's foreign policy. Predictably, claims regarding shift of axis were rejected by the Turkish Prime Minister and Turkish activism in the region was depicted as an organic process with the statement of "*the river finding its natural path*" (Sokullu, 2012: 135-137).

The optimism towards Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East has left its place to suspicions and doubts when Turkey reversed its foreign policy towards Israel to gather domestic support. Turkey's involvement in Syria's civil war after the eruption of the Arab Spring put Turkey in a difficult position. In this sense, Assad's durability in power with the support of Russia and Iran frustrated the AKP. The danger of the spread of the civil war to Lebanon and Turkey after Hezbollah's involvement in the war to support the Assad regime (BBC: 25 May 2013) and explosions in Hatay province which was planned by the Assad regime according to the AKP officials but it was denied by the Assad government (Al Jazeera: 12 May 2013) increases questions about the future of Turkish foreign policy.

4.4. Turkey-Egypt Relations in the midst of Model Debate

Whether Turkey's experience under more than a decade of the AKP rule could serve as some sort of inspiration or even a model for overthrown Arab regimes is a debatable issue and may change the balance of power in the Middle East and power relations with the west. Since the start of the Arab revolts, the Islamic groups coming to power in Tunisia and Egypt tend to view the AKP with a certain affinity because of a shared Sunni Islamist political heritage. They have also concern in AKP's social and economic policies that combine references to Islamic ideas of social welfare with neo-liberal growth strategies. At the same time, it is explicit that using of the referent model can strengthen the Islamists hand in domestic power struggles because of the increase in persuasiveness of the parties (Akkoyunlu, Nicolaidis, Öktem, 2013: 9).

The Turkish model for the Arab countries works within two frameworks. First framework calls to Turkey as a referent for revolutionary Arab countries for its success in domestic governance which was publicly discussed in some countries especially in Tunisia and Egypt and to a lesser

extent in Libya (Akkoyunlu, Nicolaidis, Öktem, 2013: 9). This has two aspects, namely the economic development and moderation with the extension of its voter base. In other words, neo-liberal economic policies of the government and its success to extend its social base from Islamists to all segments of society are seen as a source of inspiration for the inexperienced Islamist political movements in the Arab states.

The second framework refers to Turkey as a '*moderate Islamist*' country in the Middle East region; an idea that has become popular after 9/11 attacks to the U.S. This designation was actively promoted by security-driven think tanks, lobby groups and pundits of the U.S. since the outbreak of the Arab uprisings. The immediate interest of the U.S. led western security establishment from such a project is its strategic benefits such as maintaining of friendly relations with the U.S. and its regional allies; considering of Iran, and not Israel, as the main security threat in the region; following market liberalization policies and keeping barriers for trade and investment with the West and the US-led regional alliance at a minimum level (Akkoyunlu, Nicolaidis, Öktem, 2013: 9). This designation is very much compatible with the Greater Middle East Project which was put forward after 9/11 to prevent flourishing of radical Islamism in the geography from Morocco to Uzbekistan most of which have radical and authoritarian regimes. In this region, Turkey is expected to behave as a model with its moderate Islamic understanding and neo-liberal economic orientation for the rest of the countries which are on the way of democratization (Kibaroğlu, Kibaroğlu, 2009: 123).

In relation to the debates on the Turkish model, Meliha Altunışık (2010: 20-22) lists two main factors that limit the potential of Turkey as a model in the region. The first factor is the perception of Turkey as part of the Saudi led-Sunni block that wants to promote sectarian politics in the region. This reality puts a barrier between Turkey and Shi'a and Alewite groups in the region, the most concrete example of which was the increasing

animosity against Assad rule by Egypt. The second one is the references to the Ottoman past and the association of Turkey with neo-Ottomanism. In this sense, Arab's remembrance of old days of domination and hegemony under the Ottoman rule creates suspicions about Turkey's policies in the region.

Turkey's positioning itself as a strategic leader in Middle East has started to change with the beginning of the Arab Spring. Among the Arab states, after sustaining stability internally, Egypt is again emerging as the most likely candidate to fill the vacuum in the region and could be an alternative model for the region which may have implications both for Turkish foreign policy and the Turkish model (Turk, Byman, 2011: 270). With its more close social structure and political culture, Egypt could serve as a better model for the Arab states despite its immature democracy and backward economy.

However, Islamist political leaders in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt constantly refer to the AKP as a model for their parties. In that sense AKP's success stories in the elections by extending its voter base is one aspect that the Middle Eastern states take it as a model. The fact that except for a few cases in Egypt and Jordan where *Ikhwan* members have achieved seats in their parliaments, the Islamists' inexperience with democracy and national democratic institutions assisted to the emerge of a such a vision (Dede, 2011: 27-30). For example, in his message of congratulations to Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Mahdi Akef, the supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, described the elections as 'evidence' of the ability of Islamic parties to achieve '*constitutional, political and economic development and social reform*' when operating in a democratic, free and fair environment. Similarly, a leading member of the Brotherhood, Essam El-Arian pointed out that the success of the AKP reveals that "*a political party does not have to be limited to Islamist members alone*" and

also pointed to ways in which Islamists can reconcile with the West, while the AKP's economic success and its dealings with other political parties and currents in Turkey should also be reflected upon: The *"[AKP's] experience is quite rich... In a healthy and free environment Islamists can achieve amazing results*" (Altunışık, 2010: 16-17).

Apart from that the AKP's attempts to champion the Palestinian cause prior to the Arab uprisings attracted sympathy among the members of Muslim Brotherhood much before the regime change. The bilateral rapprochement and strengthening of military, diplomatic and trade ties between the two countries has not been a surprise as the AKP supported Muslim Brotherhood. After assuming office, Morsi came to Ankara for the AKP congress in September 2012, encouraged Turkey's leadership and praised Turkey's democratic achievements as a "*source of inspiration for the Middle East*". Turkey's involvement in the region was depicted as necessary for the "*economic and social rehabilitation following the Arab Spring revolutions*". Yet, the rapprochement did not create a new pro-Palestine bloc, as one could have expected given the traditional anti-Israeli rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood. Instead, in their speeches in AKP Congress, both of the leaders targeted at Syria's Bashar al-Assad and his key supporters in the region (Akkoyunlu, Nicolaidis, Öktem, 2013: 12).

In parallel to the arguments presented above, the relation between two parties improved with Turkey's offering of a $2 billion aid package and Erdoğan's visit to Cairo in which 27 agreements and protocols were signed. In that visit, Erdoğan expressed his target to improve trade volume between two states to 5 billion dollars at the end of 2014 (Habertürk: 18 November 2012). Both also converge in their views during the Arab Spring by taking the same measures against Assad rule. In that sense losing of the partnership of Syria because of civil war may have prompted Turkey to speed up its alliance with Egypt. Besides, the partnership with Egypt is also rooted in the Islamist politics of the leaders of the two countries. Such kind of similarities

give them a chance to form new Sunni bloc in the Middle East, even though each country offers a different understanding of how Islam and democracy could coexist (Arango: 18 October 2012).

High levels of economic growth rate and the increase in foreign investment to Turkey takes attention of the Islamist political parties in Egypt. However, economic structures of Egypt and Turkey are highly different from each other. While Turkey's journey for economic liberalization started in 1980s when new class within Islamist constituencies started to emerge and extended with the efforts of Özal and Erdoğan, Egyptian neoliberalism has not constituted strong business constituency within the Islamist movement but cronies to the regime, to stand for neoliberal reforms, smaller state, or political pragmatism. Even the Muslim Brotherhood has been dominated by professionals (doctors, engineers, teachers, and lawyers) who advocate strong and expansive state for employment, social security, and public goods (Gümüşçü, 2012).

For the future of economic orientation of Egypt, rigid implementation of neo-liberal economic policies after Arab Spring is unlikely given the expectations of the people from the regime. As a concrete example, in the FJP's platform statement, it is emphasized that state reserves substantial role for production, planning, price regulation, social security and job generation. In addition to that greater social justice for wage earners and elimination of unemployment among the educated people is highlighted. In the light of these findings, according to Şebnem Gümüşçü (2012) the economic system that the Brotherhood envisages is much closer to corporatist-oriented model that encourages import substitution and export promotion than neoliberal economy that prioritizes small state and free trade

During the downfall of the Mubarak regime, protestors in the streets demanded for more equality, democracy and freedom and called for an end of corruption of the state institutions. By coming to power in such a political atmosphere, the Brotherhood was expected to adopt more egalitarian

approach to address demands of the people. However, Morsi administration's failure to tackle with economic issues became one of the major reasons for the pouring of the opposition to the streets.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

After the overthrown of the brutal regimes in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, the question of "*what will happen next*" has started to be debated in the Middle East. The victory of al-Nahda in Tunisia and the FJP in Egypt in the post-revolutionary period led the emergence of the impression that Islamists will be the strongest candidate in the new political era in the re-construction of the political space for some scholars. In this political setting, giving the image of having strong economy and democracy, Turkey emerged as a model in the region under Islamic-rooted AKP government. In particular, being the strongest and leading Arab nation with its politics and economy, Turkish model debate has sparked much discussion among Egyptian Islamists. However, polarization of the country under Muslim Brotherhood-backed President Mohammed Morsi led to the military intervention on July 3, 2013 and reshaped model debate.

By answering the question "*why Turkish model fail in Egypt*?", the thesis seeks to give detailed information on the history of the Muslim Brotherhood and the AKP and transformation of their identities while interacting with political, social and economic factors. At the same time, the thesis tries to reveal similarities and differences of both movements on the issues of voter bases, electoral performances, party programs, economics, westernization, role of armies, and ideologies. Considering the historical account of the both Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and AKP in Turkey and analyzing transformation of the movements, the thesis reaches the conclusion that Turkish model under AKP government in Egypt failed due to five main reasons namely different meanings and functions of the west and westernization, existence of political rivalry for the Brotherhood, lack

of political experience of the FJP in power, army's strong role in Egypt and different economic structures of both countries.

First, west and westernization has different meanings and functions in Turkey and Egypt. For the former, westernization has a positive connation since Atatürk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, praised westernization as a means to develop the nation. This is also the case for the AKP considering the fact that its democratic credentials mostly rooted in its commitment to westernization and particularly to the EU process in its first term in power between 2002 and 2007. As it is analyzed in detail in the thesis, most of the democratic reforms during the AKP era were enacted and implemented as part of EU harmonization packages. However, for the Muslim Brotherhood, westernization poses a negative implication due to its connation with colonization under which Egyptian people suffered from Western powers in the past. Furthermore, westernization is perceived as slavery to western states by Egyptians. Having these facts in hand, the West could never function as a democratic model for the Egypt.

Second, existence of political rivalry in Egypt unlike Turkey caused failure of the Turkish model. In Turkey, AKP successfully assimilated its political rivals in the right of political spectrum. The only potential candidate to pose a threat for the AKP is nationalist MHP however it is also worn-out in the eyes of electorates due to its ineffectiveness in the previous coalition government and its role in 2001 economic crisis. One other alternative party, such as HAS Party, dissolved itself and its leader joined to the AKP. Other than that there is no center-right party alternative to the domination of the AKP. Thus, AKP may comfortably shift to the center as long as its pragmatism necessitates. On the other hand, as it is proven in the parliamentary elections in 2012 in Egypt, while the FJP received 37 percent of the votes, the Salafis obtained 27 percent. The Salafis passive stance

against the military coup and its joining to anti-Morsi forces in the demonstrations had huge impact in the Morsi's removal from the power. Also, MB suffered from the activities of other oppositional groups such as liberals and socialists and lost the power amid the protests in the streets.

Third, lack of political experience of the FJP in power prevented repetition of Turkish model in Egypt. While the Brotherhood is not familiar with the democratic system due to long years of suppression of the movement by autocratic leaders of Egypt, Turkey's Islamists integrated into democratic political framework during the transformation process under the shadow of party closure. AKP is also a catch-all party that represents different interests in the party and has broader social base. On the other hand, as it was the case of the November edict of Morsi, lack of political experience of the MB in power and its marginalization in a short period of time received huge reaction from the public and played huge role in the end of Morsi period.

Fourth, different role of army in Turkey and Egypt contributed to the failure of Turkish model in Egypt. In Turkey, the army was diluted in the political arena with the pressure of the European Union. After ten years in power, the AKP gradually undermined the influence of the army on Turkish politics. For the same case in Egypt, however, along with non-existence of pressuring institutions such as the EU, Egyptian army is technically and monetarily assisted by the U.S. This makes moving army out of political arena a very challenging process for the Egyptian Islamists. Since the beginning of the Egyptian revolution, army sustained its huge role in politics first under the banner of SCAF in the transition period then with the military intervention that removed Morsi from power.

Fifth, different economic structures of Egypt and Turkey resulted in the failure of Turkish model for Egypt. While the AKP adopted neo-liberal

policies such as privatization and deregulation under the slogan of economic growth and increasing foreign investment and integrated into capitalist world market, the MB could not succeeded giving the slogans of the revolution that emphasized on social welfare and equal distribution of wealth and thus electoral considerations. Moreover, while AKP is widely supported by an Islamic bourgeoisie, which emerged during 1980s under the prime ministry of Özal and strengthened during the AKP period, MB could not benefit from the support of Islamic bourgeoisie due to its hindrance by Mubarak regime.

While the thesis is written, there has been a military coup in Egypt on 3th of July 2013 by the military commanders appointed by President Mohammed Morsi and the country is still in political, social and economic turmoil. As it is consistently advocated throughout the thesis, the move of the army was not something surprising since its public prestige has been very high in comparison to the new and unknown political actors. Undemocratic nature of Morsi administration, polarization of the country between secular and religious people and tense relations with Israel and the U.S. became the utmost reasons for the military intervention. Last but not the least; contrary to the some expectations, one should remember that the chance of the MB in the elections may not decrease as long as it carries out activities in the social field; on the contrary it may increase after illegitimate acts of the army as it was the case of the increase in the popularity of the AKP after the 2007 military memorandum.

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APPENDICES A

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı :
Adı   :
Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: