

**A BRIEF CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL VISION MOVEMENT ON
THEORITICAL AND PRACTICAL LEVEL:
ERBAKAN’S MODEL OF TEO-DEMOCRACY**

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ABSTRACT

The National Vision Movement is a political Islamist structure that was founded by the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan, with the slogan of morality and then spirituality, and introducing a new understanding of education, morality, politics, law and economy. The movement focused on Islamic beliefs and teachings, national identity and cultural understanding, anti-westernism, a fair economic order and moral values, continues to be effective even though it offers a mosaic that tries to synthesize religion and politics in Turkish political life. The purpose of this study is to analyze bedrocks, political journey and evolution of National Vision Movement led by Necmettin Erbakan. In the light of this perspective, Erbakan and his party’s stance on the matter of official ideology, democracy, justice, nationalism and economy will be evaluated, critical and descriptive analysis of National Vision Movement in theoritical and practical levels will be shed light and lastly a mentality analysis based on Islamist pragmatism and teodemocracy will be tried to be revealed.

Keywords: Erbakan, National Vision, Political Islam, Democratization

INTRODUCTION

The National Vision Movement was founded by Necmettin Erbakan in late 1960s with an initiative known as the “Independence Movement” in Turkey. It appeared as a “political reformist” Islamic movement that has adopted the political party/method in the Islamic struggle and has put forward the ‘Fair Order’ thesis as a new model and doctrine. In this context, the expression of National Vision is a special conceptualization effort based on metaphysical/religious motives and values in a secular-modern system. Therefore, this article focuses on cornerstones of National Vision Movement, its political journey led by Erbakan and Erbakan’s and his party’s double standart attitude about justice, equality, democracy and human rights by benefitting from important sources such as; books, scientific articles, newspapers, research centers and master’s and doctoral theses both in Turkish and English.

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1. BEDROCKS AND DINAMICS OF NATIONAL VISION MOVEMENT

Many researches suggested that an Islamic revival occurs in 1960s around the world not just Turkey. Islamic revival is a concept that expresses its visibility both in public and political realm rather than spread of Islam and being more qualified. During these years, new religious generations who met with politics, have become visible in public places (Yılmaz, 2016: 1170). Transition to multi-party system, acceleration of migration from village to city and improving education syysem are the most important factors that create this atmosphere both in Turkey and the rest of the world. Conservative people who have become conscious with new educational opportunities and city life, began to express religious demands and showed the desire to take role in politics. These demands and efforts of conservative segment have been mostly named with negative words such as ‘political Islam’, ‘abuse of religion or reactionism’ and their social demands were ignored for many years. Parties on the line of National Vision bringing the conservative segment with politics, faced a strict state policy. National Order Party (1970-71) in this line, National Salvation Party (1973-81), Welfare Party (1983-98) and Virtue Party (1997-2003) was closed down on the grounds that they use and abuse religion in politics and also it is against the principles of laisism (Yılmaz, 2016: 1173).

1960 military coup and new constitution which ended in Democrat Party’s period in Turkey, leads to transformation for Islamism in the political and cultural area. First Islamist generation in Turkey had developed as an opposition stream against ideological sources of the system, strict laicism and westernization process led by Jon Turk elites. However, they have not developed a reaction against the regime of state. National vision as second generation has not rejected and excluded the tradition and regime differently from the other Islamic movements which develop generally on a revolutionarist or insurgent position in Arabic countries and Iran. The main distinction is that National Vision has interiorized the technical side of the modernity.

Main dynamics of National Vision Movement are ideal of Islamic Union, anti-westernism, anti-imperialism, anti-zionism and establishment of just/fair order. The Islamic Union which is used in the sense of the unity of Muslims, is an ideal initiated by actioners of national vision movement that aimed to unite muslims in the cultural, political and economical realms in global extent and also aimed to oppose colonialism (Özcan, 2001: 470). Erbakan determined five steps for actualizing Islamic Union. These are establishment of united nations organizations of muslim countries, muslim countries defense organization, common market and common currency of muslim countries and muslim countries cultural cooperation organization (Erbakan, 2013: 380). So, Erbakan has evaluated Turkey’s joining to EU as a concession from national independence (Erbakan, 2013: 112). and he thought that Islamic Union could only show a great resistance againts these pacts like EU, USA etc.(Erbakan, 1993: 138). D-8, as the first core of Islamic Union, aroused great excitement in terms of national vision. D-8 countries were consisting of Indonesia, Malesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, Turkey and Nigeria. Cooperation with foreign Turks and Muslim communities is targeted within the framework of the Islamic Union ideal (Erbakan, 1993: 63).

This target was declared by Erbakan as a foreign policy (Erbakan, 2016: 34). National Vision Movement has an ummatist and anti-tribalist mentality that all believers are seen as brothers by the religious principle of ‘all believers are only brothers’ in Koran (Akgül, 1993: 212). Precondition of Islamic Union is to reach this consciousness. According to Erbakan, logic of nation-state, ethnic distinctions like Turkish-Kurd will harm this fraternity (Erbakan, 2013: 169). This separations will service the targets of imperialism initiated by Western norms and values. So, for Erbakan, imperialism is global exploitation system that determines the powers of world countries, weakened their industries, dragged the humanity into poverty and selfishness, caused lots of corruptions to occur on earth from health to education (Erbakan, 2010: 46). He explained that :” For many years, most of the Muslim countries have been under the occupation of the imperialist Western countries. Both people and natural resources of that country were constantly exploited. Occupation of any country by military force posed great risks and threats as well as large costs. So, westerners have adopted a way of exploiting that country by people of that country by destroying the national and spiritual values of that country through cultural imperialism (Erbakan, 2016: 46).

Anti-zionism is one of the issues that reflect Erbakan’s world view. He owned Palestine/Jerusalem as a case by saying ‘ Palestine case is our case’ (Erbakan, 2013: 24). For him, zionism is a name of the focus that controls the world by ‘secret world state’(Allen, 1996) founded by zionists. Erbakan revealed zionism as ‘racist imperialism’ (Erbakan, 2016: 7) by making a new conceptualization. Erbakan thought that Zionism aims world domination that they believe they are superior races, that all other humanity is created to be slaves to them, they aim to establish “Great Israel”, and the world domination will be strengthened with the arrival of Christ (Erbakan, 2010: 11).

According to Erbakan who is the leader of national vision movement that is the first expression of Islamic identity in political sphere, political party is only a means not an end in politics (Akgül, 2016: 207). What the national vision does is jihad, not politics. For Erbakan, Islam is not possible without jihad. The National Vision in which jihad is emphasized, the members of the community saw organizing work as a jihad and even wrote “Jihad Papers” based on their needs. Politics is an apparatus for jihad and people must be interested in political affairs. Because, muslims who dont care about politics, are ruled by politicians who dont care about muslims (Yavuzer, 2016).

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL VISION MOVEMENT

The National Vision Movement was founded by Necmettin Erbakan (Ersoy, 2015: 56) who was a mechanical engineer in the late 1960s, with an initiative known as the “Independence Movement” in our country. It appeared as a “political reformist” Islamic movement that has adopted the political party / method in the Islamic struggle and has put forward the “Fair Order” thesis as a new model and doctrine (Tuğrul, 2017: 618). In this context, the expression of National Vision is a special conceptualization effort based on metaphysical values in a secular-modern system.

That is why, this movement preferred to use many religious concepts such as, salvation, welfare, felicity in this context (Kırbaçoğlu, 2015: 35). So, Erbakan suggested that :” National vision represents the views and values of our nation (Erbakan, 2010: 114). National vision is based on justice in the struggle of right and wrong, takes its power from nation and opposed to zionism and imitation in global level (Erbakan, 1993: 44). National Vision Movement aimed to create a powerful Turkey by basing morality and spirituality at the framework of ‘Again Great Turkey’. This ideal began with rejecting Westernism, that is to say, capitalist, colonial and interest-oriented economical policies of West. According to this view, occurrence of national consciousness that will improve Turkey both in material and moral side, is only possible with National Vision. According to the National Vision, the Turkish nation and national sense has been destroyed by foreign powers and their indigenous partners for two centuries. In this framework, purpose of National Vision is ‘to reach salvation and happiness by getting material and moral development (Erbakan, 1975: 26). Factors of moral development is shaped by an understanding of faith-based mentality, opposition to materialism, love of national history and culture. Also, factors of material development comprises many areas such as, prevention of extravagance, eradication of usury and exploitation, providing rapid industrialization, eradication of social and geographical imbalances (Erbakan, 1973: 5-7). To understand the reasons that reveal the National Vision, it is necessary to know the political environment in the years that Republic was founded. One party system (RPP) ruled the country from the establishment of Republic to 1946 political elections. However, Erbakan also does not consider that multy party system is sufficient. According to him, this era (1946-1970) has multy-party system but at the same time, it has only one mentality. All established parties since 1946, are mass party rather than exhibiting an idea or a vision. National Vision, by these parties (NOP, NSP, WP), has targetted introducing the conservative segment with political power, also ensuring religion to be visible in political, social and public sphere. A new generation, which does not deny its religious references, does not need to hide, is aimed to play a role in the state (Yılmaz, 2016: 1164-1185).

Main item which makes ‘National Vision’ original is that “It is the first party which is represented in democratic process, represents a particular socio/economic class or a social strata alongside of a discourse based on Islamic values in the economical and cultural realm (İnceoğlu, 2009). National Vision is the first political Islamist movement which constitute class support and even social base by the way of integration of islamic-cultural-economical factors. According to Haldun Gülalp, this phenomenon should be carefully distinguished from the seemingly similar liberation theology in Latin America. While liberation constitutes a novel interpretation of Christianity from a socialist perspective. Welfare Islamism focused on the question of cultural superiority or inferiority. Liberation theology is concerned with changing social order and for this reason, it expresses class interests through Christians terms and, uses religion to mobilize people for class-related issues. Turkey’s political Islam, by contrast, was concerned with a cultural project and attempted to mobilize people by addressing their class interests in order to effect that project and used class-related issues as a vehicle to promote a project of change in lifestyle and to establish its own version of an islamic society (Gülalp, 2001: 435).

According to National Vision Movement, Fair/Just Order is only alternative Islamic system against the colonial, western order and institutions.

The project of interest-free alternative economic system which is prepared by a working group under the leadership of Süleyman Karagülle with reference to Prof. Arif Ersoy and Süleyman Akdemir's thesis, was adopted as party view under the name of 'Just Order'. S.Karagülle defined the just order that: "There are just two worldviews. In conflictual worldview, opposite powers struggle each other, powerful is winner and weak is loser due to competition and war. Those who lean powerfulness on economic wealth are Capitalists and those who lean powerfulness on military power are Socialists. Both of them is same, monopol and centralist. All votes are given to powerful elites and weak is eliminated. So, election is a developed mechanism for determining the powerful one. However, there is a second system which is brought and conveyed by prophets. This system is based on true justice. There is analogy of interest alongside of clash of interests. In prophets's system, there is an opinion system instead of centralist system." Just Order 'discourse, firstly, has being brought a critical thinking to interest matter and current economic system has being named as "Slavery System" by Erbakan. He criticized that "This slavery order has dragged millions of people into financial difficulties, starvation, poverty, unemployment and backwardness. Human being's labour has being transferred to imperialism, zionism and their wealthy allies. As a consequence of this situation, most of people have being impoverished and a minority group of people has being gradually enriched. This situation eradicates peace and security in the world." (p. 11-2) Slavery order which is called as "Usurer Capitalist system" has five fundamental microbes: the microbe of interest, unfair tax, mint, exchange, credit system." (p. 3-4). National Vision which is represented by Welfare Party, will abolish this slavery system. This new order in which provide wealth, justice and equality of opportunity for every one, interest rate, unjust tax and credit money will be eradicated. Prices will be determined according to criteria based on supply and demand. Right emerges from four reasons: Basic human rights which are innate given by god to mankind, labour, agreement based on consent and justice. (p. 15). Main condition of Just Order is "You will produce as much as you consume, you will not be unfair."(p. 25) "This order includes beneficial sides of socialism and capitalism but does not include their detrimental sides. (p. 17) (Erbakan, 2010).

Turkey experienced inflationist developmental model with Turgut Özal's neo-liberal economical policies in 1980s. As a consequence of this situation, decreasing of buying power, changing nominal value of money directed Party's discourse to construct upon fight against inflation. In Just Order, state is responsible for making plan, approving projects, delivering incentives, providing its initiatives in large scale investments. Just order in reality had aimed to create Counter-Bourgeoisie –Anatolia- against Istanbul Bourgeoisie (TUSIAD) by the way of state possibilities (Yavuz, 2003). However, this program can not be understood by even WP 's grassroots. According to Mustafa Ozal:"Just Order is an immature model even if it includes good faith, because it is impossible to exclude free enterprise with capitalism. Selem bond is nothing than back door usury."

According to Menderes Çınar: “Just Order is consists of promises and assurances but this is also a set of words which has no any consistency among its conceps and notions. Also Çınar marked that: “ Just Order desired to create “Homo Islamicus” by the way of education due to the WP’s slogan of “Faithful cadres and Wise men” in the name of the community of moral. In this order, it is difficult non-muslim and atheists to be subjected to equal treatment. Democracy understanding of this believer cadres which will reject to give account to anyone other than god, are also conradictive. The discouse of “Communities which emerged from free contracts and “faithful cadres and wise men” presented a contradiction in WP’s Just Order program (Çakır, 1990: 201).

3. POLITICAL JOURNEY OF NATIONAL VISION MOVEMENT

First seeds of National Vision were spreaded on the occasion of conflict between Demirel and Erbakan. Erbakan became an independent deputy candidate from Konya because of the fact that his nomination candidacy was vetoed by Demirel in 1969. Erbakan was seeing that Justice Party’s religious motifs was not adequate and this situation directed him to plunge into a religious quest. As a consequence of that, National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi) was established by Necmettin Erbakan and his fellows on 1970, January 26. After 1971 military momerandum, NOP was closed down by constitutional court on the grounds that NOP aimed to form an Islamic state. Court attributed to Erbakan’s speech in 1970 as an significance reason of closure the party. Erbakan said as follows:

“Hadiths, Imam Ghazali’s and Imam Rabbani’s books should be read in the schools instead of sociology or moral books. One who says “I am a populist”, must be told and adviced that he should repent and participate in “Order” with basmala. Shahada mark of National Order has a remarkable importance and if one who does not know the meaning of this mark, should go to the home and repent.” (Çakır, 1990).

Erbakan abandoned Turkey and went to Swirtzerland, his going was called as “Hejira”. National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) was established as a continual of NOP by different cadre on 1972, October 11. The elections of 1973 was a success for NSP by gaining %11 of general votes and this situation directed NSP to make a coalition with RPP due to mutual economical policies (the understanding of social justice, equal distribution of wealth and state centred heavy industry model) even if it is very controversial. The key of economical policies which Erbakan and his party developed, was ‘Heavy Industry’. Industrial development refers to produce machines which produce machines. For Erbakan, independence of any country is based on industrial production, anti-imperialist stance and social justice. In RPP-NSP coalition period, NSP tried to form a pious cadre in bureaucracy and technocracy as it possible by the way of some ministries such as the ministry of internal, justice, trade, agriculture etc. for actualizing main slogans of ‘spirituality /moral development and heavy industry move’.These actions towards reviving religion were quite criticized by coalition partner RPP. Also this coalition leads a reaction for Nurcus because Erbakan had taken the support of some religious orders and all of them started to oppose to Erbakan’s initiatives.

Therefore, this coalition did not last long. Although the NSP took part in Nationalist Front Governments along with Justice Party and Nationalist Action Party, the unstable political environment, chaos and 1980 military coup was preparing an end for NSP like the other political parties. After the 1980 military coup, permission for political parties for participating to elections was provided and Welfare Party was established under the leadership of Ali Türkmen on July 19, 1983. It is meaningful this group to choose the name of ‘Welfare’ by stressing economical aspect of this period after firstly ‘Order’ stressing discipline and then ‘Salvation’ stressing moral values (Çakır, 1990: 250).

4. ERBAKAN’S RELATIONSHIP WITH RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The first discourse of National Vision was based on three main factors. These are moral development, economical development (heavy industry) and just order. Erbakan was suggesting moral development as main condition of economical growth and social justice. Erbakan’s source of inspiration on the matter of morality, nationalism, economical wealth and justice was Naqshbandi ‘s Sheikh Mehmet Zahid Kotku. As long as Erbakan’s political anxieties come into the forefront, main emphasis on moral development related to sufistic tendency started to vanish. By the death of Zahid Kotku in 1980, Erbakan did not obey Kotku’s successor Esad Coşan. This situation accelerated Erbakan’s transformation. For a party member who remains at the hesitant position between party and his religious community, party loyalty was being dominant side. The main way of promotion within the party was to be good propagandist, organizer and orator contrary to adhering to the religion strictly (Çakır, 1994: 120). Main conflict between Erbakan and Esad Coşan started with Erbakan’s speech in Sivas 1990. In this speech, after Erbakan was inviting people on behalf of jihad, warned people by saying *“The position of those who do not fulfil a duty for party, is similar to worshipping without ritual ablutions. Welfare party is an islamic jihad army. All of us must be soldiers of this army and obey welfare as followers of Sunnah. Others who do not obey, belong to the potato religion.”* (Çakır, 1994). Erbakan’s stance directed the other religious communities, too, to take support from party.

5. ALLIANCE SEEKINGS AND WP’S CONFLICTUAL POSITION ON KURDISH ISSUE

By 1991 local elections, WP-NWP (Nationalist Working Party)-RDP (Reformist Democracy Party) coalition came into existence with reference of “Believers united within Welfare Party” due to Turkey’s proposal for defeating election threshold. Erbakan desired to use Islam as an apparatus of compromising Turk and Kurd electorates in East and Southeast regions. In the beginning of 1990s, the most important part of Welfare Party was consisting of Kurd-origin politicians and although this group has objected this cooperation with radical nationalist NWP, coalition was actualized. However, WP-NWP-RDP coalition leads majority of Kurdish electorates and deputies to abandon to the party. The problem of election alliance emphasized Erbakan’s dominance and immaturity on the matter of intra-party democracy. Party accomplished as first in 1995 elections. After the collapse of ANAYOL coalition for a short term, Erbakan formed a coalition with Çiller’s TPP (True Path Party) in 1996 June.

Welfare Party's report on Kurdish issue which is prepared on 1991, December 18 as follows:

1- "...We should talk about Kurdish problem anymore and must articulate their feelings and grievances"

2- "...We can inquiry official ideology and its oppressive, repressive and denialist policies for 75 years in Turkey"

3- "...We must defend that Kurdish identity should be recognized, all bans against development of Kurdish culture should be abolished, legal opportunities for teaching and learning Kurdish language should be provided and these rights and possibilities must be valid for the other ethnic segments."

4- "We condemn state terror as we condemn PKK terror and We object all racist discourses ." (Çakır, 1994).

Contrary to this positive attitude, WP's coalition with NWP which is Turkish racist organization which does not recognize Kurdish existence, was accepted as a treason by Kurdish pious people because WP was advocating that with Islamic arguments. Also Erbakan had said that All solution proposals related to Kurdish issue must be explained and discussed. Actually, the main reason of we cannot overcome this problem is to leave that out any debate, just like a tabu. "However, after this speech which brings a democratic opening, he exhibited contradictory attitude by saying: "Any solution proposal must be compatible and subject to the historical and social realities of region." (Çakır, 1990).

6. OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY AT ERBAKAN'S PERSPECTIVE AND TEODEMOCRACY

Erbakan was under the influence of dualist dependence as a leader of Islamist political stream from the beginning. He was adopting laic political regime based on general will, but on the one hand, he was seeing himself as representative of sharia based on Allah's Kalam. According to Erbakan, there is trick regime and tyranny order instead of real and pluralist democracy and there is no real laisim. Oppression regime and Islam hostility under the name of laisim, were performed in Turkey. Actually, WP's this attitude was nothing than reducing laisim into freedom of thought and faith. Nusret Bayraktar -Mayor Candidate of WP- had printed photographs of mosque, synagogue and church to the election pamphlet, some of them visited these chapels, so they tried to demonstrate that they have not opposed to laisim. But, these actions are indications of religion tolerance but not for supporting laic policies. Because, as Edgar Pisani marked that: "The most basic tenet of laisim is to prevent any group of people (Theist or Atheist) -even if they constitute majority- to have a political power and use the "Belief" as an domination and propaganda device". However, WP's discourse was constructed on the mentality of the ratio of muslim population is %99 in Turkey. So, administrators must be devout muslim people (Çakır, 1990).

Fundamental problematique is whether WP is islamist or not. Some Islamist scholars separated Islamism into two groups, as Top-Down Islamism (to get political power by the way of revolution or military coup and to islamcize the society by state) and Down-Top Islamism (after Islamcizing the society, state will mandatorily be islamcized) (Çakır, 1994: 178). In this meaning, WP can constitute a middle ground between top-down and down-top Islamism. So, it is meaningful WP to be branded under colour of Teo-democracy which is developed by Mawdudi. As he marked that: “Teodemocracy is based on Allah’s Sovereignty (Teocratic element) and human being’s caliphate-representation (Democratic element). Democracy is just an apparatus for getting political power and making sharia dominant over society in terms of Welfare party leader and its members. Erbakan said on this matter: “*The main goal is to construct the order of felicity*”. But, same feature of Islamic movements is that they start to steer away from the Islamic identity when they closed to gain political power. WP’s attitudes and actions are not towards the replacement of sharia by abolishing democracy. WP’s aim was to add sharia motif to democracy game (Çakır, 1990). Shortly, for WP, using democracy for sharia is an Outlook. WP’s purpose is neither sharia nor democracy. However, WP’s sharia tendencies are suspicious like it’s democratic tendencies. For example; WP failed the class in the matter of abolition of parliamentary immunity of DEP members. Similarly, WP fulfilled an important duty by canalizing women into political life but has not given any place to them in the list, imposed embargo on their rights to stand for election. WP received support of poor people in metropolitan cities but has not permitted for the political climbing of their representatives. WP provided some lawyers, engineers to become deputy or mayor thanks to the votes of poor people, but failed in the matter of being poor ‘s voice (Çakır, 1990).

7. ERBAKAN AGAINST OR WITH WEST?

Erbakan had suggested and indicated that his party was opposed to Communists, Zionists and Masons in the press conference holded in 1970 on the occasion of establishment of NOP and accused AET of being a zionist organization. He had criticized Özal when Özal applied to EU for full membership in 1987. According to Erbakan, Turkey has no any economical or political interest for participating to EU. He always says that: “Our history is the history of conflict of European and Islamic cultures for 1500 years.” He sustained to object the Turkey’s membership initiatives. According to him, Turkey must consociate with other Islamic countries rather than pursuing cooperation with EU which is a “Christian Clup”. WP’s opposition to EU contunied to be a fundamental component of Erbakan’s political program until forming a coalition with TPP in 1996. As long as Erbakan come to power, relinquished opposition to Customs Union, Turkey’s NATO membership, military aggrement with Israel and prolongation of martial law in southeastern provinves. Also Erbakan had criticized Çiller on the matter of corruption even interpellate to the parliament when he took place of opposition wing, but when he come to power, changed his stance for taking TPP’s support and objected to be started a prosecution against Çiller in the parliament (Çakır, 1994).

8. DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Democracy and human rights was not among Erbakan's priorities when he introduced his political career in the beginnings of 1970s. In that period, his ideological basis was consisting of nationalism, moral development, industrial development and social justice. Due to 1980 military intervention which brings oppression against headscarfed students, Erbakan started to interest in democracy and human rights. Even he applied to European Court of Human Rights for the abolishment of restraining order from active politics (This application was rejected by court). However, Welfare Party voted with the majority to lift the political immunity of the representatives of democracy party (DEP) in the GNTA under allegations that DEP supported the separatist organization, PKK. This led to the closure of the DEP and imprisonment of its members of parliament, although the Welfare Party leaders had repeatedly criticized the closure of islamist political parties in the past on the grounds that this was unacceptable in democracies. At the time when Turkey was on the blacklist of international human rights organizations for cases of widespread torture, Prime Minister Erbakan turned down amnesty international 's request for an appointment, arguing that amnesty was a "Euro-centric" organization. His minister of Justice did not nothing to prevent the death of scores of political prisoners as a result of hunger strikes to protest prison conditions. However, the party's most telling blunder was Erbakan's response to the Susurluk scandal. This incident suggested to the public the existence of illicit operations between the security forces, political parties and organized crime. When it became clear that government was unwilling to take action on rumors of corruption. Consequently, it can be told that Erbakan advocates democracy so long as it protected him and his party's interests (Toprak, 2005: 173).

Erbakan's contribution for democratic process in Turkey was to institutionalize the mass politics. Contrary to the other parties, WP achieved about developing powerfull base organizations which are supported by public. Erbakan's other contribution was to enrich democracy. Because although his parties were closed down by constitutional court, new parties, at the same line, established (Heper, 2008).

CONCLUSION

In this article, main dynamics of National Vision Movement based on anti-westernism, anti-zionism, anti-imperialism, Islamic Union and Just Order, its political journey and Erbakan's conflictual approachments on the matter of democracy, human rights, justice etc. Religion has found its place in politics for the first time with the National Vision Movement and has become visible in the public sphere by the way of increased educational opportunities and city life due to migrations from village to the cities. So, National Vision national tried to meet the religious demands coming from the conservative community on the existing political system, which led to a dilemma in terms of its world view. As a political reflection, in the consequence of the necessity of being integrated with periphery for gaining the centre, democracy was just an apparatus for getting political power and constructing society at the islamic framework in terms of National Vision Movement and its members. However, attitudes and actions of National Vision Movement are not towards the replacement of sharia by abolishing democracy. Erbakan and his party's aim was to add sharia motif to democracy game and the discourse of democracy, human rights, liberty were gaining a value when they service for Erbakan's interests and aims.

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