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Editor

Academic circles and popular media alike have been discussing the changes in the global economic and political balance of power. Whatever the future may bring; the region of Africa, Europe and Asia, i.e. the Old World, which was the cradle of world civilizations for millennia, is destined to play a significant role in shaping the world again.

The Afro Eurasian Studies has been established in summer 2011 to offer a respected peer-reviewed outlet for the scholarly research in social and administrative sciences, which would shed light on the history and the current state of economic, political and social dynamics of Africa, Europe and Asia. The journal welcomes original manuscripts in English on a range of subject matters including economics, finance, management, political science, public policy and international relations with particular focus on the Afro Eurasian region.

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Beyond services to its members, MÜSİAD has been acting as a non-governmental organization contributing to the economic and social development of Turkey and the countries in the region through international activities. MÜSİAD has also been an influential participant of the economic and policy discussions in Turkey through its research activities and publications.

As a culmination of the research experience accumulated over they years, the Economic and Social Research Center within MÜSİAD has embarked upon the challenge of publishing an international journal. Thus the Afro Eurasian Studies has been born in Turkey, at the epicenter of Afro Eurasia, out of a desire to contribute to the international discourse on the new dynamics of the region.

Kindly

Editor

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa YİÇİTOĞLU

THE IMPRESSION WRITINGS IN SERVET-I FINÛN ABOUT IRAQ AN OTTOMAN LAND

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Bir Osmanlı Toprağı Olan Irak Ülkesi Hakkında Servet-i Finûn 'da Yer Alan İzlenim Yazıları

ÖZ

Ortadoğu'nun en önemli merkezlerinden biri olan Irak, çok uzun süre Osmanlı egemenliği altında bulunmasına rağmen daima Anadolu'dan kopuk bir pozisyonda kalmıştır. Müslümanlar için oldukça önemli bir bölge olmakla birlikte, o günün şartlarına bağlı olarak Anadolu'dan çok fazla insan bu toprakları görme imkânı bulamamıştır. Her ne kadar bölgenin - özellikle manevi açıdan ziyaret edilmesi- büyük önem taşısa da bu ihtiyaç ancak dönemin basın yayın araçları tarafından (kısmen) karşılanmaya çalışılmıştır. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında ve yirminci yüzyılın başlarında, bilhassa Türklerin ve Müslümanların yaşadığı uzak coğrafyalar hakkında yegâne bilgilendirme aracı gazete, dergi, bülten gibi basılı yayınlardı. Bu yayınlardan biri de Servet-i Finûn dergisidir. Türk basın tarihinin en uzun ömürlü dergisi olan Servet-i Finûn, bu bağlamda okuyucuları için hususi bir muhabir görevlendirmiş, Irak topraklarını ve bu topraklardaki izlenimleri okuyucularına aktarmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı Servet-i Finûn dergisinin, Osmanlı toprağı olan Irak'ta meydana gelen önemli olaylar ile değerli şahsiyetler, mühim kentler ve bazı özel mekanlar hakkındaki bilgileri / izlenimleri okuyucularına ne şekilde aktardığını ortaya koymaya çalışmaktır. Çalışma kapsamında Servet-i Finûn dergisinin 1896-1901 yılları arasında yayınlanan sayıları incelenerek ilgili yazılar ve haberler tespit edilip değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmadan elde edilen bulgulara göre, dergi söz konusu dönemde Irak'ta kent, mekân, bazı önemli gelişmeler, önemli şahsiyetler hakkında (32 adet) gezi-izlenim yazıları yayınlarak okuyucularını bölge hakkında bilgilendirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Servet-i Finûn, Irak, Irak Cevlânı, Osmanlı, Edebiyat.

The Impression Writings in Servet-i Finûn About Iraq an Ottoman Land

Abstract

Iraq which one of the most important centers of the Middle East, although it was under Ottoman rule for a very long time, it always remained in a position disconnected from Anatolia. Although it is a very important region for Muslims, not many people from Anatolia have been able to see these lands depending on the conditions of that day. There were important spiritual centers in the region. However, it was difficult to visit them. Media outlets tried to partially meet this need. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the only means of information about remote geographies where Turks and Muslims lived were printed publications such as newspapers, magazines and newsletters. One of these publications is Servet-i Finun magazine. Servet-i Finun, which the longest-lived magazine in the history of the Turkish press, has assigned a special reporter for its readers in this context, and conveyed Iraq lands and impressions to its readers.

The aim of this study is to reveal how Servet-i Finun magazine transferred important cities and some private places in Iraq territory to its readers. Within the scope of the study, the issues of Servet-i Finun magazine published between the years 1896-1901 were examined and related writings were determined and evaluated. According to the findings obtained from the study, the journal informed its readers about the region by publishing travel-impression articles (32 pieces) about the city, place, some important developments and important personalities in Iraq during the said period.

Keywords: Servet-i Finûn, Iraq, Iraq Impression, Ottoman, Literature.

Introduction

The newspapers were the most important mass media for the societies until the end of the twentieth century. The masses were following political, economic, social, cultural, artistic, sportive, etc. the developments in the fields by way of newspapers. Especially, the contents of newspapers were extremely valuable on various subjects in periods when there was limited access to information and information. Especially, the contents of newspapers on various subjects were extremely valuable in periods when there was limited access to news and information. In this context, the contents about tour and travel were seen as valuable by newspapers and magazines, and also these contents were frequently encountered in the newspapers.

Trip and travel works which take part in mass media such as newspapers and magazines, aim to inform about the societies living in geographies close and far away from people and their cultures, the conditions of those societies, their beliefs, traditions, architecture and art, economy etc...

There is an objective expression is used in the travel writings included in the periodicals. The travel writer only tells what She/he saw and witnessed on the writings. Also, the writers widely used visual elements and photographs in travel writings. For this reason that travel writings are documents. The author expresses his/her observations in a literary language and sometimes his/her own interpretation with an objective approach. Travel writings are used as a source in sciences such as history, geography, law and sociology.

1. The Travel and Review writings in the Press

It would be appropriate to evaluate the meaning of the concept of travel before discussing the relationship between the press and trip and travel writings. Trip is defined as "long journey between countries or cities, travel", "journey made for the purpose of traveling, seeing, having fun" in the TDK dictionary, where the word travel is used as trip. "The concepts of trip or travel and the type of travelogue about the basic informations are also included in many different dictionaries. The word of travel (to black) as was explained in the way of that 'to walk, to go; wandering around the world in order to disturb people, to devote oneself to worship and to live the life of the clergy. Also, it is stated that the person who travels like water flows on the earth is called *sâih* or traveller because he travels on the earth" (Çağrıçı, 2009: 7). It has been said that travelogue means travel letter, travel work" (Özdemir 2017:502).

Trip and travel writings, which represent the combination of many different writing types, are among the important writing types that newspapers have included in their pages from the past to the present. Travel writings are considered so important because they are mostly based on observation and deal with personally seen and observed items. "The main material for travel writings is the geography created by history, society and civilization, as well as the issues that the writer can reveal. Travel writing is a reinterpretation of geography." (Ozdemir 2017: 503).

It is possible that to come across many travel writings about the last period of the Ottoman Empire in the magazine *Servet-i Fünun*. One of the reasons for this may be Ahmet İhsan, the concessionaire of the magazine. "Ahmet İhsan draws attention with the importance that he attaches to the genre of travel, both as a publisher who is the manager of *Servet-i Fünun* magazine and as a writer who shares his travels" (Özdemir 2017: 503). There are lots of travel writings covering the Ottoman geography as well as Europe, America, Africa, Asia and the Polar region in the magazine *Servet-i Fünun*. The photographs, texts and various information were included from the geography of Iraq in the "*Hittat-ı İrakiye Cevvelandan*" sections (under the title) of the magazine within this framework.

2. Servet-i Finun Magazine

Servet-i Fünûn which the longest-lived magazine in the history of the Turkish press, began to be published by Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz on March 27, 1891, as an addition to the newspaper Servet in Istanbul. It continued its publication activities until 25 May 1944 as the publication organ of New Literature, Fecr-i Âtî and National Literature groups and “Seven Torch” (Yedi Meşaleciler) in the later dates. (Parlatır 2009: 573). The name of the journal was changed to "Awakening" (since 1681. Issue) with the Alphabet Revolution realized on December 6, 1928 years. When it came to the fore with its literary aspect, its publication range was generally composed of scientific issues, technological developments, medicine, education and economics”, except for the periods (1896-1901; 1910-1914; 1928-1944) (Göçer, 2016: 157).



Picture 1: Title of Servet-i Fünun magazine

SERVET-İ FUNUN

It Takes Out on Thursdays

“Menafi-i Mülk” and “Devlete Hadim Musavver Ottoman Newspaper”

SERVETIFUNOUN JOURNAL ILLUSTRE TURC PARAISSANT LE JEUDI CONSTANTINOPLE

The Owner and Manager: Ahmet İhsan [TOKGÖZ]

Price: A copy of Dersaadette is 100 money.

Release Time: Weekly (Thursdays)

Subscription Terms:

Copy of Dersaadet: “Şerait-i işra is 130 piastre per year, 75 piastre for six months and 40 piastre for three months in Dersaadet. If it is sent by mail, the cost of the province will be taken.”

Copy of the Province: “Şerait-i istra is 150 piastre per year, 80 piastre for six months, and does not have a three-month salary. To be sent with a cardboard tube without breaking, an additional twenty cents per year is taken.”

Published City: Istanbul

Published Press: Alem Printing House, Ahmet İhsan and His Company (Yılmaz, 2019:23)

Iraq Travel in Servet-i Finun

The magazine is being covered mostly scientific issues, technological developments, medicine, education and economics in addition to literary content as a requirement of its editorial policy. At the same time, it was conveying the developments both in Anatolia and the regions of the Ottoman Empire outside of Anatolia to its readers. The magazine was conveying the developments in regions that are close but not very strongly connected to the center, especially in Iraq and Syria, with pictures, news and writings. The magazine also conveyed the developments in Iraq to its readers by sending a reporter named Mehmet Tevfik. Mehmet Tevfik preferred to publish the developments by photographing more, because it was perhaps the most important document for that period. Totally, 32 visuals and news-information were published in the magazine most of which were photographs between the years 1896-1901. It was evaluated how the newspaper presented the events (news and visuals) by giving some of these images and articles in this study.

3. The images, news and information in Servet-i Finun

“With the publication of our newspaper, we said in our travel book titled a traveler in Syria, where our mobile officer Mehmet Tevfik Efendi, who even took beautiful photographs of the places he visited and enlivened the part in our minds, met with the history. He is also that persevered in Baghdad with the tariq of Aleppo.” This information is in the newspaper's issue number 316.

Baghdad, 15 Kanunusani (January)

“From Aleppo, on Friday, which was 9 of my departure and the thirteenth of the Law, I made my way to the town of Deyr, the center of Zor Sanjak.” (...) information is included.

In an article in the newspaper's 325th issue, "With a continental letter from Tevfik Efendi, who was a traveling officer of our newspaper and was sent to Baghdad to serve in the expansion of the Servet-i Fünûn and to take photographs of the places he visited and send them to us, he was sent from Aleppo to Baghdad . The pictures he made until ' were included in our copy number 316. We received a very long letter from Tevfik Efendi, which is almost like a travel book in this instance. The story of determination from Baghdad to Basra with the order of Karbala and from there to Baghdad from the river is a story in this letter. It also contains about thirty pictures. We will present the pictures to kariin-i kiram respectively. We started to record the travelogue as of this week.” It has been conveyed to the readers that travel visuals and texts will be included. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 325, Page:206 / 207/

The following information is included on pages 315 and 316 of the 332nd issue of the newspaper. “Since there were three days for the ferry to go to Basra, we couldn't bear to wait and we competed against the boat. When the weather was also good, we reached Basra within five hours, by giving our head to the current of the river.” This information is given under the title of "A Traveler in Hitta-i Irakiye".

On the coast of Tigris, there are customs police, Oman-ı Osmani administrations and other ferry agency administrations, as well as the administration offices of privates engaged in trade. There is a small stream, called Aşar, to go to Basra from this place, which is convenient to the Tigris coast and is Basra's commercial branch. After half an hour with this, the town of Basra is reached”. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 332, Page: 315-316)

There are two photographs, "Military Barracks in Hille (Above)" and "Amare Town" (Below), in the section "Hitta-i Irakiye Cevelan In the 334th issue of the newspaper." (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 334, Page: 341)



Picture 2: Military barracks in Hille and Amare town (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 334, Page: 341)

In the "Hitta-i Irakiye TRAVEL" section, there is a photograph is included "Beards on the Tigris Coast in Baghdad" in the 335th issue of the newspaper (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 335, Page: 361)



Picture 3: Sakas on the Tigris Coast in Baghdad... (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 335, Page: 361)

In the writing that is signed by M. Tefvik, which is given in the 335th issue of Servet-i Finun as a continuation of the 325th issue: "There are also lots of tobacco smuggling here. Although the revenue (income) of the Baghdad Reji administration was very small until the next five or six years from now, since five or six years

the revenue of the administration has increased one-fold compared to the criminal record with the efforts and patronage of Reji Minister İzzetlü Vehbi Bey. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 335, Page: 362/363)

The photograph of the tomb of Imam Hussein is given as "The Outer Gate of Imam Huseyin Radiyallahu Anh Mausoleum in Karbala" in the 336th issue of Servet-i Finûn, in the "From the journey to the Hitta-i Irakiye" section. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 336, Page: 377)



Picture 4: Saint Imam Hussein Tomb (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 336, Page: 377)

In the 337th issue of Servet-i Finûn, in the "From the journey to the Hitta-i Irakiye" section, this time the photograph of the tomb of Imam Abbas is given as "The Tombs of Imam Abbas (Radiyallahu Anh) in Karbala. (Servet-i Finûn, Year: 1897, Issue: 337, Page: 392)



Picture 5: Saint Imam Abbas. Tomb (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 337, Page: 392)

In the article signed by Mehmet Tevfik on pages 43/44/45 of the 341th issue of Servet-i Finun, "April 19, the year is 313. We came to a village called Semile/Semil tonight. Our animals have changed in the range household. We set off again while we were on horseback it was morning.

A river coming from Siirt had made the town of Zaho an island (a piece of land surrounded by water on all four sides). There is only one ancient bridge to enter and exit the town. There are many Jews here. They also mostly monopolize with the Kurdish language and wear stationery clothes. They only extend a zuluf from the bottom of their ears. It is understood that they are Jewish. Arabic has disappeared around here, since Kurdish is monopolized everywhere, I couldn't explain everything I wanted, I was applying to an interpreter.” he strikingly revealed the change in the socio-demographic characteristics of the region by using expressions.”

“ We crossed a river with keleks, which was flowing violently on the way to Musall. We came to Museybi Town after driving seven hours from here. They offered us rice and yogurt.” statements are included in the same issue. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 341, Page: 43/44/45)

In the 343rd issue of Servet-i Finûn, a photograph of the Golden Bridge, an important structure in the region, was published under the title "Other View of the Golden Bridge" in the "From the trip to Hitta-i Irakiye" section. (Servet-i Finûn, Year: 1897, Issue: 343, Page: 73)



Picture 6: Golden Bridge (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 343, Page: 73)

There is a photograph named "A Dervish from Baghdad" in the section "From a trip to the Hitta-i Irakiye" in the 347th issue of Servet-i Finun. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Issue: 347, Page: 137)



Picture 7: A Dervish from Baghdad (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 347, Page: 137)

There is a photograph which is called "An Enduring Discovery and Exported Sculpture in the Near Baghdad" in the section "From a trip to the Hitta-i Irakiye" in the 441th issue of Servet-i Finun. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1899, Issue: 441, Page: 388)



Picture 8: A Statue of Art that was Discovered and Exported in the End Times Around Baghdad (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1897, Number: 441, Page: 388)

A photograph is included with the caption, "His Excellency Ataullah Pasha, the Governor of Baghdad, Who Was Appointed to the Member of the Council of State-i Civil Service" in the section of "From the journey to the Hitta-i Irakiye". This was included in the 449th issue of Servet-i Finun. (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1899, Issue: 449, Page: 101)



Picture 9: Saint Ataullah Pasha, the Governor of Baghdad, who was appointed as a member of the Council of State-i Civil Service in the End Times (Servet-i Finun, Year: 1899, Issue: 449 Page:101)

Conclusion

Servet-i Finun magazine has an important place in Turkish press life. The magazine has an important place in the history of the Turkish press with its longevity, its printing with a European printing technique and content and layout. Servet-i Finun, which means "treasury of sciences", is a weekly "musavver", or illustrated magazine, which was published with 2461 issues between 1891 and 1944 years and is especially famous for its role in the modernization of Turkish literature. The magazine, which was published as a supplement to the Servet newspaper, continued to be published independently after the closure of the Servet newspaper in 1892 years. The magazine, which was initially published under the name of Nikolaidis as a concessionaire, changed hands a year later and started to be published under the name of Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz.

The magazine Servet-i Finun which informing its readers on many subjects such as history, geography, law, and sociology, appointed a special reporter named Mehmet Tefvik to convey some situations and impressions in Iraq to the public and tried to inform the public. It has been understood that more visuals are used to convey the impression of Iraq of Servet-i Finun magazine. During the five-year period (actually, the active publication period is 3 years), 32 visuals and 18 writings (or letters) were included in the newspaper. It has been understood that the newspaper mostly included news and visuals about venues during this period. As it is known that photographs are historical documents. When the conditions of the period are evaluated, it is understood that the magazine Servet-i Finun includes many visuals that are historical documents. It is seen that Servet-i Finun magazine sheds light on history with the photographs they publish together with news and writings as with all newspapers. The magazine conveyed the places in different cities of Iraq, the geographical features of the cities, the architecture, the lifestyles and traditions of the people, especially in the sections called "Hitta-i Irakiye travel".

The most important feature of the Servet-i Fünûn magazine in terms of fashion, clothing, and ornamentation is that it is based on visuality. In other words, it is an illustrated magazine. The visuality and seeing are the basic parameters of modern culture. Firstly, modernization is a way of seeing and reading

nature, people and society as rational. The magazine which published with this understanding, has gained a quality that appeals to a large number of readers at home and abroad.

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Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı'nın İnsan Tabiatına Dair Görüşlerinin Değerlendirilmesi

Öz

Halkın ahlâk meselelerinde bilinçlenmesine önemli katkıları olan *Marifetnâme* isimli eseri ile tanınan Ibrahim Hakkı, ahlaki müeyyideyi Kur'an ve Sünnet bağlamında değerlendirmiş ve eserini toplumun erdemli yaşama niyetlerine yol gösterecek bir tarzda yazmıştır. Eserin konularına bakıldığında ahlaki düşüncenin gelişiminde dini gelenek ve kültürün etkisine dikkat çekildiği fark edilmektedir. Ayrıca onun ahlâka dair görüşlerinin konunun teorik yönünden çok, pratik yönüne ışık tuttuğu ve görüşlerinin dine dayalı ahlâk teorilerine uygun olduğu görülür.

Bu makalede Erzurumlu'nun insan doğasını özellikle beden üzerinden tanımaya ve açıklamaya çalışan yaklaşımına ağırlık verilmiştir. Ona göre bedensel yapı, insan tabiatı ve mizacı hakkında pratik bilgiler verebilir. Onun insan tabiatına dair tespitlerinin büyük ölçüde yararlandığı kaynaklardan elde ettiği bilgilerden ve birtakım tecrübi kanaatlerden oluştuğu değerlendirilmektedir. Bu tespitler insanı bedensel yapı üzerinden tanımaya olanak sağladığı gibi kendisinden faydalanılabilecek birtakım ipuçları ile sosyal ilişkilere de katkı sağlama hedefi taşımaktadır. Diğer taraftan bu tarz tespitlerin birtakım önyargılara kapı aralama boyutu da makalede dikkate alınan hususlardandır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı, Marifetnâme, İnsan Tabiatı, Bedensel Yapı, Mizaç.

Evaluation of Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı's Views on Human Nature

Abstract*

Ibrahim Hakkı, who is known for his work titled *Marifetnâme*, which has made important contributions to the awareness of the public on moral issues, evaluated moral sanction in the context of the Qur'an and Sunnah and wrote his work in a way that will guide the society's virtuous life intentions. Considering the subjects of the work, it is noticed that the effect of religious tradition and culture on the development of moral thought is drawn. In addition, it is seen that his views on morality shed light on the practical side of the subject rather than the theoretical side, and his views are in accordance with moral theories based on religion.

This article focuses on Erzurumlu's approach that tries to recognize and explain human nature, especially through the body. According to him, it can give practical information about bodily structure, human nature and temperament. It is considered that his determinations about human nature consist of the information he obtained from the sources he greatly benefited from and some experiential convictions. These determinations aim to contribute to social relations with some clues that can be benefited from, as well as allowing to get to know people through their bodily structure. On the other hand, the dimension of such determinations opening the door to some prejudices is one of the issues taken into consideration in the article.

Keywords: Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı, Marifetnâme, Human Nature, Physical Structure, Temperament.

* This article has been prepared on the basis of Kürşat AKKUŞ's master's thesis titled accepted in 2017 "Ethics Understanding in Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı's Work titled Marifetnâme"

Introduction

According to the theistic thought, Allah, the Creator of existence, gave shapes to His creations in order to make them different from each other and to separate them. When the beings that have certain shapes and characteristics are examined carefully, it is understood that each being constitutes the best possible design examples in this realm and that each one is different from the others with its characteristics. The situations that people attribute faults to can be explained to a large extent by the limitations of seeing, hearing or understanding that are unique to human beings. For this reason, people try to understand themselves and the beings around them, based on their current state. Because everything that exists has some meaning in the way it exists.

A person who wants to be aware of the truth of things, first of all wonders about the nature of his existence, what he actually is, what he is looking for in this world and what will happen in the end, and first of all he dedicates himself to "self-consciousness". It is known that the ideal pursued by philosophers since ancient Greece is "self-consciousness", which is an ideal handed down to them from previous generations. When we look at the history of thought, it is seen that "self-consciousness" has been on the agenda of human beings from past to present, some people are trying to find the answer to this question in a philosophical system and some in a mystical teaching.

Muslims seeking an answer to this question generally tried to find a solution based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. According to this idea, the most correct and easiest way for a person to know himself in general is to listen to the one who created him first. Because he who knows himself best is the one who created him. Allah says in the Qur'an, "Indeed, He is the One Who creates and knows (everything) with the right of your Lord (al-Hijr 15/86)" and "He who made everything He created beautiful... (as-Sajda 32/7)" he commands. Allah is the One Who knows best what He has created and wants what is right for them. For this reason, the things that should and should not be done about human actions are specified in religion and people are asked to comply with them (Kılıç, 1992, p. 4). In short, what is good for us is what God wants for us. Whatever he wants for us is right and it is necessary to act accordingly. It is God's revelation that sets a goal and guides human thought and behavior.

This issue brings up the Euthyphro dilemma (Platon, 2011, p. 55), which is known as one of the important discussion areas of the philosophy of religion. Claiming that he knows the truest things about piety, Socrates asks the wandering Euthyphro the following question: "Is something good because God commands it, or is it good because God commands it." (Bartley, 1971, p. 3). In a way, this discussion seeks to answer the question of whether things have intrinsic value before God's will. According to their perspectives, while teachings based on revelation and God's will argue that beings can have a value only with God's will, there are also those who argue that values are independent of God's will. While this issue is discussed in the context of theological debates in Islamic thought, according to Mâturîdiyye, matters such as goodness and evil are from the essence of things and actions. Therefore, Allah orders or forbids an action to be performed because of its nature. In other words, the reason why an act is ordered or prohibited is because it is good or bad (Barlak, 2016, p. 103).

In Islamic thought, it is accepted that everything that exists is created by Allah in the best and most beautiful way (Gazzâli, *Ihyâ'ü Ulûmi'd-Dîn*; Kindi, *Resâ'ilü'l-Kindî el-Felsefiyye*). Therefore, the right thing to do is to try to understand what Allah has created and to submit to his knowledge. As a way of doing this, in Islamic thought, especially in Sufi circles, it is necessary to get closer to Allah and to gain spiritual exaltation and purification by performing actions similar to Allah's actions (Çağrı, 2012, p.215).

In this respect, Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı (1703-1780), one of the 18th century scholars and mystics, had a significant impact on Gazzâli's *Ihyâ'ü Ulûmi'd-Dîn*. He wrote a work called *Marifetnâme*, which is in parallel with his ideas. His views reflect a vivid example of Ottoman Sufism, and in his work he includes almost all the subjects of Sufism such as knowledge, affection, love, guardianship, miracle, trust, tawwiz and submission, patience, gratitude, consent, navigation, guide, nafs and nafs levels.

Pointing out that self-knowledge goes beyond knowing nature, Erzurumlu brought together at least the essential sciences of his time in his work. To put it in today's terminology, Erzurumlu, who is an example of an intellectual character, with this work, wants to build a personality who is well-equipped in the sciences of his time, equipped in terms of general culture, who knows the rules of etiquette, who is smart and respected as well as persevering in the line of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. His intellectual character also represents a perfect believer and an ideal Muslim. Because his character structure and moral attitudes should also set an example for other members of the society. Despite all the secularization tendencies of modern life, religion continues to maintain its importance in social life. The existence and influence of religion has made itself felt in every period of history and in all societies. Contacting the factors and situations that affect human nature, Erzurumlu finally resorts to the guidance of the Qur'an and Sunnah in the improvement of the existing nature.

In this study, some evaluations are made on the character analyzes of the human nature, in other words the functional aspects of human nature, which Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı included in his work named *Marifetnâme*. In the meantime, it is necessary to make a brief explanation about some concepts such as nature, character, temperament and temperament. These concepts, which are used to express human nature, are sometimes used interchangeably because they have Arabic, Latin and Turkish origins. The Latin-based character, which is used to express human nature in the Dictionary of the Turkish Language Association, is also used to indicate all the distinctive features of human nature; it has been accepted as synonymous with temperament, character, creation and nature. In the Great Turkish Dictionary, the word temperament, which is used with the same meaning as character, is defined as "the state believed to be formed by the mixing of four basic substances in the human body" (Doğan, 1996, p. 603, 779). It is known that in the past, evaluations were made about the habits or characters of people by taking into account their physical / structural characteristics. The information given on this subject in the Islamic encyclopedia points to important details in terms of clarifying the evaluations of Ibrahim Hakkı:

"Islamic scholars were interested in some branches of knowledge that were developed by ancient nations and focused on human personality and character, and they incorporated these into their own traditions. In the work called *Phsionomica*, which is attributed to Aristotle, it is tried to draw conclusions about the personality and character shapes by examining the fixed facial lines in humans. In this view, which is settled among the Greek philosophers, the dominant tendency is to try to find a correspondence between the facial forms of animals, the temperament and character traits that are evident in them, and the corresponding bodily features and the same kind of features of people, and thus to make a judgment about people's characters. The existence of many works on this subject in the Islamic world is known. The subject of these is to determine the temperament, temperament, personality and character characteristics of a person from the features of his organs and his external appearance. Studies, which are semi-scientific, semi-literary, based on intuition, estimation, personal observation and experience rather than inference and reasoning, have continued until recently. Kindi's *Risale fi'l-firâse*; Râzî's *Kitâbü'l-Firase* and Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı's *Kıyâfetnâme* are examples of such works. These works are not adopted by today's scientific circles. Today, personality studies are carried out within the framework of theories such as psychoanalytic, distinctive feature, biological approach, humanistic approach, behavioral/social learning approach, cognitive approach. Interpretations related to the body are mostly given place at the level of instincts and impulses in psychoanalytic theory, and at the level of temperament characters depending on genetic inheritance in biological theory." (Hökelekli, 2010, p. 298).

Although it is understood that the negative approach about such works is due to the concern of causing prejudices among people, the specialization among the sciences and especially the developments in the field of psychology and sociology also support this approach. It is possible to say that these kinds of works, which were probably put forward with more experiential data in the past, have been replaced by studies created by experiment and observation and also

supported by laboratory studies. However, in this study, the determinations of Ibrahim Hakki Erzurumlu were handled from different perspectives and tried to be understood and understood.

In the first part, it is questioned why Erzurumlu embarked on such a study. In the second part, the determinations made about knowing the morals and attitudes of people from their bodily structure or external appearance, and knowing the nature of human organs by looking at the differences in form, are included in the *Marifetnâme*. In the third part, some evaluations are made on the determinations of Erzurumlu. In this respect, the positive and negative contributions of Erzurumlu's determinations in the regulation of human relations are questioned when appropriate, and suggestions are made about which ways can be followed in understanding the texts.

1. Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakki and *Marifetnâme*

Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakki was born in Erzurum Hasankale in 1703, received a good education, and educated himself to a great extent in the sciences of his time. When his works are examined, it is understood that he has a wide knowledge in fields such as new astronomy, medicine, anatomy, physiology, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, philosophy, psychology, ethics, as well as traditional astronomy. Besides his mastery of natural sciences, he is also known for his interest in Sufism. In his works, he includes detailed information on almost every subject related to human anatomy and physiology, which is considered new for its period (Çağrıçı, 2000, p. 305-311).

Erzurumlu is a sociologist in terms of addressing the society in his works; He is a psychologist with his interest in the science called "kıyâfetnâme", which determines the moral status and character of a person through his body structure, appearance, color, shape, voice and other organs, and wrote a work with the same name; He is a geographer by talking about earth, sky, moon, sun, stars, celestial bodies, lightning, rain and meteorological events. He also has knowledge in sciences such as medicine, mathematics, geometry, chemistry, biology, hendese. It is also known that the structure and functions of the tomb he built for his sheikh in Tillo, Siirt, have the qualities of an observatory (Toprak, 1984, p. 41, 42). In short, Ibrahim Hakki is a multi-faceted scholar who has amassed mental and transplant sciences, has been busy with these sciences throughout his life, saw science as a means of reaching God and reached divine love.

The famous encyclopedic work of Ibrahim Hakki, *Marifetnâme*, took its final form in 1757 in Hasankale. It is seen that the work was written in dedication to his son, Ahmed Nâimî, and the devotion to the "self-consciousness" doctrine in general comes to the fore in the work. In this context, Erzurumlu, in his work, was inspired by the hadith-i qudsi "He who knows his own self knows his Lord", and by making use of mysticism, philosophy, astronomy, physics, medicine, psychology, in short, religion and science, the world and the hereafter were popularized for man and to know the creator of man, however, he explains that knowing the creator depends on knowing the self, and knowing the self depends on knowing both one's own material existence and the physical world (Revkanoğlu, 1961, p. 64). Finally, he concludes his book by mentioning anatomy (Eren, 2003, p. 19) Ibrahim Hakki also influenced the Western world with his views. Especially in Europe, *Elementary Work*, which brings together the information that young people need to learn from the primary education age to the age of higher education, was published 20 years after *Marifetnâme*. When the subjects and indexes of both works are compared, there are surprising similarities. (Ibrahimhakkioğlu, 1973, p. 36).

Marifetnâme it consists of 5 parts: introduction, 3 chapters and conclusion. These five main parts are divided into sub-headings with the name "bab", "fasl" and "nev" (Uludağ, 2015, p. 30, 31). The abundance and diversity of the subjects mentioned in *Marifetnâme* means that the references of this book are also many and different. In his own words, Erzurumlu benefited from four hundred works in order to write *Marifetnâme*, a classical work that embraces the ages, gathers the past information, does not remain unfamiliar with the future, and can be benefited by every audience (Diclehan, 1980, p. 38). Apart from these works, Ibrahim Hakki benefited from *Ihyau Ulumi'd Dîn*, especially on the subjects of mysticism and morality, and Ibn Sina's *al-Kânûnfi't-Tıbb* while writing the section on human nature. Ibrahim Hakki's views on human psychology and morality, while revealing his own observations, are the continuation of the Avicenna tradition (Topaloğlu, 2003, p. 59).

The part in *Marifetnâme* that deals with philosophical and moral issues includes the rules of friendship, the rules of family and social communication, and the attitude of the servant towards Allah. The main purpose of the information discussed here is to reveal a moral personality. The human being, who was created in the most beautiful way, has the potential to take the most beautiful forms of thought and behavior in moral terms as well as biologically. Erzurumlu also preferred to resort to the path of science in order to form this beautiful and perfect human being. For this purpose, he believes that a person who knows a little bit of every science can know the secrets of nature and the person who realizes these secrets (Altıntaş, 2014, p. 255, 256).

2. Erzurumlu's Views on Human Nature

The factors affecting human nature have been studied in detail in classical works (İbn Haldun, 2020) and modern studies (Cüceloğlu, 1991). In these studies, it is emphasized that human character is shaped by different factors. In addition to the genetic factors that affect the shaping of human nature and behavior, the influence of the time and environment in which people live cannot be ignored. However, although the rate of exposure to each factor has different consequences in the formation of personality, it seems difficult to say that people who are exposed to exactly the same factors have the same personality (Ağbal, 2012, p. 265, 266).

Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı also examines some moral issues based on the situations that affect human nature. Erzurumlu, while listing the factors that determine the moral structure of a person, follows a sequence from the outside to the inside, that is, from the environment to the inner world of the individual. It is understood from this that Erzurumlu thinks that the factors shaping human nature depend on external factors before coming from within. In short, İbrahim Hakkı considers the environment as one of the factors that have an impact on morality. In this respect, Erzurumlu, who prefers to evaluate the environmental issue in the widest possible framework, has a claim that human behavior cannot be evaluated independently of the conditions of the earth, horoscopes, time lived, places of residence and cities.

It is clear that this style, when evaluated with the conditions of the period and the possibilities of today's communication age, indicates that he has a broad-minded, rational and comprehensive perspective. Now, we will make some evaluations by considering the determinations regarding the situations that affect the human nature according to the order in the *Marifetnâme*.

2.1. The Effect of the Calendar on People

The Turks, who used the "Turkish Calendar with Twelve Animals" before becoming Muslims, started to use the Hijri Calendar after accepting Islam. In *Marifetnâme*, some evaluations have been made about the nature of those who were born on the said dates, taking into account the nature of the animals whose names are included in the Calendar. In this calendar, in which time is named with 12 animal names, it is stated that there will be different events every year that the children born will have different characteristic structures, and these are explained in order (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 250). Expressing that this information is based on experience, İbrahim Hakkı emphasizes that these are not fabrications. (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 248). For example, İbrahim Hakkı says the following about the year of the rat:

"It will be pleasant. It rains a lot in the middle of the year. At the end of the year, fitnah wakes up. There will be a war, many will be painted with blood. The winter of that year is long and cold, and the mice plunder the grain. A child born at the beginning of the year will be smart, assertive and good-natured. A child born at the end of the year becomes malicious, envious and deceitful."
(Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 250, 251).

Similarly, these determinations resemble the effects of the characteristics of the zodiac signs, which correspond to the birth dates of people, on human nature. The effects of zodiac signs and celestial bodies on human nature are included in the field of astrology, and astrology evaluates people with stereotyped expressions and definitions by considering the subject through a single factor. In addition, the limitation of astrology to twelve zodiac signs consists of evaluations that have no equivalent in the context of the Qur'an, but rather based on the myths of ancient civilizations (Ağbal, 2012, p. 265, 266).

2.2. The Effect of the Earth's Position and Movements

In addition to the influence of physical geography, education, and even astrological factors according to some beliefs, it was thought that the physiognomy of man, which emerged from his moral structure, also determined his moral nature. Therefore, the fact that natural temperament leads to psychological temperament and that it makes certain attitudes and behaviors dominate human actions has led to the establishment of a connection between *ahlat-ı erbaa* and morals. In accordance with such a connection, it is possible to be quick to anger, to be of a cowardly nature, to grieve for the unthinkable, to overindulge in lust, etc. The tendencies that are thought to be innate are called natural morality (Erdemir, 1989, p. 24). İhvan-ı Safa, who was interested in astrology through *Ahlât-ı erbaa*, drew attention to the effect of geography on people's minds and moral qualities, and Ibn Miskeveyh sought to compare the people of his time with the people who lived in the past (Çağrıçı, 2012, p. 224). İbrahim Hakkı, who includes similar subjects in his work, also talks about the effect of astrology on human life. However, first of all, he states that Allah is the creator, administrator and manager of all beings (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 246). Erzurumlu, who states that there will be differences in the states and movements and lives of people according to the structures and orbital situations of the planets, makes some evaluations on the reasons for these differences.

Providing information about the continents of Europe, Asia, Saxony (Germany) and Africa, İbrahim Hakkı explains the connections of these places with planets, signs, latitude and longitude differences, and then talks about the effects of this situation on the nature and character of people: While saying that they are people who use it, politician, endure fatigue and hardship, elegant and clean, he points out that they exaggerate their moral sensuality and are also related to their fellows. He especially emphasizes the similarities of the British and Hungarians to wild animals in morality (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 246, 247).

Asians mention that they deal with mysterious jobs because they are extremely affectionate to the opposite sex, have a harsh and angry temperament, and are curious about the stars, and that people of some regions are engaged in merchandising, which does not require much effort because they have a colorful and fun nature and like comfort (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 247). When we look at the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Saxony region; we see that they are wise people with good manners, are fond of their chastity and are clean in material and moral terms (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 247).

For African regions, the following is briefly stated in the *Marifetnâme*: "Women are also involved in the affairs of African administrators, men resemble women in clothing. In addition to the priesthood and the majesty, most of the people of the Mediterranean coasts are engaged in trade. Since these places are abundant, people lead a comfortable life. On the other hand, hostilities between Far West countries are frequent. They are not afraid to kill each other. Around Mesopotamia, foreign heads of state are respected and attracted to women, and they have a cowardly and despicable attitude (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 248, 249)."

It is understood from the determinations made in this section that people who want to travel to the regions indicated are intended to be prepared to encounter people with such habits and different characters. It is understood that Erzurumlu considers the benefits of keeping these determinations in mind when analyzing the characters of the people of the period, to solve a problem, to be prepared for travel or to establish relations with people from different regions.

Under this heading, it would be appropriate to draw attention to the following issue. The years that İbrahim Hakkı lived coincides with a period when the Ottoman Empire reached its widest borders and lived its glorious years. In other words, the Ottoman Empire dominates large geographies, and its subjects travel almost all over the world. Therefore, this situation indicates that it is possible for Erzurumlu to reach such data and that these determinations are some very useful practices in daily life. Because the expansion of the geography, which was in contact with conquests and trade, has led to the establishment of more and more different communities. In this sense, İbrahim Hakkı wrote a work that introduces the nature of people living in different regions to all humanity. His writings convey the different life styles and human characters that exist in the world, as well as the sciences of the period, to the society in which he lives.

2.3. The Effects of the Climate of the Places of Residence

Erzurumlu says that the differences in climate cause differences in the nature of people, and there are also differences in the behavior and behavior of people in regions with different water and air. For example, people living in hot regions have black and curly hair, their bodies are soft and age quickly; the temperament of those living in cold regions are hard, their bodies white and clear, and generally good-natured; Those living in extremely humid areas have soft faces and have a high incidence of diseases such as fever, hemorrhoids and diarrhea; says that they have good qualities in terms of morality (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 236). When we look at the determinations of Ibrahim Hakki regarding the residential areas of the people, we see that it has been determined that people exhibit different moral attitudes according to the situation of the environment in which they live. The examples given in the work will not only make it easier for people to choose suitable settlements in practical life, but also these determinations will be used in the arrangement of relations sociologically.

2.4. Shapes of the Human Body and Influence on Character

In the Qur'an, Allah states that He created man in the most beautiful form (at-Tîn 95/4), blew into him from his own light (as-Sajda 32/9) and made him superior to other living things (al-Isra 17/70). According to *Marifetnâme*, Allah has created humans the same in terms of nature and creation, but different in terms of form and appearance. With His grace and grace, Allah revealed the truths of His wisdom and the intricacies of his art in the human world, revealing the form and marking the members with morality (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 343).

Ibrahim Hakki brought together the findings and generalizations he reached with his manners, knowledge and experience in *Marifetnâme*. However, it should be stated that the determinations expressed here are empirical and it is not possible to determine and determine them scientifically. When we look at the determinations of Ibrahim Hakki, it seems possible to understand and experience the beautiful and ugly aspects of the human being, who was created in the most beautiful way, from his/her organs, and we have the opportunity to understand in advance how and how people will be approached or what attitude people will display. The data to be obtained from this information serves the purpose of responding to the need to know people in household or business administration and especially in fields such as politics and education. However, it should be kept in mind that such information carries the danger of causing some prejudices in people. People are sensitive about acting on superstitions, delusions and prejudices. For this reason, it is clear that such information and determinations will lead to the formation of prejudices in people. Prejudices, on the other hand, create social distance between people and cause feelings of hostility or inferiority (Şahin, 2020, p. 76). In this case, the analyzes in question may harm social morality rather than strengthen it. In this respect, it would be appropriate not to transform this into a human typology, considering that the points identified by Erzurumlu indicate a synthesizing activity through common characters. Erzurumlu followed the human physics in an order that goes from top to bottom in order to reveal his determinations on this subject. Erzurumlu allocated nearly 100 of his 120 determinations to the head region. We can cite a few of them as examples:

"The one with a big face is sick."

"He who has a lump in the eye becomes envious."

"A person with medium-sized eyes is true friend."

"The one with a long face speaks a lie."

"The one with a hard face usually has a bitter word."

"The one with a hard face usually has a bitter word."

"Those who look at a smiling face find comfort and benefit."

"The one with a round face is brighter than the moon."

"The one with a meaty face is inefficient." (Erzurumlu, 2014, p. 352-355).

3. Evaluations about Erzurumlu's Detections

In people who meet new people, some impressions arise from verbal / nonverbal behaviors or the attitudes and behaviors of the person they meet, as well as their nature (Cüceloğlu, 1991, p. 515). In addition, the underlying causes of behaviors are generally sought in personal characteristics, not situational characteristics (Cüceloğlu, 1991, p. 516). It is probable that Ibrahim Hakkı has identified the states arising from the repetitive bodily structure-character relationship that has been experienced among people for many years. In a way, Erzurumlu made the analysis and synthesis of human behaviors and focused on the personal characteristics underlying the behaviors. It is possible to reach the following conclusions regarding his determinations.

The temperaments of people who have certain moral characters, whether good or bad, and whose characteristics are known to other people, are identified with their habits. Just as the temperament of their descendants will naturally resemble their ancestors, it may be expected that those with the same temperament will also have the same temperaments. As a matter of fact, the fact that people from the same generation carry the habits of the previous generation and have the same characteristics as them strengthens the consistency of such determinations. For example, if a person who is known as an envious person in the society has a lump in the eye, with a natural conditioning, people may expect those with a lump to be envious. Moreover, no human being is perfect and can easily fall into a mistake that does not fail these expectations. On the other hand, as he grew up in an envious family, it is not natural for other family members from the same generation to have similar traits.

Every person gets used to the structure of the body in which they are born and grows and loves their nature. Naturally, to a large extent, people are convinced that their nature is beautiful and their temperament is right. It may be possible to say that by reading these determinations of Ibrahim Hakkı, it provides an opportunity to be aware of the fact that people with the aforementioned temperaments are sensitive to the aforementioned characteristic natures. In a way, it can guide a warning or self-reflection for people to reconsider their own behavior. However, as stated above, although no one has the temperaments in question, they do not have to have the characteristics accompanying these temperaments. On the contrary, many of the people with certain temperaments, which are stated to indicate negative characters above, may have a good nature or vice versa. For example, although there is a psychologically correct determination about "finding peace on a smiling face", even though this trait is known as a religiously recommended attitude, it may be possible to come across bad-tempered people who abuse this attitude. Or, many good-natured, benevolent short people can be found in the face of the detection that the short person is fraudulent. In this respect, there is a situation where such determinations lay the groundwork for some prejudices.

Another dimension of Erzurumlu's determinations is that such character analyzes should be understood by way of allusion. The prevalence of people who have the aforementioned common temperaments and have good/bad habits with which these temperaments match may have prompted Erzurumlu to make such a compilation. The aim of this is likely to be the thought that the knowledge that certain temperaments have certain characteristics will provide some convenience to people in the maintenance of social life. It should also be desirable that people benefit from such practical experiences when choosing people to work with, marriage partners or travel mates.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Erzurumlu was an important intellectual of his time, who read a lot, and therefore had realistic knowledge about the nature of people living in different geographies during his time. Being able to write such a work under the conditions of the period can be considered as a great skill.

As it is known, religiosity has a close relationship with individual and social reconciliation, harmony and conservatism, and consequently with social integration and stability (Hökelekli, 2013, p. 118). With his determinations, Erzurumlu also gives references to the moral attitudes that people should follow and avoid in daily life. We see that the recommendations in question are compatible with the Qur'an and the Prophet's life, in short, with the rules that a perfect Muslim should apply. In this respect, we can say that Erzurumlu's findings include concrete suggestions that are based on individual and social peace and do not neglect the religious dimension. On the

other hand, the religion of Islam, which was sent not to a certain tribe but to all humanity, aimed to save all humanity, and Muslim religious scholars wrote works in this manner. The teachings in the philosophical ethics literature, both in the Qur'an and hadiths and copyrighted by Islamic thinkers, have a quality that will ensure the formation of moral consciousness in all people (Gafarov, 2018, p. 303).

It is useful to draw attention to another point that can be benefited from regarding the determinations of Ibrahim Hakkı. Anyone who reads this information is expected to take credit for things that can be corrected, not to separate people according to their appearance. For example, gluttony, arrogance, arrogance, etc., in or around his own family. People who see negative traits that can be easily noticed from the outside may need to take special care of them so that they can be corrected. Because, although not all of the points mentioned above can be corrected, most of them can be corrected by learning the rules of family discipline and manners. In the establishment of individual and social morality, people can engage in an improvement effort by taking into account some of the above-mentioned issues.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of Islamic thought, works have been written about how people should lead a life, what they should pay attention to, what they should avoid, what they should turn to and what they should benefit from. Erzurumlu Ibrahim Hakkı also wrote his work called *Marifetnâme*, which can be a life guide for a person who believes in Allah, follows the path of his Prophet and aims to lead a moral life in the society he lives in. In *Marifetnâme*, information about the rules and principles of almost all kinds of relations and communication, from the spiritual relationship that the servant establishes with his creator, to the many social relationships that people form with each other from all layers of the society, and to individual family relationships, has been included, and an effort has been made to shed light on the problems of social life.

Erzurumlu's determinations about human nature is another important issue that makes his work important and brings it to the fore. Erzurumlu made some determinations by taking into account the factors that can affect the nature of people, starting from the environment in which they live, towards their own nature. Ultimately, Erzurumlu concentrated on the aspects of human temperament that affect his character, with some physical descriptions that can be determined concretely, especially in human nature. It is understood that the purpose of Erzurumlu's determinations is primarily to draw attention to a distinction between good and bad morals. Accordingly, he determined that there are characters and temperaments corresponding to certain natures or typologies. We think that these determinations are mostly experiential and are the opinions obtained in the face of repetitive situations. As Erzurumlu stated, it would be unfair to say that these determinations are fabricated or the product of a fantastic design.

Erzurumlu wanted to give people the clues of daily life with the analyzes he made, and provided convenience in recognizing those with certain habits and characters. It would not be unfair to say that these kinds of determinations are at least as accurate as the beliefs of people coming together for a job interview or any meeting about "first impression" are realistic. Erzurumlu tried to analyze the human being with his spiritual world, psychological and sociological dimensions with a holistic eye. In this respect, it would be appropriate to interpret his thoughts as an intellectual social scientist of his period. He drew attention to the point that human behavior and their relations with each other should not be evaluated independently of their nature. On the other hand, it should be said that his findings carry the risk of paving the way for some prejudices. We can probably attribute this to the fact that such works do not continue after a certain period of time. In addition, the studies put forward at the point where the science of psychology and sociology has started to take the place of such works with the different methods they use.

Again, it would be appropriate to draw attention to a result of the lifestyle of today's modern societies. Today, people live a life in which communication tools are more common than in the past. Therefore, it may be necessary to consider that the diversity of factors affecting human nature has increased and that the analysis of bodily structures alone will not be sufficient in recognizing human beings. For this reason, the adequacy of such analyzes, which seems to be an important scientific activity of a period, has become controversial in the changing world conditions.

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COMPARISON OF ERBAKAN'S ECONOMIC POLICY PROPOSALS WITH TURKEY'S 2002-2021 ECONOMIC POLICIES

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ERBAKAN Ekonomi Politika Önerilerinin, Türkiye'nin 2002-2021 Ekonomi Politikaları İle Karşılaştırması

ÖZ

Necmettin Erbakan, Türkiye'de başbakanlık da yapmış önemli bir politikacı, işadamı ve bilim adamıdır. 1980 sonrasında Erbakan'ın önerdiği ekonomik model "Adil Düzen" adıyla bilinmekte İslami hassasiyetleri, sanayileşmeyi ve İslam ülkeleri arasında işbirliğini içermektedir. Necmettin Erbakan 28 Haziran 1996 yılında başbakan olarak iktidara gelmiş olsa bile seküler kesimin gerçekleştirdiği 28 Şubat darbesi ile kısa zamanda iktidarı kaybetmiş ve ekonomik programını gerçekleştirebilmek için yeterli fırsatı bulamamıştır. Ancak kendi yanında siyaset tecrübe edinen Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül gibi isimler 2002 sonrasında iktidara gelmiş, başbakanlık ve cumhurbaşkanlığı gibi görevlerde bulunmuşlardır. AK Parti başarılı ekonomik performansın da etkisiyle uzun süredir iktidarını sürdürmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı AK parti döneminde izlenen sanayi ve dış ticaret politikalarının Necmettin Erbakan'ın ekonomi politikaları ile örtüşüp örtüşmediğini incelemektir. Bu amaçla 2002 sonrası dönemin istatistik verileri incelenmiş ve Erbakan'ın amaçları ile uyuşan gelişmelerin meydana gelip gelmediği incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak AK Parti iktidarında izlenen sanayi ve dış ticaret politikalarının kısmen de olsa Erbakan'ın ekonomik görüşleri ile uyduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necmettin Erbakan, Adil Ekonomik Düzen, Ak Parti, İslam Ekonomik Modeli, Türkiye Ekonomisi

COMPARISON OF ERBAKAN'S ECONOMIC POLICY PROPOSALS WITH TURKEY'S 2002-2021 ECONOMIC POLICIES

ABSTRACT¹

Necmettin Erbakan is an important politician, businessman and scientist who also served as prime minister in Turkey. The economic model proposed by Erbakan after 1980, known as the "Fair Order", includes Islamic sensitivities, industrialization and cooperation between Islamic countries. Even though Necmettin Erbakan came to power as prime minister on June 28, 1996, he lost power in a short time with the February 28 coup carried out by the secular sector and could not find enough opportunity to realize his economic program. However, names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who gained political experience on their side, came to power after 2002 and held positions such as prime minister and president. AK Party has been in power for a long time with the effect of successful economic performance. The aim of this study is to examine whether the industrial and foreign trade policies followed in the AK party period overlap with the economic policies of Necmettin Erbakan. For this purpose, the statistical data of the post-2002 period were examined and it was examined whether there were developments in line with Erbakan's goals. As a result, it has been concluded that the industrial and foreign trade policies followed during the AK Party government partially agree with Erbakan's economic views.

Keywords: Necmettin Erbakan, Fair Economic Order, Ak Party, Islamic Economic Model, Turkish Economy

¹ The article was written by using of Zülküf Dal's article titled "Erbakan Model in Turkish Economy and D8 Organization" conducted at Kastamonu University Social Sciences Institute Economics.

Introduction

Necmettin Erbakan is an intellectual and scientist who has made significant contributions to Turkey's politics, economy and industry. The aim of Erbakan throughout his life was the material and moral development and industrialization of Turkey. He received the title of Turkey's youngest associate professor in 1953, graduated from Istanbul Technical University Motor Department with a record average and graduated first. After doing his scientific studies in Germany, he returned to Turkey, took the Silver Motor initiative and engaged in politics for 42 years. Necmettin Erbakan is also a personality who has come to the fore with his books and intellectual views (Erbakan, 2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2019c; 2019d). Necmettin Erbakan's economic and political views also attracted the attention of researchers and scientific publications were made about these views (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015; Tekin 2017; Ersin and Duran, 2017, Sugözü, 2017; Öztürk, 2017).

During his time in politics, he held important positions such as prime minister and deputy prime minister. During his duties, he faced intense obstacles from the secular sector, and even the February 28 coup was carried out against him (Yılmaz, 2016, p.1173). These obstacles prevented Necmettin Erbakan from carrying out the economic program he named "Fair Economic Order" after 1980. However, the AK Party, which included names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who started politics alongside him and were influenced by his economic views, came to power in 2002 (Bölükbaşı, 2012, pp.178-179). The success of the economic policies followed after 2002 ensured that the AK Party remained in power for a long time. According to purchasing power parity, while the GDP per capita of Turkey was \$9401 in 2002, it increased to \$28,113 in 2020 (World Bank, 2022), and significant increases were recorded in the welfare level of Turkish citizens. Export, industry and technology investments increased; Infrastructure projects (road, bridge, hospital, university, etc.) have increased.

The aim of this study is to question whether the economic policies followed after 2002 are similar to the Fair Economic Order in which Necmettin Erbakan put his principles. For this purpose, first Necmettin Erbakan's economic model will be examined and its basic suggestions will be put forward. Then, it will be questioned whether the economic policies followed after 2002 are compatible with these basic recommendations.

Erbakan's Economic Views and Fair Order

Although the main principles of Necmettin Erbakan's economic views remain constant, there are differences between his discourses before 1980 and his discourses after 1980. While expressing his economic views with the concept of "Heavy Industry Move" before 1980, the concept of "Fair Economic Order" began to be used predominantly after 1980 (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, pp.144-145). Undoubtedly, the conditions of the Turkish economy after 1980 and especially after 1990 also played a role in the emergence of the Fair Economic Order. In the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey, it was observed that the state borrowed at high interest rates, and the overnight borrowing sometimes exceeded 1000%. The Turkish economy of the period is called "Rent Economy" by Erbakan. Upon the reactions to this economic picture, alternative searches emerged, and as a result of the studies started in the Akevler cooperative, the Fair Economic Order entered the program of the Welfare Party (Öztürk, 2017, p.154). Since the economic order was founded on the foundation of justice, the late Necmettin Erbakan himself named the "Fair Economic Order" (Öztürk, 2017, p.160). The economic difficulties also caused the Welfare Party, the party of Necmettin Erbakan, to be the party that received the highest number of votes; has caused the people to favor the promise of a "Fair Economic Order".

The Fair Economic Order has also been made into a book (Erbakan, 2019a). A Fair Economic Order is a system that "does not allow exploitation at every point of the economic system, gives everyone their rights, treats everyone equally and gives equal opportunities to everyone, supports everyone's beneficial and constructive activities, encourages economic activities, and removes unnecessary and unjust obstacles to economic development". known as the system. The Fair Economic Order has five basic articles as general, money, credit, tax and social security. Depending on these basic items, there are 31 principles in total (Erbakan, 2019a, p.13-15). According to Erbakan, the five microbes that play a role in the exploitation of other segments by the powerful in the capitalist economic system are interest, unfair tax, foreign exchange, mints and credit.

Erbakan's view of life also influenced his views on the economy, and therefore, the Just Economic Order contains similarities with the Islamic economic model and does not contain any elements contrary to the Islamic economic system (Sugözü, 2017, p.207). A Fair Economic Order is different from both capitalism and socialism (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, p.144; Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.113; Öztürk, 2017, p.167). Monopolies and trusts cannot be prevented in capitalism and the powerful segment of the society exploits the other segments of the society. In a just economic order, there is no superiority between people and societies, but there is equality. In a fair economic system, there is cooperation between societies and individuals, and there is no exploitation of one part by another. In socialism, as in capitalism, there is no theoretical exploitation system, but the absence of private property and profit phenomena causes it to be contrary to human nature and not to motivate people more (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). However, in practice, it is seen that political power oppresses and exploits other segments of society in socialism as well. In short, both capitalism and socialism are based on the mentality that holds the power (Erbakan, 2019a, p.12). Experts such as Arif Ersoy, Süleyman Karagülle and Süleyman Akdemir also have a share in the preparation of the Fair Economic Order, which is an alternative system to interest-free capitalism and socialism (Macit, 2017, p.12).

Necmettin Erbakan's dream was to build a Turkey that is a world leader in terms of human rights, economy, technology and democracy. When this imaginary Fair Economy Order is examined, it is felt very comfortable (Akgül, 2018, p.30). The Fair Economic Order was developed by taking the economic systems of the prophets as an example, and only in this way was it based on the assumption that Turkey could be the leader in Erbakan's dreams (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). The Fair Economic Order promises to rapidly develop the economy, ensure strong development, prevent income distribution disorders, and prevent bribery and corruption.

Spiritualism constitutes the essence of the Fair Economic Order and differs from the capitalist economy in this aspect (Macit, 2017, p.12). The Fair Economic Order is built on the assumption of people who prioritize rights, and people who prioritize rights act by cooperating and establishing partnerships, not by conflicting with others. This ensures peace and tranquility in the society (Öztürk, 2017, p.159; Hamdemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1305). The capitalist order turns people into a selfish person (Homoeconomicus) in order to earn more money (Dilek et al. 2017, pp.636-637). TÜSİAD and MUSIAD (Independent Businessmen Association), which was established in 1990 as an alternative to large capital owners, also supported the Fair Economic Order (Bölükbaşı, 2012, pp.172-174).

This is an indication that the Fair Economic Order is not anti-capitalist. For the deceased Erbakan, industrialization is an indispensable phenomenon for Turkey and therefore industrial investments should be encouraged, which is another indication that the Fair Economic Order is not anti-capitalist (Demir, 2012, p.97).

The Fair Economic Order has been criticized because it contains proposals with a content similar to the socialist economy and is not applicable (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, p.160; Bölükbaşı, 2012, p.171). The most important deficiency of capitalism is that it cannot find a solution to income distribution injustice, and the Fair Economic Order is an order that tries to find a solution to income distribution injustice (Sugözü, 2017, p.200) and in this respect, it has been favored by the urban poor and the people living in slums (Bölükbaşı, 2012, p. 169). Another shortcoming of capitalism is that it is dragged into crises with a certain frequency and these crises increase the problem of income distribution injustice, which shows that the exploitation order in capitalism cannot continue any longer (Hamdemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1298). Erbakan (2019a, p.12) states that just as communism collapsed after 70 years of oppressing people, capitalism will also collapse because it does not bring peace and tranquility to humanity.

Necmettin Erbakan's Views on Industrialization and Foreign Trade

Necmettin Erbakan's thought that industrialization is an indispensable condition for Turkey to become a leading country dates back to before he put forward the "Fair Economic Order" economic program (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, pp.144-145). Necmettin Erbakan graduated from the Mechanical Engineering Department of Istanbul Technical University with a record average, received a doctorate in Germany, founded Gümüş motor AŞ in 1956, and produced the Devrim automobile (Erbakan University, 2021). The Heavy Industry move is an important part of the National Vision founded by Necmettin Erbakan (Demir, 2017, p.91). In the 1970s, the late Erbakan held various positions, including the deputy prime minister and the ministry, and during this time he contributed to the establishment of important enterprises such as TEMSAN, TAKSAN, TUSAŞ, TESTAŞ, GERKONSAN, TÜTEKS, TUMOSAN (Demir, 2017, p.92-93).

The late Erbakan, who thinks that industrialization is an indispensable condition for development, thinks that social indicators should be taken into consideration in addition to economic indicators in investments. Erbakan, who advocates horizontal development in order to eliminate regional development differences, thinks that a different industry branch should be developed in each region of Anatolia (Demir, 2017, p.98-101). In the theory of economics, the concept of industrialization and technology are used together, and the industrialization of a society based on technology means the development of the society by gaining competitive power (Çalışkan, 2020, p: 297).

All three of the Fair Economic Order are general; It has a total of 31 principles, seven of which are tax, seven are money, seven are credit and seven are social security. According to the first of the general principles of the Fair Economic Order, the state should have macro plans and investment projects made in the economy and everyone should have information about which projects to support. Individuals, companies and foundations also choose the one that suits them from these projects and make investments (Erbakan, 2019a, p.15-17). This shows the idea that the state should encourage new investments (including industry). Among the duties of the state, there is also the establishment of energy, water, road, infrastructure services, health, education, transportation and communication infrastructure. In other words, Necmettin Erbakan's ideal of industrialization continued in the Fair Economic Order program.

According to Erbakan's view, for the development of Turkey, it is necessary to build an economy focused on production and export, and foreign trade should be carried out predominantly with Muslim (D8 countries) countries (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). Necmettin Erbakan, during his short term as prime minister in the 1990s, tried to adopt a foreign relations policy mainly based on the D-8 countries, but this settled secular military and bureaucratic structure was seen as a threat and the February 28 coup was justified (Tekin, 2017, p.238). D-8 is actually just the beginning, the first phase of the later establishment of the D-60 and D-160 and the new Earth order that will eventually be established. It is the beginning

stage of the Islamic Union. Developing cooperation and trade among Islamic countries with resources, large population, geographical area and high economic potential is one of the main objectives of the D-8 organization (Tuğrul, 2021, p.29-38; Karabulut, 2017, p.422). The Islamic bourgeoisie, which grew by exporting after 1980, also supported Erbakan's expansion to Islamic countries (Ayhan and Sağiroğlu, p.131). It is stated that while giving credits in a fair economic order, giving credit to everyone without nepotism will increase production and exports in the economy (Handemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1300-1301), which shows the importance given to exports by the Fair Economic Order.

Analysis of Turkey's Industry After 2002

Putting Erbakan's views into practice means that Turkey attaches importance to the manufacturing industry, increasing the share of the manufacturing industry in the economy. The increases in Turkey's industrial data for the period from 2002 to 2021 are shown in Table 1. While the manufacturing industry employment was 3.2 million in 2000, it is seen that the industrial sector employment was 6.4 million in January 2022. It is clearly seen that employment in the industrial sector has increased. In line with Necmettin Erbakan's export-led growth target, it is seen that Turkey's exports have increased more than six times. In the same period, automobile and washing machine production increased fourfold; refrigerator production has more than doubled. The fact that Turkey is the largest white goods producer in Europe in 2021 also shows the point Turkey has reached in the white goods industry (TRT Haber, 2022a). The reason why automobile and white goods production figures are handled is that they are products based on medium and advanced technology. Steel production, which is one of the important inputs for the industry, increased from 20.5 million to 35.8 million. The amount of Organized Industrial Zone is also a good indicator for industrialization in terms of the manufacturing industry facilities. In the 2002-2021 period, the number of Organized Industrial Zones increased from 140 to 353; The number of factories in the Organized Industrial Zone increased from 14,000 to 67,000. These figures indicate that steps were taken towards industrialization in the post-2002 period; indicates that the industrial sector is growing economically. With this; It is also seen that the Turkish manufacturing industry has intensified in favor of the Marmara region (Kaygalak, 2018).

Table 1. Industry data of Turkey (2002-2021)

Employment	Data	Quantity
	Manufacturing industry employment in 2000*	3,227,365
	Industrial sector employment in January 2022**	6,436,000
Export	Total exports in 2002 (000\$)***	36,059,089
	Total exports in 2021 (000\$)****	225,291,000
Automobile production	Automobile production in 2002 *v	204,198
	Automobile production in 2020 *v	855,043
Refrigerator production	Production in 2002 *vi	3,164,922
	Production in 2021*vii	7,922,395
Washing machine production	Production in 2002 *vi	1,684,687
	Production in 2021*vii	7,667,387
Steel production	Production in 2004 *III	20,500,000
	Production in 2020*III	35,800,000
Organized Industrial Zone	Number in 2002 *IV	140
	Number in 2021 *IV	353
Number of factories in the Organized Industrial Zone	Number in 2002 *IV	14,000
	Number in 2021 *IV	67,000

Source: * TUIK (2009, s.22) **: TUIK (2022a), ***: TUIK (2009, s.479), ****: TUIK (2022b) *_v: OSD (2022) *_{vi}: TUIK (2009, s.333) *_{vii}: TURKBESD (2022). *_{III}: Steel Exporters Association (2022). *_{IV}: Türkiye Newspaper (2021)

The defense industry is of great importance in terms of providing externality to the other branches of industry with the technology it has developed. Necmettin Erbakan also conducted research on the German defense industry during his time in Germany, and even developed the V1 and V2 long-range missiles. He worked with Prof. Schmidt at the DVL research center (Macit, 2018, p.17). For this reason, he attached great importance to the developments in the defense industry for the late Erbakan. In 2021, the Turkish defense industry has exported \$3.2 billion to various countries, primarily the USA, Azerbaijan, Qatar, UAE, Morocco and Germany (Defunmasanayiist, 2022). Turkish defense industry products have been tested in the fields in Syria, Libya and Azerbaijan and it has been seen that they are successful. Turkey's defense materials/weapons exports increased continuously after 2002 (Yeşilyurt and Yeşilyurt, 2019, p.30). Necmettin Erbakan had a great contribution in the establishment of TUSAŞ and foreign shares of TUSAŞ were purchased by Turkish shareholders in 2005 and TUSAŞ later merged with TAI. In the next period, TAI has made great progress (TUSAŞ, 2022). In 2013, TAI, together with Aselsan, became one of the world's largest defense industry companies (SIPRI, 2013).

During this period, Turkey's share of its budget for Research and Development (R&D) increased from 0.5% in 2002 to 1.06% in 2019. However, considering that this rate is 4.93% for Israel and 4.64% for S.Korea in 2019, it is seen that Turkey's share of R&D has increased over time but is insufficient (OECD Data, 2022). Aktop (2021), researched the R&D activity in Turkey between the years 2015-2017; According to CCR and BBC data envelopment models in 2016 and 2017, it has been determined that Turkey has R&D efficiency. Turkey has increased its investments in order to develop technology. In 2001, the Law No. 4691 on Technology Development Zones was enacted. In 2021, 75,657 people are employed in 7331 companies in 73 active technology development zones (TGBD, 2022). In Turkey, industrial investments in various forms are encouraged by the state. In December 2021, incentive certificates were prepared for 2123 investments with an investment amount of more than 52 billion (Anadolu Agency, 2022). Necmettin Erbakan is also in favor of supporting domestic production and thus curbing inflation (Erbakan, 2019a, p.13).

The items that Turkey exports the most in 2021 are "automotive", "machines and boilers", "iron and steel" and "electrical machinery and devices". This result shows that the automotive and machinery industry has developed in Turkey, which Necmettin Erbakan also aimed for. However, Necmettin Erbakan desired a faster development in the industrial sector. While Turkey's "machinery and transportation vehicles" exports were \$8.6 billion in 2002 (TUIK, 2009, p.480), this rate increased continuously and in 2021, "motor land vehicles" exports 25 and "machines and boilers" exports. It has exceeded \$20 billion. These two items are the two biggest export items of Turkey. "Iron and Steel" exports in the third place are 17; "electrical machinery and devices" item, which ranked fourth, exceeded \$12 billion (TUIK, 2022b). Kesgingöz vd. (2019) determined in their analysis that Turkey has a comparative advantage in the iron and steel industry and has a high competitive power. These results show that Turkey has made progress in the automotive, machinery, electrical and electronics industry sectors. The performance of the motor vehicles industry after 2002 is positive and this is in line with Necmettin Erbakan's views and principles. However, Erbakan is an engineer who wants Turkey to create his own automobile brand and has taken part in the Devrim automobiles project for this purpose. The Revolution cars project, in which Necmettin Erbakan took part, was criticized by the military, intellectuals and journalists of the time, and therefore the project could not be realized (Şahinkaya, 2010, p.263). TOGG (Turkey Joint Venture Group) electric car factory is also being built in Bursa Gemlik as of 2021 and production is planned to start at the beginning of 2023.

One of the important problems of the Turkish manufacturing industry is its dependence on imported inputs (intermediate goods/raw materials). The exchange rate is an issue that closely concerns the competitiveness of the country's goods in foreign markets. The overvalued country currency is an undesirable situation for exporters and those who want export-based growth (Dilek, 2020, p.99-100). Until 2016, Turkey's real effective exchange rate is above 100, so TL is overvalued. In 2017 and beyond, Turkey implemented a more competitive exchange rate policy. Competitive exchange rate policy increases Turkey's exports, but also increases its imports. The reason for this is that the Turkish manufacturing industry needs more imported inputs (intermediate/raw material) to increase production. After 2002, the dependence of the Turkish manufacturing industry on imported inputs could not be eliminated (Petek et al. 2020, p.45-46).

Table 2 can be examined to compare Turkey's manufacturing industry development with developed countries. In Table 2, the added value of the manufacturing industry of selected developed countries and Turkey is analyzed based on the years 2002 and 2020.

Table 2. Added Value of Manufacturing Industry (Current US\$)

Country	2002 Manufacturing industry VA	2020 Manufacturing industry VA	2002-2020 percentage Increase
Turkey	40,681	137,709	238,50
USA	1,470,000	2,341,847	59,3
Japan	866,464	1,045,547	20,67
Germany	409,379	698,896	70,72
Italy	213,558	280,398	31,29
France	203,000	247,025	21,68
United Kingdom	216,680	239,677	10,61
Russia	52,488	196,649	274,65
Mexico	133,324	185,558	39,17
Spain	107,508	141,307	31,43
Netherlands	59,151	98,385	66,32

Source: Worldbank data

In Table 2, the added value of Turkey's manufacturing industry increased by 238.50% in 2020 compared to 2002, which is higher than that of countries other than Russia. In this process, the US manufacturing industry 59.3%; Japan manufacturing industry 20.67%; Germany's manufacturing industry also grew by 70.72%, which, as can be seen, is well below Turkey's. The investment incentives given by the Ministry of Industry and Technology in various forms also contributed to this rapid rise (Ministry of Industry and Technology, 2022). The added value of the Turkish manufacturing industry was behind the Netherlands in 2002, but managed to exceed it in 2020. Thanks to its 238.50% growth rate, Turkey has narrowed the gap with developed countries, but is still behind most countries. European countries (Germany, Italy, France, United Kingdom), which have close ratios in terms of population, are still ahead of Turkey.

Başkol and Bektaş (2020) examined 112 sectors in the Turkish manufacturing industry in their study and found that 50 of these 112 sectors had a revealed comparative advantage. 32 of the 50 sectors in question are low; 17 of them are in the medium and one in the advanced technology group. This result shows that the Turkish manufacturing industry has a comparative advantage in the low technology group. Turkey increased its per capita income rapidly after 2002, but it could not be among high-income countries (countries with a national income of \$12,746 per capita) by 2021. In order to get out of the middle-income trap, Turkey needs to focus on the production of advanced technology products as Necmettin Erbakan wants, increase R&D investments and give importance to innovation and design (Kesgingöz and Dilek, 2018). Konak (2018), in his study examining the period 1992-2016, stated that

Turkey's exports are based on low and medium technology, and the share of high technology product exports is only between 2% and 4%. Turkish companies have also invested in technology in this process. For example; Arçelik's Romanian facilities were awarded by the World Economic Forum, with 80% of the engineers involved in the design being Turkish (Kanuşoğlu, 2021, p.156).

Important breakthroughs in transportation and infrastructure services for the industrialists took place in the post-2002 period. According to Necmettin Erbakan, activities in the economy should be carried out by individuals through companies or foundations. The role of the state is to provide transportation, communication and infrastructure rather than being intrusive (Çelikçi and Levent, 2013, p.81). Infrastructure and transportation are also important for every company or foundation. Because, each firm must provide input (search and purchase raw materials) and deliver its goods to the market. While the asphalt concrete road was 6877 km in 2002, it has nearly quadrupled to 24,774 km in 2020 (KGM, 2022). The total railway line, which was 10,948 km in 2002, increased to 12,803 km in 2020 (TCDD, 2022). While there were 43 airports in 2008, this number increased to 56 in 2020 (Meriç, 2021, pp.487-488). Hydro Electricity installed power plant (HEPP) capacity, which was 13,063 megawatts in 2006, reached 28,503 megawatts in 2019 (Anadolu Agency, 2021). Akkuyu and Sinop nuclear power plants are under construction but not yet completed. Turkey has managed to surpass the EU average with its renewable energy investments in recent years (Euronews, 2021).

As a result, it is seen that Turkey developed the industrial sector with support after 2002 and surpassed Europe in some areas. However, it is seen that the industry still has not reached the level desired by the late Erbakan, because Erbakan's dream is to make Turkey the most developed industrial country in the world. Turkey still lags behind countries such as the USA, China, Germany and Japan in terms of industrial production and exports. Turkey's 2002-2021 Foreign Trade and Relations with D-8 Countries

Significant increases were recorded in Turkey's exports in the post-2002 period. Its exports, which were around 35 billion dollars in 2002, exceeded \$225 billion in 2021, that is, an increase of more than six times was recorded (Table 1). Table 3 shows the total imports of D-8 countries and Turkey's exports to these countries. Therefore, Turkey has a share in the imports of these countries. Necmettin Erbakan's dream was to establish a developed foreign trade relationship between Turkey and the D-8 countries, and later to expand the D-8 structure in the form of D-60 and D-160. Table 3 shows whether Turkey is progressing on this path or not.

Table 3. Imports of D-8 Countries in 2020

Countries	2002 Export of Turkey (000\$)	2002 Partner country total import (000\$)	2002 Turkey's share in partner country imports (%)	2020 export of Turkey(000\$)	2020 Partner country total import (000\$)	2020 Turkey's share in partner country imports (%)
Iran	334.284	20.335.749	1,64	2.253.118***	22,300,495	10,10
Malaysia	59.138	86.136.023	0,068	475.322	189.559.672	0,250
Bangladesh	27.139	9.215.133	0,294	349.061***	48,749,888	0,716
Egypt	222.737	12.496.060	1,78	2.957.184	60.279.554	4,87
Pakistan	65.579**	13.048.609**	0,50	400.976	45.775.135	0,875
Indonesia	22.716	31.288.842	0,073	274.170	141.622.127	0,194
Nigeria	28.470	8.758.472	0,33	696.403	53.010.001	1,31

** Data of 2003

***TÜİK

Source Trademap, 2022 edited.

Turkey's share has increased in all D8 countries, but only in Iran, Egypt and Nigeria imports, Turkey's share is over 1%. Only the share of Turkey in Iranian imports is over 10%, which is due to the fact that Turkey and Iran are neighbors and the trade embargo applied to Iran plays a role in this. Turkey's share in corn imports is 4.78%, which was only 1.78% in 2002. The Mediterranean, located between Turkey and Egypt, facilitates trade, but the recent discord between the Sisi government and Turkey also complicates foreign trade between the two countries. Although Turkey's share in Nigerian imports is 1.31%, this ratio is also not sufficient. Turkey's share in the imports of Malaysia, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Indonesia is below 1%. Although the share of Turkey in the imports of other D8 countries has increased compared to 2002, it is seen that this increase is not sufficient.

Table 4. Exports of D-8 countries in 2020

Countries	2002 import of the Turkey from the partner country(000\$)	2002 Total export of the partner country (000\$)	2002 Turkey's share in partner country export (%)	2020 import of Turkey from the partner country(000\$)	2020 partner country total export (000\$)	2020 Turkey's share in partner country exports (%)
Iran	920.462	28.186.000	3,26	1.192.718	12.045.441	9,90
Malaysia	244.600	86.136.023	0,28	1.990.602	189.559.672	1,05
Bangladesh	31.925	9.215.133	0,34	5.417.273	42.392.465	12,7
Egypt	117.896	4.662.432	2,52	1.722.944	26.815.145	5,97
Pakistan	116.417	13.048.609	0,89	268.751	45.775.135	0,58
Indonesia	326.479	57.158.751	0,41	1.184.801	163.306.490	0,72
Nigeria	181.760	18.607.402	0,97	128.978	33.361.475	0,38

Source: trademap, 2022 edited.

The ratios of the total exports of D8 countries and how much of this export is made to Turkey are given in Table 3. 9.90% of Iran's exports are to Turkey. This rate was only 3.26% in 2002. This rate has increased and the fact that there are neighboring countries and the embargo imposed on Iran play an important role in this. The most striking result is seen as Bangladesh. Bangladesh realizes 12.7% of its exports to Turkey, which was below 1% in 2002. 5.97% of corn exports and 1.05% of Malaysian exports go to Turkey. Turkey's share in Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria exports is below 1%. It is seen that this rate has increased compared to 2002 for other countries except Pakistan and Nigeria. As a result, it is seen that Turkey imports more from other D8 countries compared to 2002, but it is seen that this rate is not at the desired rate except for Iran, Bangladesh and Egypt.

As a result, Turkey increased both its exports and imports to other D8 countries after 2002. Turkey's share in the imports of other D8 countries and Turkey's share in the exports of D8 countries also increased. However, despite this increase, it is seen that the numbers are not at the desired level. Turkey's exports to Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh at a very low rate; It is seen that it imports very little from Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria. In other words, it is seen that Turkey increased its exports to D8 countries, but this increase was not at the rate Necmettin Erbakan had imagined.

Table 5. Turkey's Largest Export Items to Other D8 Countries

	Items
Iran	Machinery and boilers, Plastics and articles made of plastic, electrical machinery and equipment
Malaysia	Iron and Steel, Natural and cultured pearls and stones, mineral fuels

Bangladesh	Machinery and Boilers, Cotton, Various chemical products
Egypt	Automotive, Iron and Steel, Machinery and Boilers
Pakistan	Machinery and Boilers, Cotton, Iron and Steel
Indonesia	Machinery and Boilers, Inorganic Chemicals, Tobacco and finished tobacco substitutes
Nigeria	Mineral fuels, electrical machinery and equipment, Machinery and Boilers

Source: trademap (2022)

When Turkey's exports to other D8 countries are analyzed, it is seen that the "Machinery and Boilers" and "Iron and Steel" items are important. The "Machinery and Boilers" item has an important place in Turkey's exports to other D8 countries except Malaysia. This shows that Turkey has made a breakthrough in the last twenty years, even if it is not enough in terms of industry. Another interesting result is that Turkey's automotive exports to countries other than Egypt are limited. Because the most important export item of Turkey is the automotive industry.

Table 6. Largest Import Items of Turkey to Other D8 Countries

	Items
Iran	Plastics and articles made of plastic, Copper and articles made of copper, Zinc and articles of zinc
Malaysia	Animal or vegetable oils, electrical machinery and equipment, Rubber and rubber goods
Bangladesh	Other vegetable textile fibres, Articles of apparel, not knitted or crocheted, Articles of knitted or crocheted clothing
Egypt	Plastics and articles made of plastic, Fertilizers, Mineral fuels
Pakistan	Cotton, Ready-made Textile Products, Synthetic Fiber
Indonesia	Synthetic fibers, Animal or Vegetable oils, Rubber and Rubber Articles
Nigeria	Oilseeds and Fruits, Mineral fuels, Raw hides and skins

Source: trademap (2022)

There is no concentration of a certain product in Turkey's exports from other D8 countries. Various raw materials and goods made from these raw materials (Plastic, Zinc, Copper, Rubber) are imported. Except for the import of electrical machinery and equipment from Malaysia, a product with a complex production process is not imported from D8 countries, which shows that the industry is not very developed in other D8 countries.

Conclusion

Necmettin Erbakan; He is an important scientist and politician trying to develop Turkey with the Heavy Industry Move. Necmettin Erbakan, who came to the forefront with his silver engine initiative and his efforts to produce Devrim cars, laid the foundations of many industrial establishments in his political life, ensured the opening of factories and established the D8 organization. According to Erbakan, the initiative that started with D8 will develop first in the form of D60 and then D160, and Turkey will be able to initiate its development move with exports to these countries. The AK Party, which includes names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who made politics alongside Necmettin Erbakan, has governed Turkey since 2002. In this article, it has been questioned whether Turkey's economy has been managed in line with the views of Necmettin Erbakan after 2002. For this purpose, Turkey's industry and export figures were examined.

Turkey has made significant investments in the industrial sector since 2002 and has succeeded in increasing its industrial production. In this period, the increase in production and exports in the

automotive, machinery and boilers, iron and steel sectors, and the support of initiatives in this field show that Turkey's economic policy is progressing in line with the views of Necmettin Erbakan. Between 2002 and 2020, the added value created by the Turkish manufacturing industry increased at a remarkable rate of 238.50%. However, despite this rate, Turkey could not become one of the leading countries in the world industry sector targeted by Necmettin Erbakan. Turkey's manufacturing industry added value still lags behind the manufacturing industry added value of countries with close populations such as Germany, Italy, France and the United Kingdom. Another view of Necmettin Erbakan is that Turkey should become a leader among the world's Muslim countries and develop foreign trade with them. For this purpose, Erbakan established the organization of D8 countries. Even though Turkey's foreign trade with the D8 countries improved after 2002, it could not reach the level desired by Necmettin Erbakan. As a result, it has been seen that the AK Party's policies on the heavy industry move of Necmettin Erbakan and the development of trade with the D8 countries are compatible and he tried to realize Necmettin Erbakan's views, albeit partially, and achieved partial success, although not complete.

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THE ATTITUDE OF SAUDI ARABIA ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE

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Kıbrıs Meselesinde Suudi Arabistan'ın Tutumu

ÖZ

Türk-Suud ilişkilerinde yakınlaşma sağlayan faktörlerden en önemlisi, Kıbrıs meselesi ve bu meselede Türkiye'nin karşısında yer alan Batılı devletlerin tavrına karşı, Suudi Arabistan'ın Türkiye'nin yanında yer alması ve Kıbrıs Türklerine yardım etmesidir. Suudi Arabistan, Türkiye'nin milli meselesi olan Kıbrıs konusunda Türkiye'yi güçlü bir şekilde desteklemiştir. Bu tavır, Türkiye'nin genel görüşüne derinden tesir etmiş ve bu şekilde yeni iyi ilişkiler dönemi başlamıştır.

Kıbrıs meselesi, Türkiye'yi Arap dünyasına yöneltmiş ve Arap âlemine yönelik daha mülayim bir siyaset uygulamasını sağlamıştır. Türkiye'nin Araplara yakınlaşma politikasındaki pratik amaç, 1965 BM Genel Kurul oylamasında Türkiye'nin lehinde oy kullanmayan Arap ülkelerinin Kıbrıs konusunda desteğinin elde etmek olacaktır.

Bu makalede Kıbrıs meselesinde Suudi Arabistan'ın tutumu incelenmeye ve açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Meselesi, Suudi Arabistan, Türkiye, Birleşmiş Milletler, Dış Politika.

The Attitude of Saudi Arabia on the Cyprus Issue

ABSTRACT

The most important one of the factors that brought Turkish-Saudi relations closer, contrary to the attitude of the West that have been against Turkey in Cyprus Issue, is the fact that Saudi Arabia has been on the side of Turkey and has helped the Turkish Cypriots , . In the Cyprus case, which has been a national problem for Turkey, Saudi Arabia strongly supported Turkey. This attitude has deeply affected the general view of Turkey and thus a new era of good relations has begun. The Cyprus Issue led Turkey to the Arab world and ensured a softer policy towards Arabs. The practical aim in Turkey's policy of rapprochement with Arab countries will be to obtain the support of the Arab states that did not side with Turkey in the 1965 United Nations General Assembly vote on the Cyprus Issue.

In this article, the attitude of Saudi Arabia on the Cyprus Issue will be examined and tried to be explained.

Keywords: Cyprus Issue, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United Nations, Foreign Policy.

1. Introduction

Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949 is a concrete indication of its parting ways with the Arab world. This situation was perceived as an important event both in the Middle East Arab world and in the entire Islamic world. Recognition of Israel will be the biggest breaking point in Turkish-Arab/Turkey-Middle East relations. This recognition and the start of diplomatic relations with Israel had a negative impact on Turkish-Arab relations.

On the other hand, as Turkey got closer to the views of the Arab states regarding Israel, which is the main factor in the relations between the Middle Eastern states and Turkey, their relations began to improve. In this context, Turkey's post-1965 policy, which can be called pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli, had a positive response in the Arab world. The Arab-Islamic world sided with Turkey after the 1974 Cyprus military intervention and the US embargo.

There are two important issues that have caused the change/transformation of Turkish-Arab relations since the Democratic Party era: The first is the Baghdad Pact (1955), and the other is Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 1991-1993: 212). During the meeting between the three regional heads of state (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan) of the anti-USSR Baghdad Pact, at the Çankaya Mansion on 14-15 July 1958, the situation and future of the Baghdad Pact, the events in Iraq (military coup) and Lebanon were discussed. Apart from the confusion in the Turkish Republic, the Cyprus Issue was also emphasized. General Kasım, who came to power in Iraq, which is a member of the pact, started a new foreign policy based on the USSR (Bostancı, Karaca, 2018: 134-135). While the Baghdad Pact, at the beginning and end, damaged Turkish-Arab relations, the Cyprus incident, which flared up in 1965, directed Turkey towards the Arab world and ensured a softer policy with the Arab world (Armaoğlu, 1991-1993: 212).

The main break in Turkey's foreign policy occurred when Cyprus took the form of an international issue. Turkish foreign policy has taken a new form in accordance with the situation taken by the states in the Cyprus issue. In this sense, Turkey has gone to a retrospective internal reckoning in its foreign policy and international relations (Demir, 2011: 706). In short, Turkey has begun to redesign its foreign policy (Çetinsaya, 1998: 48). The EOKA organization under the leadership of Grivas, which made an intense effort to connect the island to Greece (Enosis), especially in the years 1959-1963, has reached a power far more than the Turks. Not wanting to risk the future of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, Ankara, through the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT), Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Rauf Denktaş's calls for help did not go unanswered, and EOKA tried to eliminate its aggression and its "enosis" target (Karaca, 2014: 377-379). In fact, attempts to connect the island to Greece gained momentum with the start of British rule here in 1878. Greek notables, Greek metropolitans and the people, who tried to put pressure on the British High Commissioner, or rather kept them, have always expressed the unification of Cyprus and Greece with their rallies and statements (Karaca, 2016: 88-93). As it can be understood from here, the problem Turkey is facing has a long history and has acquired a new and challenging dimension.

When it came to 1964, the famous letter of the US President Johnson and the decision about Cyprus in 1965 at the UN led Turkey to produce a policy that was more independent from the USA and the Western states and that looked after its own national interests (Hakov, 1983: 1878). Under these conditions, Turkey thought that it was necessary to diversify its international relations without changing the basic stance of its foreign policy, and started to establish good relations with Arab states as well as socialist states. This situation required a broader view of foreign policy issues from various perspectives and a synthesis before making a decision (Kamel, 1974: 13). With this understanding, Turkey's policy of leaving confrontation and good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation with Socialist states and Arab countries secured its own security much more than the policy of being

unilateral and taking part in the military blocs formed by the Westerners, and added a new dimension to Turkey's thesis on Cyprus. It has gained supporters (Hakov, 1983: 1878).

Between 1965 and 1971, a dynamism that was rarely seen in the Republican period was seen in Turkish foreign policy due to internal and external factors. This period has revealed how far Turkey can approach the East and how far it can move away from the West, and Turkey has tried to adapt itself to the conditions of the changing world by following a more active policy. Turkey has managed to evolve into a multilateral foreign policy that normalizes its relations with neighboring countries and other states without experiencing any conflicts with its allies (Yeşilbursa, 2007: 78).

Starting from the mid-1960s, the practical purpose of Turkey's desire to approach the Arab world would be to provide the support of 14 Arab states that did not side with Turkey in the 1965 UN General Assembly on the Cyprus issue (Kürkçüoğlu, 1972: 141).

2. UN's Cyprus Resolution (18 December 1965)

Cyprus has been a very important issue in Turkey's relations with the Middle East and Arab states. The "Western" policies pursued by Turkey in the 1950s began to have negative consequences on the Cyprus issue in the mid-1960s. It was clear in both the UN and the Non-Aligned platform that the Middle East countries were not with Turkey on the Cyprus issue (Yılmaz, 2008: 636).

Regarding Cyprus, the situation was shaped against Turkey in the vote held at the UN General Assembly on 18 December 1965 (Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 7). This situation revealed that Turkey was pushed into loneliness both within the Western Bloc and on a global scale. 47 states voted in favor, 54 states abstained and only 5 states voted against with Turkey of the draft resolution, (Gönlübol ve Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493)¹ which refuses the intervention of any foreign country, therefore, opposing the use of the right of intervention granted to Turkey by the Cyprus Guarantee Treaty of 1960. (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493) (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1).

Those who are against the bill are the USA, Iran, Libya, Pakistan and Albania along with Turkey (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1). Albania voted against, especially due to its conflict with Greece due to the Northern Epirus issue, while Pakistan and Iran sided with Turkey due to genuine alliance and friendship (Karasapan, 1965: 15). The rejection vote, which was diametrically opposed to the previous attitude of the USA, stemmed from the thought of mitigating the reaction caused by the Johnson letter in Turkey (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493).

As seen in this vote, only the United States of America and the other NATO countries voted against the bill, together with Turkey, and the others, except Greece, abstained (Karasapan, 1965: 16). The abstention of all the Socialist Bloc countries together with the NATO countries expressed the new understanding in Turkish foreign policy. This understanding was an attempt to eliminate the ongoing standoff between Turkey and the Socialist Bloc countries since the mid-1940s and to ensure normalization (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493).

The abstaining NATO countries argued that international agreements cannot be broken unilaterally and that the issue should be resolved through peaceful negotiations between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus (Karasapan, 1965: 16). In the process in question, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iraq were among the abstaining states (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1). During the negotiations of the issue at the UN, many decision projects came to the fore. Of these, the projects of Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iraq are in the nature of seeking an average path. In this draft; After reminding the resolutions of the Security Council and gladly stating that the UN forces

¹ BM'nin 18 Aralık 1965 tarihli karar tasarısının tamamı için bkz. Cumhuriyet, 18 Aralık 1965: 1-7.

serve to keep the peace on the Island, it was affirmed that Cyprus is an equal member of the UN Organization and that its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected, and that the UN General Assembly, In agreement with the stakeholders, it was proposed that the UN recommend new mediation efforts for the resolution of the Cyprus Issue by observing the UN Constitution (Karasapan, 1965: 11).

Before the decision, the Turkish delegation headed by Çağlayangil had intense contacts and a strong association was established with the authorities of Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Tunisia and Libya, which are close to Turkey (Karasapan, 1965: 12).

In the negotiation process, with the participation of Saudi Arabia and Libya, the Afghan-Iraq bill, which took a four-backed form, was initiated by the delegations of Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Iraq and Afghanistan to amend the 32's bill and to make it a form acceptable to Turkey (Karasapan, 1965:14). However, in the meeting of the Political Commission on 16 December, the authorities of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Afghanistan fought strongly in favor of Turkey in the negotiations on whether or not the 32s bill should be put to the vote first (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 7). However, after intense negotiations, the Political Commission gave priority to the 32s bill despite the strong resistance of the Saudi representative (Karasapan, 1965: 14). Despite a final attempt to nullify the 32s draft during the negotiations, no results could be obtained and the 32s draft accepted by the Commission came to the General Assembly in the form of a proposal (Karasapan, 1965: 15).

Upon the adoption of the draft resolution against Turkey in the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Demirel said that it would not be possible for Turkey's rights on the Island to be lost in any way (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 7). He stated that it was not possible for him to accept the recommendations contained in it (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1). In the meantime, in the days when the UN's Cyprus resolution was discussed, in the media, about 20 parliamentarians, together with the Minister of Industry Mehmet Turgut and Saadettin Bilgiç, Necmettin Erbakan, Etem Kılıçoğlu and Ayhan Songar, where the work on the establishment of the Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society was completed. There was a news that he was among the founders (Tercüman, 23 December 1965: 7).

3. Visit of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to Turkey and Cyprus Agenda (29 August-4 September 1966)

On the occasion of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia's visit to Turkey between 29 August and 4 September 1966 (Tercüman, 29 August 1966: 1), Tercüman Newspaper published a special issue on 29 August and made detailed news about Saudi Arabia and included articles about the visit. has included:

Fethi Tevetoğlu wrote in his article; After stating that although there were some disagreements between the two states in the past, they are past and over, and that the strongest factor connecting Turkey and Saudi Arabia is the religious bond, regarding Cyprus; "Our behavior towards the Cyprus cause is our natural duty. Our religion, friendship and brotherhood govern this. In fact, we do not seem to have done much in this regard. I hope Turkey will end this important problem in a way that the rights and honor of our Muslim Turkish brothers in Cyprus will be protected and that they will find comfort and peace." said (Tevetoğlu, 1966: 3).

Due to the visit of King Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs Çağlayangil said; He stated that the importance given by King Faisal to the development and strengthening of the Turkish-Saudi friendship and his close interest in Turkey are known by everyone and his sincere and valuable support to the Cyprus cause has not been forgotten (Tercüman, 29 August 1966: 2).

In his speech at the dinner given in honor of King Faisal by President Cevdet Sunay on Monday, 29 August (Tercüman, 30 August 1966: 1-7), Sunay addressed Faisal as the "Great Islamic Ruler" and expressed his joy at the visit. He expressed his satisfaction with the development of the Turkish nation and Saudi Arabia (Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society, 1969: 38-39). In addition to this, Sunay said:

"We always observe the full effect of the principles of brotherhood in the relations between our countries, which rest on the unshakable bonds of a common religious, historical and cultural past. The fact that the feelings of brotherhood that dominates the behavior of the Turkish nation and governments, especially His Majesty, and the government and people of Saudi Arabia, are shown in the same way, is a clear proof of how the relations between our countries are based on solid principles.

Sunay also expressed his gratitude for the Saudi Government's voting in favor of Turkey at the UN in the Cyprus Issue and said: are full of feelings. You have left a deep mark in the heart of the Turkish nation that you are a part of our justified indignation against the common treatment of our kin and religious brothers, who have been in oppression, financial and moral difficulties, and even faced with the possibility of being destroyed. The exceptionally strong atmosphere of Turkey-Saudi Arabia relations will be a source of inspiration."

In addition to these, Sunay also stated that all kinds of opportunities of Turkey are available to Saudi Arabia's efforts for development and welfare (Tercüman, 31 August 1966: 1-7; Milliyet, 30 August 1966: 7).

King Faisal, on the other hand, connects the two countries; He pointed out the issues of religion, belief and Islamic morality (Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society, 1969: 39-40). The King also touched upon the Cyprus Issue and stated that it is not just religious piety that causes support for Turkey in this matter, but that they take such an attitude in terms of rights, justice and humanity (Es-Saviğ, 1992: 241-242; Tercüman, 31 August 1966: 7.)

"Our hearts will always remain here," King Faisal said as he left Turkey on September 4. (Tercüman, September 5, 1966: 1). Sunay also expressed his gratitude to Faysal for the strong support of Saudi Arabia on Cyprus, and King Faisal also expressed Saudi Arabia's positive attitude regarding the status of Cyprus and the enforcement of international agreements (Milliyet, 5 September 1966: 1- 7).

On the eve of King Faisal's departure from Turkey, to reporters on the Cyprus issue; "In Cyprus, each community must protect its own rights. The State of Cyprus was born with certain agreements." (Tercüman, 5 September 1966: 7).

4. President Cevdet Sunay's Contacts with Saudi Arabia (22 -27 January 1968) and Cyprus Agenda

President Sunay paid a visit to Saudi Arabia between 22-27 January 1968. King Faisal welcomed Sunay at Riyadh Airport. In his statement at the same time, Sunay said the following about the Cyprus Issue:

"Since the visit of His Excellency Melik to our country, an armed conflict has taken place in the Near and Middle-East region and the Cyprus issue has created a critical situation. As a result of these important events, our region was dragged into a serious crisis. As a nation, we sincerely hope that today's tense and always available general situation, which causes our worries and sorrows, will be resolved in a way that will protect the legitimate rights and interests of our fraternal Arab countries and our Cypriot compatriots." (Memory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 43-44).

King Faisal gave a banquet in the evening in honor of President Sunay (Foreign Ministry Belleteni, 1968: 23). King Faisal touched upon some issues in his speech here, expressed his satisfaction with Turkey's support for issues that concern Arabs, that they are also interested in the affairs of brotherly Turkey, that they have never forgotten the mujahideen of Cyprus, that the Great Powers do not interfere in the region, that all Muslims live together and support each other. He said that they were aiming (Tercüman, 24 January 1968: 7; Milliyet, 24 January 1968: 1-7).

President Sunay, in his speech on this occasion, stated that the cultural and historical ties between the two nations are a sacred trust passed down from the ancestors and said, "While supporting the causes of brotherly Arab countries that we consider just and legitimate, we have always acted on the principles of peace and justice that we believe in. We believe that His Excellency Melik will have a great impact on the settlement of the Middle East conflict through peaceful means and a just and lasting solution. Turkey sincerely wishes all brotherly Arab countries to be in peace, prosperity and progress. The attitude adopted by Saudi Arabia on international issues concerning Turkey is the tangible result of the friendship and solidarity between our countries. It makes us happy to see our great friend and brother Saudi Arabia by our side in the national causes of the Turkish nation and our Cypriot compatriots" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Belleteni, 1968: 46-48).

The focus of the Turkish-Saudi official talks held on 23 January was the Middle East and Cyprus issue (Tercüman, 24 January 1968: 1).

Meanwhile, President Sunay, after his arrival in Riyadh, broadcast a message via the Mecca radio, stating that if the rights of Turkish Cypriots and Arabs are not respected, a more dangerous situation may arise in the Middle East than it is now (Hürriyet, 24 January 1968: 1; Milliyet, 24 January 1968: 1).

A joint statement on the talks was published in Riyadh and Ankara on 27 January, and the views of the two states on Israel and Cyprus were included (Tercüman, 28 January 1968: 7).

Regarding the Cyprus issue, it was stated in the statement: "The President of Turkey explained the latest developments on the Cyprus issue and confirmed the gratitude of the Turkish Government and the Turkish nation for the continuous support of Saudi Arabia to Turkey on this issue. Both heads of state stated that this issue should be resolved to an urgent and agreed-upon solution in a way that fully protects the security and legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish community." (Memory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 49-50).

In the Turkish foreign policy of this period, the emphasis on the relations with the Arab states and the desire to get the support of the Arab states in the Cyprus Issue were effective in the period of softening. For this reason, President Sunay made mutual visits to the countries of the region. Sunay's visit to Saudi Arabia should also be evaluated in this context. Sunay, who was received with great interest in Saudi Arabia, made an important service in the development of bilateral relations with this visit, and also obtained the support he was looking for in the Cyprus issue.

When we look at the period of 1970-1980, although there was a very unstable period in domestic politics, it was a period in which very important works were carried out. The Cyprus landing was made during this period. In this period, when the Cold War was on the rise again, Turkey maintained its importance as a country with NATO bases. If this period is evaluated in the general framework, it is seen that the general line of Turkish foreign policy has not changed (November, 2009: 246). The years 1973-1974 marked a new turning point in terms of both Turkish foreign policy in general and Middle East policy. Among the factors that cause this; Turkey's loneliness in the international arena after the 1974 Cyprus operation, the 1973 oil crisis, the deterioration of Turkish-American relations

after the Cyprus invasion, and the arms embargo imposed on Turkey can be shown (Çetinsaya, 1998: 49-50).

As a matter of fact, the Cyprus issue has been the main axis of Turkish foreign policy for the last twenty years. It can be said that the activity of Turkish foreign policy has revolved around Cyprus and studies in other fields have developed as branches of this issue. Because Cyprus, Turkey's vital and national issue, has been the focus of its national interests.

The second important element of Turkish foreign policy is relations with the United States. Looking at the last 20 years, Turkish-American relations have shown a changing structure within the framework of the course of the Cyprus Issue. The Cyprus Issue has always been the cornerstone of Turkish-Greek relations. The United States, on the other hand, gave equal weight to Greece and Turkey. This policy of the USA has created an alarming problem that has shaken Turkish-American relations from time to time.

It is for these reasons that Turkey-US relations will be severely shaken in the 1964 and 1974 Cyprus crises (Armaoğlu, 2007: 783). After the 1974 Cyprus invasion, the West's attitude towards Turkey and the cooling of Turkish-American relations with the 1975 embargo caused Turkey to attach more importance to its relations with the Soviet Union as well as the Middle East states (Arı, 2008: 376). In this context, the Cyprus issue has shaped Turkey-US relations, and the shape of these relations, in a way, has shaped Turkey-Soviet Union relations. It should be known that the Johnson Letter was influential in the positive development of Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union since the end of 1964 (Armaoğlu, 2007: 784).

On the other hand, in the gradual development of Turkish-Arab relations in the 70s; The oil crisis that emerged as a result of the oil embargo implemented by the Union of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries due to the tension between Turkey and the West due to the Cyprus Issue, the economic depression and the West's support for Israel were influential (Ferhavi, 2012). It is also claimed that the main reason for the significant improvement in Turkish-Arab relations in the 1970s was economic factors (Sander, 1998: 227). The rise in oil prices and the 1973 War strengthened the international position of the Arabs. The oil crisis also affected Turkey, and Turkey wanted to get closer to the Arabs economically (Nurettin, 2005: 179-180) and started to develop its relations with oil producing states, especially Iraq, for its oil needs (Kirişçi, 2002: 54; Martin, 2002). : 237-238). In this respect, the policy followed by Turkey in this period with new motives such as the "oil/trade" factor, which was partially added to the Cyprus main factor, became the continuation and development of its post-1965 policy. This policy can be defined as pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli, active participation in the Islamic Conference, and rapprochement with oil producer/rich Arab states in order to meet Turkey's oil and foreign exchange needs (Çetinsaya, 1998: 50).

As a matter of fact, Israel is the main factor in the relations between Turkey and the Middle East states. His relations with Israel improved to the extent that he could get closer to the Arabs. However, it should be known that the main issue that leads Turkey to approach the Arabs first is that the Arabs stand by Turkey on the Cyprus issue and especially in the UN. When the Arab countries established a link between the Cyprus issue and the Israel issue, Turkey had to reshape its Israeli policy and the 1967 Arab-Israeli war enabled the first application of this new policy (Armaoğlu, 2007: 784).

In the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Turkey continued its policy of supporting the Arabs (Turkmen, 2010: 22). Turkey in this war; It welcomed the political support requests of Egypt and Syria and acted together with the Arab states at the UN. While it did not allow the US to use Incirlik Air Base during the war, it opened its airspace to the Soviet planes that went to help Syria (Demir, 2011: 707). Arabs did not remain indifferent to this support, and OPEC members declared that Turkey would be exempted from oil export restrictions (Türkmen, 2010: 22).

On the other hand, emphasizing the view that Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories in order to achieve peace in the Middle East, Turkey also reduced its political and economic relations with Israel. On the other hand, Arabs and Muslims sided with Turkey after the Cyprus invasion and the American embargo. Aid from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Pakistan and Libya struggled for many years in order to prove its depth in the Turkish public, which was disappointed with the attitude of the USA in this crisis. Cyprus would have become one of the Greek islands today had it not been for Turkey's aid and its brave resistance and the successful landing of the Turkish Armed Forces in July 1974.

The Cyprus problem is one of the chronic issues, such as the Palestine, Kashmir, Filipino Muslims issues, where all the evidence points out that the stance of the Turks there is justified.

British historian Arnold Toynbee; "Right and wrong exist in Palestine as in other places. While the world listened to the murderer, it remained deaf to the victim." The word is appropriate for the situation of the Turkish Cypriots (Hatit: 3).

Since its establishment, the State of Saudi Arabia has spent its power and revenues to serve Islam (Alshamri, 2010: 2).² The World Islamic Union Organization (DİBÖ) (Rabitatü'l Alem-i Islam) and OIC can be cited as examples of these organizations. The Saudi Government has hosted these organizations in its own country (Alshamri, 2010: 2).

In Turkish-Saudi relations, close relations have been experienced since 1932, as well as periods of coldness. But the most important reality in relations is that the relations are not completely broken. Various regional events even brought about rapprochement. The most important of these is the Saudi Government's support to the Turkish Cypriots, against the Cyprus crisis and the West's attitude towards Turkey in this crisis. This attitude deeply affected the general understanding of Turkey and thus a new phase of positive relations began.³

Since the beginning of the events, the Saudi government and people have been closely interested in the problems of the Turkish Cypriots and extended a helping hand in the genocide they were exposed to (El-Abudi, 2009: 58).

Muhammed Safvet Es-Sakka Emini, one of the former Deputy Secretary Generals of DİBÖ, said the following regarding the Cyprus Issue: It is a matter of conspiracy. Undoubtedly, the owners of Cyprus, who defend the truth, were swept away between the hands of defeat and the axes of genocide. Brave and determined people are needed to illuminate this issue and reveal the hidden truths. Because these evidences show us the true face of Cyprus and the fact that it was one of the great provinces of the Islamic world at the time" (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 1).

The Saudi Kingdom approached the Turkish Cypriot issue in terms of Islamic solidarity. This meant supporting the will of the Turkish Cypriots towards the formation of a political structure. For this purpose, the Saudi Government supported the demands of the Turkish Cypriots at the UN. Again, the Saudi Government supported the Turkish Cypriots in gaining observer status in the OIC. In addition, DİBÖ encouraged Islamic countries to recognize the TRNC at its meeting in March 1987. While other members of the OIC called for the unity of Cyprus, Saudi Arabia became one of the few Islamic states that fully supported the Turkish Cypriots (Es-Saviğ, 1992: 154).

² Abdullah Bin Hacı Alshamri, "İni'kas El-Ezmet'ül Kıbrısıyye Ala El- Alakat Es- Suudiyye El- Türkiyye Fi Ahd El-Melik Halid Bin Abdülaziz 1975-1982", Kral Halid Bin Abdülaziz Al-i Suud Bilimsel Tarih Kongresine Sunulmuş İlmi Araştırma, 2010/1431 (Bu araştırmada, Kral Halid Devrinde (1975-1982) Kıbrıs meselesinin Türkiye-Suudi Arabistan münasebetlerine etkileri ele alınmakta, Suudi Hükümeti'nin meseleye çeşitli yönlerden yardımları belirtilmekte ve İslami dayanışma bakımından Kıbrıs Türkleri meselesine nasıl baktığı ortaya konmaktadır.)

³ Abdullah Bin Hacı Alshamri, "Gavl Fir-Riyad..Davetü'n Li Fehmi El-Vaki' Et-Türki El-Cedid", El-Cemiyye Et-Türkiyye El-Arabiyye Li'l- Ulum Es-Sekafe ve El-Fünun, "Çevrimiçi", <http://www.turkisharab.com/derasat/gulfiriyad.htm>, 16.06.2010.

While the Saudi Government approached the Cyprus issue with the understanding of Islamic solidarity, it also observed the following basic understanding: Cyprus is the common homeland of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who do not have minority or majority relations. Each of these elements is one of the two communities of Cyprus. The demands of the Turkish Cypriots to be treated on the same level as the Greek Cypriots and the demands for a solution to create a bi-zonal, bi-communal, united, federal Cyprus were supported. The Saudi Government has ignored Turkey's negative attitude in Arab and Islamic issues since 1923 and has supported the Turkish Cypriots to be in a political formation of their own, despite their privileged relations with Greece. Despite the emergence of many political, historical and cultural obstacles that prevent the development of Turkish-Saudi relations, the Saudis have supported the demands of the Turkish Cypriots in the UN platform since 1960 (Alshamri, 2010: 6). During his visit to Turkey in August 1966 upon the invitation of Cevdet Sunay, King Faisal expressed this issue and said: "The Saudi State has defended the right of the Turkish Cypriots to determine their own destiny, and has shown an attitude towards helping the Turks in the name of defending freedom, justice and truth. " The Saudi Government showed its feelings of brotherhood and friendship towards the Turkish Cypriots and did not see the Turkish Cypriots as a minority. The signing of political sensitivities here had a great impact on the development of bilateral relations. Many mutual visits were made between the authors and the intellectuals, and in parallel with the increase in the number of Saudi students studying at universities in Turkey, the number of Turkish students studying at Saudi universities also increased (Alshamri, 2010: 6-7).

5.1. Aid from Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Community in Cyprus

When we look at the Turkish-Arab relations, there is more confrontation and conflict. While Turkey was on the opposing front regarding the independence of Algeria, it supported Israel and Iran in economic matters and signed the "Triple Scalpel" Agreement with both states for cooperation in intelligence matters.

Due to this negative attitude of Turkey against the Arabs, most of the Arab states did not take sides with Turkey in the 1963-1964 Cyprus incidents, and they took a stand in favor of Makarios' policies. In addition, the fact that the West is on the side of Greece has increased the loneliness of Turkey.

The shape of Turkish-Arab relations until the mid-1960s; neglect, indifference and indifference. The Arabs saw Turkey as an element of the Western exploitation team and did not attach any importance to it. The reason for this situation is that in this period, the parties turned to two different and opposite paths (Alshamri, 2010: 8).

During the reign of King Khalid, many important regional events emerged: the Shah of Iran was overthrown, the Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979, the Russians began to invade Afghanistan in the same year, and the Iran-Iraq war broke out in September 1980. Meanwhile, in the Cyprus Issue that emerged, the West adopted a hostile attitude towards Turkey. The Saudi Government, on the other hand, stood by Turkey in the international arena on this issue, supported the Turkish attitude, and provided assistance to the Turkish Cypriot side. This attitude of the Saudi government has left deep traces on the Turkish people, especially on the intellectual class and on the Turkish state administrators. From this point of view, a new era began in the relations between the two countries, and Turkey felt the need to reconsider its policy towards Saudi Arabia. As a result, relations with Saudi Arabia were strengthened and a policy based on mutual friendship was developed. The parties participated in most of the activities related to the region and the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Countries was held in Istanbul on May 12, 1975 (Alshamri, 2010: 8-9).

5.2. Types of Aid provided by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots

Especially during the reign of King Khalid, the Saudi Government provided many aids to the Turkish Cypriots. Some of them are in the form of financial support of the Saudis to Cyprus. In addition, support was provided by humanitarian organizations affiliated to the UN, DİBÖ, OIC, Islamic Development Bank, Saudi Investment Fund and Saudi charities.

5.2.1. World Islamic Union

DİBÖ was established in accordance with the decision adopted at the General Islamic Conference held on 14 Dhu al-Hijjah 1381/18 May 1962. In the establishment agreement; "We will do our best to unite Muslims and we will eliminate the effects of the disintegration between Islamic societies in the world."

Headquartered in Mecca, DİBÖ has many offices in various countries around the world and has strong ties with Saudi Arabia. Therefore, since its establishment, Saudi Arabia has provided all kinds of financial and moral assistance to the work of the Organization. In order to realize its goals, DİBÖ deals with various issues such as Islamic solidarity, Islamic invitation, interest in the issues of the Islamic peoples, Jerusalem, Palestine Issue, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to these, there are also studies to follow Islamic issues in the international arena. Since its establishment, Saudi Arabia's aid to the organization, as the state and the people, has exceeded tens of billions of dollars. (Alshamri, 2010: 10).

The DİBÖ took a stance supporting the Turkish Cypriots, and with the statement at the 27th anniversary meeting held in Mina on March 20, 1986, Islamic countries were encouraged to recognize Northern Cyprus and engage in mutual commercial activities.

DİBÖ also sent delegations to Northern Cyprus, held talks with the authorities, examined the mosques destroyed in the Cyprus events and had many mosques built (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 180-181).

In addition to all these, DİBÖ re-discussed the Cyprus issue in its meetings in 1384 and 1386 Hijri, investigated the genocide and exiles perpetrated by the Greeks on the Turks, and sent a communiqué to the UN, Islamic and Arab countries, humanitarian and state organizations to do their humanitarian duty to save the Turks there. He also wrote a petition to the Saudi Government to provide financial support to the Turkish Cypriots. In the 16th meeting of the organization (Hijri 1394), this issue was brought to the agenda again, the genocide perpetrated by the Greeks against innocent Turks was severely condemned and the issue was seriously brought to the agenda in the press. DİBÖ also discussed the Cyprus Issue in its subsequent meetings (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 220-223).

The Secretary General made a visit to Cyprus at the beginning of Shawwal in 1398 Hijri to deliver the aid allocated by DİBÖ and discussed the two big mosque projects to be built in Lefkoşa and Kozyurt (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 223). In two important decisions adopted at the 20th meeting of DİBÖ, Islamic States were asked to reconsider their relations with the Greek Cypriot government and economic institutions in Arab and Islamic countries were asked to purchase the products they needed from Turkish Cypriots and to establish commercial relations with them (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982). : 223-224).

Again, in the 21st (Hijri 1399) meeting, the Cyprus issue was brought to the agenda and the previous decisions were emphasized again, the continuation of the aid given to the Turkish Cypriots to build their mosques, and the strong condemnation of the Universal Postal Union's decision that the Turkish Cypriot Government did not count the Postal Code (Es- Sakka Emini, 1982: 223-224).

In addition to all these, DİBÖ opened a permanent office in Mecca for Northern Cyprus, decided to give scholarships to Cypriot youth studying at Saudi Universities, and sent Islamic invitees to carry out activities in Cyprus. In addition, Turkish and English translations of the Holy Quran and religious books were presented to the Turkish Cypriots (Alshamri, 2010: 10-11).

5.2.2. Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)

Since its establishment, the OIC has emerged as one of the central organizations that have taken an important place in the international arena, due to the number of states, organizations and movements that have joined its body, and its positive effect in uniting the ranks of about ¼ of the international community (Hatit: 1).

The OIC supports the efforts of the Islamic peoples to preserve their independence, national rights and dignity.

This support gave great hope to the Turkish Cypriots and contributed to the courageous effort of Cyprus to preserve its existence and rights as one of the two communities. Perhaps their fate would have changed had it not been for this courageous opposition of the people, the aid provided by the Islamic countries to Turkey and the 1974 military intervention.

On the other hand, the Cyprus Issue has been on the agenda of the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Countries since 1975. Since the 3rd Islamic Summit held in Mecca in 1981, Cyprus has been involved in the proposals and negotiations of the leaders in the OIC (Alshamri, 2010: 11).

5.2.2.1. Saudi Arabia's Support to Cyprus at the Islamic Summit Conferences

III. Turkey participated with a delegation under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Bülent Ulusu. The Islamic Summit Conference was held on 25-28 January 1981 in Mecca and Taif (Soysal, 2000: 737). Although the Cyprus issue came to the agenda at this summit with the request of the Turkish delegation, Turkey did not present a draft resolution so that it would not affect the ongoing negotiations between the parties in Cyprus (Soysal, 2000: 738). In addition, for the first time and only once, Turkish Cypriots participating in the summit under the leadership of Denktaş were mentioned as the "Federated Turkish State of Cyprus" in the list of observer countries (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 402). This issue can be seen as a positive development according to the term "Cypriot Muslim Turkish Community" used until that time (Soysal, 2000: 738).

The Islamic Summit Conference was held in Casablanca, Morocco between 16-18 January 1984. At this summit, which was attended by the President for the first time from Turkey (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 404), President Evren was appointed as the chairman of the Economic and Commercial Cooperation Continuous Commission together with the Vice President of the conference (Soysal, 2000: 738). Turkish Cypriots participated in this summit as observers and the following statements were included in the 10th article of the final communiqué: "The conference members listened to Rauf Denktaş's speech about the Cyprus case with a sense of brotherhood and friendship, and the previous decisions regarding the Cyprus issue were re-expressed in the conference. Again, the support of the Turkish Cypriots for their just cause and their efforts to keep them at the same level with the Greek Cypriots were mentioned, and the feelings of mutual friendship were expressed. (Alshamri, 2010: 12).

The 5th Islamic Summit Conference was held in Kuwait between 26-29 January 1987 (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 407). In the final declaration of the summit, it was stated that the Turkish Cypriot people took part in the summit as observers, and in the 25th article of the declaration; It has been reported that Denktaş's speech in which he put forward the just cause of the Turkish Cypriots was heard, previous decisions on the Cyprus issue were emphasized, the support given by the UN Secretary was praised and the Secretary General presented his proposals within the framework agreement of March 1986. He also emphasized at the summit that the efforts to ensure that Turkish Cypriots obtain their rights and keep them on an equal footing with Greek Cypriots continue to be supported; A call to strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots was also made (Alshamri, 2010: 12).

5.2.2.2 Saudi Arabia's Support to Cyprus at the Conferences of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries

The issues of the Turkish Cypriot people were discussed with great care at the Conferences of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic States. Since 1975, this issue has been included in the negotiations and proposals of the foreign ministers, the Cyprus issue has been pointed out and a request has been made to understand and support the Cyprus cause.

At the 6th Foreign Ministers Conference held in Jeddah between 12-15 July 1975, Turkey took its place at the level of Minister of Foreign Affairs for the first time (Soysal, 2000: 748). Rauf Denktaş, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots and the Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus, made a speech for the first time at this conference, which has a special importance for Turkey (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397). In the conclusion statement of the conference; "The statement of Rauf Denktaş, Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus and Head of the Turkish Cypriot Community, was followed with attention and interest by the members of the delegation. It is stated that they are aware of the efforts made by the members of the conference to protect the legitimate interests of the Turkish community and, again, within the framework of the Federal Republic of Cyprus, to create an environment that is independent, sovereign, impartial, free from military bases, and where the Greek and Turkish communities live in peace and security, respecting each other's rights. been done." (Alshamri, 2010: 13).

The papers presented and the results obtained at the 7th Foreign Ministers Conference (Soysal, 2000: 748) convened in Istanbul between 12-15 May 1976 became a turning point in Turkey-OIC relations (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397). The name of the Turkish Cypriot People was also included among the partners in the Istanbul Conference (Alshamri, 2010: 13). In his speech here, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel expressed the Cyprus issue and talked about the difficulties faced by the Turkish Cypriots, while the Minister of Foreign Affairs Çağlayangil stated that he believed that the Cyprus issue could only be resolved through mutual negotiations (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397).

Denktaş, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots, also made a speech here and talked about the struggle of his people for their legitimate rights, dignity and honor in Cyprus. After the speech, the members took a decision on the Cyprus issue. In this decision, it was stated that within the framework of a bi-communal, impartial, independent republic with equal rights in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots have the right to have their voice heard in all international meetings where the Cyprus issue will be examined impartially. In addition, it was decided to invite the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot people to take part in the future Islamic Conference meetings (Alshamri, 2010: 13). Also at the conference, Fethi Tevetoğlu was appointed as the Deputy Secretary General of the OIC, thus Turkey had a say in the top management of the OIC (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397).

Meanwhile, during the Foreign Minister Çağlayangil's visit to Saudi Arabia, his Saudi counterpart, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, in his speech on March 28, 1977; He stated that the Foreign Ministers of the two countries agreed on the decision taken at the 7th Islamic Conference and expressed their satisfaction with the meeting between the leaders of the Turkish and Greek peoples (El-Abudi, 2009: 59).

At the 8th Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Countries held in Tripoli, the capital of Libya, between 11-14 May 1977, (Soysal, 2000: 748). In his speech, Muammer Gaddafi referred to the Cyprus issue and stated that a national and religious struggle continues in the region and that they have to make an effort to ensure equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in Cyprus (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 398). In the conference conclusion statement; At the conference, the speech of the Leader of the Turkish Cypriot Community, Rauf Denktaş, in which he talked about the struggle of his people to protect their honor and their legitimate rights, was carefully listened to. It is stated that it is supported

in ensuring its neutrality and the security of its lands (Alshamri, 2010: 14). In addition, the decision titled "The Cyprus Question and the Turkish Cypriot Community"; He called on all OIC members to take the necessary measures to strengthen and expand the solidarity with the Turkish Cypriot people (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 398).

The 9th Islamic Conference was held in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, between 24-28 April 1978 (Soysal, 2000: 748) In his speech here, Rauf Denktaş thanked all member states for supporting the just struggle of the Turkish Cypriot community (İhsanoğlu, 1994). : 398-399). In the 12th article of the conference's final statement; The members listened to the speech of the leader of the Turkish Cypriot people, Denktaş, with feelings of brotherhood, and Denktaş, in this speech, talked about the struggle of the oppressed people to reach a just and permanent solution, and pointed out the establishment of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal system for the settlement of the Cyprus issue, It was reported that he expressed his appreciation and thanks to the member states for their support to the Turkish Cypriots in their struggle. In the decisions taken at the 7th and 8th Term meetings held in 1976-1977, the reconciliation between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus in February 1977 was mentioned, the satisfaction of the Turkish side's determined stance for the resumption of the talks between the parties was expressed, and the talks between the parties were constructive. and the hope of a fruitful resumption without delay was expressed, and it was stated that the principle of equality between the two sides within the framework of the federal government was supported, and that the conference members were encouraged to do all necessary work to strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots (Alshamri, 2010: 14).

In his speech at the 10th Islamic Conference (Soysal, 2000: 748) convened in Fez, Morocco between 8-12 May 1979, Denktaş called on the member states to increase their political and economic support to the Muslim Turkish community (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 399). In the final declaration of the conference, it was mentioned that the economic and political support of the member states to the Turkish Cypriot Community was increased, a call was made to oppose the economic embargo applied to the Turkish society, and it was decided that the Muslim people would help the Turkish Cypriots in their legitimate struggle (Alshamri, 2010: 15).

The 11th Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Countries (Soysal, 2000: 748), held in Islamabad between 17-22 May 1980, approved new measures to be taken for solidarity with the Turkish Cypriot people, and its member states were encouraged to further strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots. By encouraging them to take all necessary measures, he invited them to use all the means at their disposal to ensure that they benefit from the international aid coming to the Island, and asked the Islamic Development Bank to support the economy of the Turkish Cypriots (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 401).

Solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots was confirmed in the declarations of the 1981 (Baghdad/Iraq), 1982 (Niamey/Niger) and 1983 (Dhaka/Bangladesh) Conferences (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 403).

In the conclusions of the 1984 (Sana), 1986 (Morocco), 1988 (Riyadh) and 1990 (Cairo) Conferences, in which the Turkish Cypriot Community participated as an observer; The hope that the mediation efforts of the UN Secretary-General to find a permanent and just solution to the Cyprus Problem will result, were expressed. was found (Hatite: 12-14).

As a result; The Islamic Conferences, besides their rightful wishes, did not exceed the limit of sentimentality towards the words of the Turkish Cypriot community and supported the efforts and steps taken to prevent the Cyprus issue from reaching more serious dimensions. This attitude has left deep traces in many ways (Hatite: 16).

5.2.3. Islamic Development Bank

At the end of the Islamic Countries Finance Ministers Conference held in Jeddah on 15-16 December 1973, it was decided to establish a bank in order to promote economic cooperation among Islamic states (Oguz and Orsan, 1975: 116). The headquarters of the Islamic Development Bank is in Jeddah. The Bank carries out its activities in accordance with Islamic principles in order to ensure the economic development of Islamic countries. For this purpose, Turkish Cypriots obtained a significant share of the Bank's aid (Alshamri, 2010: 15-16).

5.2.4. Saudi Development Fund

The Saudi Development Fund, which was established in 1397/1977 with a capital of 10 billion Riyals in order to support the economic and social efforts of the developing countries, has increased its capital to 25 billion Riyals since 1981 in order to meet the increasing needs of the third world countries. The Fund constitutes one of the main development channels through which the Saudi Government transfers its foreign aid (Salam from Saudi Arabia, 1986: 11).

The Saudi Development Fund has provided various assistance to the Turkish Cypriots. Among these, the construction of the road between Nicosia (Nicosia) and Girne Harbor and the construction of the Selimiye Mosque on the Famagusta (Famagusta) road can be mentioned (Alshamri, 2010: 15-16).

All this shows how Saudi Arabia provides assistance to the Turkish Cypriots politically, economically and morally. This attitude created results that enabled the development of Turkish-Saudi relations. This has had repercussions in helping the Turkish Cypriot community, and progress has been made in improving relations between Turkey and Islamic countries. All these have caused Turkey to reconsider its relations with the West. As Russia, America and European states took the Greek side against the Turkish Cypriots, a period of coldness began in Turkish-Israeli relations.

In particular, King Khalid contributed to the improvement of Turkish-Saudi relations and Turkey participated in most of the activities of the OIC. (Alshamri, 2010: 16-17).

The contribution of the support given by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots during the reign of King Khalid to the Turkish-Saudi relations can be explained as follows:

1. His help to the Turkish Cypriot community during the Cyprus crisis in 1974 during the reign of King Khalid had a very positive resonance in the Turkish public opinion. As a result of this situation, Turkey started to support Arab issues, take part in the activities of the World Islamic Union and the Islamic Conference, and hosted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries held in Istanbul on May 12, 1975 for the first time. The conference was an opportunity to reveal the Turkish thoughts about the Saudi Government. Again, Saudi Arabia's attitude towards helping the Turkish Cypriots in various ways can be added to this. Thus, this open attitude displayed at the international level has led to the improvement of the cultural relations between Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

2. The Saudi Government has shown its feelings of friendship and brotherhood to the Turkish Cypriots and supported the Turkish view in the solution of the Cyprus problem, which is based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal state. In addition, it supported the wishes of the Turkish Cypriots in the UN platform and helped them to participate in the Islamic Conferences as an observer. Saudi Arabia has been one of the few Muslim states to contribute fully and continuously to the problems of the Turkish Cypriots.

3. Saudi Arabia openly supported the aspirations of Turkish Cypriots and helped to equate them with Greek Cypriots, despite its special relations with Greece and Turkey's negative stance on the Palestinian issue and Arab issues. In this way, he showed his feelings of friendship and brotherhood to the Turkish Cypriots.

4. The Saudi Government has stood by the Turkish Cypriots in the international arena so that they can get their right in aids to Cyprus. He supported the efforts of the UN Secretariat General in the mediation task given by the UN Security Council, and argued that the Turkish Cypriots have the right to express their opinions in the international community where the Cyprus issue is discussed. It contributed to the demands of the OIC member countries to increase the solidarity and support with the Turkish Cypriots, and brought the establishment of a fund to provide economic aid to the Turkish Cypriots.

5. Many benefits have been achieved with the improvement of Turkish-Saudi relations. Among these benefits can be noted membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. This situation helped Turkey to re-balance in the international arena. The OIC was instrumental in Rauf Denktaş, the Leader of the Turkish Cypriots, in explaining the views of the Turkish side in the meetings he attended. As a result of enabling the OIC to get to know the Arab and Palestinian causes closely, Turkey has effectively supported the Arab view at the UN.

6. In the face of the West's hostile attitude towards Turkey, Saudi Arabia's aid to the Turkish Cypriots initiated an atmosphere of cultural and religious revival in Turkey and thus had an impact on Turkey's domestic situation. In this environment, Turkey felt the need to reconsider its attitude towards the Arab cause, and Turkish intellectuals who were pro-European Union and defended Western values suffered a blow and were disappointed in the practice of democracy, liberalism and freedom. In addition, the USA, together with the Western powers, began to put pressure on Turkey to make concessions in Cyprus. This contradiction has led to a deepening of the depression among the secular intellectuals in Turkey.

The aid provided by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots has had a very positive effect on the Turkish society. This aid has also been instrumental in Turkey-Saudi Arabia strategic solidarity (Alshamri, 2010: 17-19).

The interest in the Turkish Cypriot cause continues at all levels. In this regard, Saudi Arabia has published many articles and books reflecting Turkey's point of view. In addition to spiritual aid, Saudi Arabia contributed to the repair of many mosques damaged in the war.

At the World Islamic Press Preparatory Conference organized by DİBÖ in the capital of TRNC, Nicosia, between 21-23 July 1979/26-28 Recep 1399; Establishing a temporary general secretariat for the Islamic Press under the umbrella of DİBÖ, opening Islamic journalism departments in Islamic Universities and training trained master Muslim journalists, establishing a news center, researching the possibilities of publishing daily newspapers or weekly-monthly magazines in different languages that will be published on the same day in Islamic and world centers important decisions such as

The General Secretariat of DİBÖ conveyed these decisions to all members and relevant places (Es-Sakka Emîni, 1982: 215-216). In addition, efforts were made to introduce the Cyprus issue to the Islamic world and to gain the support of this world. (Al-Abudi, 2009: 60). This conference has very positive effects on the Turkish Cypriots, as well as promoting the Cyprus issue and breaking the press embargo created to hide the truth in this issue (Milliyet, 22 February 1984: 7; Tercüman, 22 February 1984: 10).

During the official negotiations that started on February 22, Turkey once again expressed its satisfaction with the friendly attitude of the Saudi Government on the Cyprus issue (Hürriyet, February 23, 1984: 13).

When Fahd and Evren started bilateral talks, Vahit Halefoğlu also met with his counterpart, Prince Faysal. After the meeting, Halefoğlu stated to the Turkish press that there was great affinity between

the views of the two sides, and that he once again told Faisal about the talks in Cyprus and the reasons for the proclamation of the TRNC (Hürriyet, 23 February 1984: 13).

During Evren's meetings in Saudi Arabia, the Turkish delegation had the opportunity to first-hand explain the situation in Cyprus and the reasons for the proclamation of the TRNC to their Saudi counterparts, and also expressed their satisfaction with the friendly attitude of the Saudi Government on the Cyprus issue.

Conclusion

Turkish-Saudi relations have fluctuated between coldness and closeness since 1932. One of the reasons for this situation is the system on which both states are based. While the new Turkey was a republic founded on the foundation of secularism and separated religion and state affairs, Saudi Arabia was established as a monarchy based on sharia. But these fundamental differences did not harm the relations. Perhaps the most typical feature of the relations between Turkey and Saudi Arabia is that although there was a long period of suspicion between the two countries, there was never a complete break in relations. Moreover, some regional events have even brought about a convergence in political relations due to the bilateral interests of both states. The most important thing that brings convergence in bilateral relations is the fact that Saudi Arabia is on the side of Turkey and helps the Turkish Cypriots in the face of the Cyprus crisis and the attitude of the West against Turkey in this crisis. This attitude of the Saudi Government has deeply affected the general view of Turkey and thus a new era of good relations has begun. Especially between 1974-1978, Turkey, which was left alone by applying an economic embargo due to the Cyprus Peace Operation, turned its direction to the Middle East countries as an alternative to the West.

There is a historical cooperation between Turkey and Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia has strongly supported Turkey, especially regarding Turkey's national issue, Cyprus.

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