REMARKS BY AKP ELECTORAL PROGRAM ON RELATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE ARAB WORLD AND ISLAM

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In his article published on the official website of "The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation," ¹ historian, expert Dr. Basheer M. Nafi addresses to The Justice and Development (AKP)² party's authorities elected in Turkey, as result of parliamentary elections, November 3, 2002: "In the modern world the AKP brought a fresh look on being a Muslim. In terms of Islam, it was a new start in the region. In 2002

¹For more detail on the fields and goals of the Foundation, see the relevant section of the official web page of the Foundation, http://arsiv.setav.org/en/about.aspx [available on 24.02.2016]:

²On January 16, 1998 the Turkish Constitutional Court banned the activities of the "Prosperity" party (Refahpartisi). This resulted in the emergence of the "National View" movement, which included strong supporters of innovation, and they gathered around the Virtue Party (Faziletpartisi). June 22, 2001 onwards the activities of the Virtue Party were also terminated. The group of innovators, on the initiative of Abdullah Gul, started a new political force, the Justice and Development party. Recep Tayyip Erdogan also was involved in the establishment of the AKP, who was serving a sentence in a Turkish prison not long ago prior to the establishment of the party. To learn more about the history of the Justice and Development party, see Ruben Safrastyan, Ruben Melkonyan, Arthur Dumanyan, Vahram Ter-Matevosyan, Hakob Chakryan, Anush Hovhannisyan, History of Turkish Republic, 2014:308-313, 319-353, 366-367, Yalçın Akdoğan, AK Parti ve muhafazakâr demokrasi, 2004

parliamentary elections, the success recorded by The Justice and Development was gently welcomed both in the world and Arab World."³

In 2002 parliamentary elections, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) recorded 34, 29% of votes, which paved a path to form the Turkish government solely without other political force. Ever since it has been established, AKP is perceived as a conservative party, with moderate Islamic and economic liberal values. Internationally, AKP is defined as "moderate Islamic, and leaders thereof prefer calling it democratic-conservative."⁴

With the described system of values, the political party acting in a country where the vast majority of the population is Muslim⁵, has repeatedly expressed its position on Islam, and its relations with Islamic countries. In spite of the fact, that after the establishment of republican regime, the ruling party mostly framed its foreign policy based on the western values, and the relations of Turkey were with the countries of western values. In the course of the history, Turkish ruling parties of all time have always had a special attitude to the Arab World and particularly the relations of Turkey with several countries of Arab World. There are some psychological reasons; republican Turkish authorities do not seem to put up with the fact that the Ottoman Empire no longer exists. They act as sultans and viziers of the Empire, who used to bear responsibility for a part of Arab World and people's faith.Moreover, the Republican Turkey has always strived to serve a bridge for Muslim and Christian worlds, for Islam and Christianity. These features describe the Justice and Development Party and its delegates as well. AKP's attitude towards Islam and the Arab countries of Middle East was specifically featured in the electoral programs

³http://arsiv.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=50663&q=araplar-ve-modern-turkiye-algilari-degistirme-zamani [available on 24.02.2016]

⁴Ruben Safrastyan, Ruben Melkonyan, Arthur Dumanyan, Vahram Ter-Matevosyan, Hakob Chakryan, Anush Hovhannisyan, History of Turkish Republic, 2014:366.

⁵Detailed data about Turkey's Muslim population and more comprehensive statistics, see Ali Çarkoğlu, Binnaz Toprak, Değişen Türkiye'de din, toplum ve siyaset, 2006.

of 2002, 2007, 2011, 2015(x2). It should be mentioned though, that AKP's standpoint and approach towards this issue summarized in the electoral programs, does not fully express the reality. Instead, a mere statement made by AKP high-rank authority, may give a much broader image describing this or that process within the country. Nevertheless, all AKP electoral programs somehow address Islam and the relations with the Arab countries.

Elections 2002: The Justice and Development came up with its first electoral program for the parliamentary elections scheduled on November 3, 2012⁶. The references to Islam were not very intensive, and the relations with Arab World are specifically described in the Foreign Policy chapter. Moreover, parallel to this, the program specially addressed Central Asian Muslim, and Turkic-speaking states. Here we can see a number of remarkable formulations. Prior to 2002 elections, the Justice and Development party portrayed itself not as a radical opposition political force, but at least as a political party that was openly criticizing several processes and phenomena in Turkey, was speaking about those things, by expressing its readiness to solve them. This discontent was accompanied also in the case of Turkey's relations with the Turkic states of Central Asia, the Arab and Muslim countries. The abovementioned was clearly revealed in the Foreign Policy chapter of 2002 AKP electoral program. "Despite the economic, cultural and social similarities among Central Asia and us, the truth is that

⁶Since May 2002, Turkey has been facing political tensions. The domestic situation required concrete solutions. This became possible after snap parliamentary elections. The decision to hold snap election in Turkey was made on July 31, 2002, Turkish Grand National Assembly session. The Majlis decided to hold elections on 3rd November, 2002. The official reason for holding early presidential elections was the deterioration of President Bulent Ecevit's health condition. Political parties expressed their concern regarding the President's health, and voiced their anxiety about the President's age, and due to his age, his health wouldn't fully improve. Henceforth, Ecevit would not be able to carry out his duties properly. During the GNAT session held on July 31, 449 deputies among the 514 voted in favor of the decision of holding snap elections. For more details about 2002 November elections, see Erol Tuncer, Coşkun Kasapbaş, Bülent Tuncer, 3 Kasım 2002 milletvekili genel seçimleri: sayısal ve siyasal değerlendirme, 2003.

Turkey did not fulfill the expectations that exist in the relations with those countries."⁷ The Middle East chapter of the abovementioned program reads: "The bloodshed in the Middle East caused sadness and concern both to the international community, and to the Turkish society linked to that area in terms of culture and history. The AKP strongly believes that the only way to stop the religious and national discriminations, blood and tears shed regardless the ethnicity, is the rapid establishment of durable peace."⁸ The paragraph is directly followed by the relations with the Islamic countries: "Our party highly values the relations between Turkey and Islamic countries. No efforts will be saved to develop bilateral cooperation with those countries from one hand, and to turn the "Islamic Cooperation" organization⁹ into a dynamic structure with its own initiative, holding a higher place in international arena."

Elections 2007: The results of 2002 November elections and the subsequent period inspired a unique confidence to the Justice and Development party. Parallel to its actions the party made clear its approaches and position to various issues. In spite of the complicated domestic situation¹⁰, which served a ground for snap elections on July 22 of

⁷2002 AKP election program, p. 133-134.

⁸2002 AKP election program, p.134.

⁹The organization was founded on August 21, 1969, in Rabat, capital of Morocco. After the 38th summit of Foreign Ministers of the member states of the organization, held in Astana 2011, a decision was made about renaming the organization. It is now called "The Organization of Islamic Cooperation," Arabic: منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي. Currently there are 57 member states comprising the union of Islamic states, and Bosnia Herzegovina, Central African Republic, Thailand, Russia and the unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [It is noteworthy, that the Turkish unrecognized republic initially joined the organization as a "Muslim minority", then "Cyprus Turkish State"]have a status of observer. To see more about the organization, see Noor Ahmad Baba, Organization of Islamic Conference: Theory and Practice Pan-Islamic Cooperation, 1994. of http://www.mfa.gov.tr/islam-isbirligi-teskilati.tr.mfa [available on 26.02.2016]

¹⁰One of the reasons of political tensions in Turkey in 2007 was the ceremony of 10th Turkish President's term in office on May 16, 2007. Prior to this, various political forces were worried because AKP had an intention to nominate the AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan as a presidential candidate after the completion of Sezer's term in office. To

the same year, the AKP took part in the elections with high self-assurance and recorded 46,58% votes.¹¹Prior to elections, the party came up with an extended and detailed election program that covered almost all sectors of Turkish domestic and foreign policy. It is worth to mention, that the 2007 election program was the only one to address the religion with a separate sub-title. The content is predominantly propaganda and aims to capture the social groups mostly cherishing the religious values. Moreover, the chapter clearly states that the ruling party strongly emphasizes the importance of religion as well as the Turkish Ministry coordinating and managing the religious issues.¹²"Justice and Development Party attaches great importance to religious services for the provision of moral and spiritual values, national solidarity and unity. During our tenure we have provided any possible assistance to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, with a view to conduct proper religious services."¹³In contrast to the 2002 election platform which was less focused on the Turkish foreign policy, whereas the 2007 election program extensively speaks about the goals of Turkey across the platforms overseas.

prevent this, in the beginning of 2007, several rallies were held in a number of major cities of Turkey, under "Be the owner of the state" slogan. As a result of such developments, on April 24, 2007, AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan nominated Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul, elected deputy from Kayseri, as a candidate on behalf of AKP. AKP was unable to provide sufficient quota in Mejlis, because of boycotting the GNAT sessions of the Republican People's (the session had to be attended by 367 deputies). In order to solve the issue, AKP decided to hold snap elections. All the political forcesvoted in favor of this decision. As a result of the elections, GNAT parliamentary mandates were distributed in a new principle. "The nationalist Movement Party" was established, which made it possible to provide the necessary quota for presidential elections. Abdullah Gul undertook the Presidential duties on August 28, 2007. For further details about 2007 elections, see Ali Çarkoğlu, A new electoral victory for the 'pro-Islamists' or the 'new centre-right'? The justice and development party phenomenon in the July 2007 parliamentary elections in Turkey //South European Society & Politics, 2007, T. 12, Ne 4:501-519.

¹¹For more detailed statistics of 2007 parliamentary elections in Turkey, see the official website of Higher Electoral Commission.

http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/Haberler/22temmuz2007.html[available on 24.02.2016]

¹²To learn more about the history of Turkey's religious affairs ministry, see İştar Tarhanlı, Müslüman toplum "laik" devlet: Türkiye'de Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1993.

¹³2007 AKP election program, p. 121

The ruling party sets 4 major principles regarding its purposes to be achieved in the Middle East.

1. Principle of Trust: Concept and system of comprehensive security for everyone living in the region.

2. Political Principle: Formation of political systems that will promote the peaceful resolution of the crisis.

3. Economic Principle: Fair distribution of resources upon common economic interest.

4. Cultural Principle: Side by side, without clashes, protection and development of values and structures providing the existence of various ethnic and religious identities.¹⁴

The AKP 2007 election platform emphasized Iraq¹⁵. This time also, the chapter mostly contained propaganda and aims to introduce Turkey an ally that was largely concerned about its neighbors' destiny.

Elections 2011: By the initiative of the AKP, on October 27, 2007, Turkey held a referendum on constitutional reforms. The 68, 95% voters were for the proposed package of changes.¹⁶ The modified constitution invigorated several draft laws proposed by AKP.¹⁷ As a result of those reforms, on June 12, 2011 parliamentary elections took place in Turkey, which were the first ones to be held as snap elections. 49,83% votes¹⁸ of AKP set an electoral recordsince the party's establishment. This was a thriving era for AKP, which resulted in the manifestation of unlimited

¹⁴Ibid. p 242

¹⁵Ibid. p 243

¹⁶To learn more about series of elections held under the rule of the Justice and Development party, see http://www.takvim.com.tr/secim-sonuclari[available on 26.02.2016]

¹⁷The new version of Constitution incorporated a number of changes for various laws. One of the most important change defined that parliamentary elections were to be held every four year, the President was to be elected by popular vote (based on this revision, on August 10, 2014, Recep Tayyip Erdogan was elected a President of Turkey by popular vote). To learn more about constitutional reforms, see Bülent Yavuz, 2007 Anayasa Değişikliğinin Doğurduğu Tereddütler ve ÇözümYolları, 2008.

¹⁸http://www.takvim.com.tr/secim-sonuclari [available on 26.02.2016]

power by the senior officials and even in the emergence of their imperial sentiment, which was characteristic of the Ottoman Empire sultans and veziers. In this reality AKPs thought they had a super power in Turkey, no force or factor could impede their advancement. It would be fair to mention, that such standpoints were not far from reality. Indeed, there were no sufficient political authority and the public support enjoyed by any other force, or at least pretended to counterbalance the ruling party application competition. The sentiments of this period served a ground for several developments following the 2011 elections. They would come to show imperialistic tendencies of Turkish authorities and regular manifestations of political Islam. Such sentiments were somehow revealed also in 2011 electoral program: "Neither in Balkans, nor in Middle East has Turkey role of not a foreign or artificial player. It is the important part of this region."19With such formulations AKP was trying to make clear that the party's vision of the Middle East region and Turkey is no less important to Turkey's relations with these countries. Those relations are no less important than Turkey's relations with the West. In the most successful section, the party expresses its expectations in the context of its relations with the Middle East. "Our goal is to ensure that Turkish citizens can leisurely stroll in the Middle East, establish trade relations, implement joint projects with partners. Similarly, we will continue to take steps to make sure the peoples of the Middle East consider Turkey as trade, diplomacy, an important center of education and culture."20In the mention period, Turkey expressed a serious bid assuming the role of defender of the rights of Muslims all over the world. These ambitious goals are also reflected in the party's election program: "We openly declare that Islamophobia is a human sin. In the recent years in international arena we have determinedly fought

¹⁹2011 AKP election program, p. 280.

²⁰Ibid, p. 281.

Islamophobia, which is a manifestation of discrimination against Muslim communities living as minorities."²¹

Almost half of the votes of Turkish electorate in 2011elections resulted in a robust confidence within the party. Moreover, great-imperial sentiments gradually emerged among the top leadership of the party. The AKP began to value some things that were significant to the Ottoman Empire. The religion started to gain a higher importance, compared to the past. In particular, in 2012 Turkish schools, in addition to compulsory program on "religious culture and moral knowledge" a new elective subject was added which was devoted to religion²². The students had to choose between these three options, "The Koran", "About the Life of Prophet Muhammad," "Basics of Religion. Another fact proves the imperial ambitions of the Justice and Development party. In 2012, an agreement was signed between the Turkish Ministry of National Education and "Donation" Foundation²³, according to which the Ottoman language classes were to be held for everyone by state assistance funding. In 2014, not satisfied with this, the Ministry extended the contract for another five years. At the end of the same year, the Ministry of National Education made a decision to include the Ottoman language program among the elective subjects of the high school, and in Imam Habits²⁴it was among the mandatory teaching subjects.

²¹Ibid, p. 275.

²²Turkish society attaches much importance to religions classes. The necessity of religious has been debated continuously throughout the course of state's history. The 24th article of the Basic Law of Turkey Article established the mandatory teaching and learning the religion in state institutions. To learn more about religious classes inTurkey, see Mehmet Bahçekapılı, Yeni Eğitim Sisteminde Seçmeli Din Dersleri: İmkânlar, Fırsatlar, Aktörler, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri", 2013.

²³To learn more about "Donation Foundation", see

http://hayratvakfi.org/index.php/2015/01/31/hayrat-vakfi-hakkinda/ [available on 29.02.2016]

²⁴The issue of Imam Habits, i.e. religious schools is also largely discussed in Turkish domestic political life. The ruling Justice and Development party openly supported those institutions. It is worth to mention, that 11th President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan is

AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan started demonstrating a behaviour appropriate to Ottoman Empire sultans and their way ofthinking. This got a stronger emphasis after he was elected the President of the Republic of Turkeyback in 2014. Media and a variety of analytical frameworks spread an opinion that he had lost his sense of reality. Namely, during the official guest reception ceremony, Erdogan's old honor guard was joined by a new one made up of 16 men in campy medieval costumes, "each guard meant to represent the costumes and weapons of each of 16 Turkish states which existed in the course of Turkish history.²⁵

Prior to 2015 parliamentary elections, tone of the major domestic development in Turkey was "Interrogation on December 17" or "Corruption Scandal" ²⁶ caused a serious blowout to the reputation of Justice and Development party and personally to Erdogan. However, the authorities were able to adequately represent themselves in the local government

also a graduate of one of these religious schools. To learn more about Imam Habits, see http://www.imamhatipokullari.org/tarihce.html [available on 29.02.2016]

²⁵According to the Turkish historiography, the history of 16 Turkic states covers the state established by Lame (Lank) Temur, and it end with Ottoman empire. Full list of 16 Turkic states and further details can be found here: http://www.tccb.gov.tr/cumhurbaskanligi/resmisimgeler/fors/ [available on 29.02.2016]

²⁶One of the scandals closely related to Turkey's justice system is considered to be "Interrogation on December 17" or "Corruption Scandal". On December 17, 2013, more than 50 people were arrested in Turkey, which was followed by mass dismissals of police officials involved in the investigation of these cases. This is considered a step made on behalf of the Turkish government in response to the actions of the law enforcement bodies. During the large-scale actions in Istanbul, the sons of the following people were arrested: Minister of Economy Zafer Caglayan, Ministry of Interior Muammer Guler, Erdogan Bayraktar, as well as Azerbaijani businessman Reza Zarraban of Iranian origin, Executive Director of state "Halkbank" Süleyman Aslan, and others. They are accused of construction works implemented against bribe, and other financial transactions. In the scope of the case, it was reported that the police had wiretapped the phones of the Turkish President and Prime Minister. 25 among the arrested ones were taken to custody, and the rest were released. The arrests were carried out by members of the Gulen movement. To learn more about Gulen movement, see David Tittensor, The House of Service: The Gulen Movement and Islams Third Way, 2014, Hakan Yavuz, Toward an Islamic Enlightenment: The Gülen Movement, 2013.

elections in Turkey held the following year. Yet again, they made an impressive victory.²⁷

Elections 2015: On August 27, 2014 in the Grand National Assembly of the Justice and Development party, Ahmed Davutoglu was elected the leader of this political party. The next day, on August 28, he was appointed the Turkish Prime-minister, and took the responsibility to establish the 62nd government of Turkey. In stipe of the fact, that both the government and the Justice and Development party were under the disposal of the President Erdogan came to explain that by managing those two positions, would de facto assume that the responsibility of any step made by the Turkish government laid on Erdogan. This also contained a psychological element: After a decade-long period the party was to be led and directed to parliamentary elections not by Tayyip Erdogan, but Davutoglu.

As a result of June 7, 2015 parliamentary elections, none of the political forces was able to register such amount of votes²⁸, which would enable to form the Turkish government alone without any other political force. Given the situation in the country, the political parties either had to agree to form a coalition government, or early elections had to be held in Turkey. Justice and Development party did not put up with the idea of sharing the power with anyone, and on November 1st, 2015snap elections were held in the country. As a result of November elections, AKP succeeded in receiving a respective vote to be able to form a government in the country.²⁹

²⁷As a result of 2014 elections of local governments in Turkey, the Justice and Development party received 43, 39% vote of confidence.

²⁸As a result of June 7, 2015 parliamentary elections in Turkey, 4 political parties were represented in Mejlis of the country. The votes were distributed as follows: The Justice and Development party 40,87%, the Republican People's party 24,95%, the National Movement party 16, 29%, the People's Democratic party 13,12%.

²⁹As a result of November 1, 2015 parliamentary elections, the same 4 political parties gained the right to participate in the activities of Turkish Grand National Assembly. The votes of the abovementioned parties were distributes as follows: the ruling Justice and

Although prior to 2015 November elections, Justice and Development party came up with a new election program, the program was the duplicate that of made for June elections. Both June and November election programs, were same in chapters, titles, and content. And only minor changes were made and a few additions were incorporated. Mainly the basic principles and ideology of the party were repeated in the program. Although the international community was largely focused on such development as the Syrian crisis³⁰, Islamic State terrorist organization, the centennial of the Armenian Genocide, the Justice and Development party referred to them by only a few general sentences. Moreover, the party continued to act as an advocate and guardian of the Islamic world, as it has been throughout the history of the party.

Summarizing the rulling period of Justise and Development party, it is worth quoting the graduate Doctor of International Relations Faculty, Marmara University of Istanbul, AKP leader Ahmet Davutoglu's student Behlul Ozkan Assistant Professot at the same University: "Without any hesitationthe Justice and Development Party is a movement beyond and against Islam. It is beyond Islam,for according to Islamic laws it is a sin for a servant (meaning an ordinary mortal- H.D.) to be guided by the Constitution or laws or rule the society. Constitution of Islam is The Koran, and no other law but Shariah can be executed"³¹

Development party 49,50%, the Republican People's party 25,32%, the National Movement party 11,90%, the People's Democratic party 10,76%.

³⁰The 2015 AKP election program includes only 2 sentences regarding the Syrian crisis: "The four-year crisis in Syria and the increasingly deepening humanitarian catastrophe in terms of threats to regional security and stability are one of the priorities on our agenda. Guided by humanity and integrity, the leadership of Justice and Development party will continue to support immigrant families, and provide assistance to our Syrian brothers to in their formidable days." [AKP election program published prior to June 7, 2015 elections, p. 330].

³¹http://behlulozkan.com/akp-siyasal-islami-da-cokertti-birgun-gazetesine-roportaj [available on 06.08.2016]

ԱՁԿ ՆԱԽԸՆՏՐԱԿԱՆ ԾՐԱԳՐԵՐԻ ԱՆԴՐԱԴԱՐՁԸ ԹՈՒՐՔԻԱ-ԱՐԱԲԱԿԱՆ ԱՇԽԱՐՀ ՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻՆ ԵՎ ԻՍԼԱՄԻՆ Ամփոփում

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Բանալի բառեր՝ «Արդարություն և զարգացում» կուսակցություն, Ռեջեփ Թայիփ Էրդողան, Թուրքիա, ԱԶԿ նախընտրական ծրագրեր, իսլամ, արաբական աշխարհ, Թուրքիայի ազգային մեծ ժողով։

Հոդվածն անդրադառնում է «Արդարություն և զարգացում» կուսակցության կառավարման տարիների ընթացքում արաբական Թուրքիայի հարաբերություններին։ աշխարհի հետ ሀይዓ իշխանության օրոք և հատկապես նախագահ Ռեջեփ Թայիփ Էրդողանի նախագահության ընթացքում Թուրքիան զարգացրել և շարունակում է խորացնել հարաբերությունները արաբական աշխարհի հետ և առավել մեծ ուշադրություն է դարձնում իսյամին։ Հոդվածն օգնում է պատկերացնել, թե ինչպես է Թուրքիան աստիճանաբար մերժում աշխարհիկության (juhghquh) սկզբունքը՝ կարևորելով քաղաքական իսյամը, և առաջնահերթություն տալիս արաբական աշխարհի հետ հարաբերություններին։

REMARKS BY AKP ELECTORAL PROGRAM ON RELATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE ARAB WORLD AND ISLAM

Summary

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Keywords: The Justice and Development party, Rejep Tayyip Erdogan, elections, election program, ruling party, Islam, the Arab World, Mejlis.

The article refers to the relations between Turkey and Islamic world in the period of governance of the Justice and Development party. During this period, and especially during the Presidency of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey established and is still in the process of forming its relations with Islam and Islamic states. Through this article we would like to emphasize how Turkey rejects the principles of laicism step by step, approaching to political Islam, and started to prioritize the relations with Arabic world.

ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИЙ ТУРЦИЯ - АРАБСКИЕ СТРАНЫ И ИСЛАМ В ПРЕДВЫБОРНЫХ ПРОГРАММАХ ПСР

Резюме

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Ключевые слова: партия Справедливости и развития, Рейджеп Тайип Эрдоган, предвыборные программы ПСР, ислам, арабский мир, великое национальное собрание Турции.

Статья отражает взаимоотношения Турции с арабскими странами в годы правления Партии справедливости и развития. При

власти ПСР, в особенности при президентстве Реджепа Тайила Турция развивала настоящем Эрдогана, И в продолжает углублять отношения с арабскими странами, уделяя гораздо большее внимание исламу. Статья помогает представить, как Турция отрицает постепенно принципы светского государства (лаицизм), придавая важность политическому исламу, и выводит на первый план отношения с арабским миром.