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positions only to be pushed to the fringes in the 1930s. Baltacıoğlu's career, however, is evidence that, under a rigid, uncompromising facade, the authoritarian single-party regime also harbored certain liberal qualities somewhat more attuned to the fabric of the society. It tolerated a degree of criticism or remained cautiously open to other ideas as long as these did not directly challenge or reject the Republic and its reform program, display an implicit or explicit support for the Sultanate or the Caliphate or advocate the dominance of pre-existing loyalties rooted in Islam. Thus, the shifts in Baltacıoğlu's career point to both a degree of flexibility within the early Turkish Republican regime and Kemalism and to its limit.

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20 Aralık 2015



**MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN**

**Yüksel Taşkın**

**THE CONSERVATIVE POPULIST  
MISREPRESENTATION OF TURGUT ÖZAL: SEEKING  
LEGITIMACY FOR THE CONSERVATIVE ELITE**

**Abstract**

This article departs from the observation that Turkey's last decade has witnessed the increasing influence of conservative populism. Because proponents of that view are trying to popularize a construct of the past to bring historical legitimacy to the new conservative elites of the economy, culture and politics, they portray the right-wing leaders Menderes, Özal and Erdoğan as conscious defenders of the "return of the authentic nation" which was marginalized by an "un-authentic westernist minority with disproportional weight." This article will reconsider the legacy of Özal to criticize and prove the implausibility of the conservative populist' claims of continuity and authentic representation. Its purpose is to contribute to demystification of an elitist claim to power inherent in conservative populism.

Since its foundation in 2001, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) has attempted to position itself within the center-right tradition of Turkey. Prime Minister Erdoğan has been acclaimed as the heir of Adnan Menderes and Turgut Özal while Süleyman Demirel<sup>1</sup> has been excluded from the list of the "authentic and undaunted defenders of the nation" (*Millet*)—which the AKP depicts as a silenced majority *vis à vis* a westernist minority with disproportional weight and power.<sup>2</sup> In a

<sup>1</sup> Adnan Menderes was the prime minister and leader of the Democratic Party (1950-60). Süleyman Demirel was the leader of the Justice Party (AP) and assumed the post of prime minister five times between 1965 and 1993 before he was elected the ninth president of Turkey (1993-2000). Turgut Özal was the leader of the Motherland Party (ANAP), prime minister (1983-1989), and the eighth president of Turkey (1989-93).

<sup>2</sup> The words of Prime Minister Erdoğan in a commemoration for Adnan Menderes are revealing: "The nation never favors those who hanged Menderes or those who harassed

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

# Nokta

ÖZEL EK



**TURGUT ÖZAL**  
(1927 - 1993)

## Nokta

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Hürrem Filâ

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Bülent H. Şemiler

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Levent Çevik

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Sorumlu Müdür: Can San  
Haber Araştırma Müdürü: Ayşe Önal

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Füreya Ersoy, Mehmet Güç, Miyase İliknur,  
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Ahmet Tulgar, Ferhat Atalay, Nihal Mete Un,  
Feryal Çeviköz

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## TURGUT ÖZAL

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Cumhuriyet'i kuralı henüz dört yıl olmuştu. 13 Ekim 1927'de Malatya'da bir çocuk doğdu. Banka memuru Sıddık Bey ile ilkokul öğretmeni Hafize Hanım, bu ilk çocuklarına Turgut adını verdiler...

Turgut büyüdü, okudu, mühendis diploması aldı. Babası gibi o da devlet memuru oldu. Devlete teknokrat olarak, bürokrat olarak hizmet verdi. Özel sektörde yöneticilik yaptı; Amerikalılar'a gitti.

Sonra bir gün milletvekili olmaya niyetlendi; Olmadı. Aradan bir süre geçtikten sonra bu kez kendi partisini kurarak siyasetin içine girdi. Ülkesinin gelişmesi için kafasında birçok fikir vardı. Bunları halka anlattı; Halk onu Başbakan yaptı. Bir kez daha Başbakan yaptı. Sonra, bir Türk vatandaşı olarak ulaşabileceği en üst makama, Cumhurbaşkanlığı'na seçildi.

Çankaya Köşkü'nde geçen 3 yıl 5 ay 8 günün sonunda 17 Nisan 1993 Cumartesi sabahı bir kalp krizi geçirdi ve kaldırıldığı hastanede saat 14.30'da hayata gözlerini kapadı.

Farklı bir insandı Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal...  
80'li yıllarda onunla birlikte farklı bir kuşak yetişti.  
21. yüzyılda işte bu kuşak Türkiye'yi şekillendirecek.  
O'nu saygı ve rahmetle anıyoruz.

NOKTA

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leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, however, defeated the efforts of the victorious Allies to take over the territories occupied primarily by Turks, thus leading to the establishment of the Turkish Republic in Anatolia and eastern Thrace.

[See also Tanzimat; Turkey; Young Ottomans; Young Turks; and the biographies of Abdülhamid II, Atatürk, and Enver Pasha.]

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STANFORD J. SHAW

**ÖZAL, TURGUT** (1927-1993), eighth president of Turkey. Born in Malatya on 13 October 1927, Özal died in office in Ankara on 17 April 1993. He was the eldest of three sons of the banker Mehmet Sıddık (Sadık) Bey and the teacher Hafize (Doğan). He received an M.S. in electrical engineering from Istanbul Technical University in 1950 and studied advanced engineering economics in the United States on an A.I.D. grant (1952-1953). He worked for the Electrical Survey Administration from 1950 to 1965, rising to deputy director general; concurrently he served as secretary of the State Planning Commission (1958-1965) and as instructor in mathematics at Middle East Technical University (1960-1962). He became technical adviser to Premier Süleyman Demirel in 1966 and undersecretary at the State Planning Organization (1967-1971). He was a consultant to the World Bank from 1971 to 1973 in the US. After holding executive positions in various Turkish private firms from 1974 to 1979, he was appointed

**MUHAMMAD**  
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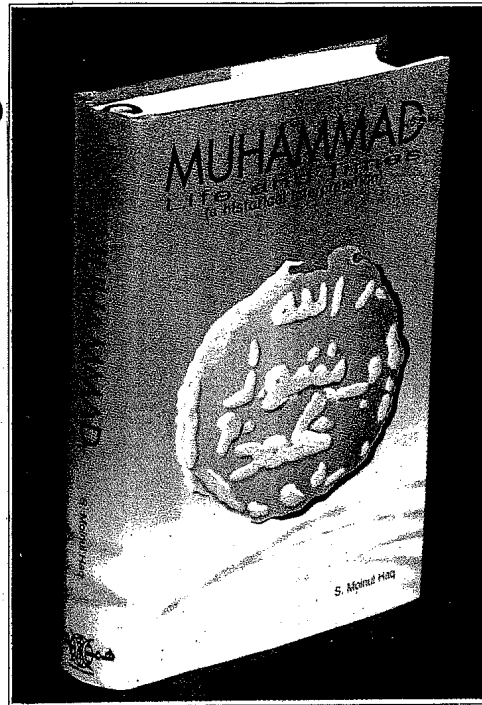
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D 641



**TURGUT ÖZAL AND ISLAMISM IN TURKEY**

**DR. MICHELANGELO GUIDA\***

Turgut Özal has been arguably Turkey's most influential personality since Atatürk. Almost every Turk remembers his premiership and presidency as a period of economic prosperity and social harmony. He administered a process of demilitarisation of the country without precedents and transformed the Turkish economy. However, the roots of his politics and particularly his attitudes toward Islam need a deeper investigation. He was the first Prime Minister to perform openly his religious duties and make frequent use of Islamic values. This last aspect is very interesting to understand both Islamic political discourse as well as Turkish politics in general. This article attempts to study mainly Islam's influence on Özal in the light of his biography and political career, and, finally, tries to draw a comparison with the other Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who apparently has the same approach to religion.

**Turgut Özal's Religious Background**

Turgut Özal was born in the southeast Anatolian city of Malatya in 1927. His both the parents were the state employees: his father worked in the *Ziraat Bankası* and his mother, Hafize, represented a 'typical Reubican' (i.e., secular and Westernized) primary school teacher. So, despite the fact that his father studied in *medreses*, the Özal brothers did not receive religious education as usual in the first year of the secular Republic. Turgut Özal related that:

At home my aunty used to pray ... My father could be an *imam*. However, I couldn't learn even the prayer at home because that period was like that, [...] I remember that at the ball for the

\*Via Pasquale Scura 26/e, I-80134 Napoli, Italy.

the West'.<sup>21</sup> It was precisely a joint RPP-NSP motion of censure against the government's pro-Western foreign policy which forced the resignation of Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmen on 5 September. That upset the High Command. But a Salvationist 'Save Jerusalem' demonstration in Konya the following day, where the secular state was openly insulted, angered the commanders even more. The opposition intended to continue the policy of harassment by censuring Finance Minister İsmet Sezgin, taunted by the Islamists as 'Usurer İsmet'. But on 9 and 10 September there was no quorum in the Assembly thanks to the absence of Justice and Action Party deputies. Sezgin could not be censured but neither could a new president be elected after months of balloting in the Assembly. Political life had been paralysed thanks to the whims of the politicians. Two days later, on 12 September, the High Command carried out its well-planned operation and ended the political impasse much to the relief of most Turks.

119 AGUSTOS 1993

Feroz Ahmad"The Making of Modern Turkey"London-1993, s. 181-212DN: 18255

Ozal, Turqut

## 9 Military intervention and political and economic restructuring, 1980-1991

In his 1 p.m. statement broadcast over radio and television explaining the military takeover, Gen. Kenan Evren emphasised that 'the worst crisis in our country' threatened the very 'survival of our state and people'. After giving details of social divisions, the economic breakdown, and the anarchy and violence for which he held the parties and the politicians largely responsible, he concluded:

Dear citizens, it is because of all these reasons . . . that the Turkish armed forces were forced to take over the state administration with the aim of safeguarding the unity of the country and the nation and the rights and freedoms of the people, ensuring the security of life and property and the happiness and prosperity of the people, ensuring the prevalence of law and order - in other words, restoring the state authority in an impartial manner.'

Meanwhile, the four chiefs of the armed forces - army, navy, air force, and the gendarmerie - led by the Chief of Staff, Kenan Evren, set up the National Security Council (NSC), the junta which ruled Turkey until the general election of November 1983.

The National Security Council was only the tip of the iceberg; hidden from view but exercising great influence were the martial law commanders who actually ran the country on a daily basis. Gen. Necdet Ürug, the commander of the First Army and martial law commander in Istanbul, was such a figure. Behind the generals stood the officer corps exerting pressure on behalf of the policies they favoured. Though little is known about the infighting within the High Command, it is generally agreed that there were two principal factions identified as 'moderates' and 'extremists'.

The principle of hierarchy which had been established in the armed forces by the mid-1960s kept the factional differences from emerging into the open. Both sides took umbrage under the



**NATIONAL EVENTS AND THE STRUGGLE  
FOR THE FIXING OF MEANING:  
A COMPARISON OF THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS  
OF THE FUNERAL SERVICES  
FOR ATATÜRK AND ÖZAL**

Günter Seufert and Petra Weyland\*

**Introduction**

On April 17, 1993 the Turkish President, Turgut Özal, suddenly died, leaving the Turkish nation in a state of shock and mourning. This situation lasted for almost a week, a time full of nationwide activities in preparation for the final services which eventually were to culminate in the state funeral. It was only after this that Turkish society returned to normal everyday life, to watch its politicians haggling over Özal's political heritage. As outsiders to Turkish society living in Istanbul at that time we became participant observers of this atmosphere of rising collective solemnity. It was the symbolic dimension of the funeral preparations and the final services which principally aroused our interest, and these are, therefore, the main reason and focus of this article. As festivities always have a reference to the self-understanding of a community or a nation, we analyzed those images and signs which reached us through reading newspapers, watching TV, listening to the radio and the people, and through personal participation in the funeral service in Istanbul. Insofar as we conceptualized Özal's funeral as a collective ceremony that both mirrored and created this society's self representation, our focus gradually broadened. Proceeding on the assumption that the comparison of two similar events at different historical moments of a society will allow us to get an insight into the development of a society's self understanding over time, we have chosen the funeral services for Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the republic, as just such a point of reference. This will give us an insight into the development of Turkey's great political tradition, or, more precisely, into the changing construction of national identity on the part of the political elite. In choosing the funeral service of Kemal Atatürk as such a point of comparison we do so first of

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\* Researchers, Orient Institute, Istanbul.



DERLEYEN:  
MEHMED NUROĞLU

# NE DEDİLER?!

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SEKİZİNCİ REİSİCUMHUR  
TURGUT ÖZAL'IN

VEFATI SEBEBİYLE  
TÜRK BASININDA ÇIKAN YAZILAR  
I

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Turgut Özal

18 EKİM 1993



# DEĞİŞİM "BELGELERİ"

1979 - 1992

## TURGUT ÖZAL

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*Bibliography:* For mediaeval Baylakān, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 178; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1144, 1296-8; *EIr* art. *Baylaqān* (C.E. Bosworth). For the Ören Kal'e excavations, see A.A. Yessen, *Trudi Azerbaydžanskoi (Orenkalinskoi) ekspeditsii I. 1953-1955 gg.* (Materiali i issledovaniya po arkhologii, SSSR, 67), Moscow-Leningrad 1959; N. Nadžafova, *Khudžestvennaya keramika Azerbaydžana*, Baku 1964; Yessen and K.Kh. Kushnarëva, *Trudi ... II. 1956-1960 gg.* (Materiali ... , 125), Moscow-Leningrad 1965; Yessen, *Srednevekovije pamyatniki Azerbaydžana* (Materiali ... , 133), Moscow 1965.

(J.M. ROGERS)

**ÖZAL**, TURGUT, modern Turkish statesman (1927-93). He was born in 1927 in the province of Malatya in south-eastern Turkey. After graduating as an electrical engineer in 1950, he served in a number of important technical and economic posts between 1967 and 1980, initiating a programme of liberalising economic reforms in January 1980. Following the coup d'état led by General Kenan Evren on 12 September of that year, Özal continued these policies as Deputy Prime Minister, but he was forced to resign in July 1982 after a banking scandal. During the transition back to civilian rule in 1983, Özal established the Motherland Party, which won a comfortable majority in the general elections of November 1983. He

thus became Prime Minister in the following month, increasing his party's majority in the next elections, held in November 1987. As premier, his main achievement was to free the economy from government constraints, producing high economic growth and an impressive increase in foreign trade; his main failures were the continuation of high inflation, and increasing allegations of corruption and disunity in his government during the late 1980s. When General Evren retired from the presidency in October 1989, Özal was elected to succeed him; however, his party lost its parliamentary majority in the general elections of October 1991, thus reducing his real political power. As President, Özal played a major role in foreign policy determination, controversially directing Turkey's support for the coalition powers in the Gulf crisis of 1990-1. His sudden death from a heart attack in April 1993 removed a towering figure in Turkish politics, distinguished by his attachment to economic and political liberalism, as well as the integration of moderate Islam into the country's political life.

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## P

**PASHTO** [see AFĠĀN. ii].

**PĪRPANTHĪ** (from Pers. *pīr* + *panth* "way of the spiritual master"), the name given in what is now Western India and in Pakistan to Hindus who follow Muslim *pīrs*, whether living or dead, these being generally Šūfīs or Ismā'īlīs. To be precise, the term Pīrpanth is applied more strictly to two specific groups: (1) the disciples of Imām Shāh [q.v.], a dissident Ismā'īlī who was one of the sons of the Ismā'īlī pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, whose tomb is situated near Aḥmadābād [q.v.] in Guḍjarāt; and (2) more rarely, to the Hindu disciples of Šūfī masters, Muslims or occasionally Hindus, originating from Sindh, Panḍjāb or Rāḍjāsthān, such as Rāmdēv Pīr (or Rāmā Pīr), Pithoro Pīr, Paṭho Pīr, etc., with whom we are not concerned here.

The existence of the Pīrpanthīs attests the importance of interpenetration of Islam and Hinduism in this part of the subcontinent. Rather than speaking of syncretism, it would be more sensible to speak of a charismatic consensus at which these sects arrived. Sprung from the Mathīa Kanbī caste of agricultural labourers, the Pīrpanthīs were also known by the name of Momnāhs (or Mōmnas). Established within Guḍjarāt [q.v.] proper, but spilling out into Khāndesh and Kačch [q.v.], they are divided into several subjects according to whether they venerate Imām Shāh himself or one of his descendants or representatives. In the period from the late 19th century onwards, when confessional allegiances crystallised, fundamentalist Hindu organisations like the Āryā Samāḍj convinced a great number of them to revert to "orthodox" Hinduism. They generally assumed the name of Paṭel, and continued to venerate Imām Shāh, whom they

considered as the *guru* who spoke in the name of the tenth *avatār* of Viṣṇu, Niklankī.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the *Bibls.* given for IMĀM SHĀH and SATHPANTHĪS, see J.M. Campbell (ed.), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, ix/2, *Gujarat population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay 1899; W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat*, in *Jnal. Bombay Branch of the RAS*, N.S. xii (1936), 19-70; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 442-3, 480ff.; Dominique-Sila Khan, *Conversions and shifting identities. Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan*, Dīhī 1997; M. Boivin, *Les Ismaéliens. Des communautés d'Asie du sud entre islamisation et indianisation*, Turnhout 1998; Dominique-Sila Khan and Zawahir Moir, *Coexistence and communalism in the shrine of Pirana in Gujarat*, in *South Asia*, xxii, Special issue (1999), 133-54.

(M. BOIVIN)

**PRESTER JOHN**, the name of a mysterious potentate, said to be a Nestorian Christian and inimical to Islam, whom the Christians of medieval Europe placed beyond the Islamic lands in Inner or Far Asia.

The name Presbyter Johannes first occurs in the chronicle, called *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, of the German prelate Otto, Bishop of Freising, in which he describes, on the authority of a meeting in 1145 with the Latin Bishop Hugh of Djabala (= ancient Byblos, in Lebanon), how Prester John was a monarch, of the lineage of the Magi of the Gospels, living in the Far East (*in extremo oriente*) beyond Persia and Armenia. He had attacked the *Samiardi* brothers, kings of the Persians and Medes, had defeated them and had advanced to the Tigris in the hope of aiding the Church in Jerusalem, but had then been forced to

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Abstract: This thesis is an introductory research study on the impact of operations management techniques on productivity under Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal's industrial policy.

The effectiveness of opening up the economy to international competition has been analyzed by comparing the present industrial productivity to the productivity figures before Premier Turgut Ozal. The evaluation is done through four major areas: quality, operations research techniques, inventory and manpower planning. The final chapter gives a summary of the findings and suggests that competition most likely has helped Turkish industry increase their productivity in these four areas.