



## Approaches of Islamic Groups in Turkey Towards the Iranian Islamic Revolution and the Question of Export of Revolution: A Study on Magazines<sup>1</sup>

Hülya Özkan Rigiderakhshan<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Öğr. Üyesi., Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi, Ankara, Türkiye.  
hulya.ozkan@asbu.edu.tr  
ORCID: 0000-0003-4827-664X

### ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 04.05.2022

Received in revised form: 17.06.2022

Accepted: 28.06.2022

Keywords:

Islamist Magazines in Turkey

Iranian Islamic Revolution

Export of Revolution

Religious Groups in Turkey

### ABSTRACT

This study seeks to address how the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was portrayed by Islamic magazines in Turkey at that time. By doing so, the study gives an account of Turkey-Iran relations during the course of the revolution and of what the state of religious and political groups was like in Turkey post-revolution limited to the period between 1978 and 1990, this paper outlines a general framework of Islamic groups of the time, political parties, the intelligentsia, circles around magazines and the media they dominated. As a result, 29 magazines linked to these groups covering the revolution have been examined. The formal and contextual variables as parameters for this topic were analyzed using the content analysis. Subsequently, the themes were determined, followed by developments related to the revolution. It was therefore established that the ideological views of the media were crucial in the definition and coverage of the Iranian Revolution.

### Atıf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Özkan Rigiderakhshan, H. (2022). Approaches of Islamic Groups in Turkey Towards the Iranian Islamic Revolution and the Question of Export of Revolution: A Study on Magazines. *Uluslararası Kültürel ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi (UKSAD)*, 8 (1), Yaz, s.76-92.

## 1. Introduction

The Iranian Islamic Revolution of February 1979 made an overwhelming influence worldwide, but made even more across the Middle East. This is because the revolution was mostly perceived as a serious threat by the regional governments. Developments in the shaping phase of the revolution and the provision of a new political model are important in understanding its impact on the countries of the region. The fact is that Islamic groups in Turkey and other countries in the region began to become important actors in domestic and foreign policy in the post-revolution period. Therefore, this is also important in terms of analyzing the effect of the revolution within the framework of this study. While the Iranian Islamic revolution has had a direct impact on neighboring countries, particularly in terms of the revolution's export, its impact has also affected distant countries. Countries such as Tunisia, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, and Turkey have been directly affected by the export of revolution. As important Islamic groups in these countries were directly affected by the revolution, the revolution was thus considered a threat to political establishments and was subjected to pressure.

In addition to being neighbors, Iran and Turkey also have close political, cultural, and historical ties, for which the Iranian Islamic Revolution had a major impact on Turkey (Zare, 2008). Things changed in

<sup>1</sup>This article is produced from the writer's PhD thesis.

\* DOI: 10.46442/intjcss.1082907

\*\* Sorumlu yazar: Hülya Özkan Rigiderakhshan, hulya.ozkan@asbu.edu.tr



certain areas after the revolution in Iran, as the domestic and foreign policies of both countries began to differ from one another.

The cardinal difference, of course, lay in the characteristics of the two regimes. This is because the new government of Tehran would assume an Islamic theocracy as opposed to the secular Republic of Turkey. As noted earlier, foreign policy was to be another area in which the two began to diverge. While Turkey was an ally of the West, Iran ceased to be and even started to enter into conflict with the West and the United States of America. Political Islam, the Kurds, Pan-Turkism, and Israel have become hot topics for recent relations between the two nations, in addition to incidents such as the 1980 Turkish coup, the Iran-Iraq war and the 1974 Turkish intervention in Cyprus. However, conflicts between modern Turkey and Iran have never been as heated as those between the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran (Ahmedi, 2011).

On the other hand, the anti-Soviet nature of the new regime in Iran somewhat relieved Turkey and its allies, whereby Turkey sent constructive messages on Iran's regime change on February 13, 1979. The first high-profile message was sent by the then prime minister, Bülent Ecevit (Tülümen, 1998: 65). In his message, Ecevit stated Turkey would support Iran in case of need. The reason for Turkey's stance was understandable as a continuation of unrest in Iran could lead to a power void in the region, which in turn to security challenges in Turkey (Çetinsaya, 1998: 149). Moreover, the revolution has also had effects on leftist groups in Turkey as the anti-imperialist and anti-Western identity of the revolution appealed to them (Zare, 2008: 291).

This research aims to contextualize the representation of the 1979 Revolution in magazines. Although studies on the Iranian Islamic Revolution had been carried out in Turkey before, a reading of the revolution had not yet been done through the magazines of the period. Therefore, this study is important. It is also critical to understand the period to determine the approaches of the Islamist groups of the period to the revolution through the articles they published in the magazines.

And, this research focuses on the socio-economic, religious, and political reasons behind the regime change, as well as the post-revolutionary foreign policy of Iran. The periodicals studied, however, are: Hareket, Diriliş, İktibas, Düşünce, Maveria, İslam, Hilal, Fedai, Sebil, Yeniden Milli Mücadele, Pınar, Girişim, İnsan, Aylık Dergi, Bu Meydan, Dış Politika, Son Karar, Akıncılar, Akıncı Güç, Şura, Tevhid, Hicret, İslami Hareket, Kriter, Nesil, İslam'ın İlk Emri Oku, Rayet, Altınoluk, Davet. The main themes of the selected texts are: i) the approach to the revolution; ii) Ayatollah Khomeini; and iii) the export of the revolution and the Iraq-Iran war. The study concludes that the ideological channeling of the aforementioned publications was decisive in the way the revolution was conveyed. It means the revolution had an Islamic identity affected the Muslims in Turkey and the possibility of an import revolution was strongly covered. For some groups, the Islamic revolution was regarded as a threat and communicated to readers with an anti-Shiite bias.

## 2. Research Method

Research data were analyzed through content analysis. The covers and contents of Islamic-sensitive magazines\* published in Turkey between 1978 and 1990 were scanned using the content analysis method. In addition, magazines that focused directly on the Iranian Islamic Revolution were chosen to make observations based on concepts related to the Islamic Revolution in Iran. On the basis of these identified concepts, the viewpoints and approaches of magazines on the revolution were revealed through content analysis. The discourses constructed across the texts on the revolution and social considerations were examined.

---

\* The magazines picked and scanned were the ones referred to as "Islamic magazines" in the Islamic Magazines Project (IMP) carried out by the Scientific Studies Association (ILEM) since 2013.



As mentioned, the content analysis based on the scanning method was applied in this research. As it is well known, content analysis is a systematic, quantitative investigation for the content conveyed by the communication process (Berelson, 1952: 18). Content analysis, which involves describing content using a systematic, quantitative, and objective technique, seeks to obtain inferences on social reality through observation. As Krippendorff (1984) indicated, content recorded in various forms through content analysis is over-rendered in the text, systematically analyzed, coded, and quantified. Similarly, Fox (1969) described the content analysis as an approach for categorizing written and verbal data in accordance with the stated objective, is an approach to measuring the detected variables, and creating categories to make sense of these variables, taking into account the relations of the variables with each other. Punch (2005), on the other hand, defined content analysis as the search for social reality by drawing inferences from social reality with clear and unclear content characteristics. Based on the definitions listed, content analysis is considered to have the characteristics of objectivity, systematization, and generality which are the principal features of the method (Berelson, 1952).

To apply the categories, various coding units were created in the news and articles published between 1978 and 1990 on the Iranian Islamic Revolution. The Coding Unit is defined under two headings: formal and contextual. The former contains sentences and paragraphs, while the latter focuses on the meaning (Gökçe, 2006). The variables identified in developing the coding scale are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Formal and Contextual Variables Determined for Content Analysis

a) Formal Variables	b) Contextual Variables
1.a. Name of magazine	1.b Main theme of news/articles
2.a Type of content (news or article)	2.b Approach to revolution
3.a Publication date of news/articles	3.b Export of revolution
4.a Pages news/articles published on	4.b How the Iraq - Iran War covered
5.a References used in	
6.a Writers	

**How the Revolution is Defined in the News/Article and the Approach to the Revolution:** Defining the revolution by journals/authors in news/articles as “Iranian Revolution” (1), “Iranian Islamic Revolution” (2), “Khomeini Revolution” (3), “Iran Incident” (4), “Islamic Revolution” (5) classified. It has been determined which author or journal used which expressions and expressions while describing the revolution. In addition, the definitions preferred by the journals/authors within the scope of the study were analyzed together with their approaches to revolution in which contexts they used.

**The Subject of "Export of Revolution" in the News/Article:** The number of times the expression "revolution export" was mentioned by which journals and authors in the post-revolution period was determined by frequency analysis. In addition, the news and article texts, which were determined how often the expression "export of revolution" were used, were graphed according to the years they were published, and the years in which the subject was included in the magazines and the increase-decrease in the rate of publication were determined.

Is there a direct relationship between the "export of revolution" and the Iraq-Iran War?

It was applied with a binary scale created with the options;

(1) Yes, (2) No

The texts with a direct relationship between them were identified and classified according to their authors.

Is there a relationship between the "export of revolution" and the coverage of Ali Shariati and his works in magazines? The dual scale, which was created with the options



(1) Yes, (2) No, was applied.

The frequency of use of the term "Ali Shariati" has been tabulated by specifying the distribution of news and article texts written about Ali Shariati, his works and ideas in the years within the limitations of the study, according to the journals.

### **3. Islamic Groups and Political Parties in Turkey (1979-1990)**

The Iranian Revolution under the guidance of Ayatollah Khomeini is considered as one of the most important events of the 20th century in terms of political Islam. It is the outcome of a century-old Islamic social movement that radically changed world politics and subsequently the Islamic world (Aktaş, 2009: 45-100). Known as "the tawhidi awareness" (Türkmen, 2008: 75-132) in terms of the adventure of Islamism in Turkey, the aforementioned process is defined as "Radical and Intellectual Islamism Period" (Kara, 2013: 31).

Labelled as a victory for Islam for the vast majority of Islamists\* in Turkey, the revolution brought the Shiites and Sunnis closer together in a manner never seen before (Kara, 2013, pp. 15-43). An unprecedented number of translations have been made from Shia sources and many writers in the Islamic world, especially Iranian thinkers, have started to influence circles in Turkey. In particular, Ali Shariati's work written with the universal Islamic understanding was given more attention and translated more frequently into Turkish (Aktaş, 2009). Turgut Ozal's liberal policies were another factor which persuaded the Islamists in Turkey to express themselves through political parties and magazines as religious segments have gained influence in both the political and other spheres. An Islamic nationalist-conservative identity was formed as a goal and outcome of Ozal's policy actually (Porbonab, 2000: 73-100). Periodicals of the time, in particular Islamic magazines, sought to associate "the Turkish people" or "Turkish society" with Islam (Göç, 1993).

The biggest fear in terms of the international system has been the activities of Islamic movements in other Muslim countries. In other words, even if it were necessary to raise the anti-communist wave, Islamic sensitivity should not have gone beyond the nation-state. This atmosphere of relative freedom also revealed the possibility that Muslims in Turkey might be more heavily affected by what is happening in other Muslim countries. Another factor driving this "susceptibility" of religious Muslims in Turkey to their distant compatriots was the significant migration between rural and urban areas of Turkey in the 1950s. Thus, large crowds striving to live the Islamic lifestyle and various Islamic groups in the urban space were formed (Köroğlu, 2016: 14). The fact that the above-mentioned groups became active as public opposition discourses resulted in diversification in Islamic publications (Aktay, 2009).

The vast majority of Islamist groups in Turkey are fragments of a whole. Differences of opinion on some issues have distanced these groups from each other and sometimes brought them closer. When the Islamist publications of the period are examined, this relationship can be seen. In particular, the staff of writers in publications is an important indicator in this regard. For example, groups that are a part of Milli Gorus have made new infrastructures in the process. Groups such as Akıncıs, İBDA-C, MTTB have a common denominator in essence.

The Islamic groups and political parties that influenced the urban Muslims of the time can be listed below:

---

\* It is known that there are conceptual studies of quality on Islamism and that definitions of Islamism are still the subject of discussions from time to time. What is meant by it in this study is that it is an understanding that supports the revolution politically and intellectually. Apart from this approach, the fact that the revolution had an anti-imperialist characteristic was welcomed by many groups in Turkey.



### 3.1. Cemaats with Tariqat Background

While scholars like Ibn Taymiyya have had an influence on the ideologies of Islamic groups in the Middle East, there are two important names in the history of Turkish Islamic groups. The first is Imam Rabbani by the Ahmadiyya movement that he initiated. The second is Sheikh Khalid Baghdadi, one of the Sheikhs Naqshbandi, and the Halidiye movement he followed (Algar, 2006: 335-342). To fully understand their approaches to the Iranian revolution, it is necessary to take into account the characteristics of the Halidi branch of the Naqshbandi order. In fact, the unsympathetic nature of the Halidiye movement toward the Shia and their emphasis on the Sunna, Shari'a, the state, and the supremacy of sharia law over social life shaped their perspective on the revolution (Mennah, 1999, pp. 113-127)

To balance the interpretation of Sufism challenging sharia law, the Halidiye branch of the Naqshbandi order is known for having prioritized the Sunnah. Moreover, it has internalized Shia animosity as a Sunni reflex against the intense influence of Shia, particularly in India and Anatolia (Aytepe, 2016: 180). Among the groups affiliated to the Halidiye branch of the Naqshbandi are İskenderpaşa, İsmailağa, Menzil, Erenköy and Süleyman Efendi. One can say that the primary purpose of Sufi tariqats is to challenge the self of the individual, not the system. In fact, the lack of a demand to replace the establishment with an Islamic groups is cited as a reason why Islamic groups leaning on mysticism, far from radicalism, did not take part in political violence between far-left, far-right, Islamist militant groups, and the state before September 12 (Erkilet, 2010: 146).

### 3.2. Millî Görüş Parties

Religious Muslims achieved significant voting potential prior to 1960 (Türkmen, 2008: 45). The cemaats usually preferred to vote between nationalist or conservative parties while Iskender Pacha cemaat ventured to establish a party to have them represented. As, the nationalist-conservative parties of the time did not respond to the expectations of Mehmed Zahit Kotku, the National Salvation Party (Millî Selâmet Partisi) was founded. Although the NSP identified culture and morality as its priority in the early years, it adopted a more radical line after international affairs at the end of the 1970s. It is important to note that, coupled with the winds of the Iranian revolution, radicalism seems to have become more widespread in the rhetoric\* of Necmettin Erbakan at the 'Save Jerusalem' rally of 6 September 1980 held in Konya. He openly supported the new Islamic republic established over the Shah's secular and pro-Western monarchy in Iran (Zare, 2008: 291-293).

The National Order Party (Millî Nizam Partisi, MNP) is seen to have had an Islamic identity culturally, but not ideologically (Şentürk, 2011). Furthermore, Necmettin Erbakan's continuation of the slogan of "nationalist and conservative Turkey" led to the problem of Islamism in Turkey, being unable to break away from the right-wing and nationalism. In this respect, the "Millî Görüş" parties, despite their great Islamic sensitivity, could be the bearers of an eclectic discourse that tried to find the solution in the system.

### 3.3. Turkish National Student Union (MTTB)

The National Union of Turkish Students (Millî Türk Talebe Birliği, MTTB) founded in 1916 is one of the main youth organizations with which Millî Görüş was involved and supported the CHP until 1965. As one of the leading youth organizations, the union has now reached out to Mili Görüş following the creation of the Nizam National Party in 1970.

In view of the changes that MTTB has undergone, it can be argued that it has incorporated a large set of ideas and ideals. Shifting from a nationalist line to an "Islamist" identity, the momentous breaking points that Turkey and the Islamic world went through, played a major role in this line change of the MTTB (Özşahin, 2019: 113). It is also possible to state that MTTB is a micro-example of Turkish political history,

---

\* In his speech in Konya, Erbakan's statement "Fatih Sultan Mehmed's faith will save us, not the EU," is a scolding of the then foreign policy, but carries the subtext that Turkey should turn its face toward Muslim countries.





as no other movement represented the currents of ideas demonstrating each other's extremes as the MTTB did. While the MTTB adopted a nationalist stance during the single-party period, it displayed a more conservative position compared to the previous period with the transition to the multi-party era.

Then, with the military coup which took place in 1960, the MTTB positioned itself on the junta's side (Yorgancılar, 2016: 369). After Rasim Cinisli was appointed president of MTTB in 1965, the union experienced a rapid transformation process because it resumed a conservative and nationalistic attitude. During the presidency of İsmail Kahraman, nationalistic and right-wing sections were separated by which Islamic identity gained weight. It is also noteworthy one of the union periodicals, *Milli Gençlik* magazine, became an Islamic organ. The magazine was predominately published under the slogan of "Our Source is the Qur'an". Like *Milli Gençlik*, *Çatı* magazine was also a major MTTB publication throughout the 1970s and 1980s. *Çatı* was rather aimed at young people as a target audience, while *Milli Gençlik* served as a guide for the Islamic thinkers of the time and offered a broad perspective to its readers.

In line with the limited scope of this study, only the last issues of *Çatı* published in 1978 (the year it ended) are included. When one goes through it, it is obvious that there is no title through these issues of 1978 that would be treated in the context of the Iranian revolution. However, 1977 editions are addressed to youth advising that "they should be followers of the Sharia" and "take action" (*Çatı*, 1977: 4).

### 3.4. Akıncıs

*Milli Görüş*'s executives established various youth organizations to develop the activist aspects of young people. *Akıncıs*, founded in 1975 under the name of the Ankara *Akıncılar* Association, was at the forefront of these trainings. When the National Salvation Party (MSP) did not obtain the expected results of the 1977 elections, the *Akıncılar* Association, the foundation of which was entrusted to Tefik Rıza Çavuş, was activated. The truth is, *akıncıs* were considered to secure the future and bearer of *Milli Görüş*. Thus, MSP intended to return to the Islamic principles and reinforce its influence on religious groups. In fact, *Düşünce* magazine provided enough evidence that *Akıncıs* functioned as a bridge between MSP and its grassroots (Türkmen, 2008: 60).

In 1979, rallies held in Sakarya, Kayseri and Konya where *Akıncı* youth was perceived as a clear threat to the establishment, with chants of "Secular State Will Be Destroyed", "Sharia Will Come, Violence Will End", and "Islamic Movement Cannot Be Prevented". They made themselves heard, before the magazines *İslami Hareket*, *Şura*, *Tevhid* and *Hicret* also contributed to it. The magazines printed by *Akıncıs*, the antagonism manifesting against secularism in Turkey, in particular with the impact of the Iranian revolution, were even promoted the proposals for an alternative regime.

### 3.5. İBDA-C (İbdacıs)

A group of *Akıncıs* students led by Salih Mirzabeyoğlu formed a new group known as *Akıncı Güç* and gathered around *Gölge* magazine (Çakır, 1990: 179). Also known as the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front (İBDA-C), they published periodicals as having been affected by Necip Fazıl's *Büyük Doğu* (Great Eastern) ideal. Established in August 1984, İBDA-C propagated a new federal state opposing secular government. The main aim of İBDA-C, which promoted the Ahlus Sunna, was defined as "asserting" Islam, which is a balance between the poles" (Aykut, 1989: 14-17). Following national action in 1985, İBDA-C supported its propaganda through magazines such as *Gölge*, *Akıncı Güç*, *Akın Yolu*, *Taraf*, *Ak Doğu*, *Tahkim*, *AK Zuhur* and *Akademya*.

Launched in 1976 with Mirzabeyoğlu at the helm, the 1978 editions of *Gölge* covered what was happening in East Turkestan and Palestine at the time. Nevertheless, the developments in Iran leading up to the revolution were not taken into consideration. With *Akıncı Güç*, however, there were columns mentioning Iran and the revolution. İbdaists were not welcomed by other Islamic groups owing to the former's pompous



approach of "There is not a single Islamic organization in the world, except for us" (Çakır, 1990: 182), also draws attention to their extreme anti-Iranian and anti-Shaith attitudes.

In the third issue of the Ak-Doğuş magazine, Mustafa Saka expressed dissatisfaction with the assumption that every Islamic motion has originated from Iran. Emphasizing the devotion of Ak Doğuş's editorial team to Ahlus Sunna in an article titled "A Requisite Clarification of Stance" in the magazine, he stated that "The Iranian people are the same people, and they have now taken these revolutions for granted as if they were a daily affair. There is still no revolution in Iran. Today, it is one of the countries that consume more drugs and whisky" (Mustafa Saka, 1990: 3).

A similar attitude is also evident in Hayrettin Soykan's articles in Ak Doğuş. That is, the revolution is treated with Iranian antipathy. Although the ibdaists covered the Iranian Islamic Revolution in their publications with a negative approach, they could have been influenced by the Iranian experience as they felt that the cadres tasked with overseeing the revolution needed to be prepared and guided.

### 3.6. Hizbullah

After the 1980 military coup, there was an intense debate among Islamic groups in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia on how to maintain the Islamic cause. Hezbollah in Turkey was founded in 1979, but it was a post-coup organization. 1980 saw the group formed around the İlim Bookstore opened by Hüseyin Velioglu in Diyarbakır, the activities of which were followed by the Menzil Bookstore opened by Fidan Güngör in 1981 (huseynisevda.biz, 2019).

The work published by the Menzil bookstore, the Davet magazine launched in 1990, was the intellectual efforts of Hezbollah. Identifying itself as "Hizbullahî Magazine", Davet issued articles on political, social, and religious matters (İDP, 2019). Since the very first issue, Davet closely watched Ayatollah Khomeini and developments in Iran\*. The sixth issue of June 1990 was particularly striking in this regard. On the cover of the magazine was a photo of Ayatollah Khomeini in prayer with a note "Special Imam Issue". Khomeini's portrait supported by his biography and numerous articles written about him have provided clues about how Hizbullah approached him and the revolution.

### 3.7. Hizbu't-tahrir

Another group coming into view amidst political dynamism of the second half of the 1960s was Hizbu't-Tahrir. The group\*\* purposed to seize the power in Muslim nations where it operated in by way of revolution, thereby transform the countries into Dar-al Islam, install caliphate, abide by Şura Assembly and by a caliph elected by it, reinstate sharia courts (Erkilet, 2010: 151-172).

Ercümen Özkan took charge of Hizbu't-Tahrir, who opined the group could establish the Islamic state by means of revolution (Aytepe, 2016: 191-192). Shortly after, Özkan separated from the Hizbu't-Tahrir because of various ideological differences and founded the "Islamic Party" in 1971. After being left empty-handed in his meetings, he held with different Islamic circles in the pursuit of support, however, he set aside that initiative. After realizing that he would not continue to organize people, he then chose to proceed by

---

\* The first issue published in January 1990 covers the full transcript of Imam Khomeini's message to Gorbachev on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the revolution. (Invitation, "Full Text of Imam Khomeini's Message to Gorbachev on the Occasion of the Revolution's 1st Anniversary", Davet Magazine, January 1990, No:1, p.36.) In the 2nd issue, published in February 1990, the Rushdie Affair and Khomeini's orders to kill him were given coverage (Hilmi Kocaaslan, "The Salman Rushdie Affair, Imam Khomeini's Killing Order and What These Recall to", Davet Magazine, February 1990, No:2: 23) Likewise, in the 3rd issue published in March 1990, full transcript of Ayatollah Khomeini's speech delivered in honor of the 11th anniversary of the revolution. Similarly, other issues of the magazine assumed a positive stance towards both the revolution and its leader.

\*\* Ercümen Özkan assumed the responsibility for Turkey of the party, which was founded in 1952 by the Jordanian Takiyüddin al-Nabhani. But soon, because of intellectual differences, Özkan and the party parted ways. (Aytepe, p.192.)



another method, especially following the atmosphere brought about by the 1980 coup d'état, namely the initiation of the magazine İktibas (Atalar, 2015).

From 1981 until his death in 1995, Ercümen Özkan acted as editor-in-chief of İktibas, which was published twice a month in its first four months, then every month. Özkan continued to write columns titled "Answers to Readers' Letters", "Comments", and "Concepts" in İktibas. The publication paused his articles following his illness on August 1987 until November 1989. After his death too, İktibas continued to be published in line with his ideals (Erkilet, 2010: 177).

The audience targeted by İktibas is also noteworthy. The monthly identified only Muslims and especially those who acknowledged Islam as a political commitment beyond being ordinary Muslims as its readership (Çakır, 1990: 199). Özkan also stood aside from factions in the public sector and stated that such grouping means nothing but maintaining the existing order. Therefore, he criticized the National Salvation Party for its "partial participation in power" (Erkilet, 2010: 167).

### **3.8. Formations around Intellectuals and Magazines**

Having considered the awakening of global Islamic movements, it is interesting to observe the circles that gathered around the magazines, which have impacted a generation of young religious Muslims in Turkey. These groups began to gain visibility especially in the magazine circles, the foundations of which were laid in the 1940s. At the beginning of the mentioned groups are Hareket magazine which was started to be published by Nurettin Topçu in 1939, Büyük Doğu magazine which was started to be published by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek in 1943, and Diriliş magazine which started to be published in 1960 under the direction of Sezai Karakoç.

In the 1970s, Ercümen Özkan, founder of Hizbu't-Tahrir party and intellectual from Turkey, and the Islamic Party milieu as well as the magazines Düşünce, Kriter, Talebe and Aylık magazines circles earned reputation (Türkmen, 2008, pp. 80-81). While Hareket and Diriliş magazines came to be mediums in which intellectual and literary aspects were regarded more important, Büyük Doğu and Fikir magazines became stages where politics were, additionally, dealt with. Aylık, Mavera and Edebiyat magazines moreover, sought to further a possibility of freshness in literature, while Nesil and İslam Düşüncesi magazines made an effort to read the social developments in the light of Islamic sciences.

By the late 1970s, the more visible religious Muslims became, the more they drew attention from different ideological circles. Behind this, was Islamic youth's call for dialoguing with the main sources of Islam. These groups, with their emphasis on religion as a way of life, have also been strongly criticized. The so-called traditionalists brought classifications such as "Wahhabism", "Shia", "non-madhabism"\* in question via translations of Islamic world. They wanted to review not only at the effects of the Iranian revolution, but also, and more importantly, because they were concerned that their own approaches would be ineffective.

Düşünce magazine was heavily involved in the debates that lasted up until the early 1980s. It gave wide coverage to concepts such as state, order, Dār al-Harb, Dār al-Islam, and Islamic State (Ağrakça, 1999). Books and articles on issues such as the Islamic State, the Islamic constitution and the Islamic economy were also widely published in the same period. In addition to the conceptual discussions carried out in Düşünce, there were also groups aiming at a mass effected by continuing the quest for Islamic consciousness and identity with simpler expressions.

---

\* After the 70s, priorities of Diriliş magazine differed from those of the 60s. Besides orientation to Divan literature and translations from the Western world, articles titled "The Righteous Madhabs by Faith and Deeds"-"İtikatta ve Amelde Doğru Mezhepler"- (70, issue:4-5), which can be correlated with the debates on madhab, were hosted.





These were mainly young people who had been active in MTTB but left the group because of differences of opinion. Following their demand for revolutionary transformation, they introduced publications such as *Akıncılar*, *Akıncı Güç* and *İslami Hareket*. Printed texts inspired by Sezai Karakoç's *Diriliş Neslinin Amentüsü* published in 1976 were circulated by these young people in the squares, schools and in front of the mosques.

While the method of the Islamic campaign was under discussion, the Iranian revolution triggered Islamic groups in Turkey, despite disagreements, to refer to new sources and views outside the Islamic epistemology of the preceding period in their pursuit of the solution. This orientation, therefore, contributed to the content of later publications to be more understandable and inclusive.

Marking its debut with an article entitled *Yeniden İlme Dönüş* (Return to Science) in May 1976, the *Kriter* magazine brought a new dimension to the Islamic campaign of M. Said Çekmegil, considered the leader of the Malatya movement, which is a movement in Anatolia, kept his distance from the prejudices in his articles in *Kriter*, assailed the discussions on Islam. For example, he found harsh criticisms, caused by the Iranian Revolution, against religious methods of Umayyads and Abbasids unfair (Çekmegil, 1976). However, the agenda of magazines published by Islamic groups in Turkey in 1979 was not limited to affairs of Turkey, as there was a conspicuous sensitivity with respect to turn of events in other Islamic countries. The revolution in Iran, the resistance in Afghanistan and the goings-on in Pakistan were covered in detail. During the above-mentioned period, while the rise of Islamic groups in the world was debated, there was a serious opposition to the existing system in Turkey. As can be understood from the publications of the period, both the resistance in Afghanistan and the revolution in Iran contributed to self-confidence and enthusiasm among Turkish religious Muslims.

*Aylık* magazine, however, denounced literary magazines which avoided meddling in politics. Unlike other contemporary literary magazines, it gave an in-depth analysis of the developments related to the revolution in Iran. This gradually rising Islamic sentiment around the magazines interrupted before long, however, Beşir Eryarsoy pointed out that after the Iranian Revolution, actions were taken by the United State, and their local collaborators intimidate Muslims (Eryarsoy, 1993). As a result of the success of the Iranian Islamic Revolution, the West lost an important base in the Middle East that it had secured during the Shah period. Therefore, it did not want to risk its relations with Turkey who functioned as another important buffer against the USSR. Thus, the rising Islamic wave in Turkey, especially stimulated by what happened in Iran and Afghanistan, was disrupted by the 1980 military coup (Porbonab, 2000: 73-100).

The course of the action, these groups turned, in the wake of the Turkish coup of 1980, had to exist independent of the establishment. The Iranian Revolution can be cited as the reason for this department. As for traditional cemaats, they either completely withdrew after the coup or renewed their reflexes to come to terms with the system, as was the case for Necip Fazıl (Türkmen, 2008: 67).

#### **4. Findings:**

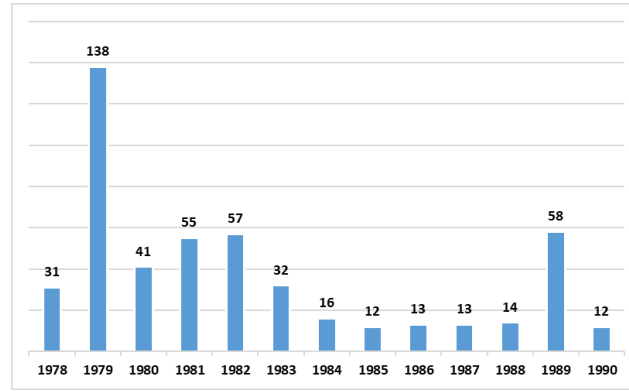
##### **Iran's Islamic Revolution and Export of Revolution in Magazines**

This paper examines how the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was approached in Turkey through magazines which declared themselves an Islamic publication openly and did not do so, but falls under the category of Islamic publication anyway owing to their content. Accordingly, news and columns on the revolution were analyzed. Quantification of the data, such as authors or sources of the contents and publication date is given in.

This section presents quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as the reviews of the way in which periodicals and writers have described and treated the revolution. First, how the former and the latter viewed Ayatollah Khomeini were probed into by drawing attention to the titles and attributions used for him. Second, the texts pivoting on the revolution and those which did not were classified. Third, the themes on which the revolution was intensely covered were studied in the context of the Iraq-Iran war and the

exportation of the revolution. Fourth, the written pieces regarding the Iran-Iraq war and the revolution together, were evaluated. Fifth, the section addressing the export of the revolution was dealt with the opinions of the writers on what would permit or prevent this export were brought together. Lastly, the war, which allegedly began to prevent export, and madhhab-related issues were also analyzed in detail.

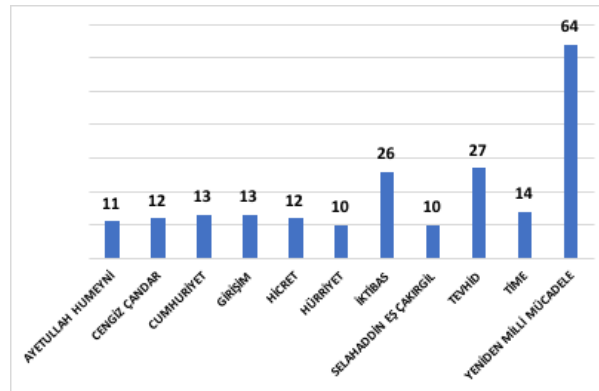
In retrospect, considering the date of publication of these reports and writings, the expectation of a revolution in Iran was in fact much foretold before it took place. 1979 was unsurprisingly the year in which the content of the regime change in Tehran was most broadly covered. Graph 1 shows the frequency of the news / articles that covered the Islamic Revolution in Iran over the years.



Graph 1. Frequency of the News / Articles Covering the Islamic Revolution in Iran by Years

As it can be seen from Graph 1, various news agencies and newspapers were cited, especially in the news, in addition to the write-ups produced by the writers using their genuine names or pseudonyms. Furthermore, certain articles were also published with the name of the referenced magazine.

Determining the information about the author or source is also important in understanding the relationships between magazines, whereby some magazines mentioned in this paper were introduced by certain writer groups in tandem. Even so, the viewpoint of magazines in relation to the Iranian revolution is established by pieces signed by their contributors, differences can be observed in the approach of other sources and feature writers within the same magazine. The writers whose names are mentioned most throughout the contents are Cengiz Çandar, Ayatollah Khomeini, Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, Ali Bulaç, Atasoy Müftüoğlu, Eric Rouleau. As for the most cited magazines, newspapers or news agencies, they are Yeniden Milli Mücadele, Tevhid, İktibas, Zaman, Cumhuriyet, Hicret, Girişim, Güneş, Sebül, Şura, Tercüman. Graph 2 shows the writers/sources who wrote 10 or more news/articles.



Graph 2. Writers/Sources Who Wrote 10 or More News/Articles

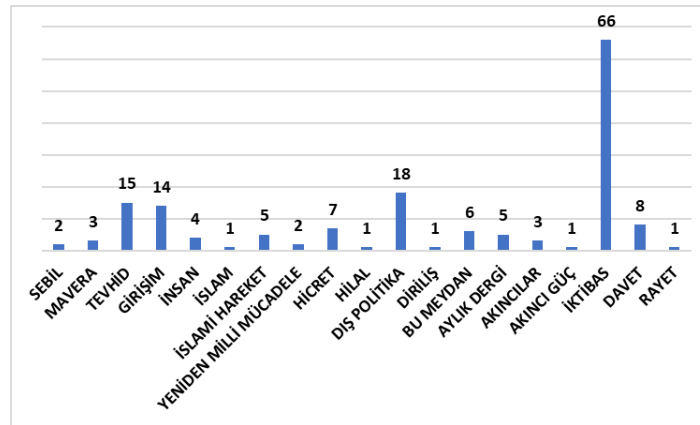
#### 4.1. Definitions of Revolution

What is focused on this part of the study is how the revolution was defined and conceptualized in the news/articles. Because the expressions used to define the revolution clearly reveal what the journal/authors think about the revolution. The preferred expressions are important in determining the approach the periodical and the contributor maintain. In doing so, expressions and definitions of the magazine or the author used for the revolution were detected. On that account, the phrases "Iranian Revolution", "Iranian Islamic Revolution", "Islamic Revolution", "Iranian Incident", "İran İhtilali", "Halk İhtilali", "Khomeini Revolution" were used.

By excluding the adjective "Islamic" and calling it only "Iranian Revolution" and "İran İhtilali", it was intended to give the incident a "national" connotation, limited to Iran only. The use of the "Iranian Islamic Revolution", by contrast, is understood to mean the attribution of an Islamic character to the revolution and to approve post-revolution regime through organ and writer.

Among the 492 news/article texts analyzed in the study, the term "Iranian Revolution" was used in 65 articles. In 23 of the texts, the terms "Iranian Revolution" and "Iranian Islamic revolution" have been used together. The denotation of "Iranian Revolution" (İran Devrimi) and "İran İhtilali"\* are noticed for having been used by Diriliş apart from the writers Nevzat Yalçıntaş and Emrehan Selim from Sebil. And, in 157 of the news/article texts assessed with content analysis, the term "Iranian Islamic Revolution" was favored to refer to the revolution. The "Iranian Islamic Revolution" was chosen for, except for some news/articles in the magazines of Yeniden Milli Mücadele, Dış Politika and İktibas.

What was also noticed is that the expression "Iranian Islamic Revolution" was on occasion used interchangeably with the "Iranian Revolution". However, the latter was not designed to promote national momentum, but rather adjective or practical goals seem to have been taken into account. Graph 3 shows the frequency of texts using the expression "Islamic Revolution in Iran" in magazines.



Graph 3. Frequency of Texts Using the Expression "Islamic Revolution in Iran" in Magazines

Magazines or authors who preferred using the term "Islamic Revolution" defended the idea that the revolution in Iran should be a role model for all Muslim countries. These contents show that the revolution communicates directly to readers by referring to its Islamic identity. Based on the definition of "Islamic Revolution", the view that the revolution would not be limited to Iran was advocated. The expression "Islamic Revolution" is mentioned in 23 of the texts examined. Tevhid, İnsan, İslam, İslami Hareket, Hijra, Hilal, İktibas, Davet, Rayet were the leading magazines that include pieces with "Islamic Revolution" term.

Regarding the use of the "Iranian incident", these organs and columnists insisted to justify this preference by claiming that what happened in Iran was not a revolution. The negative comments about the revolution

\* [both *devrim* and *ihtilal* means revolution in Turkish but pose different connotations] while the latter is meant for corresponding to one stage of the revolution, and it has been argued that certain stages of the road to revolution have not been completed yet and the desired goal has not been achieved.

in their works caused the phrase printed on many minds "very negative" as well. The magazine Nesil seems to have popularized the phrase "Iranian Incident", thereby the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was conveyed to the reader as "a random social movement" (Nesil, 1979: 3).

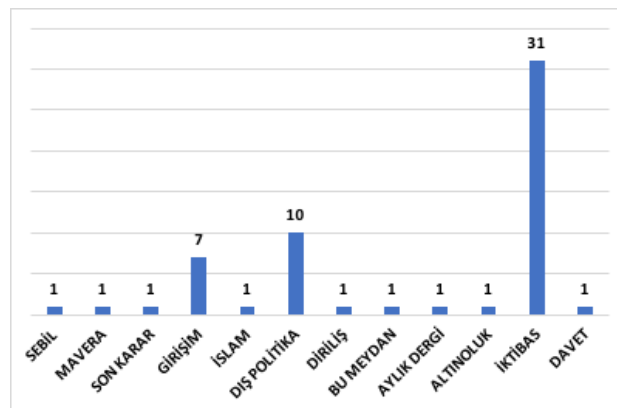
Another finding is the revolution was almost equated with Ayatollah Khomeini in these magazines. For instance, *Yeniden Milli Mücadele* referred to it as the "Khomeini Revolution". What frequently accompanied the "Khomeini revolution" in these contents was the "Shia leader" of Ayatollah Khomeini, which means that the revolution was attempted to be identified with the Shia. Meanwhile, Islamist intellectuals in Turkey have been criticized, with epithets like "radical", "Khomeini" or even "Shiite" launched (Meeker, 2019: 214).

What crystallizes with this aforementioned association between the revolution and Khomeini is a negative stance against the revolution. Those who used the name "Khomeini revolution" argued that the leading actor of the revolution was Ayatollah Khomeini. It was also claimed that the social movement in Iran, both in the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary period, was carried out by religious scholars under the guidance of Ayatollah Khomeini.

#### 4.2.The Iraq-Iran War and its Relationship with the Iranian Islamic Revolution

The Iraq-Iran War, which started soon after the revolution, became one of the decisive factors in the relations of the Middle Eastern countries between 1980 and 1990. In Turkey, where the argument that the Iraq-Iran War was plotted to forestall the export of revolution (Çandar, 1988, pp. 223-225), the war is observed to have been dealt in connection with Shia and Sunni. In addition to these, information about the magazines and writers that covered Iran-Iraq and the date and frequency of publication were derived from the content in which the war was the subject matter.

As is shown in Graph 4, *İktibas* leads in terms of coverage of the Iran-Iraq War, followed by *Dış Politika* and *Girişim*. Whereas the others each contain a text with the term Iran-Iraq War mentioned once. As a further matter, who covered terms such as "export of revolution", "Shia", "Sunni" and "imperialism" was also looked into as part of this study. Graph 4 shows the frequency of texts covering the Iraq-Iran War by journals.



**Graph 4.** Frequency of Texts Covering the Iraq-Iran War by Journals

While evaluating the fourth year of the revolution in *Mavera* magazine, Fehmi Muzafferoğlu stated that the Iraq-Iran War was actually an important event that showed how far the forces against Islam could go. Muzafferoğlu also stated that those who understood that they could not collapse the revolution from within Iran wanted to bring the revolutionaries into line by supporting the Iraq-Iran War and putting a neighboring state into action. (Muzafferoğlu, 1984, pp.1-3)

In the article titled "Iran-Soviet Rapprochement" in *Altınoluk* magazine, it was stated that the Soviets were the first countries that helped Iraq in the Iraq-Iran War. However, at this point, it was shared that the Soviets



considered establishing good relations with Iran beneficial and necessary for their own sake. At the beginning of the article, "Comments from Rafsanjani: Gorbachev corrected his old mistakes. withdrew from Afghanistan. He stopped supporting Iraq." expressions are highlighted. (Altınoluk, 1989, pp.35)

In the text of the review of the Iran-Iraq War in *Diriliş* magazine, the view that the party that started the war was Iraq, which was "supported by international forces", was brought to the fore with the phrase "whatever international evil has entered their minds..". In the continuation of the text, it is argued that the basis of the war is actually the hegemony of the Gulf countries (Diriliş, 1988, pp.1).

In the *Girişim* magazine, Abdurrahman Dilipak stated that there was no winner in the war. He also claimed that "imperialism and their local collaborators" were the main ones responsible for this war. Dilipak also added that there was no negative impact on the Islamic movement during and after the war, and that hopelessness and intimidation could not be instilled in the believers. (Dilipak, 1988, pp.4). Dilipak drew attention to the fact that Iran cannot be held responsible for the war with these evaluations and included statements that can be considered as supportive of the new regime established in Iran after the revolution.

A comprehensive evaluation of the Iraq-Iran War was made in *İktibas* magazine, and in the article written by Ali Abbud, it was stated that the war would not end in a short time and if it continued for a long time, the economies of both countries would perish like a bleeding wound. Ali Abbud declares that the winner of this war, which will continue, is Israel. In his article, Abbud expresses Saddam Hussein's attitude and his thoughts on both sides with the following words; "Saddam Hussein not only expelled Iraq from the Arab Liberation War, he is also trying to crush another force (Iran) that is friendly to the Arab nation and has declared jihad against Zionism." (Abbud, 1981, pp.27). Articles conveying the Iran-Iraq War through Shiism and Sunnism have revealed that Arab countries provoked racist feelings against Iran during the war. According to Dilipak, the Islamic world's sympathy for Iran was set out to deter via Ahl as-Sunnah and Shia debates (Dilipak, 1988: 220).

As for the features that account of the war in identifying it to the export of the revolution, it was emphasized that the war is meant to promote the recent insurgency and the subsequent regime change in Iran overseas. It was claimed that what warded this export off was the international status quo: "The international conscience has not taken action against the war started with Iraq's invasion of Iran and unfolded on Iranian territory between 1980-82 but has come to do so since 1982 once Iran got the upper hand, thereby the voices for "ceasefire" and "peace" have been heard. The aim is to avert the Islamic swell in Iran and to preserve the international status quo." (Çandar, 1988, pp. 223-225).

### **4.3. Iran's Islamic Revolution and Export of Revolution**

In order to analyze the effects of the Iranian revolution in Turkey and the countries of the region, it was necessary to examine the exportation of the revolution, which played a crucial role in Iran's foreign policy towards its neighbors. Khomeini repeated a number of times the Islamic identity of the revolution and said it could inspire all Muslim countries in this respect. These statements were going to set the scene for the idea of exporting the revolution to have gained wide currency in Turkey. He even once said "We want a Muslim nation. We want an Islamic and just governments for Muslims in Egypt, Iraq, and Turkey" (Khomeini, 1984, pp. 50-57), which startled Turkey's secular government even more, made it wary of its eastern neighbor.

In this search, initially the writings containing the term export of the revolution were interpreted. In the next stage, the aspiration and the prospect of a revolution of the same nature in Turkey were investigated. It was identified that the export of the revolution in the pieces of the selected magazines was covered alongside the war and madhab issues, Shia in particular. In addition to the recurring translations of Ali Shariati's work in the pre-revolutionary period, many articles were published in the post-revolution period. There were mainly concentrated on the blurbs of Shariati's publications, sociological approaches, life, and views on Islam. For this reason, this section in question goes into detail about him.





Ali Shariati, an influential figure in the intellectual circles of the 1970s in Iran and mentioned as the ideologue of the revolution, grounded Islamic thought with a revolutionary approach while conveying his political thoughts to the younger generation. These views of Shariati, who put forward Iran's Islamic heritage as an antithesis against the nationalism advocated by the Shah's regime, attracted attention not only in Iran but also in countries outside Iran. In Turkey, it was aimed to develop an Islamic opposition against Western ideologies, especially by making translations from the works of Shariati.

In Turkey, while developing discourses that could prepare the ground for the revolution by writers who were in favor of the exportation of the revolution, they applied to the works and views of Ali Shariati. Because Ali Shariati has put some concepts of Marxism in an Islamic form in his speeches to Hüseyiniye'i İrşad and in his works, and he has brought together the idea of Islamic return to the revolutionary ideology. Therefore, the role of Ali Shariati's works is important when dealing with the issue of the export of the revolution, which had a decisive role especially in the relations between Turkey and Iran between 1978-1990. Because in the mentioned period, it is seen that Ali Şerai's ideas were discussed and his works and views were frequently included in the texts within the scope of the study.

The frequency of news/articles over the years suggests that the term "export of the revolution" was used mainly in 1989, and the least in 1981 and 1987 whereas none in 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1985.

That is when the war between Iraq and Iran was most intense, which confirms to some degree the idea that the fight was to prevent exports. It should also be noted the writers in favor of this export (or import) to Turkey referenced Ali Shariati in notion-developing for the revolution.

When the texts were analyzed, it was determined that the Şura magazine conducted an interview with Iranian students living in Turkey. In the interview, "Who is Ali Shariati?" it was asked. Iranian students gave the following answer; "Dr. Ali Shariati is an Iranian intellectual who fought in the Algerian War of Independence. Of course, a Muslim intellectual. He led the Islamic revival, especially within the university and youth. Its supporters increased so much that the Islamic movement was armed and recruited into secret organizations. On top of that, Shariati was imprisoned." (Şura, 1978, pp.7). The biography and a poem of Ali Shariati were included in the Aylık magazine. In addition, articles on Ali Shariati's life, his works and his scientific adventure were frequently included in the magazines.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper analyzed how magazines published by Islamic groups approached the Iranian Islamic Revolution between 1978 and 1990 with the central concepts and motifs mentioned in their content. An important finding of the research to note, first and foremost, is that the media leadership of social consciousness and foreign relations was quite obvious. The transmission of the revolution, related news, and actors to the public by the media were equipped with a re-identification and the creation of images as it were. This study also showed that pre-revolutionary developments started to be the subject of discussion in Turkish magazines before February 1979. When the revolution occurred, many periodicals had published news and articles on the subject together with different ideological positions.

The authors most cited as sources in the news and articles in the journals; Cengiz Çandar, Ayatollah Khomeini, Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, Ali Bulaç, Atasoy Müftüoğlu, Eric Rouleau; the most cited journals and newspapers were the Milli Mücadele, Tevhid, İktibas, Hicret, Girişim, Güneş, Sebül, Şura, Time, Cumhuriyet and Tercüman. While there is a negative approach towards the revolution in magazines with a nationalist identity, based on Sufism and published by groups affiliated with the Halidiye branch of Naqshbandiism; in magazines published by names close to groups such as Akıncıs, Müslüman Gençlik, Hezbollah and Hizbu't-Tahrir, a positive approach is exhibited for the revolution.

While the majority of the texts with content coded as "very negative" and "negative" within the scope of the study were included in the Journal of Yeniden Milli Mücadele. In the distribution of the texts that can be classified as "positive" according to the journals and authors, the highest number of texts were found in



the İktibas journal. While Cengiz Çandar, Kamil Çileçöp and Ali Bulaç were the leading authors of texts containing “positive” expressions; writers such as Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, Atasoy Müftüoğlu, Ali Bulaç, Mehmet Metiner, Yaşar Kaplan, Hilmi Kocaaslan are among the names that exhibit a “very positive” approach.

When the rate of the texts in the "very positive" category is compared with the other categories, it is determined that there is a high difference between them. This is an important indicator of the "very positive" attitude towards the revolution in journals with Islamic sensitivity in Turkey.

Another critical point is that religion has played a key role in terms of manner, with which the Islamist groups made remarks about the revolution as the madhab went hand in hand during the definition and make sense of the event. Therefore, the writings in which the revolution and Khomeini were perceived as a threat and evaluated from a perspective based solely on the Shiites, were also located in this research. On the other hand, there were also texts that suggested the revolution and Ayatollah Khomeini represented an Islamic cognizance uniting Muslims, therefore concerns about the Shiites were overlooked. It can be established that İktibas, Girişim and Tevhid were the ones who revolved around the madhab theme most.

While the revolution was being analyzed, the fact that the revolutionary cadres were members of the Shiite sect and that the sect was an important factor in the new regime and constitutional structure they established were also discussed extensively in the journals. In the magazines that showed a positive approach to the revolution, the official sect in Iran was Jafarism, and the tawhid consciousness was frequently pointed out by mentioning that the members of this sect were on the Islamic line. In addition, it has been argued that if the revolution is attributed to Shiism, the first division against the revolution will occur among the Muslims of the world. On the other hand, in the magazines with a negative approach towards the revolution, the differences between Shiism and Sunnism were emphasized and the revolution was conveyed to the readers in a negative way by emphasizing the issue of sect.

The fact that Ayatollah Khomeini stressed the Islamic dimension of the revolution and made statements that it could affect all Muslim countries in this respect, paved the way for the idea of exporting the revolution to have circulated in Turkey, both negatively and positively. Some Islamic groups in Turkey, from the very beginning, argued that this export could constitute a threat for the Sunnis in Turkey. Despite this attitude, media affiliated with groups like Akıncılar, Müslüman Gençlik, Hizbu't Tahrir and Hizbullah argued that the new regime in Iran could very well serve as a model for Turkey and the region.

In addition, the export of revolution was often discussed together with the Iraq-Iran War in these magazines. The texts claiming that the Iraq-Iran War was carried out in order to prevent the export of the revolution have been identified. In these texts, it has been determined that the idea that the revolution can be easily exported to Iraq due to the density of the Shiite population of Iraq is supported and brought to the fore. By evaluating the war between Iran and Iraq in the aforementioned context, it has been argued that the impact of the revolution on the countries of the region is tried to be broken. While evaluating the issuance of revolution in the journals within the scope of the study, it has also been determined that it is often discussed together with Shiism.

In addition to the translations of Ali Shariati's books in the pre-revolutionary period, many articles focusing on Ali Shariati's books, sociological approach, life and Islamic views were included in the post-revolution period. When the relevant texts are examined, it has been determined that the views of Shariati, who put forward Iran's Islamic heritage as an antithesis to the nationalism advocated by the Shah's regime, attracted attention not only in Iran but also in countries outside Iran. It is aimed to develop an Islamic opposition against Western ideologies, especially by making translations of Shariati's books in Turkey.

On the other hand, while the editors of the journals who are in favor of the export of the revolution in Turkey, while the discourses that will prepare the ground for the revolution in their localities were developed, the ideas and views of Ali Shariati were consulted. Because Ali Shariati put some of the concepts of Marxism in an Islamic form in his speeches and in the texts he wrote in Hüseyiniye'i İrşad in order to



prepare the environment suitable for the revolution in the pre-revolutionary period, and brought together the idea of returning to the Islamic essence with the ideology of revolution. Therefore, the role of Ali Shariati's ideas is of great importance when dealing with the issue of the export of the revolution, which had a decisive role especially in the relations between Turkey and Iran between 1978-1990.

## References

- Abbud, A. (1981). Irak-İran Savaşından Kazananlar ve Kaybedenler, İktibas Dergisi.
- Ahmedi, H. (2011). Revabite Ferhengiye Cumhuriye Eslamiye Iran ve Hemsayegan (Mutalehe Moridi: Keshvere Torkiye). Pejoyeşgahe Ferhenge Honer ve İrtibatat.
- Aktaş, Ü. (2009). İttihad-ı İslam ve İslami Hareket(ler): Bir Kriz Sürecinde Strateji Arayışları. Özgün Düşünce Dergisi, 45-100.
- Aktay, Y. (2009). Halife Sonrası Durumdan Vatandaşlık Siyasetine: İslamcı Politik Teolojinin Seyri Notları. Ö. Laçiner içinde, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce- Dönemler ve Zihniyetler (s. 1258-1280). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Algar, H. (2006). Nakşibendiyye . İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- Altınoluk, (1989). İran-Sovyet Yakınlaşması, Altınoluk dergisi.
- Atabek, G. Ş. (2007). Medya Metinlerini Çözümlemek . Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Atalar, K. (2015). Çağdaş Müslüman Düşünce/Sembol Şahsiyetler, “Ercümen Özkan: Türkiye’de ‘Radikal İslam’ın Öncüsü (1938-1995)” . İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları.
- Aykut, S. (1989). Salih Mirzabeyoğlu ve İBDA. Akademya, 14-17.
- Aytepe, M. (2016). Doğuşundan Günümüze İslamcılığın Türkiye Seyri: Bir Sınıflandırma Denemesi. Muş Alparaslan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi.
- Ağrakça, A. (1999). Türkiye’de İslami Uyanışa Dergilerin Katkısı. Haksöz Dergisi(101).
- Berelson, B. (1952). Content Analysis In Communication Research. New York: Hefner.
- Çakır, R. (1990). Ayet ve Slogan. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Çandar, C. (1988). Irak-İran Savaşı. Dış Politika Dergisi, 223-225.
- Çatı. (1977). “Her Müslüman Şeriatçı Olmak Zorundadır”, Çatı Dergisi, 4.
- Çekmegil, M. S. (1976). Yeniden İlme Dönüş. Kriter.
- Çetinsaya, G. (1998). Türkiye-İran İlişkileri, 1945-1997. F. Sönmezoğlu içinde, Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi (s. 135-158). İstanbul : Der Yayınları.
- Dilipak, A. (1988). Irak-İran Savaşı Bitti Mi? Dış Politika dergisi, 220.
- Dilipak, A. (1988). “İran’da Ne Oldu?” Girişim dergisi, 4.
- Diriliş, (1988). “İran-İrak Savaşı”, Diriliş dergisi, İstanbul.
- Erkilet, A. (2010). Orta Doğu’da Modernleşme ve İslami Hareketler. Ankara: Hece Yayınları.
- Eryarsoy, B. (1993). Sedat Yenigün Niçin Şehid Edildi? Haksöz Dergisi(28).
- Fekri, A. A. (2003). Marksizm ve İran Devrimi Deneyimi. Tezkire Dergisi, 185-198.
- Fox, D. J. (1969). The Research Process in Education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Göç, M. (1993). Çok Partili Sisteme Geçerken İslamcı Dergiler. Haksöz Dergisi(28).
- Gökçe, O. (2006). İçerik Analizi Kuramsal ve Pratik Bilgiler. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Güç, A. (1979). Talegani Öldü. Akıncı Güç Dergisi, 1.
- Humeyni, A. R. (1984). Sahifeye Nur (Cilt 1). Tahran.
- huseynisevda.biz. (2019, Nisan 3). huseynisevda. www.huseynisevda.biz: www.huseynisevda.biz adresinden alındı
- İDP . (2019, Mart 9). Davet Dergisi. İDP : <http://katalog.idp.org.tr/dergiler/196/davet> adresinden alındı



- Köroğlu, A. (2016). Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesinin Seyrini Dergiler Üzerinden Okumak. V. Işık, & vd. içinde, 1960-1980 Arası İslamcı Dergiler (s. 14). İstanbul: Nobel Yayıncılık.
- Kara, İ. (2013). Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketleri Sempozyum Tebliği, (Ed. İsmail Kara), . İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.
- Krippendorff, K. (1984). Content Analysis (An Introduction to Its Methodology) . Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.
- Mücadele, Y. M. (1979). İran’da Son Söz Kimin Olacak? Yeniden Milli Mücadele Dergisi, 6.
- Mücadele, Y. M. (1980). İran Devrimi Bir Yılda Ülkeyi Nereye Getirdi? Yeniden Milli Mücadele Dergisi, 7.
- Meeker, M. E. (2019). Müslüman Aydın ve Okuyucuları: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ndeki İnananlar Arasında Yeni Bir Yazar Ve Okur Biçimi. E. Ş. Mardin içinde, Ortadoğu’da Kültürel Geçişler (s. 208-247). Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.
- Mennah, B. A. (1999). 1826’da Nakşibendi Müceddidi ve Bektaşî Tarikatları, Türkiye’de Aleviler, Bektaşiler ve Nusayriler. İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat.
- Muzafferoğlu, F. (1984). “İran’da Devrim Dört Yılını Doldurdu”, Mavera Dergisi.
- Nesil. (1979). Anarşiye Bir Bakış: Ehl-i Sünnet Açısından Şiilik ve İran Hadiseleri. Nesil Dergisi, 3.
- Özşahin, M. (2019). Soğuk Savaş Yıllarında MTTB’nin Batı Algısına Dair Bir Değerlendirme. L. Sunar içinde, “Bir Başka Hayata Karşı” 1980 Sonrası İslamcı Dergilerde Meseleler, Kavramlar ve İsimler (s. 113). Konya: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.
- Porbonab, G. (2000). Tesire Engelleme Eslami Ber Torkiye. Fesname Mutalaate Khavermiyane, 73- 100.
- Punch, K. F. (2005). Sosyal Araştırmalara Giriş . (D. B. vd., Çev.) Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Saka, M. (1990). Zaruri Bir Konum Netleştirme. Ak Doğu Dergisi(3).
- Subaşı, N. (2019). 1980’lerde İslamcılarının Okuma Serüveni. L. Sunar içinde, "Bir Başka Hayata Karşı" 1980 Sonrası İslamcı Dergilerde Meseleler, Kavramlar ve İsimler (s. 375). Konya: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.
- Şentürk, H. (2011). İslamcılık-Türkiye’de İslami Oluşumlar ve Siyaset. İstanbul: Çıra Yayınları.
- Şeyhmus Durgun. (1977, Haziran 10 ). İslam İnkılabının Bileşenleri. Çatı Dergisi, 7.
- Şura, (1978). “İran Şeriat İstiyor”, Şura dergisi, Ankara, 7.
- Tülümen, T. (1998). İran Devrimi Hatıraları. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları.
- Türkmen, H. (2008). Türkiye’de İslamcılık ve Özeleştirme . İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları.
- Yorgancılar, S. (2016). Milli Türk Talebe Birliği ve Milli Gençlik Dergisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. V. Işık, & vd. içinde, 1960-1980 Arası İslamcı Dergiler, Toparlanma ve Çeşitlenme (s. 369). Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık.
- Zare, M. (2008). Elele Rosde İslamgerayi Der Torkiye. Tahran: Muesseseye Mutalaate Endişesazane Nur.