

ANALYSIS OF DECEMALIZATION IN TURKEY POST ATATURK

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Abstract

The failure of the coup attempt in Turkey this year showed the support for Kemalism proved with only a small group of military who do. Kemalism that carries nationalism, secularism and Westernism have lived for many years in Turkey. But into the early 2000s with the victory of the AK Party and the election of Erdogan's Islamist assessed in several key positions such as mayor and then Prime Minister and now President showed the phenomenon of decline in support for Kemalism and the Turkish people's desire to return to practice religion freely. Not only that, the constitutional changes also contribute to it.

Keywords: AKP, Ataturk, Dekemalisation, Erdogan, Kemalism, Military

A. INTRODUCTION

In July 2016, the world was shocked by the coup attempt by a group of officers within the Turkish Armed Forces. The incident took place when President Recep Tayyip Erdogan was abroad. The group calling itself the "Peace Council" claims to take power, impose curfews and emergency status. President Erdogan responded immediately by appearing on the internet and on Turkish national television and calling on the public to step down against the rebels, and as a result 60 people were killed and more than 700 Turkish Armed Forces arrested.

The coup was actually not something that had just happened. Since Mustafa Kemal Attaturk (hereinafter referred to as Attaturk) died in 1937, Turkey has experienced several military coups. Call it in 1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997. Turkish armies are dominated by nationalist and secular groups who are very loyal to Attaturk so that when the military considers that the ongoing government is not in accordance with what has been set by Attaturk (Secularism) then a coup was carried out. The author considers that this is common in countries that have experienced coups in their countries, of course, for different reasons. In principle, when military business corporations are "harassed", they will carry out various methods including a coup so that their interests are safe.

Post Attaturk government is no longer dominated by groups that are pro secularism. It is precisely the Islamist groups increasingly urging pro Attaturk and want Islamic sharia which has been applied for hundreds of years on Turkish soil re-applied. Islamic movements in Turkey such as the An-Nur Movement led by Shaykh Badiuz Zaman Said An-Nursi and the Salamah Party pressed the government that took place not to be oriented towards the West. The An-Nur movement itself has been

working against the government since Attaturk lasted until after his death. The Salamah Party itself is formed by Necmettin Erbakan (Najamuddin Arbakan), which was formerly called the National Nizham Party. In another version, Erbakan is the founder of several parties namely the National Order Party (MNP), the National Salvation Party (MSP), Welfare Party (RP), Virtue Party (FP), and Felicity Party (SP).

After Attaturk, the government which lasted for the most part was political opponents from Attaturk himself, including Erbakan who became prime minister in 1996 but then resigned in 1997 at the urging of the military. Erbakan came from an Islamic ideology party, Welfare Party (WP) and became the first prime minister of Islamic leaning since 1923. It can be said that anti-secularism movements carried out by Islamic groups including parties have entered the realm of Turkish national politics. Since Attaturk ruled with his secularism, there has been resistance by Islamic groups that strongly oppose secularism.

Although Islamic groups are unable to challenge the principle of secularization that applies directly, but they still emphasize the fact that social relations in Islamic societies are based on religious norms. This is why the tension between secularization and back to Islam agreements is a long-standing problem. And currently national politics in Turkey is being controlled by a party that has won national elections in recent years, namely Adalet ve Kalkynma Partion (AKP) or the Justice and Development Party, but this party officially calls itself the AK Party. Ak in Turkish means light, pure, white, clean and not contaminated. Ak Parti connotes the party of light with the party symbol of a light bulb. The AKP rejects claims to be political parties that hold an Islamist political agenda. The AKP claims to be a democratic-conservative party which emphasizes traditional Turkish religious values.

The presence of the AKP as the party winning the elections which began in 2002, 2007 and 2011 brought new faces in the Turkish government. If it had previously been dominated by the military, this time it came from civilians who were more religious in Islam. Indeed, since the 1960s Islamist groups began to strengthen and enter into Turkish politics and control the government. Despite this military influence in politics in Turkey is still strong, for that Prime Minister Erdogan's government has amended the Turkish constitution to eliminate problems in democracy and civil-military relations in the country.

The purpose of this paper is to explain the government of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, linking the military and secularism (Kemalism), analyzed the post-Attaturk's military position in politics linked to an attempted coup against Erdogan this year.

Mustafa Kemal Attaturk's government

Medieval times in Europe are often referred to as a setback when compared to classical times (Greco-Roman). On the contrary, the Arab states in the Middle Ages made progress, but eventually this country suffered a gradual decline in the fields of culture and power. Among the Arab countries at that time was the Ottoman Empire which was the largest and most powerful kingdom for more than six centuries (1281-

1924). During the Ottoman Empire, the sultans not only seized the Arab countries, but also the entire Caucasus region and the City of Vienna, even to the Balkans. Then grew Islamic centers in Trace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Albania and surrounding areas.

The Ottoman Empire was founded in 1281 in Asia Minor. Its founder is Uthman bin Erthogril. The word 'Ottoman' was taken from the name of the first grandfather, Uthman bin Ertoghil bin Sulaiman Syah from the Qayigh tribe, one of the descendants of the Ogush Turks. Sulaiman Syah with 1,000 followers wandered to Anatolia and stopped to Azerbaijan, but on his way later died. His position was replaced by his son Ertoghil to continue the journey according to its original purpose. Arriving in Anatolia, they were received by the Seljuk ruler, Sultan Alaudin who was at war with the Byzantine kingdom (Caliph Abbasid in Baghdad)

After the death of Erthogil, with the approval of Sultan Alaudin, Ertoghil's position was replaced by his son, Uthman who ruled the Ottoman Turks between 1281-1324 AD. It was in this condition of destruction that Uthman claimed full independence of the occupied territories, while at the same time proclaiming the establishment of the work of the Ottoman Turks. Uthman's military strength became the stronghold of the sultans of the small dynasties from the danger of the Mongol attack. Thus, indirectly, they admit Uthman as the highest authority with the title "Padiansyah Ali Uthman

The objective conditions faced by the Ottoman Turks made the kingdom's leaders form a state based on military systems and principles. The outbreak of war with Byzantium for example, inspired the Caliph of Orkhan to establish a military education and training center so that a military unit called Yaniseri or Inkisariyah was formed. This military policy was further developed by the successor, Murad, by forming a number of Yenisari corps or branches. All troops are educated and trained in military facilities with the provision of the spirit of the Islamic struggle. This Yenisari power then transformed the newly formed Ottoman state into the most powerful war machine, and provided a huge boost to the conquest of non-Muslim countries.

The Ottoman Empire then began to decline when Sultan Salim II (1566-1574) occupied the throne of government. Historians consider this to be the starting point for the collapse of the Ottoman Turks and the end of its golden age. Characterized by the weakening of the spirit of the Ottoman prajuritt struggle which caused a number of defeats in the battle against his enemies. In 1663, the Ottoman army suffered defeat in the invasion of Hungary. Likewise, in 1676 the Ottoman Turks lost the battle in Mohakez, Hungary and were forced to sign the Karlowitz agreement in 1699 which contained statements throughout the Hungarian territory, mostly Slovenia and Croasia, to Venetian authorities.

Below are some of the factors of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire which are categorized in 2 terms, internal and external factors :

1. Internal Factors

- a. The vast territory and the poor system of governance handled by his successors who have no skills, loss of justice, rampant corruption and increased crime, are factors that greatly affect the collapse of the Ottoman Turkish empire.
- b. Population heterogeneity and religion. Philip K. Hitti in the *Al-Daula al-Islamiyah* states that a country whose foundation is for military purposes, not for the benefit of the nation, will not be able to unite the diversity of population and religion.
- c. Life boast (hedonism). The rulers of the Ottoman Turks changed their lifestyle which tended to follow Western life and abandon Islamic values. They squander the wealth of the country with various kinds of fun and immorality.
- d. The decline in the country's economy due to war where most of it suffered defeat. On the one hand the state has a deficit, while on the other hand the state's money is squandered to satisfy the pleasures of the rulers who do not care about the interests of the people.

2. External Factors

- a. The emergence of the nationalism movement. Nations under the rule of the Ottoman Empire began to realize the weakness of the ruling dynasty. Their attachment to the kingdom was through the process of conquest so that they had the opportunity to rise and escape from the Ottoman Turks when they experienced a decline in influence.
- b. Technological progress in the West, especially in the field of weapons. Meanwhile in Turkey there was a stagnation of science, so when there was a clash of arms between the Ottoman Turks and the powers of Europe, it always suffered defeat because it was still using traditional weapons, while Europe had advanced its weapons technology.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire then gave birth to the Republic of Turkey (Modern Turkey) which was proclaimed by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk on 29 October 1923. This country was a metamorphosis of a totally different Ottoman empire. By Ataturk, Turkey was formed into a modern secular state, this is a very deep form of disappointment with the previous Caliphate system. The climax was on March 3, 1924, Ataturk dissolved the caliphate, which had existed since the time of the Companions of Abu Bakr. In Ataturk's view, the Ottoman Caliphate was structure "Crazy" based on fragile religious foundations. According to him, the rest of the Uthman dynasty had to disappear. Old-fashioned religious rulings and courts must be immediately replaced by modern and scientific civil law. Therefore, religious schools also

absolutely must be submitted to secular government schools. In short according to Ataturk, the state and religion must be separated (secularism).

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was born under the name Mustafa, because of his panda in mathematics he was nicknamed "Kemal" which means perfect and Ataturk means "father of Turkey" as the founder of modern Turkey. Born to a mother named Zubaedah, a pious woman and a father named Ali Ridha an ordinary employee at one of the government offices in Istanbul. His father died when Ataturk was a child, since then his mother has been the only parent for him. By his mother, he was first admitted to the Madrasah Fatima Mollah Kadin in his hometown. The mother wants it as hafiz (memorizer of the Qur'an) and hoja (teacher / ustaz). However, Ataturk was not satisfied and opted out and then went to a public school (Shemsi Effendi) in Salonika. After completing elementary school at the age of 12 years, then entered the Military High School in Salonika. Then he continued his military education at the Military Training School in Montasir. In 1898 he continued his studies at the Military High School in Istanbul until he obtained a diploma in 1905 with the rank of captain.

Ataturk was an intelligent person, so Kemal was named by his teacher in middle school. He learned self-taught politics from his friend Ali Ali. In addition, he also studied French with which he could read J.J. Rousseau, Voltaire, August Comte and other French-language literature in history and literature. During his college years, Ataturk was an activist who formed a secret committee and published pamphlets in support of criticism of the Sultan's government which led to his imprisonment for several months. But after graduating from the Military High School with the rank of captain it was then sent and assigned to Damascus and there he formed the association Vatan we Hurriyet (Motherland and Independence). After the rupture World War I, he was immediately summoned to Istanbul and promoted as Commander of Division I

Seeing the many regions that fell into the hands of the allies in World War I and moreover the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey had been under his influence, Ataturk considered the need for a rival government in Anatolia. Then in 1920 the Great National Assembly was formed and in its session in Ankara, Ataturk was appointed as its chairman. Through this institution, political struggle Ataturk is more systematic. After continuing struggle, the Allies finally de facto and de jure recognized the power of this assembly. On July 23, 1923 the international community recognized the government of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Then on October 29, 1923 Ataturk proclaimed Turkey as a republic and was elected as the first president and continued to be elected until his death

As a president, in running his government he was seen as a dictator, the party that was allowed to live in Turkey at that time was the People's Republican Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [CHP]), known to be hard in carrying out the ideas of nationalism, secularism and westernism. As a military man, he led his people like he led an army, issuing various orders to create a modern Western model state. His dream is that Turkey can become a strong, modern and respected nation. According to him, the only way to realize this idea is to do secularization which in practice is to

do westernization (Westernization). For Ataturk, Turkey's progress can only be achieved with total Western acceptance.

In connection with the idea of nationalism, Ataturk devised that the prevailing Islam in Turkey was Islam which had been indigened into Turkish culture. The caliphate system was abolished as well as the Shari'a law but returned the Qur'an and al-Hadith and translated the Qur'an into Turkish. According to him, Islam can be harmonized with the modern world. The intermingling of Islam in all walks of life brings setbacks to the nation and religion. In order to realize the idea of secularism, Ataturk took several ways, including: (1) abolishing the position of caliph (1924), (2) using the Swiss Civil Law, (3) abolishing the sharia court and the position of Shaykh al-Islam, (4) limiting the number of mosques, (5) abolishing sentences stating that Islam is a state religion, (6) incorporating the principle of secularism in the Turkish constitution, (7) replacing Arabic characters with Latin letters, (8) abolishing the validity of polygamy, (9) dissolving madrassas, tekke (tarekat movements), and Sufi zawiat, and (10) replacing torbos on the head with Western-style hats. After carrying out a series of reforms, Turkey officially declared itself a secular state in 1937 which became known as Kemalism.

The military is the only institution in Turkey that has survived 600 years both in the history of the Caliphate (Ottoman) and the lifetime of the republic (modern Turkey). Since its formation, the military has been so integrated with the state that in the history of leadership in Turkey it has always been occupied by the military except the 1950-1960 period. The Turkish military is not like in other countries such as Latin America and neighboring countries (like Greece, which represent certain classes of society. But the Turkish military is very bound to the state as the executor of the government and guard the continuity of the political system in it especially as a guardian of secularism

Some opinions such as Hale who stated that the military withdrew from practical politics and were behind the scenes of politics. Similar to Huntington's opinion that the government party (CHP / People's Republican Party) was formed / born from the "womb" of the military, the general's politics created political parties and political parties that ended the general's politics. But in his speech in February 1931 (Konya Speech), Ataturk stated that every step of the Turkish state must always look to the military because the military is the guardian of the ideals of the nation. Furthermore, Article 34 of the Army Internal Service Law established in 1934 (Law No. 2271) states that "the duty of the armed forces is to protect and defend the Motherland and Republic of Turkey as stipulated by the Constitution". On one hand, the military by the founding fathers was limited in its influence in politics but on the other hand the military was placed as the owner and guardian of the Republic. In this case, the author's understanding is that although the military is subject to the Ataturk government, its position in the state is very strong because every state action or decision must refer to the armed forces. It is understandable if the military submits to Ataturk because he also comes from the military so this institution certainly supports his every decision.

Military and political studies show that there are 2 models of civil-military relations that take place in a country according to Samuel Huntington, namely Objective Civilian Control (OCC) and Subjective Civilian Control (SCC). OCC further maximizes military professionalism, more precisely the division of political power between the military and civilian groups to create a situation conducive to the emergence of professional attitudes and behavior among military members (officers' corps). This method is most likely to produce healthy civil relations. Military orientation tends to external threats (from other countries or parties from outside the country) rather than interfering in domestic political affairs. Whereas the SCC is the simplest way to minimize military power by maximizing civilian power, this method creates unhealthy civilian military relations because it refers to efforts to control the military by politicizing them and bringing them closer to civilians. The Ataturk government led the military into the internal affairs of domestic politics so as to create powers that tended to be dictatorial. The military is positioned as a "guardian" of the continuation of the life of the nation and state of Turkey. Resistance to the government can be overcome by military deployment, as in rebellions or resistance by the Kurds in Eastern Anatolia. Politically too, the Ataturk government blocked the way for the creation of an opposition party, which was allowed to live in the country at that time only the Republican People's Party (CHP) as a single party. Every general election, only used as a symbol and ordinary ceremonial is not part of democracy.

Post-Ataturk Government (Kemalism vs. Islamism)

The post-Ataturk government was in the hands of Ismet İnönü in 1938-1950, he was a retired general. Since becoming president replacing Ataturk, Ismet İnönü has received military support and states that existing political parties are prohibited from disrupting the reforms that have been carried out by Ataturk (Kemalism). In his administration, political parties outside the government party (CHP) were allowed to be formed and entered into the assembly (legislative), this took place around 1945. Ismet İnönü told the commander of the armed forces that the military institution had a duty to defend the democratic order. In other words, the military, in addition to its position as a guardian of the state, also maintains the democratic order that has just emerged in Turkey, even though the military is still prohibited from engaging directly in politics that is the legacy of Ataturk, even though the sustainability of democracy in Turkey must go through military approval.

After the Ataturk government, the military had a role in the democratization process in Turkey. Although the military's position is not involved in domestic politics, but when democracy is disrupted by those who compete in power struggles that can disrupt the state order, the military will intervene. This was proven by several military post-Ataturk coups. On May 27, 1960 a military coup took place by a secret organization consisting of officers of the armed forces. The trigger was the free enterprise system policy of President Celal Bayar and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and then sparked divisions within the Turkish elite. Then Pay and Menderes are brought to court, but only Menderes ends on the gallows. General

Cemal Gamar then took over the position of president and prime minister and dominated the government until 1965 and returned to the people to re-elect the country's leader.

The coup occurred again on March 12, 1971, the military again overthrowing the government following the violence and chaos that occurred for several months. The riots and political tensions were triggered by the economic recession and popular resistance related to the strengthening of the Islamic group movement in the country. The coup this time was called a "memorandum of memorandum" because it was colored by General Memduh Tagmac's ultimatum to Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and forced him to dissolve the government. In the mid-1960s the left flow developed in Turkey, the political tension that occurred at this time was triggered by the fear of the democratic nationalist elite against the left group led by General Cemal Madanoglu (said to have received advice from radical intellectuals). In this case, in addition to the emergence of leftism (both radical and liberal), there is also a division within the military. Madanoglu, for example, opened himself up to the leftist ideology besides his understanding of Kemalism where the military was his guardian.

This period also reawakened the enthusiasm of Islamic groups to appear on the surface and fight for it in policy. Even in 1960 a Necmettin Erbakan formed a political party called the Mili Nizam Partisi (National Party) even though it was later disbanded by the military.

The era of Ismet Inano's reign was the beginning of the re-emergence of Islamic studies in Turkey. After World War II, religious activities were seen everywhere, and eventually it became the general opinion of the community so that religious lessons were included in the curriculum in schools again. Also in the 1950s, efforts to rehabilitate the situation were carried out such as returning the call to prayer in Arabic, and expanding the religious directorate, where this time flourished religious life among the people of Turkey

The idea of secularism itself becomes polemic for those Turkish Muslims who curb the freedom to carry out religious orders. They are confused with the typology of Turkish secularism, where everything that smells of religion will be deemed to insult the ideology of Kemalism. Secularism has also been responded to differently by community groups in Turkey. For them secularism does not bring comfort but instead raises suspicion and hatred of one another. Kemalite elite has a hatred of Islamists so that there is a binary position and counterproductive to Turkey's national development that wants to be equal with European countries. Therefore, Islamists formed a circle of subtle opposition to government action through the formation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) engaged in social and educational fields such as those carried out by Fetullah Gulen (later an enemy of the Erdogan government) or the Turkish middle class Muslim businessmen who formed MUSIAD but responds to secularism not through politics but with social issues so that it is deemed not harmful to the state (secularism).

Nevertheless there are also groups that openly take a political position and align themselves with the Kemalist group in the struggle for power or strategic

positions both in the executive and legislative branches. They founded political parties with a variety of styles and colors, both ideological and philosophical. Like the Refah Party which was also founded by Erbakan based on Islamic ideology. In addition, there are also parties that choose to be lenient towards the Kemalist government and use a more moderate and accommodating approach in the framework of democracy and modern constitutions such as the AKP Party.

Decemalisation, AKP Party (Adalet va Kalkınma Partisi) and Recep Tayyip Erdogan

The movement to break away from secularism has been carried out by Islamic groups both through social and educational issues as well as by forming political parties and aligning themselves with other existing parties first. Islamic-based parties, both ideological and philosophical, as mentioned earlier, try to balance Kemalism supporters in government politics. The re-emergence of movements to restore Islam in the life of the nation and state in Turkey can be considered as a form to reduce or eliminate the Kemalisasi that has lived since 1924.

The fresh air of a democratic climate that provides an opportunity for Islamists to enter the Turkish political arena when power was held by President Turgut Ozal in 1983. Ozal is a moderate Muslim but follows a climate of secularism, he questions the appropriateness of the state to have an ideology and a military position that controls state policy including the Kurds as the previous governments did. During his reign, there were several important moments of Ozal's alignments with Muslims, such as the establishment of the Islamic-based Welfare Party / Refah Party (PK) which received the attention of the public so that it gained little success in the election in Ozal. When Ozal died, the party won the mayoral election held in March 1994 in which Erdogan was elected as mayor of Istanbul.

The emergence of the AKP Party is inseparable from differences among Islamic groups that form political parties. The AKP was formed by Recep Tayyip Erdogan (hereinafter referred to as Erdogan) as a response to the division within the Goodness Party (Fazilet Partisi, FP) in 2000. The AKP rejected claims that the political party had an Islamist political agenda. The AKP claims to be a democratic-conservative party (Muhafazakarlar demokrat) which emphasizes Turkish traditionalist religious values. This strategy is based on the tendency of an increasingly conservative society, due to the dominance of right-wing politics in quite a long time especially since the Ozal era. The AKP softened the identity and agenda of Islam after coming to power due to military pressure and the Kemalist bureaucracy. The party must abide by the strict guidelines of the secular regime to exercise power in order to maintain its legal status.

International developments also helped explain why the AKP refused to be perceived as a force of Islamism identified with terrorism after the events of 9 September 2001. The presence of the AKP was actually also a consequence of decades of encounters between Islam and the state. Therefore, it is not an a-historical force, although it asserts itself to be a conservative-democratic, Islamists and secularists accuse it of being camouflage (takiye). Islamists worry that the AKP is merely a

political agent of the West. But on the other hand, the secularists are worried that the AKP has an agenda to establish an Islamic state like Iran. The AKP elite always refused such a view, in an interview by Abdullah Gul, for example, illustrates Turkey's uniqueness that is not only a bridge between Europe, Asia, the Middle East and the Caucasus, but also the majority of Muslims who promote democracy, human rights and a free market economy.

Aside from strategy, AKP's appeal lies in new faces that are moderate and professional. Besides Gul, the most prominent was Erdogan who had a clear political background and work. He has served as Chair of the Istanbul Refah Party (RP), previously as Chair of the RP in Beyoglu District since 1984. In 1991 Erdogan was elected as a member of parliament but was unable to occupy his seat. However, his political career soon skyrocketed after the RP won the local elections on March 27, 1994 (25.19% of the vote). The party's victory, led by Necmettin Erbakan, led him to become mayor of Istanbul, the biggest and most prestigious city in Turkey

Erdogan has a golden opportunity to prove that he is capable of leading Istanbul. Erdogan made a number of important breakthroughs in responding to everyday urban needs such as water scarcity, pollution and congestion. The water crisis problem was solved by placing thousands of kilometers of new pipes. The waste problem is solved by building a recycling facility. Air pollution is reduced by the use of natural gas as an energy source and replacing environmentally friendly public buses. The density and congestion of Istanbul was solved by building fifty bridges, viadks and highways. Erdogan banned the sale of alcohol in city-owned facilities, prevented corruption by ensuring city funds were used wisely and repaying most of the 2 billion US dollars in Istanbul City's debt and bringing in an investment of 4 billion US dollars. Erdogan was arrested and tried for involvement in the RP disbandment protest. He was sentenced to 10 months in prison on charges of carrying out anti-secular activities. This incident not only lost the mayor's office, but had to obey the political ban until July 24, 1999.

AKP voter support in Turkish elections since 2002 showed a significant upward trend, even though it failed to win a vote above 50% with 34.28% of the vote in the 2002 elections. With that number the AKP surprisingly won a landslide victory, even this support figure exceeded the RP at mid 1990s. When his government was seen as successful in reforming the economy and showing progressive progression in the progress of the European Union, the AKP increased rapidly and its voice support increased significantly to 47% in the 2007 elections. His success repeated in the 2011 election.

Given the accommodative character of democracy and the promulgation of aspirational middle right identities towards Muslim interests, the AKP is not only able to maintain a supportive base for conservative voters, but also gain trust from a broader spectrum. AKP is considered as a party that inherits the tradition of the Islamist movement (Islamism) which is rooted and wide networking. AKP activists, especially their youth and women, actively approach constituents through face-to-face meetings and optimize the AK Communication Centers located at the AKP's

headquarters as well as in the provinces, where all citizens are openly accepted to discuss their various problems, complaints and needs with party members.

The presence of the AKP is enriched by the strong tradition of Islamism which is rooted and popular on the issue of anti-poverty and anti-unemployment, something commonly claimed by left-wing jargon. The AKP can also be accepted by secular-democrats because of pro-democracy issues, supporting modernity and pro-European Union. The AKP was also accepted by the pro-market bourgeoisie because Kerem Oktem noted that the AKP was a phenomenon of blending Islamic piety, democracy and free market commitments with labels that stretched from Muslim-democrats, moderate Islamists and post-Islamists. The AKP's victory was more like the defeat of the Kemalist secular mindset. The AKP's victory and the rise in Erdogan's prestige which was considered to represent the "feeling" of Muslims in Turkey contributed to the decline in support for Kemalism, especially its secularism. Because basically people do not always practice it in daily life because the roots of religiosity are ingrained in Turkish society. Secularism that was built by Ataturk was more about the political aspects so that this could change if changes were made in the Constitution.

The military as a guardian of Kemalism, has begun to change since 2002. Amendments to the constitution and several other legal changes have reduced the level of Turkish military involvement in domestic politics. For example, including a number of civilians in MGK (Milli Guvenlik Kurulu) or the Turkish National Security Agency (2001 constitutional amendment) and several other amendments that show civilian efforts to push the military out of practical politics and only deal with military affairs.

Elections in 2011, put the AKP as a winner in the race for seats in the parliament of 49.83% but this is a decrease from the vote in the previous election. This AKP victory is like de javu repeating previous victories. As a party that is considered clean, the AKP is also seen as professional, where the government provides a lot of stability in politics, security and economy. Specifically, the AKP's win is linked to the AKP's big theme of rolling out a new constitution after the 2007 elections. The AKP proactively convinced its Western allies that they needed to overhaul the constitution. Military involvement in politics is certainly not in line with the system that is taking place in Europe. Turkey's desire to become part of the European Union must be followed by changes especially politically related to the role of the military in the country. So then naturally the issue of changing the constitution was the party's main agenda.

Erdogan's popularity was also linked to the AKP's multiple wins in the election. Erdogan is considered as a person who is charming in body posture and able to display the impression of humility and service. He promises many things from rewriting the civil constitution, mega projects, new cities, superfast trains that reach the distance from Mecca to Xian, suspension bridges, construction of airfields, tax holidays, "crazy projects" large canals parallel to with the Bosphorus waterway, and iPad for all. After his victory, Time magazine identified Erdogan as "a person Moderate and resolute Islamists defend secular democracy ", as well as" the most influential world leaders.

Regarding secularism, the victory of the AKP as a post-Islamist political force in Turkey opens the door for the re-definition of secularism. Necmi Erdogan and Fahriye Ustuner produced a map of Turkish political thought in the 1990s marked by an alternative to neo-Kemalist discourse, neoliberal, post-liberal and Islamic civil. Specifically, Islamic civilians reject the view that Islam is anti-democratic and campaign for the perspective of the Medina Charter. The discovery of alternatives or other interpretations of Kemalism can be seen as a sign that Kemalism has become the most formative ideology that has left its traces, so that it is more precisely placed in a historical context. This shows that de-Democratization in Turkey has occurred, not only in the body of government, the constitution and even at the level of thought has begun to be abandoned.

Although secularism does not exclude religious activity, for pious Muslims, the strictness of religious symbolic restrictions especially in the matter of wearing headscarves especially in government institutions and universities is seen as an expression of excessive discrimination and anti-religion. Secular conservative and military groups are reactive to the issue of lifting the veil ban and linking it as a threat to secularism. At least until now the military is a picture of the Kemalist institution which is still intact although it seems powerless in the face of political shifts that place religious symbols present in the palace. Erdogan's wife wearing a veil in a closed way this shows the existence of resistance to secularism which forbids the use of religious symbols.

The coup attempt by a military group recently (2016) failed to show that pro-Kemalism military power has declined. The military is no longer united for that, even the military has begun to be loyal to the government in relation to its position as a state guardian and no longer a guardian of Kemalism. The coup attempt also showed how the Turkish people strongly supported the ongoing government and took to the streets to deal with the perpetrators of the coup.

B. CONCLUSION

Turkey is now entering a new era, moderate Islamist groups that control the course of the government show progress in various fields that have great support from the people. The constitutional amendment was gradually carried out to reduce or even eliminate the large military role in politics. Decemalization has begun to occur not only in civil society but also in the body of government. Of course, these efforts get a reaction from those who are pro against Kemalism, which was marked by several coups after the Ataturk government. Turkey's development is very rapid, moreover this country is very eager to be incorporated in the European Union so that matters related to the conditions of membership of the union must be met, including the minimalist role of the military in politics. Even so, Erdogan did not leave Arab countries, including those related to the Palestinian-Israeli and Arab Spring issues which were plaguing several Arab countries.

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