Alparslan Türkeş and Nine Lights

Oğuzhan Cengiz

BERSERKER

BOOKS

Alparslan Türkeş

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ENTRY

Alparslan Türkeş ranks among the most prominent leaders of the second half of the 20th century. We can say that Alparslan Türkeş fulfilled the role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the second half of the 20th century, as Atatürk had done in the first half.

He rose to prominence during the 1944 Nationalism Incident and the 27 May Coup. He then entered politics and was the first leader to recognise the imminent danger. This imminent danger was the attempt to launch a communist coup in Turkey. When state organs proved inadequate against the externally dependent ideologues advancing step by step towards communist rule, it was he who raised public awareness and led the practical struggle.

The work you hold in your hands, ***"Alparslan Türkeş and Dokuz Işık," is,*** in a sense, a chronicle of that period of struggle and the doctrine put forward for Turkey's independence and development during that period of struggle.

Despite the passage of years, this work retains its freshness and relevance, as if it had been spoken or written today, and continues to serve as a guide. We can also say with certainty that it will retain this vitality for many years to come. There are lessons to be learned from this book for people of all walks of life and all ages.

Dokuz Işık has been published in many editions at different times. However, different publishing houses have expanded and shortened the editions according to their own preferences.

In this work, we have based ourselves on the 1978 edition. We have corrected typesetting errors that had been overlooked and removed redundant expressions. We have adapted the spelling to modern usage.

Furthermore, we have explained concepts and events in footnotes, as events that were common knowledge when the book was first published have since become part of history.

The footnotes in the first edition are marked with an asterisk. The footnotes we have added are numbered sequentially.

The work consists of two parts. The first part focuses on the life and leadership of Alparslan Türkeş. This part is not included in the 1978 edition. The second part is the National Doctrine of Nine Lights.

Alparslan Türkeş is a historical figure. He is a pioneer of Turkish nationalism.

"Alparslan Türkeş and Dokuz Işık" is a work that will help us see the way forward.

Oğuzhan Cengiz

ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ

Alparslan Türkeş is a leader who suffered for his ideas. He left his mark on the history of 20th-century Turkey and the Turkish world.

Before recounting Alparslan Türkeş's life story, it is necessary to understand theoretically who is called a "leader," what "leadership" is, and the concept of "nationalism":

A leader is a sociological concept that emerges when two or more individuals come together and, as a result of interaction with group members, causes certain behavioural patterns. A leader is a member of a group or society who is distinguished from other members by certain characteristics and influences group activities.

In the formation and life of a group, some members play a more active role than others, are preferred over other members, are more respected than other members, and establish dominance over group members.

Leaders influence group members, and group members influence leaders. The conditions within society are as important as the leadership demands of the person who will lead.

It is necessary to distinguish between the official leader and the leader who emerges from the circumstances. The official leader derives his power from official institutions. If the official leader fails, he may resort to pressure on society or be forced to resign from his position. The official leader can be successful if he integrates with society.

A leader must be "intelligent, knowledgeable, just, honourable, dignified, courageous, generous, gentle-natured, loyal, truthful, compassionate and merciful, patient, forgiving, grateful, and not hasty."

Perfection cannot be found, but the presence of the maximum of the distinctive qualities listed above in the leader will expand the circle around the leader

and also ensures that a more enduring group gathers around the leader.

A leader is a role model. They are someone who takes responsibility, is believed to possess extraordinary abilities, emerges during times of crisis in society, and rescues society from crisis.

Leadership is the use of command ability and personal authority to influence social groups. Leaders use their personal authority through other people to achieve various goals, such as coordination, supervision, management, and mobilising the power of others. Leaders do not resort to coercive methods; they essentially programme the social structure. Personal authority, foresight, various character traits, decisiveness, courage, honesty, and intelligence are qualities that ensure the existence of a leader. Prophets, Atatürk, Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler... are examples of personal leadership. Societies need personal leaders when they lose their order. Dispersed and bewildered masses are ready to accept the proposals and values of leaders.

Leadership is the responsibility and privilege of managing the actions of others. It does not arise from a model or system. No example or system can predict or make assumptions about the conditions a leader will encounter when influencing the actions of others.

* * *

Leadership and management are different. Leaders influence people. Managers, on the other hand, do not influence others; they compel those below them to obey, ensuring that they work together, even if reluctantly.

Another way to look at the difference between leadership and management is to examine the 'Leadership Triangle'. Personal characteristics such as sincerity, trustworthiness, interest, and understanding the feelings of others elevate a manager and make them an effective leader. When these characteristics are present, they enable leaders to rise from the lowest level in the organisation to the level of a long-term, productive manager...

* * *

Alparslan Türkeş was a soldier. He had said that he was a born leader. He had learned leadership qualities within military discipline.

A general must know how to procure food for his soldiers and other supplies needed in battle. He must be imaginative in order to make plans, but he must not overlook the practical aspects of the work. He must also have the power necessary to implement his own plans. A general must be tirelessly hard-working, cunning, gentle, cruel, simple-mannered, wasteful and stingy, meticulous, daring and intuitive, investigating the finest details. A general must either be born with all these and many other qualities or acquire them later in life. He must also understand tactics. For just as a pile of stones is not a building, a crowd of people lacking order and organisation cannot be an army.

No matter how hard a person works and strives, if they lack the innate talent, they cannot become a commander.

The character of someone entrusted with an army must be of the utmost integrity. One must not only know what one wants, but also possess the courage and determination necessary to translate that desire from thought into action. They must be genuinely interested in people and know their nature and characteristics intimately. This is because people constitute the 'raw material' of their profession. However, above all else, such a person must have a fighting spirit and leadership skills, for these are what ensure victory. We see this truth especially in sport. In this field, whoever finds the strength within themselves to push forward again when they fall into a bad situation and does not give up until the last minute will always come out on top. Indeed, I would like to mention another characteristic that distinguishes a great leader from an average general. This is a taste and desire for adventure, which is very similar to the spirit of gamblers.

Authoritarian leadership is prominent in traditional societies.

Authoritarian leaders make plans themselves and determine the group's policy on their own. Only they know the activities, order and relationships of the group members and give orders.

In societies governed by authoritarian leadership, if the leader cannot maintain his position, he loses his authority and the society is left leaderless. This is because that society has not previously considered another person taking over as leader and does not recognise them.

Max Weber states:

"Above all, the profession of politics gives a person a feeling of power. Knowing that one influences people, establishing dominance over them, all of them—

The most important thing is to realise that historical events hold the reins of power, elevating the professional politician above everyday life, even if their role is not particularly significant. The question now is: What qualities do I possess that might enable me to do justice to this power (even in a modest position)? Yes, how can a politician fulfil the responsibility that power has placed upon them? These questions take us into the realm of ethics, because the issue is now an ethical one: What kind of person should be allowed to hold the helm of history? (Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology,* trans. Taha Parla, 3rd ed., Istanbul 1993, p. 113).

Max Weber states that three main qualities are decisive for politicians. These are ambition, a sense of responsibility and balance. Max Weber continues as follows:

Politics is a slow and laborious endeavour, like drilling through thick planks. It requires both passion and broad-mindedness. All historical experience confirms this truth: if humankind had never sought the impossible, it would never have achieved the possible. But to do this, a person must be a leader, a hero in the most serious sense of the word. Those who cannot be leaders or heroes must possess a courage that will keep their spirits up even in the most desperate moments. This is precisely what is needed today, otherwise people will not even be able to achieve what is possible today. Only someone who, despite finding the world excessively stupid and vulgar for the things they propose, does not hesitate can answer the call of politics. Only someone who can say 'in spite of everything' in the face of all this can respond to the call of politics." (Max Weber, *op. cit.,* p. 125).

* * *

Thus, believing in a leader or any authority requires consent to follow them. Hegemony is, in other words, a "dynamic equilibrium." Masses must first consent to a certain authority in order to pursue goals they will follow and pay a price for. As the individual's belief gradually becomes the accepted norm of society, "consent" is of primary importance in mass psychology. Since consent does not last forever and the masses are always in search of something better, hegemony and consent can change and be channelled into different areas. At this point, we come face to face with the shortcomings of socialist theories. Leftist theorists, who always consider hegemony and consent parameters to be the work of a certain motivation-

, even if they know that hegemony can be lost, cannot go beyond the "revolution - vanguard class" debate.

Socialists, claiming to defend a classless society, have counted "hegemony" among the consequences of class society and capitalism. In ideal communism, the inequalities created by class society and hegemony will disappear.

What distinguishes authority from coercion, force, leadership, persuasion and influence is legitimacy based on the consent of the addressee and on hidden reasoning and logic. Those who wield authority believe they possess such a right; those subject to authority believe they must comply with demands and that there is logic behind this. In other words, authority is essentially a right of control, and this right is tied to the respect shown to and obedience paid to the authority figure.

The source of authority can be varied and diverse. A law, certain procedures, the words of a prophet, tradition, etc., create authority or legitimise it for those who are subject to it.

Hegemony is not only dependent on the monopoly of a single decisive group, but also involves constant transformation, compromise and a coalition of ideas.

As can be understood from this statement, in order for a leader to gain acceptance among the masses, they must seek approval from society for their ideas and actions. Leadership can be gained and lost. Expected to continually open new windows for the masses, the leader regains his leadership in the eyes of society through his actions and projects. Contrary to the clichéd definitions of leadership and authority that have been put forward to date, these explanations do not carry any stagnation.

In light of these theories, Alparslan Türkeş occasionally lost his leadership. In 1992, while the MHP was in Parliament, seven MPs and many members of the MHP organisation left and formed another party. Although almost all of those who founded the Great Union Party were trained in the Ülkü Ocakları (ideological youth organisations) and did not even question Türkeş's leadership at the time, over time, intellectual dynamism transformed this group and led them to the point of no longer recognising Türkeş as their "leader". From this point on, they broke away not only from the MHP's party identity but also from the movement's ideological axis.

* * *

Charisma means extraordinary. Charisma is a trait. This trait is recognised by society, and charismatic individuals become leaders of society. Charismatic individuals are the centre of attraction in society, even beyond their own will.

A charismatic leader demands obedience according to their mission. The relationship between a charismatic leader and society is based more on belief than on logic.

Max Weber introduced the term charisma to sociology: "Charisma accepts only internal will and control. The charismatic leader takes on a task according to his own understanding and demands obedience and He needs a loyal following. His success determines whether he can find them. If those he believes have been sent to him do not recognise his mission, his charismatic claim collapses. If they accept him, he becomes their master; he can maintain his position by 'proving' himself. But he does not take his 'right' from their will, as in elections. Quite the opposite: it is the duty of those to whom he has announced his mission to recognise him as their charismatic leader." (Max Weber, *op. cit.,* p. 125).

Charismatic leaders have a theatrical presence.

Türkeş displayed a charismatic image. Türkeş, as we shall discuss later, focused on young people after becoming head of the CKMP and began organising seminars for them. In his book *Ülkü Yolu* (The Path of Ideals), published shortly before the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, Namık Kemal Zeybek, who was elected as the first youth wing chairman after Türkeş became General Chairman of the CKMP, recounts an incident that exemplifies Türkeş's leadership:

In 1965, the CKMP youth wing was a very small minority, and the number of youth wing members had not yet exceeded fifty. On a Saturday, when a seminar was announced and held, only nine people were able to attend due to heavy rain. They were members of the executive committee. The fifty-seat hall was empty. While the youth officials were talking in sadness and anxiety, Alparslan Türkeş came down from the upper floor. He was calm. There was a slight smile on his face, and he said, 'Don't worry, friends. There are nine of you. If you hadn't come, I would have done this training on my own. Today you couldn't fill this small hall, but tomorrow your numbers will grow, and the squares won't be able to hold you. If you want it, this dream will come true.' And he announced the topic of the next seminar: 'If you want it, it is not a dream.'" (Namık Kemal Zeybek, *Ülkü Yolu,* Istanbul 1980, quoted by: İrfan Ülkü, *Türkeş on 12 September,* Istanbul 1995, p. 41).

* * *

Leaders must carry a certain "weight". Weight is defined as follows:

"In a sense, it involves the leader knowing themselves, taking responsibility by bringing their self-confidence to the fore when necessary, knowing when to take a back seat, refraining from unnecessary outbursts that could damage their authority, and pushing their subordinates to the fore, giving them opportunities to develop themselves. Furthermore, weight indicates the balance a leader must seek between supervision and trust." ("Weight," *Thoughts on Leadership,* Istanbul 1983, p. 13).

* * *

Since leadership is the ability to guide, it also has its principles:

A leader has a clear idea of what they want to achieve. They possess the strength to persevere even in the face of obstacles and failures.

A leader loves their work. Tolstoy said, "Hope is the dream of the waking man." One cannot live without hope. Leaders give hope and inspiration to others.

A leader must be sincere, honest and mature. A leader never lies, especially about themselves; they know their strengths as well as their weaknesses and deal with them appropriately. A leader must be sincere in their thoughts and actions. Leadership is not just about showing the way and giving orders; it requires the maturity to be able to commit oneself to the cause and be willing to learn new things.

A leader must be trustworthy. They must be able to gain the trust of

those around them. A leader must be inquisitive.

True leaders are not born; they are made. Developing character and vision are ways for leaders to reinvent themselves.

* * *

The direct intervention of leaders in events is an important factor in the emergence of charisma. Alparslan Türkeş exhibited many personal behaviours at MHP congresses and meetings.

Alparslan Türkeş sought the answer to the question of what a leader should be like during the *1944 Nationalism* Incident:

"Painful Observations"

From a young age, I have always sought ways to be useful for the development of the nation and the country. And I saw that the country needed true leaders. Again, in my investigations, I bitterly realised that many of the disasters that befell us were due to our lack of good administrators and powerful leaders. I also came to understand a major flaw common to the various leaders who have presided over our country. This is that our leaders are very selfish and act in a way that hinders the development of sufficient leaders who could assist them and, when necessary, take their place, rather than ensuring that such leaders are nurtured. Whereas the greatest duty of a patriotic leader is to strive to ensure that other leaders are trained, even to help those who are more powerful and capable than themselves emerge.

In our case, however, especially in the final stages of our history, leaders have always sought to ensure they remained alone at the helm and waged relentless battles against any other personalities who emerged.

Today, the struggle between our parties and politicians is also quite destructive. As someone who has experienced the painful consequences of this in my own life, I would like to offer my nation some warnings on this subject.

The first directive given to their members by various hostile movements in their activities against Turkey is to destroy and discredit distinguished personalities within the Turkish nation. Furthermore, to transform the positive and brotherly competition and mutual encouragement between the nation's leaders and parties into complete destructiveness and divisiveness, and to tear the Turkish nation apart, plunging it into strife and discord. To this end, Turkish citizens who have decided to serve the Turkish nation must take these factors into account and conduct their relations with other citizens accordingly.

It must not be forgotten that it is not enough to be brave enough to sacrifice one's life in order to serve the nation. One must also be courageous and resilient in the face of vile slanders and assassinations plotted to destroy one's honour and dignity.

There is nothing more powerful than truth on earth, and nothing more noble than respect for the Truth. Since the day mankind was created, it has strived to attain truth and connect with the Truth. Falling into a state devoid of this awareness constitutes true annihilation. I pray to Allah to protect the Turkish nation from such a situation." (A. Türkeş, *1944 Milliyetçilik Olayı [The 1944 Nationalism* Incident*]*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1972, pp. 23-25).

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Leaders are created by circumstances. Lenin is a leader because he represents hope. He opposed the Tsarist regime under extremely difficult conditions, mobilised the masses and seized power. But Stalin is not a leader because he came to power through the circumstances prepared by Lenin.

Hitler is a leader because he walked alongside the people, endeared himself to them, and came to power through elections.

Leaders can change after seizing power: both Lenin and Hitler changed and became iron-fisted.

A dictator keeps the regime closed and monopolises "information", so the people know nothing else and love the dictator.

A leader, however, has a combative personality. Facing death, he can promise his people a future.

Those who gathered at Alparslan Türkeş's funeral were not the "hardcore" supporters of the MHP and the Ülkücü organisations. At least two million people were in Ankara. Perhaps tens of thousands of people could not enter the city because the roads were blocked.

Alparslan Türkeş was in opposition... Moreover, the 12 September coup had taken place, and the Ülkücüler were being suppressed. There was no struggle as there had been before 12 September. Despite all this, out of loyalty to Türkeş and trust in his leadership, the people rushed to Ankara to pay their last respects.

The difference between Türkeş and despots is the difference between openness and secrecy. Turkey has so many internal and external enemies that Türkeş emerged as the people's hope in the face of these enemies. He repelled all the attacks of the internal enemies.

Türkeş and Nationalism

Alparslan Türkeş was a Turkish nationalist and a leader because he held nationalist views. He associated with nationalist figures, wrote for nationalist magazines, studied history to strengthen his nationalism, emphasised the importance of a thorough knowledge of Turkish history, and developed ideas. Otherwise, Türkeş did not feel that a leadership vacuum had arisen in the nationalist camp and therefore did not establish contact with this group. If he had not been a leader, he would have taken his place in the nationalist ranks and accepted a leader who would emerge from this group.

Türkeş states the following:

People on Earth live in communities of nations. Each nation has its own characteristics, way of life and world view. As a result of the activities of these diverse communities, various cultures and civilisations emerge, enriching the world. It is dangerous for one society to blindly imitate other societies. Every nation must have its own spiritual beliefs, customs, national culture and national worldview. If these are absent or are accused of being outdated and replaced by new ones, that society will fall into a dangerous void of belief and ideas. Nations are enslaved by their spiritual and intellectual powers before they are destroyed by foreign armies and other material forces. The enslavement and destruction of a society that falls into such a situation becomes inevitable. The main principles that constitute the source of strength of nations and elevate societies can be summarised as follows:

1. Possessing strong spiritual faith and high moral character.
2. Possessing a strong national consciousness and spirit of nationalism.
3. To reach the highest level in science and technology.
4. Being able to produce modern, mass-produced goods in industry and agriculture. (A. Türkeş, *Temel Görüşler* [Basic Views], Istanbul 1975, pp. 28-29).

When discussing Türkeş's leadership qualities, we need to understand nationalism.

Sociologically, nationalism is the "feeling of love for one's nation" and is natural. Prof. Dr. Amiran Kurtkan, while highlighting the "differences in understanding the feeling of nationalism," expresses the following views:

“Some developing countries are those in which a scientific understanding of national sentiment has not fully taken root. For example,

in our country during the Republican era, while the issue of 'what nationalism is not' was sought to be clarified, the question of what it is remained unexplained. For this reason, there may be Turkish intellectuals who fail to grasp the economic importance of the sense of national unity and who believe that measures to ensure national unity could threaten international peace." (A. Kurtkan, *Genel Soyoloji [General Sociology],* Istanbul 1976, p. 133).

Prof. Dr. Kurtkan focuses on how modern sociology defines the feeling of nationalism. The feeling of nationalism is different from the enthusiasm of the masses. In times of crisis, the initiatives of adventurers who rally the masses can create an atmosphere of excitement and ensure that individuals who are not united in purpose participate in such movements with a fleeting enthusiasm. However, this is a transient feeling; it is different from the long-term and conscious feeling of nationalism.

National sentiment is also essential for establishing international unity and peace. Despite technological advances making the world seem like a single entity, the second condition for community-based unity—a sense of unity—has not yet developed into a unifying sentiment among the nations of the world. Unless a sense of unity is first established within national borders, it is impossible to establish international unity and community solidarity. For this reason, giving priority to ideas that instil national consciousness has become an important condition in countries experiencing social disintegration.

National sentiment must also exist in times of peace. This condition is one of the fundamental elements of economic development. Otherwise, tax evasion may increase, faulty and fraudulent manufacturing methods may become widespread, and those who hold the control mechanisms may be inclined to abuse them. Therefore, ensuring social cohesion requires attaching great importance to this characteristic feature of national sentiment. (A. Kurtkan, *op. cit.,* pp. 133-134).

Prof. Dr. Kurtkan states that the sense of nationality is a democratic sentiment, saying:

This characteristic feature means that national sentiment encompasses all members of a nation (one that has embraced national advancement as its highest ideal), regardless of their particular qualities or interests. Therefore, this sentiment does not accept any rank or hierarchy. It must belong to the reformist as much as it does to the ruler, to the educated as much as to the ignorant, to the rich as much as to the poor.

If these people, despite their different circumstances and varying inclinations, are (sincerely) oriented towards the rise of the national entity, we must consider them all as individuals possessing a sense of nationality. However, if some of them have secretly joined organisations that undermine national existence in exchange for benefits, it can be said that these individuals themselves pose the greatest harm and danger to the realisation of national unity and solidarity." (A. Kurtkan, *op. cit.,* p. 134).

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Assistant Professor Dr Emre Gökalp presents the following views in his doctoral thesis on "nationalism":

Considering that the formation of a nation/people is not limited to a specific period, and that the nation-state is in a state of constant "restructuring" and reconstruction, nationalism and national identity must be conceptualised as categories that are constantly reproduced and reconstructed/need to be reconstructed. In this context, the question of how nationalism is reproduced takes on central importance. Nationalism (and national identity) is not a natural, given, fixed, and at the same time pre-existing and timeless "self," but rather as a "system of representation" and thus a "discourse" that gives meaning to life/society/the world, it must be conceptualised as the totality of practices behind social and cultural formations. Nationalism is a form of discourse that shapes human consciousness, that is, a discursive formation, and the discourse of nationalism must be seen as multidimensional.

Nationalism is not merely a type of social movement and a political ideology, but also a form of "culture" and must be examined as "a form of culture/identity". Put differently, nationalism is not merely a phenomenon related to politics in the narrow sense, one that becomes apparent in times of crisis or conflict; rather, it is a matter of individual identity and culture that forms the basis of collective identity. Nationalism, being more a form of culture than a political doctrine and style of politics, is therefore an ideology, a language, a mythology, a symbolism and a form of consciousness. In this sense, the nation is also a type of identity whose meaning is presupposed by this form of culture. The observation that nationalism is a discourse that is constantly and routinely reproduced in the concrete practices of everyday life, and that national consciousness/identity is also constantly being reconstructed, subjects

This re-production process necessitates focusing on the symbolic/discursive field where it essentially takes place.

The emphasis on the question of how the category of nation/people is reproduced as a "natural" and "self-evident" "reality" indicates that this study shares a completely different perspective from the "primordialist" approach, which characterises the category of nation as a "natural" and "given" "selfhood".This approach, which views nations as natural structures that have existed since ancient times and is labelled primordialist, asserts that the nation is immutable and fixed. Romanticism and Herder have a significant influence on this approach, which views the phenomenon of nation/state as a natural and given category. Traces of the nation can be found even in very ancient times, with references to golden ages and heroes. As indicated by the line "We existed before history, we exist after history" in the Tenth Year March, this approach assumes that the 'nation' existed from a past without a beginning to a future/eternity without an end. Schleiermacher described the nation as "the natural division of the human race, whose particularities are given by God," while the position occupied by each nation in the world

and argues that it represents one aspect of the divine image through its unique organisation. Herder, on the other hand, argues that each nation is an expression of sacredness as a natural category created by God and states that sacred things must not be destroyed but preserved. According to Herder, "a nation is like a natural plant and a family, only with more branches." Expressing that a nation is essentially formed by its language and culture, Herder emphasises the importance of rituals, traditions, practices in everyday life, and the stories, folk beliefs, and myths that give meaning to people's lives in this process. The claim that culture, and more specifically language, uniquely defines a nation is a common emphasis not only of Herder but also of nineteenth-century European thinkers, particularly Schlegel, Fichte, and Schleiermacher.

The "naturalness" of criteria such as language, religion, and blood ties that constitute a nation is defended by researchers who adopt a "primitivist" perspective today, while the claim that elements such as religion, language, and blood ties that constitute a nation are "given," that the elements constituting national identity did not arise from anything, but rather existed before anything else, remains the most important emphasis of the primordialist approach. On the other hand, Smith's "primordialist" perspective

distinguishes a "perennialist" approach that, while not embracing the "naturalness" of the nation, recognises that nations have existed since ancient times.
-without undergoing too many changes and without losing its "essence" - it has survived to this day. Although the primitivist approach has not been represented in nationalism studies for the past 40-50 years, examples of the "traditionalist" perspective still exist today. However, as might be expected, the fact that the primitivist approach, which forms the essence of the understanding of nationalism, has "disappeared" from academic studies does not mean that it is no longer embraced by nationalists and nationalist ideologues.

Nevertheless, as Brubaker also emphasises, very few academics today believe that nations are natural, given, fixed structures. A small number of (nationalist) academics still argue that nations have existed since time immemorial and will continue to exist into the indefinite future. Beyond this, the prevailing view today is that nations/peoples are historically constructed entities. With this approach, characterised as "modernist," gaining almost paradigmatic importance in discussions of nationalism, it can be said that the primordialist or essentialist view has become invalid, at least in the academic sphere. Theorists such as Gellner, Hobsbawm, and Anderson, as well as Nairn, Breuilly, Brass, Hroch, Chatterjee, Bhabha, Balibar, and other theorists, despite holding divergent or conflicting views on certain points, agree that the nation/state phenomenon is not a natural, given, fixed "self"; rather, it belongs to modern developments, that is, to the modern era—the last few centuries. In other words, the most important and central emphasis of the modernist approach concerns the modernity of nations and the positivity of nationalism. According to this approach, nations and nationalism emerged as products of entirely 'modern' developments such as capitalism, industrialisation, the establishment of centralised states, urbanisation, and secularisation. More strikingly, nations belong to the age of nationalism. In other words, nationalisms created nations, not the other way around. As Pilsudski, who played an important role in the founding of Poland, stated, "The state creates the nation, not the nation the state." Massimo d'Azeglo, who played a major role in the founding of Italy, expressed this observation even more strikingly: "We created Italy. Now we must create Italians."

Gellner, one of the most important figures in the literature on nationalism, particularly with his book *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), emphasises that the myth of nationalism cannot be accepted, demonstrating that nations are not something inherent in the nature of things, like a political adaptation of the doctrine of natural species. Nationalism belongs entirely to the modern era, and "it is only in the age of nationalism that we can speak of nations." Therefore, in Gellner's striking words, "nationalism could give birth to nations, but nations did not give birth to nationalism." The claim that nations are a natural, God-given way of classifying people, an innate political destiny, is, according to Gellner, merely a myth. Nationalism, according to Gellner, is a product of industrialisation, that is, a modern product, and is "a principle that argues that the political and national units must be compatible with each other." Noting that the nation/people is constructed in different ways under different social and political conditions, Gellner emphasises that nationalism can emerge when social conditions require a homogeneous and standard (high) culture. The creation of an anonymous society composed of interchangeable individuals requires a (high) culture that holds that society together. In this sense, nationalism as a cultural project is the imposition of a super-culture on a society that previously had many sub-cultures. In short, according to Gellner, nationalism can be seen as an effort to create a single super-culture from various folk cultures with the aim of harmonising political unity with cultural unity. The principle of nationalist social organisation requires the marriage of state and culture, whereby the state becomes the protector of culture.

Therefore, "nationalism precedes nations." In Hobsbawm's words, "nations do not create states and nationalism; in fact, the opposite is true." That is, nationalisms create the nation (and the nation-state). For this reason, the nation/people, as an invented tradition, is "neither an original nor an immutable social unit," and it is impossible to characterise nations as given, natural, and immutable categories. "The assumption that national identity is natural and fundamental, predating history, is widely accepted, but the fundamental characteristic of the modern nation and everything associated with it is modernity." On the other hand, Hobsbawm argues that although nations are essentially constructed from above, they cannot be understood unless analysed from below, that is, on the basis of the hopes, needs, aspirations and interests of ordinary people.

He has highlighted a crucial point that should not be overlooked in studies on nationalism.

Another very important figure in nationalism debates, Anderson (1983), characterised nationalism as an "imagined community," drawing attention to the importance of the cultural dimension in the political process. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson states that the nation and nationalism are a special cultural *artefact*, describing the nation as an "imagined political community". "It is imagined because even the members of the smallest nation will not know the other members, will not meet them, will hear nothing about most of them, but still the imagined life of the totality persists in the mind of each one."

Nationalism should be considered not so much as a political ideology, but rather in conjunction with the larger cultural systems that preceded it and from which it originated, such as religion or kinship. It denotes the conception of the nation as a unique entity in terms of time and space. It is imagined as a community with a past stretching back through time and a future destiny, harbouring members who are unknown to each other, and may even remain unrecognisable, within a specific piece of land.

Anderson, who emphasises that nations are "imagined" communities, stresses that imaginedness should not be confused with "falseness". (Emre Gökalp, *"Nationalism: A Theoretical Assessment"*, Anadolu University Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2007).

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Prof. Dr. Erol Güngör views nationalism as another form of being an advanced nation:

The principles that guide the masses in their efforts to become a nation are a powerful unifying force. The foundation of political and social unity everywhere rests on national unity, and existing political unions are striving to realise the social entity known as the nation in order to survive. The fact that nationalism manifests itself in different ways in different countries shows that it is a political and social movement based on social realities rather than an ideological worldview. Every country strives to achieve a social and cultural structure that is appropriate to its own historical development and best suited to existing conditions. In this respect,

Nationalism has become synonymous with modernisation, with the endeavour to become a modern and advanced nation. (Erol Güngör, "Foreword," Elia Kedouri, *Nationalism in Europe*, trans. M. Haluk Timurtaş, Ankara 1971, p. VIII).

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Dr Bahçeli, who was elected leader of the Nationalist Movement Party after Türkeş, begins nationalism with Bilge Kağan in his book, written under a pseudonym, but notes that naming and classification became possible in the 19th century:

The reason for this must be sought in the social, economic, cultural and other changes that took place in the 19th century and earlier. Nation and nationalism essentially express a sense of belonging and the fulfilment of the requirements of this consciousness. Within this framework, changing elements related to time, history, culture and geography do not alter the essence of the matter. Once we have identified the essence, we can begin to focus on the changing elements.

All the problems arising in the new world disorder following the collapse of the Socialist Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union are being attributed to 'nationalism'. This is being voiced particularly loudly by socialists. The fact that socialists treat realities that do not conform to their dreams as problems may be understandable, perhaps because of their views and defeats. However, the understanding they show us will not help us understand either the issues in the world or nationalism. Moreover, this understanding will not benefit socialists either. Because, rather than the understanding shown by others, they need to engage in the task of correctly understanding world events themselves.

Nationalism, in its most general and basic sense, is a political principle that anticipates the overlap and convergence of the political unit with the national unit. This principle best expresses nationalism as a sentiment or movement. Our intention in drawing attention to this issue at the outset is that concepts such as nation and nationalism are debated in the political arena as subjects of political sensitivity and conflict. This stems largely from the existence of various ideological and theoretical endeavours surrounding the concepts of nation and nationalism, thus demonstrating that we are faced with a field that is open to the bias of the researcher/participant. In this case, all parties addressing the issues of nation and nationalism as historical and social phenomena must, for their own sake,

We can easily say that they approach the subject according to their national (or non-national) sensitivities and desires. Thus, we must point out that the intellectuals of every nation can have an understanding of nation and nationalism in line with their own national sensitivities and desires. In this respect, it is not possible to define a universal concept of nation and nationalism that is valid for everyone and at all times. Those who attempt to do so are constantly refuted by history and society; their formulaic explanations and denigrations suffer heavy defeats every time they face reality. In short, theoretical generalisations and criticisms are generally challenged by the facts.

We mentioned above that most studies on nationalism are conducted from a socialist perspective and therefore must also be read as anti-nationalism. However, we must note that even in these studies, even in the works of socialist researchers, national sensitivities and desires can play a role.

As will be understood in this context, the conceptualisations and debates surrounding the concepts of nation and nationalism are the product of a kind of hegemony and strategic struggle. At this stage, it is necessary to first classify the definitions and debates according to our objectives without getting lost in the discussions or deviating from the goal. Secondly, our own strategic objectives must be clearly identified and determined. Finally, the definitions, concepts and arguments that will lead us to our strategic goals must be listed and explained to the relevant parties using the necessary intermediaries. In this way, the playing field will be clarified and the necessary mental framework will be established. The issue will be clearly explained and discussed with proposed solutions, and will be resolved within reasonable limits in the interests of the nation.

By starting with critical studies on nationalism, that is, by criticising them, we can gain insight into the extreme points to which the issue extends. Approaching the subject through criticism will help us determine what it is not, given that the nation and nationalism constitute a 'controversial' area.

We can summarise the fundamental theses that reveal socialism's approach to the issues of nation and nationalism as follows.

1. Nation, nationalism and religion are false consciousnesses that do not reflect real relationships and identities. It is class relations that carry and express real identities. Class identity and class relations are a field that underpins human relations, but they are not the only factor and do not negate national and religious identities.

It is a widely accepted generalisation in today's modern world that it does not possess such a nature.

2. Nation, nationalism and religion are imaginary identities that are not based on real relationships. This is because no individual has the opportunity to know, interact with and establish dialogue with all members of a nation or religion. Therefore, a person who feels attached to a nation or religion through a sense of belonging possesses an imaginary identity. These identities, which do not exist in reality, are assumed to exist through imagination and symbols.

Actually, there is some truth to this criticism, but this truth is not sufficient to justify the thesis. Furthermore, the identities of those who make these criticisms (socialist, proletariat, etc.) can be considered equally flawed by the same criticisms. However, even the most fanciful individuals can observe the significant impact, and even the material impact, that these supposedly imaginary identities have in real life. Moreover, if this logic is followed, it would be necessary to dismiss the manifestations of identity in human civilisation as imaginary. This impossible logic can only be useful when examining the 'cost' of identities.

Thus, for example, the role played by newspapers in the emergence or construction of a nation can be understood. Individuals who have no direct relationship with one another become members of the same nation through the use of communication tools that employ the same language.

3. Nationhood and nationalism are not universal. Contrary to what is claimed, nationhood and nationalism are new. In ancient times, there were no movements of nationhood and nationalism. The dismantling of feudalism in Western Europe and the subsequent industrialisation and capitalistisation gave rise to the new phenomena and concepts of nationhood and nationalism.

As noted above, variations in matters of nationhood and nationalism can be observed across time, culture, and geography. However, beyond these differences, nationhood and nationalism exist wherever and whenever humans exist, in terms of a sense of belonging and the fulfilment of obligations arising from that belonging. This is a divine wisdom inherent in human nature. Of course, divine wisdom also commands that these differences and sense of belonging remain within the bounds of justice and moderation. Humanity, created different so that they may know and love one another, is not to be swept away by these differences or other causes

It is one of the trials that humanity faces.

4. Nationalism and patriotism, like religion, are outdated concepts that must be overcome. Human history is a history of progress, and ultimately humanity will transcend outdated structures such as nationalism and religion to reach an internationalist perspective.

Classifications such as 'progressive' and 'reactionary' have been abandoned by sensible and level-headed social scientists and intellectuals. Moreover, the role played by religion and nation in the civilising movements of human history is indisputable. In other words, one cannot speak of civilisation and the history of civilisation without the concepts of religion and nation. At least, this has been the case throughout known history.

5. Contemporary developments are underway that will eliminate nation and nationalist movements. With these developments, nation and nationalism will be eliminated, and humanity will subsequently enter a new social structure. Contemporary developments stem from two main sources. The first arises from supranational formations, and the second from subnational formations.

What is meant by supranational formations is the emergence of multinational corporations, which are supranational economic and political cooperation structures observed in the world's economic and political centres. Due to rising supranational tendencies, nationhood and nationalism are being overcome. Nationhood and nationalism are now obstacles to development. Therefore, they will be eliminated from the political and economic spheres and will only be able to exist in the cultural sphere. The second development is the demands for autonomy and even independence from the elements under nationhood and nationalism. Such elements view themselves outside the umbrella of nation and nationalism, perceiving nation and nationalism as a form of pressure directed against them. In fact, these elements are also pursuing a new nation and nationalism.

As can be seen, these claims are not so much criticisms of the nation and nationalism as they are a critical expression of the nation and nationalism's process of reconstitution.

The nation, in the modern sense, emerged as a result of the breakdown of the medieval Christian world order. Indeed, the emergence of nations and national institutions began in the dark Middle Ages, when local and imperial values and institutions were intertwined in complex ways.

It is a phenomenon observed since the end of the 19th century. The underlying fundamental causes can be summarised as the weakening of cosmopolitanism, even on an intellectual basis, the development of national languages and churches, and the intensification of people's search for order and need for solidarity. The history of international relations in the modern sense dates back to the 16th and 17th centuries, when international wars, largely similar to those of recent times, began to occur and modern international law first took shape. Considering that the international relations and law that emerged at that time still continue today, we can see that the modern international system has existed for four hundred years.

Once the nation, expressing the spirit of the age, emerged, it brought with it the establishment of a new order based on the nation, changing the world system. Thus, a wave of change emerged that would spread throughout the world:

Geographical discoveries, inventions, and changes in mindset have increased both the speed and capacity of trade, politics, and communication. Thus, the tracks have been laid to carry the mindset and life that will drive the idea of nation and nationalism throughout the world. With the growth of trade and the emergence of industry, the feudal system was abolished, and political, economic, and cultural authorities began to form at the national level. Developing communication techniques not only created areas for the use of national languages, but also made it possible for people to relate to their nation and community, thus spreading national identity.

Thus, the nation and nationalism have acquired universal identity, power and legal personality. Just as oil is indispensable for industry and as valuable as the blood pumped by the heart, so too are the nation and nationalism indispensable for understanding the world and the international order. Of course, just as the use of oil has changed, the nation and nationalism are also changing, with new versions emerging, but their essence remains unchanged. Penetrating this reality is necessary not only to understand the world and the international order, but also to make correct and appropriate political choices. Those who insist on not understanding the universal reality of nation and nationalism (countries, leaders or intellectuals) are like landmines that can harm both their own people and the whole world. (Mehmet Nihat-Emre Cemiloğlu [Devlet Bahçeli], *The Nationalist Movement in Turkish Political Life: Historical Development, Party Formation and Ideology,* Turkuaz Agency 2001 Publications, 1995, pp. 12-18).

Having examined Alparslan Türkeş's ideological foundations and leadership qualities in theory, we can now turn to his life.

Türkeş's Birth

Türkeş's family migrated from Kayseri in Anatolia to Cyprus in the 1860s. They were Avşars. They were from the village of Yukarıköşkerli, which is part of the Pınarbaşı district (formerly known as Aziziye). They were known as the "Koyunoğulları". Türkeş was born on 25 November 1917 in house number 13 on Kirlizade Street in the Haydarpaşa neighbourhood (also known as the Yeni Cami neighbourhood) of Nicosia. His father was Ahmet Hamdi Bey from Tuzla, and his mother was Fatma Zehra Hanım. His father was born in Tuzla, Cyprus, and his mother in Larnaca.

His family named him "Ali Arslan," but later "Ali" was forgotten, and "Alp" was added to the beginning of "Arslan," so he began to be called "Alparslan." When the surname law was enacted, he took the name "Türkeş" in reference to the historical Türkeş family. His teacher at secondary school, Osman Zeki Bey, gave him the name "Alparslan"... The War of Independence had ended victoriously in Turkey. A return to Turkishness was taking place. The spirit of those days had reached Cyprus. His sense of nationalism began from the age he recognised himself.

When Alparslan Türkeş was born, the island of Cyprus was under British occupation. The First World War was raging. The Bolshevik Revolution had just erupted... Born in the year and month that the Communists came to power in Russia, Türkeş would, years later, realise that the Bolshevik Revolution was a disaster for the Turks and would choose to fight against the Communist invaders as his motto, succeeding in this endeavour.

Türkeş started primary school at the age of four.

Türkeş fondly remembers his teacher Faiz Kaymak from secondary school. Faiz Kaymak is considered one of the leading figures in the struggle for the liberation of Cyprus.

Türkeş explained how he came to possess a nationalist spirit to journalist Hulusi Turgut, who conducted a lengthy interview with him:

"Our teachers were Turkish Cypriots. They were alert people. Mr Faiz Kaymak, Mr Hüsnü, Mr Mehmet Asım in primary school, Mr Selahattin and Mr Ragıp Tüzün, they were all nationalists. I absorbed those feelings from them. We learned about Turks living around the world, especially from our teacher Mr Turgut. We learned a great deal about Turkistan, Azerbaijan, East Turkistan and the Turks of the Balkans.

We learned many things about these topics. When we heard that our compatriots were under oppression, our nationalist sentiments swelled. We were just learning about the world. I was 14-15 years old." (Hulusi Turgut, *Şahinlerin Dansı*, Istanbul 1995, pp. 8-9).

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Alparslan Türkeş had set his mind on emigrating to Turkey when he was 15 years old. He wanted to become an officer. In 1924, his father and two older brothers had emigrated to Turkey.

In Cyprus, they were face to face with the Greeks. Under British occupation, the Greek population was growing, while the Turkish population was declining due to emigration. Türkeş describes those years as follows:

"... The Greek population was outnumbering the Turks every day. Turks were emigrating, Greeks were multiplying. But the Turks were resilient. There were occasional tensions and clashes between them and the Greeks. We were warned not to go to Greek neighbourhoods. Even as children, when we encountered each other, we would immediately attack. No one needed to say anything to anyone."

The Greek army's landing in Anatolia caused great sorrow in Cyprus. Later, when the Turkish army entered Izmir, celebrations lasted for three days and three nights. (H. Turgut, *op. cit*., p. 11).

Alparslan Türkeş, who had experienced the occupation, devoted his life to the liberation of the captive Turks. Undoubtedly, he desired the complete independence of his homeland, where he was born and received his first national inspiration. Türkeş writes the following in his book on the Cyprus issue:

Mustafa Kemal prepares to cross over to Anatolia. They ask him: 'The state is defeated, the army is scattered, there is no money, the people; the people of Anatolia are exhausted, worn out, what are you talking about? He says: 'An independent, honourable Turkish state within the borders of the Misak-ı Millî. 'How is that possible?' There is a famous journalist talking to him that day. After leaving him at the Pera Palas Hotel, he said, 'This man is mad. He is a lunatic.' Because on that day, at that moment, an independent, honourable Turkish state within the borders of the Misak-ı Millî was just a dream... But this beautiful, delicate dream is now a reality thanks to the determination, sacrifice and will of those who believed in it." (A. Türkeş, *Our Foreign Policy and Cyprus,* Istanbul 1975, pp. 116-117).

When the National Struggle was won, he was still a child of 5 or 6 years old. Of course, there was great joy in Cyprus; the Turkish people saw that the impossible had become possible, that the possible had become "truth" with unshakeable faith, and understood that the hope that one day their turn for "salvation" would come would emerge from the recesses of their subconscious.

One of Alparslan Türkeş's most important characteristics, perhaps his foremost one, was his willpower. Ever since he felt his national sentiments in his entire being, he marched resolutely towards his goal, never losing hope even when everyone else had fallen into despair and saw it as impossible. Despite going through many trials and tribulations, he kept his dreams alive as reality.

The Turkish Cypriots had to be freed from captivity. How could they be freed? From a young age, Türkeş listened to the tales of Anatolia's struggle for independence, feeling chills and dreaming of liberation. To achieve this, it was necessary to speak the language the "enemy" understood. He wanted to become an officer... But he was born in occupied lands. He could not establish a material connection with the motherland, only an emotional one... To turn his dream into reality, at the age of 15, he showed determination and convinced his parents to migrate to Anatolia.

Türkeş in Turkey

They board the Vienna, an Italian passenger ship. His mother, father, and his two-year-younger sister Der-vişe set sail for a new world. The ship departs from the island and stops at Rhodes... Rhodes was no longer in our hands... It was under Italian occupation at the time. After staying in Rhodes for an hour, they set sail again, turning their course towards the Dardanelles. Alparslan Türkeş's excitement grew steadily; with his already impetuous nature, he could hardly contain himself. When the ship's captain hoisted the Turkish flag in Turkish territorial waters, the Turks on board gathered spontaneously around the mast, watching with excitement as the crescent and star-studded red flag fluttered in the wind, dreaming of the day it would fly over the island.

* * *

After spending his first night at the Saadet Hotel in Irkeci on 3 June 1933, Alparslan Türkeş wanted to go to Kuleli Military High School as soon as possible to take his first step towards becoming an officer, which was his dream.

by going to the Kuleli Military High School as soon as possible. His parents, however, were preoccupied with finding a home and settling in. Nevertheless, Türkeş once again got his way and persuaded his father to go to Çengelköy to enrol him in the military school first.

Alparslan Türkeş, confident that all his documents are ready, heads to the school building. However, he learns that nine other people who came with him from Cyprus have not yet been registered. The others had also come from Cyprus. İzmir MP Sırrı Bey promised to help them. Sırrı Bey reached Fevzi Çakmak Pasha... They first made temporary registrations, and when they became citizens, they made permanent registrations. The first dream had become reality.

Alparslan Türkeş's family first lived in Aksaray for a short time, then moved to a wooden house next to the Hasan Halife Mosque in Fatih.

After the family was granted citizenship, a great burden was lifted from their shoulders. However, the family was spending the money from the property they had sold in Cyprus. After a while, they would fall into financial difficulties. Alparslan Türkeş was boarding at school. He would come home at weekends. During the week, he would collect some of the bread given out at school and take it home at the weekend.

Türkeş did not smoke. He didn't have a girlfriend either. He was under strict discipline anyway. When he had free time, he devoted himself to books. Although he mainly studied science subjects at Kuleli, he was fond of literature... He would go to libraries at the first opportunity and read for hours. He also made use of the school library. He read Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws,* which is a very heavy book in terms of its subject matter, while he was at Kuleli Military High School... He even wrote poetry... Among the first authors he read, he mentioned Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Namık Kemal.

Türkeş Military Academy Student

Alparslan Türkeş graduated from Kuleli Military High School in 1936 with honours. That same year, the Military Academy in Istanbul Harbiye was relocated to Dikmen in Ankara... Türkeş would now study in the capital city of the Republic. A noteworthy event during his two years at the Military Academy was the 1938 Military Academy Incident. In this incident, some students, influenced by Nâzım Hikmet Ran, engaged in communist activities. They were identified and expelled from the academy.

Türkeş describes the development of this incident as follows: "While we were studying at the Military Academy, we encountered an important event. At that time, Nâzım Hikmet was known and recognised as a person with communist ideology through his poems. We, as students, were aware of this. And his poetry was being read among the students. At first, not many people reacted to him. For example, Nâzım Hikmet had a poem called 'Salkım Söğüt'. It was read among us too. It was read as a poem describing the National Liberation War." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 22).

Nâzım Hikmet's family were prominent figures in the Ottoman aristocracy. He became a communist and fled to Russia with his friend Vâlâ Nurettin (Vâ-Nû) during the War of Independence, where he was educated as a communist in Moscow. He later returned to Turkey and was active in communist activities. (For further information: Vâ-Nû, *Bu Dünyadan Nâzım Geçti,* 4th ed., Istanbul 1980).

Türkeş says that during his years at the Military Academy, he did not respect the poems written by Nâzım Hikmet under the influence of communist ideology; however, he read the poems expressing national sentiments written by this person, who apparently was widely read among young people, when he had not yet adopted communism as his creed.

Many years later, in 1994, he would recite Nâzım Hikmet Ran's poem at the MHP congress and surprise his opponents.

Alparslan Türkeş, continuing his statement to Hulusi Turgut, reveals the names of those who reported those who met with Nâzım Hikmet:

"It began to be said that some students went or were taken to Nâzım Hikmet's house in Keçiören. Those who went were Military Academy students. (...) These students reported those who met with Nâzım Hikmet to the school administration. These were students named Sami Küçük and Süreyya Koç, who were first in their class. Following the reports of these two students, searches were conducted of the students' lockers, desks, and persons throughout the school. Arrests followed." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 23).

Sami Küçük and Süreyya Koç would later cross paths in life. Türkeş had been on the coup committee with Sami Küçük; however, after the coup, they found themselves on opposite sides within the MBK. MBK members who later wrote their memoirs state that Sami Küçük harboured a fierce hatred towards Alparslan Türkeş.

(In a statement sent to Hulusi Turgut, Sami Küçük stated that he was a poet much loved by Nâzım Hikmet and that he did not report him.)

Türkeş would later encounter Süreyya Koç as a politician. Süreyya Koç was elected as a member of parliament from the CHP, then joined the Güven Party.

At the Military Academy, he studied in the same class as Kenan Evren, the leader of the 12 September coup. However, Türkeş does not remember Kenan Evren from that day because the class was large (1,300 people). Another coup leader, General Nurettin Ersin, was one class ahead of him. Talat Aydemir, who was hanged for attempting a coup on 21 May 1963, was one class behind him.

During his years at the Military Academy, one notable trait of Alparslan Türkeş was his sympathy for İsmet Pasha. As Military Academy students, they were saddened when Atatürk removed İsmet İnönü from the premiership in 1937 and replaced him with Celal Bayar. This sympathy, which seemed natural given the instinct to become an officer under the conditions of the day, would later disappear, and they would find themselves at odds with İnönü. İnönü would always stand in their way during the 1944 Nationalism Incident, the developments following the 1960 coup, and the emergence of the Ülkücü movement.

He graduated from school in 1938 and, after nine months of training at the Infantry School in Istanbul, was assigned to Kars in 1939... However, he swapped places with his friend from Kars, Emin Eremen, and went to Isparta.

Türkeş's new phase of life would begin in Isparta. This is where he would marry. He would meet his future wife, Muzaffer Hanım, who would bear him five children, one of whom was a son, and with whom he would share all the hardships and joys of the years to come. He had helped Muzaffer Hanım with her studies while she was finishing secondary school, and then asked her family for her hand in marriage. They married on 14 January 1940.

Türkeş's Military Career

It is the beginning of the Second World War... Hitler's armies are ravaging Europe, invading countries overnight. The effects of the war in Europe are immediately felt in Turkey. The Turkish nation, which fought the War of Independence under impossible conditions, has nothing in its hands. Bread is sold on ration cards. Certain foods and basic necessities are withdrawn from the market. The army is ill-equipped. There are no tanks... Artillery and rifles are insufficient. There is no recourse but prayer to prevent the war from spreading to Anatolia.

These years were the years of Türkeş's maturation and the development of his "Turkey Theses." Türkeş recounts:

After Atatürk's death, there was a sense of relief when İsmet İnönü was elected President. Atatürk's friend, the general of the National Liberation War, Commander İsmet Pasha, took his place, and there was a sense of relief that his work would continue. However, when the hardships of the Second World War fell upon the nation, İsmet Pasha began to gain antipathy. Bread became scarce and began to be distributed with ration cards. It was a black bread mixed with other ingredients.

There is no fabric, no cloth. Even shroud cloth can only be obtained with vouchers. It is a period of total scarcity. There is no sugar, so smokers drink their coffee and tea with dried grapes. (...) Soldiers sell half of the 900 grams of bread they receive each day. With the money he gets, he buys cigarettes and meets his other needs. We, on the other hand, occasionally take the soldiers' 65 kuruş, the corporals' 75 kuruş, and the sergeant's 150 kuruş wages and buy them uniforms." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* pp. 28-29).

The impact of the Second World War was not the only factor behind the shortages; the excessive austerity measures and incompetence of the single-party regime also played a role. The people voiced their discontent. At the end of the war, democratic stirrings began, and the Democratic Party, led by Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü, who emerged with the slogan "Enough, the people have the last word!", entered parliament with 60 deputies in the 1946 elections. Meanwhile, Kenan Öner and his colleagues, who had split from the Democratic Party, formed the People's Party (1948), bringing Marshal Fevzi Çakmak into their ranks. The People's Party was more conservative and, opposing the CHP, would win the election and enter Parliament with 420 seats, taking power.

The CKMP (later MHP), of which Türkeş would later be elected leader, was the continuation of the People's Party.

On the road to the events of 1944, the Republican People's Party, led by İnönü, who held all the state's resources in his hands and never wanted to relinquish them, constantly changed direction according to the prevailing winds. When changing direction, it attacked its opponents with extreme ruthlessness. Just as it took a ruthless stance in the 1944 Nationalist Events, it also made harsh criticisms in the face of democratic stirrings. When İnönü appointed Recep Peker as prime minister, Peker's calling Adnan Menderes a "psychopath" from the parliamentary podium, while still in opposition, Menderes's hardening stance in response, and the transformation of the conflict between the opposition and the government into "hatred" and the subsequent "repression" of the opposition, all contributed to the transformation of the conflict between the opposition and the government into "hatred".

his time in opposition, calling him a "psychopath," Adnan Menderes's subsequent hardening of his stance, and the transformation of the conflict between the opposition and the government into "hatred" also played a role in the formation of the revolutionary groups in which Alparslan Türkeş inevitably found himself involved.

After spending a year in Isparta, Türkeş was transferred to Gelibolu. Thrace had been evacuated. When the war broke out, the first front would be opened in Thrace. He would then serve in Balıkesir, Edincik, and on the island of Erdek-Marmara. While on the Marmara Island, he brought his family to live with him. At that time, Jews also lived on the island. He rented a house from a Jew and his neighbours were Jewish. Türkeş would say, "That was when I first met and became close to them... They were very good people..." As leader of the MHP, he would meet with Jews. Türkeş also met with Armenians. However, Türkeş was accused of admiring Hitler and defending racism. We will discuss these issues later. As is well known, Hitler was an enemy of the Jews and wanted to wipe them off the face of the earth.

These difficult years also had an impact on the formation of his personality.

Ambition and struggle... These two concepts are two powerful driving forces. In the seminars he gave to idealistic young people in the future, he certainly emphasised economic development, making their own tanks and guns, and establishing their own industry as a top priority, undoubtedly influenced by the impossibilities experienced during those years.

The 1944 Incidents

Türkeş's sister Dervişe is married to a young man from the Vanlı Koç tribe. She gives birth to a daughter, whom they name Ayzıt... Türkeş, serving on the continent during the war years, leaves his wife and daughter with his family in Fatih, Istanbul.

Fate was slowly weaving its web. Türkeş would be arrested at the end of the war.

Alparslan Türkeş, in the "Beginning" section of his *1944* book *Milliyetçilik Olayı (The Nationalist Movement)*, makes the following observations about the period in which he grew up:

"My childhood was spent amidst the bitter-sweet stories of the Balkan War, the First World War, and the Turkish War of Independence. Even in primary and secondary school, our lessons centred on events related to these three wars. In order to save ourselves from the aggression and treachery of those who sought to destroy the Turkish nation

and the extraordinary struggles our nation undertook to save itself from them were examined in our lessons. Emphasis was placed on what the Turkish nation needed to do and how it needed to work in order to escape its weak and downtrodden state and regain its former power and honour. Since those days, these have been my main thoughts and concerns. By deeply examining the history, current situation, and future of the Turkish nation, I have made it a pleasurable and indispensable habit to strive to obtain clear, realistic, and appropriate views on these matters and to prepare positive plans. (A. Türkeş, *1944 Milliyetçilik Olayı [The 1944 Nationalism Incident],* 2nd ed., Istanbul 1972, p. 10).

In the same book, he explains the foremost principle of leadership as follows: "The foremost principle of leadership is to share the people's life and

never deviating from justice." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit*., p. 19).

Alparslan Türkeş, who prepared the "Turkish theses," encountered an unexpected event in 1944.

During the Second World War, İsmet Pasha was president and had declared himself "National Leader".

Public discontent reached its peak during the war years. The call to prayer was recited in Turkish. Some mosques were turned into warehouses.

On the other hand, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, who was appointed prime minister, made the following speech on 5 August 1942:

"We are Turks, we are Turkish nationalists, and we will always remain Turkish nationalists. For us, Turkish nationalism is as much a matter of blood as it is a matter of conscience and culture. We are not Turkish nationalists who diminish and are diminished, but Turkish nationalists who multiply and are multiplied, and we will always work in this direction."

At the time of Saraçoğlu's speech, the Germans were rapidly advancing within the Soviet Union.

By the mid-1940s, the outcome of the war was clear, and new balances had been established. In one of these balances, the weight of Stalin's Soviets was felt with full force... The Soviets were our northern neighbours... At the same time, they were tormenting millions of Turks in captivity, holding vast Turkish lands in their grip.

* * *

At this time, the renowned lawyer, writer and poet Nihal Atsız wrote his "Open Letter to Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu" dated 21 March 1944. He then published a second letter on 1 April 1944. He states that communists have infiltrated the state and are particularly active in the Ministry of National Education. These letters are also the first open letters in the history of the Republic.

The novelist Sabahattin Ali takes Hüseyin Nihal Atsız to court... Nationalist youth rally behind Atsız... Extraordinary scenes unfold in the streets of Ankara on the day of the trial... The courtroom is packed to capacity with supporters of both sides... So much so that the trial becomes impossible and the case is postponed. The first hearing takes place on 26 April 1944, and upon the lawyers' request for time to prepare their defence statements, the second hearing is scheduled for 3 May 1944.

3 May 1944... This date will be etched in memory. That day was a fateful day, and Alparslan Türkeş would be arrested as a result of the decision made that day!

Niyazi Berkes recounts the events of 3 May 1944 in his book, The *Forgotten Years*. In 1944, nationalists, and soon after that, some faculty members of the Ankara University Faculty of Language, History and Geography, including Niyazi Berkes, would be struck down with accusations of "communism". Let us read about 3 May 1944 from Niyazi Berkes:

The trial was to commence on 3 May 1944 in a hall on the first floor of the Courthouse located on the road to Samanpazarı in Ankara. It was said that the corridors on the first floor, the interior of the hall, the pavement in front of the courthouse, and the street were packed like a crowd. Judge Saffet Ünen, unable to bear the situation, took off his robe, declared that the hearing could not proceed, and left. Frightened by the chaos, Sabahattin Ali also slipped away. But outside, even more comical things were happening. Suddenly, police officers appeared in security force vehicles and began gathering up everyone they could get their hands on, like picking apples fallen from trees, and transporting them to the police headquarters; then they released most of them. So, they knew who to weed out. According to Hikmet Tanyu, a student of mine, who told me later, when he went to the provincial building that day because he heard his friends had been arrested, they nabbed him too. So he was on the list. Another was a man named Zeki Sofuoğlu. A number of people were also arrested in Istanbul. Among them were young officers such as Türkeş and Fethi Tevetoğlu. I don't know the full list. All their names were in the newspapers at the time. Racism-

It was common knowledge that the individuals named in the Turanist conspiracy were indeed racist Turanists. The novelty lay in the National Leader's claim that they had established a secret organisation to overthrow the government. With this claim alone, the Leader was killing two birds with one stone: everyone immediately believed that these people were indeed a group planning a secret coup. (N. Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar [The Forgotten Years],* Istanbul 1997, pp. 283-284).

* * *

To illustrate how mindsets change according to the circumstances and how people cannot know what to believe, it is necessary to include the following thought-provoking examples given by Alparslan Türkeş in the *1944 Nationalism* Incident.

The group Alparslan Türkeş belonged to was arrested for being "racist and Turanist"; however, state policy was entirely based on race.

Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu stated: "I am a Turkist Prime Minister...", "Turkism is as much a matter of blood for us as it is a matter of culture."

Türkeş writes:

"... The state of that day was racist in every sphere. Among the admission requirements published in newspapers, the condition that students admitted to military and civilian boarding schools must be of Turkish ethnicity was foremost. (...) Furthermore, the book by Mehmet Esat Bozkurt, published under the title *Atatürk Revolution and* taught in universities *as a course on the History of the Revolution*, also contains many explicit expressions of racism. For example, pages 446 and 477 of this book, which was used as a textbook at universities and continuously taught during İnönü's presidency, state the following:

'Whatever nation a revolution is carried out for, it must be carried out by its own children and remain in their hands. For example, the Turkish revolution must remain in the hands of the Turks themselves. Unconditionally.'

When individuals from a tribe other than the one that founded the state take charge of state affairs, that state will collapse. In other words, the nation will lose its independence. Would you like an example? Consider the Abbasids, consider Al-Andalus, consider the Ottomans...

Turks will undoubtedly be at the helm of the affairs of the new Turkish Republic. We will trust no one but Turks."

Again, on page 191 of the same work, there are sentences such as, 'I have faith that Turkish unity will one day become a reality. Even if I do not see it, I will close my eyes to the world with dreams of it.'"

After presenting these views, Türkeş makes the following comment:

"All this shows that, until 3 May 1944, the administration of the Republic of Turkey attempted to implement Turanism and racism extensively in domestic politics, and official publications and statements of an inciting and propagandistic nature were widespread in this regard." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.,* 2nd ed., Istanbul 1972, pp. 27-29).

* * *

On 3 May, the courtroom and streets were packed. The outcome of the trial was eagerly awaited. The hearing had been postponed to another day, and it had been decided that Atsız would be tried without detention. Turkish youth poured into the streets with great joy. However, the security forces of the era attempted to disperse the young people with batons. The political police took Atsız, whom the court had not detained, into custody. His home was searched... All his letters, writings, and books were confiscated. Among the letters were those written by Türkeş.

The button had been pressed... The National Leader wanted to do something. But

what?

If we do not know those days, then in the future Alparslan Türkeş and the Ülkücüler

We cannot understand why he was accused, why having national sensitivities was made a crime.

Another fateful day was 19 May 1944.

Could a holiday be a fateful day? National Leader İnönü delivered a speech on the May 19 holiday, vehemently accusing those who defended the "Turan" ideal.

It is necessary to dwell in detail on the reasons for a leader's emergence. With the Soviet victory over the Germans, İsmet İnönü, in order to be close to the Soviets, denounced those he called "racist-Turanists" in his speech on 19 May 1944, which we reproduce here as it was:

"We are Turkish nationalists, but we are enemies of the principles of racism in our country!"

The tragic events perpetrated by the leaders of racism, fabricated for political purposes in our country, remain vivid in our memories. It has been proven in the Grand National Assembly that the Turkish racist politicians were those who, alongside Albanian Piriştinalı Hasan and Derviş Hima, launched a rear attack against the Turkish soldiers who were clinging to the rocks with their fingernails in their final efforts to hold on to Rumelia in 1912-13. These men, who have no difficulty whatsoever in interpreting their actions as a matter of policy, will not hesitate to create a new principle of corruption by saying 'it is a matter of policy' when we suffer an even greater catastrophe because we believed their words.

In our village institutes, in all our schools, in our institutions, in our army, we strive to instil in Turkish children the ideals of our common homeland with feelings of equal justice and compassion. We strive to mould them in the great crucible of the Republic to produce Turkish patriots. My fellow citizens can be assured that our successes are substantial and will be even more impressive in the future.

Now, be reasonable: shall we abandon this fruitful path we have gathered to cultivate Turkish citizens and surrender society to the divisive and poisonous schemes of racists who would tear the nation apart into a thousand pieces?

The idea of Turanism is a harmful and unhealthy phenomenon of recent times. In this regard, it is necessary to understand the republic well.

On the day the National Liberation War ended, we were friends only with the Soviets. And all our neighbours kept the memories of their former enemies vividly alive in their minds. Everyone had the idea in their minds that if we found a little relief, we would get caught up in an adventurous, aggressive policy. The Republic saw one of the essential conditions of a strong civilisational competition as the existence of an atmosphere of security within the family of the nation.

It is clear that our national policy is completely removed from the mentality of seeking adventure outside the country. What is truly important is that this is not a policy of necessity, but a policy of understanding and conviction.

The Turanists have found the perfect formula to immediately turn the Turkish nation into irreconcilable enemies with all its neighbours. To prevent the Turkish nation's destiny from falling prey to the lies of such reckless, such heartless agitators, we will certainly use all the measures of the republic!

The subversives thought we would not openly debate their ideas, which deceive young children and innocent citizens, before the nation.

They were mistaken! And they will be even more mistaken.

Now I ask my fellow citizens to find answers in their minds to these two questions.

One: Racists and Turanists have resorted to national principles and organisations. Why? Can they carry out their work among their kinsmen with secret plots of sedition?

Can countries from the East and West be subjugated by a secret Turan Society?

These are things that can only be attempted after the state's laws and fundamental institutions have been trampled underfoot!

Therefore, under the guise of glittering ideas, we are faced with direct attempts against the existence of the Republic and the Grand National Assembly. The organisers claim to deceive us all, step by step, layer by layer, from our ten-year-old children to ourselves.

I ask my fellow citizens a second question:

In the current state of world affairs, those who claim that Turkey must be racist and Turanist, which nations do they benefit, and whose aims do they serve?

It is certain that those who wish to pursue these ideas, which will bring only disaster and calamity to the Turkish nation, cannot serve the Turkish nation in any way. Only foreigners can benefit from these actions. Are the troublemakers knowingly serving foreigners?

Are foreigners in such close contact with the troublemakers that they can control them?

It is impossible to pass judgement on these matters today. But even if the intention to serve foreigners and the close relationship with foreigners never came to light, the fact that their actions were harmful to the Turkish nation and the Turkish homeland, and that only foreigners benefited from them, is an indisputable truth.

My fellow citizens!

You can be sure that we will defend our homeland with all our might against these new conspiracies! (Celal Bozkurt, *Bütün Delilleriyle CHP'nin İçyüzü* [The True Face of the CHP with All the Evidence], Istanbul 1969, pp. 195-197).

İsmet İnönü made this speech during the trial phase. Nevertheless, those arrested in the nationalism case were acquitted.

Alparslan Türkeş, if he had not been condemned in İnönü's conscience, perhaps the "leader Türkeş" would not have emerged. His arrest was the beginning of the steps he would take in the future. If what İnönü said were true, Türkeş should not have been accepted by the people. Türkeş was widely accepted by the people, and before 12 September, thousands of young people gathered under the umbrella of the party and associations he had founded. İnönü died in 1973. It is impossible to compare those who attended his funeral with those who attended Türkeş's funeral.

Türkeş's First Arrest by the G

During the search of Atsız's house, the discovery of Türkeş's letters and writings was considered significant evidence of a crime. At that time, Türkeş's house was searched by a young lieutenant stationed in Erdek, and Türkeş was arrested. The head of the military committee conducting the search was extremely distressed to be carrying out the search. However, he would carry out his orders. Türkeş had 600 books. The fact that a young officer owned so many books moved the head of the military committee.

Alparslan Türkeş was imprisoned in a cell at the Central Command prison in Tophane on 13 June 1944.

In his work titled *The 1944 Nationalism Incident*, Türkeş reached the following conclusion while analysing the İnönü era:

"The foremost principle of leadership is to share the people's life and never stray from justice."

He goes on to write:

"This principle was not only being considered in Turkey during the Second World War.

Why should it have been considered?

National Leader İnönü implemented a system that left no room for economic, political, or social concerns for those in power:

Terror.

The hammer of this reign of terror had left no one with the strength to resist.

The nation, which he had enslaved with his radio and numbed to the core with his press, was so subjugated to his will that he could have continued his reign even if he had given them no bread at all.

By lavishly bestowing valuable foreign currency and turning a blind eye to the black market in paper, he had turned the press barons, down to the machine porters, into millionaires, closing his eyes to the disasters they caused and plugging his ears with gold against the nation's woes.

Whatever the Chief decreed to be 'national' immediately became national, and the only thing the National Chief, who had imposed a national silence against all evils, did not call 'national' was hunger and misery.

Suppose it had occurred to him to say:

"This famine is national, this misery is national..." the press and radio would undoubtedly have shouted in unison:

'Long live national hunger... Long live national misery.' (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-
21).

The outbursts of a leader who had become bitter and filled with resentment from the lines above.

You have read it. It is revealed that the National Leader protected his friends and turned a deaf ear to the cries of the people. The "mind" that had wanted to change this mindset since his early youth was reading voraciously and corresponding with scholars, intellectuals, and activists under the conditions of the time. It was certain that something needed to change.

It is also important to note that Alparslan Türkeş wrote the above lines after returning from India.

What does "after returning from India..." mean? India brings to mind 13 November 1960. 13 November 1960 was the day when 14 members of the National Unity Committee, including Alparslan Türkeş, were removed from the committee and sent abroad on various assignments. In other words, it was the day when the "Powerful Colonel" Alparslan Türkeş, who had been at the forefront of the coup with great ideals, namely not to oppress the people and not to submit to the CHP, was suddenly stripped of all his ideals.

Others arrested alongside Türkeş in the 1944 Nationalism Incident:

Prof. Dr. Zeki Velidi Togan, Dr. Hasan Ferit Cansever, Nihal Atsız, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Nejdet Sançar, Dr. Fethi

Tevetoğlu, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, İsmet Rasin Tümtürk, Cihad Savaşfer, Muzaffer Eriş, Zeki (Özgür) Sofuoğlu, Said Bilgiç, Cemal Oğuz Öcal, Cebbar Şenel, Hamza Sadi Özbek, Fehiman Altan, Nurullah Banman, Fazıl Hisarcıklı, Saim Bayrak, Yusuf Kadıgil.

Those who were detained and tortured in the coffins were Hikmet Tanyu and Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti.

Alparslan Türkeş was taken from his home in Erdek and imprisoned in the Central Command prison, but he never learned why. His cell was cramped, dirty and dark... Above his head hung a bulb covered in a thick layer of dust, with twenty-five candles burning beneath it. He was in the same prison as "smugglers, drug users, communists, spies, murderers, thieves".

His wife, Muzaffer Hanım, moves with their two children to Fatih, to Türkeş's father's house. As his prison sentence is extended, she will go to Isparta, to her own father's house.

Young Lieutenant Türkeş still did not know what he was accused of, even after days had passed... He wrote petition after petition. According to the Constitution, a response was required within thirty days; however, during the era of the National Leader, who paid any attention to the Constitution!

He was summoned for interrogation exactly four months after his arrest! During this period, he received no monthly payment.

Türkeş is even more astonished when he is brought before the interrogating judge, the extreme İnönü supporter Kâzım Alöç... Because the judge:

"Since a sworn and secret society has been found, and since the aim of the society is to overthrow the current government," he asked him to tell what he knew about these matters.

It must be proven that well-known nationalists such as Nihal Atsız, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Zeki Velidi Togan, and Dr. Hasan Ferit Cansever were members of a "secret organisation".

A pen and paper are placed in front of Türkeş... When Türkeş sits down at the table, the interrogators are confident that the criminal organisation will confess, providing evidence for the National Leader's 19 May speech!

Alparslan Türkeş is only 27 years old. What he writes on the paper is a summary of the ideas he will suffer for in the future:

"There is no secret society that is claimed to exist. I have not joined any society, either by swearing on a gun or otherwise. Nihal Atsız did not make any suggestions to me. In fact, my age and level do not allow me to be swayed by suggestions. My personal opinion on Turkishness is as follows:

Well-educated Turkish nationalists must be present at all important levels of government. We must also concern ourselves with Turks living outside Turkey's borders. I want Turks outside our borders to be free from foreign domination, to be free, independent and prosperous." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit*., p. 46).

* * *

Türkeş was brought before the court on 29 October 1944 and interrogated. Considering the accusations of "racism" and "treason" to be a serious charge, Türkeş stated the following during this trial:

"Your Honour, first, I would like your permission to say a few words about a point that deeply saddens me. In the final investigation decision, I, along with the other defendants, have been accused of treason. I strongly deny this. I love my nation and my homeland more than anything else on earth. I am a Turkish officer who is always obedient to the orders and laws of my state and my elders, and who is, in the full sense of the word, patriotic and devoted to his country. I have always believed in the principles accepted by my state and have never strayed from respecting them. I am a Turkish nationalist, but I am not a racist, as has been alleged.

Therefore, I have no ideas that would cause divisions and hostilities within the country. However, I firmly believe that the Turkish nation possesses a unique creation on earth and that no other nation is superior in heroism. I can cite the War of Independence as the closest example of this. Your High Court knows this better than I do. Although we were surrounded on all sides, it is thanks to our heroism and superior nature that we have restored our honour to the heavens against an enemy that was ten or twenty times superior to us in every respect.

This stems from our national virtues. I can summarise this point briefly and in military terms as follows:

A Turk can defeat one or more enemy divisions. Just as he has defeated them in the past, he will defeat them in the future. In our barracks, there are sayings coined by Atatürk, such as 'One Turk is worth ten enemies' and 'One Turk is worth the whole world'. I first learned about the greatness and superiority of my nation, of Turkishness, from my mother and father... Then my teachers told me about it in all the schools I attended. Throughout my military life, all the commanders and officers under whom I served in the field

all the generals I served under always repeated this truth; I always believed in the principles accepted by the nation and respected and adhered to these principles. I repeat, I am a staunch nationalist."

The following conversation takes place between Türkeş and Judge Cevdet Erkut:

First, let us ask you this: What is your view on the idea that there are no people of pure descent in Turkey, only those of mixed race? We want to... that is, we want to...

-I believe that the principle our state has adopted and is pursuing is the most correct and reasonable principle. That is, while viewing Turkishness as superior to everything else, it is also necessary to represent non-Turkish elements through both culture and persuasion in a very short time. I also consider this to be correct. As for administration, my personal opinion is that it is right for all our affairs to be managed by individuals who are entirely Turkish, that is, who are represented and who consider themselves to be nothing other than Turkish, or who are of Turkish descent.

-What about the complications?

-I have stated my opinion, sir... Since they have become Turkish, I do not think it is right to look into whether their grandfather or mother was this or that.

At this point, Alöç (prosecutor Kâzım Alöç) took the floor:

-Sir, if he has been Turkified, does he accept it?

Cevdet Erkut repeated the question, explaining it as follows:

-So, you accept those who say they are Turkish.

-Yes, I said, but only those who have completely assimilated and internalised Turkishness... Otherwise, simply saying 'I am Turkish' is not enough. For example, today a Jew comes and claims to be Turkish. But his language is not Turkish, his traditions are not Turkish traditions, everything about him is different. Such people cannot be called Turkish. What I can accept is, as I said, those who have assimilated Turkishness into their identity and spirit, with their language, traditions and everything else.

Cevdet Erkut:

-What is your opinion on Turanism?

-In my opinion, Turkey is more important than anything else. Turkey is at the forefront of my concerns. We must work to ensure that our country reaches the highest level in the fields of science, knowledge, industry, economics, and in every area...

Turan, that is, the Turkish Union, is not only for those in Asia, but for all Turks, it is the union of all Turks...

Unity of spirit, unity of tradition, unity of culture, and unity of faith... In other words, in my understanding, Turan is a concept that encompasses all Turks in Greece, Bulgaria, and other places.

Cevdet Erkut:

-During the preliminary investigation, you said, 'Small nations are at risk, so all Turks must unite and gather at the first opportunity.' Could you explain this idea a little?

There was nothing unclear or in need of explanation, but I said, 'I will explain, sir,' and said the following:

-These are aspirations for the future. As you will appreciate, there are many factors involved. One of these is the population of the state. This could be one of the aspirations for Turkish unity; I truly desire this. I did not say that our population is small today, so let us immediately get up and march towards unity to increase it. This is also a matter for the future. And it constitutes a force for our state." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.,* pp. 73-77).

The cause of racism-Turancism has done great harm to the Turkish people. Alongside this, it has brought forth an Alparslan Türkeş. However, certain circles have always used the cause of racism-Turancism and worked to prevent Turkish unity. Türkeş made extraordinary efforts to explain that Turanism meant Turkish unity and that wanting oppressed, enslaved Turks to gain their independence was not only a Turkish duty but a human duty.

The trial of Atsız, Alparslan Türkeş and their associates at the No. 1 Martial Law Court concluded on 29 March 1945. Eight or nine of the twenty-three defendants were acquitted, while the others received prison sentences of up to ten years. Türkeş's sentence was nine months and ten days.

Those tried appealed to the Military Court of Appeal. The Military Court of Appeal was headed by the renowned commander General Ali Fuat Erden. Despite being a personal friend of İsmet İnönü, Ali Fuat Erden, as head of the Military Court of Appeal, ruled that: "The No. 1 Martial Law Court has deviated from impartiality. The trial should be conducted by the No. 2 Martial Law Court."

The No. 2 Martial Law Court concluded the case on 31 March 1947 and acquitted all defendants.

İsmet İnönü was displeased with the Military Court of Appeal's decision and became estranged from his friend, General
Ali Fuat Erden.

In his memoirs of the *1944 Nationalism* Incident, Türkeş reveals how hostile the administration of the time was towards them. This hostile attitude was perpetuated throughout their lives by supporters of National Leader İnönü, and the left, which later embarked on major propaganda activities, drew great courage from İnönü's stance against nationalists.

After returning from India, Türkeş published his memoirs in the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper, and Judge Major Celal Bey, then rapporteur of the Military Court of Appeal, came to visit him. He explained some unknown details about the "Racism-Turancism" case. When the case was referred to the Court of Appeal, İnönü and his associates attempted to exert pressure on the Court; however, the president and members did not yield to this pressure and ensured that the case was heard by the No. 2 Martial Law Court. When the acquittal decision was issued, General Staff Chief General Kâzım Orbay summoned Military Supreme Court President General Ali Fuat Erden. As soon as Erden entered the room, Kâzım Orbay said the following:

"Dear National Leader, the Turanists made it clear from the outset that they were guilty and instructed us accordingly. They explained everything in their speeches on 19 May. That being the case, how can the Military Court of Appeal under your leadership rule in their favour?"

Erden's response is as follows:

"Sir, the Court's decision was made based on the conscientious conviction of the Court."

* * *

The fear of Turanism has frequently resurfaced since 1944. During President Fahri Korutürk's visit to Iraq in April 1976,
, scenes worthy of reflection unfolded. The truly instructive scene, however, was Korutürk's statement after returning from Iraq.

The Turkish delegation was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Turks in Kirkuk. Just as Süleyman Demirel and his entourage were greeted in Baku and Tashkent in 1967... The tears of longing of my captive nation flowed like a flood.

It flowed like this... So much so that the Turks of Kirkuk, held captive, pushed through the security cordon to get close to the car Korutürk was riding in, to touch it. The wheels of the Turkish delegation's cars were kissed. Brothers were so longing for each other. Slogans were chanted... "Nationalist Turkey! Kirkuk is Turkish and will remain Turkish! Independence for nations, freedom for people! Leader Türkeş!"

Pan-Turkist slogans are shouted and the name of a Pan-Turkist is invoked! You can imagine how the hairs on the back of the necks of those with an İnönüist mindset stood on end.

At that time, there was an education agreement between the Iraqi government and the Turkish government, so many Iraqis had studied and were studying in Turkey. When they came to Turkey, they were with the Ülkücüler who welcomed them with open arms, and the slogans used by the Ülkücüler stemmed from this. After returning to Turkey, Korutürk must have been unable to shake off his concern about appearing "Turkic nationalist," because on 27 May (which was celebrated as a holiday in reference to the coup d'état on that date), he felt compelled to issue a statement declaring his opposition to "Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism." There were two other reasons for this statement besides the events in Kirkuk. In his speech on 19 May, he had described communists as dangerous, prompting all left-wing writers, who had placed great trust in Korutürk, to write articles expressing their "regret". Another reason was the demonstrations by the Ülkücü movement at the stadium during the 19 May ceremonies. Left-wing newspapers reported in large print that Korutürk had left the stadium early because of the Ülkücü slogans and had not shaken Türkeş's hand on his way out.

Türkeş did not delay in criticising President Korutürk. At that time, Türkeş was Deputy Prime Minister in the First Nationalist Front Government. On 30 May 1976, he held a press conference at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and stated the following:

"It is a humane sentiment and thought to desire that all nations of the world live freely and enjoy human rights. It is inconceivable to exclude communities belonging to the Turkish nation from the view that oppressed communities living in bondage should be granted the right to live humanely within the framework of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such a view does not imply a Pan-Turkist foreign policy; it is simply a humane and contemporary way of thinking. (...) Similarly, at a time when even enemy states are reaching agreements and cooperating, it is only natural that forty-one Islamic countries, brought together by historical and cultural ties, should gather at a conference in Turkey.

It is not an incident that should be blamed, but rather a requirement of prudent foreign policy. It is also one of the most important political events in the history of the Republic. The fact that the President's statement was made in a state of exhaustion caused by the provocations and attacks of a group whose parliamentary credentials are questionable and of certain forces inside and outside parliament explains the inaccuracy and incorrectness of his statement. While the dangers of communism and separatism are clearly evident, attempting to balance these dangers with the imaginary threats of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism is a misguided and grave concern for neutrality that could lead to obscuring the real dangers..."

Türkeş's 'Tuna' Article

There is no connection between his indictment in 1944 and his aspirations. His indictment as a "racist-Turkic nationalist" means that, in his view, loving the "Turk" is a crime.

Alparslan Türkeş's essay entitled "Tuna" describes how the image of the Danube illuminated and civilised every place the Turks went. He wrote "Tuna" when he was a young lieutenant. He used an artistic language, transporting ancient times to the present with evocative words. Had he continued in this style and stayed out of politics, he would undoubtedly have been a fine novelist. The excerpt from "Tuna" I have included below will give you the same impression. This article was published on 19 March 1939. Alparslan Türkeş was 22 years old at the time.

Tuna

This is not a name, not a river, but a history flowing in our hearts.

Without the Turks, the Danube is orphaned; without the Danube, the Turks are bereaved.

Thousands of years ago, this water flowed desolate and strange. On its banks, lifeless, uncivilised people crawled. On the lands spreading out on both sides, savagery and ruin embraced each other. There was no sun in its sky. Its stars were dull, its moonlight dim. Its birds were nameless, its flowers faded.

In this stagnant air, in the midst of this frozen existence, the Danube raged, and in its rage, it clawed at the bosom of the earth. It split the mountains before it, melted and scattered the rocks. It swept people away and drowned them.

One day, suddenly, the Danube's endless nights gave way to morning. The earth began to shake. A cloud of dust and smoke rose into the air.

Within the approaching cloud, heroes as mighty as mountains appeared, riding horses as mighty as mountains. Their faces radiated light and movement. Their eyes were filled with light and energy. Their names were harmonious, resonant syllables embodying bravery and strength:

Turk!...

The waters flowed from their parched homelands to other lands. In this flow, they had tied the sun to their horses' tails and dragged it behind them. And so the sun rose over the Danube from the moment they appeared there. The raging Danube calmed.

The earth was turned upside down. The plains became green. The waters were tamed. Monuments, palaces and settlements rose up everywhere. Joy began on the Danube, celebrations began on the Danube.

The ignorant, hesitant locals attempted to attack these civilised people, these brave men. But what can those born as donkeys and bears do to wolves? Can dwarves bring heroes to their knees? No... Never.

The Turkish nation, whose civilisation is built upon justice and obedience, trampled over the mixed herds and sluggish human caravans that stood in its way, even crushing mountains and rivers beneath its feet. It placed a bridle upon all of them, made of justice as its bit, civilisation as its reins, and strength as its reins. For centuries, they fought and fought as the protectors and propagators of civilisation.

The wars never ended. But that was what the Turks sought. They fought and fought... They were victorious in every battle, they ruled everywhere.

They gave colour to the horizons of the Danube with their red blood and harmony to its sounds. Thus, the Danube rejoiced, filled with life and movement. The Danube was dead before. It came to life when it met them. The Danube did not exist before the Turks... The Turks created the Danube...

Many of our battles took place along the Danube. Turkish raiders swept down upon the Danube. Turkish blood flowed into the Danube like a torrent. For this reason, the Danube is the most passionate of hearts and the mightiest of waters, and for this reason, the Danube is ours.

In those ancient times, we were celebrating the Danube's wedding. The Danube came, and we married the Danube.

How quickly those long centuries filled with joy and victory passed! How did they end?

Who tore my Danube from my arms?... Who took her?...

My Danube! My beloved, whom I carried in my bosom for centuries and could never have enough of!... Today you are not roaring, you are sobbing...

You are not a river but a burning longing within me...

My Danube! You quench the thirst of the lion lying in my heart.

"Won't you give me water, Tuna?" (A. Türkeş, "Tuna", *Kahramanlık Ruhu [The Spirit of Heroism]*, Istanbul, pp. 5–7).

Lost lands, an enslaved nation... Türkeş grieves for his lost lands and desires independence for his enslaved nation. The following article by Alparslan Türkeş was published in 1950. If the nationalists had given up on their fate after the blow they received from İnönü in 1944, perhaps no one in Turkey would be talking about the global Turkishness today. But they proclaimed their righteousness with even greater conviction. Türkeş, while still in uniform, was in contact with nationalist circles and writing in magazines.

* * *

Imprisonment is torture. The dampness, lack of air, and lack of light in the prison had worn down the young Türkeş. He was taken to hospital... Here he received great support from the doctor, Brigadier General Fikri Altan, who said, "I am also a Turanist." However, he was not kept in hospital for long and was forced to return to his torture cell.

This period has gone down in Turkish political history as the "era of the coffins". Türkeş described the coffins as follows:

The place known as the coffin cell, or referred to by Kazım Alöç and Ahmet Demir as a 'special cell', is an area measuring half a square metre. Finally, there are hollows carved into concrete walls that are forty centimetres wide, fifty centimetres long, and two and a half metres high. A person placed inside cannot crouch down when the door is closed. Iron shackles are attached to the walls of these concrete hollows to bind those placed inside by their waist and arms to the wall. In addition, three 500-watt bulbs are placed at the top of the cavity. A person locked inside is chained to the wall by their waist and arms with iron shackles and left here for twenty-four hours, forty-eight hours, or even longer, without food or water. The door was not opened even for the natural needs of some prisoners, ensuring they were reduced to a state of utter misery." ("Türkeş Konuşuyor," *Yeni İstanbul,* 17 May 1967).

The poet of the poem "Whose Country Is This?", which appears in all textbooks and which we all memorised as children, the renowned critic and researcher Orhan

Şaik Gökyay, was also imprisoned for his correspondence with Atsız. He was forced into a coffin-like box, barely large enough to fit a body, under a 1500-watt bulb, as punishment for his nationalism. Gökyay would later shout in court:

On the hottest afternoon of June, in the torture chamber known to its inhabitants as the 'chamber of torment' and to its visitors as the 'coffin chamber', I stood for five hours watching the moonlight shine brightly under these electric lamps! Here, it seemed not a step forward, but fourteen centuries back: in the Arabian desert, naked slaves chained to stones by their masters under the scorching sun... Of course, in twentieth-century civilisation, instead of the sun, a natural element, there was electricity, one of its dazzling and blinding inventions." (İlhan Darendelioğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Büyük Kavga [The Great Struggle in the History of Turkish Nationalism],* Istanbul 1976, p. 138).

When Orhan Şaik Gökyay passed away on 2 December 1994, Alparslan Türkeş performed the funeral prayer for his old comrade at the Istanbul Faculty of Theology Mosque and fulfilled his final duty.

One of the defendants, Hikmet Tanyu (1917-1992) (Tanyu would later become a professor of religious history and contribute important works to Turkish scientific and cultural life), brought those who had tried them unlawfully and subjected them to torture to court. Both the civilian officials and the martial law officials of the time were found guilty, and it was decided to bring charges against them. While it was certain that all of them would be punished, when the Democratic Party came to power in the 1950 elections, a general amnesty was issued and, unexpectedly, the case against the 1944 torturers was dropped.

Türkeş wrote the following in response to the distortion of the 1944 Nationalism Incident in the memoirs of Kâzım Alöç, the martial law investigating judge at the time, whom he identified as the chief torturer, published in *Yeni* Gazete under the title "Communism and Racism" after the 27 May coup:

“With all these facts in plain sight, why did Yeni Gazete feel compelled to publish a defamatory article against us, targeting a man like Kazım Alöç, who considered spending his life in casinos and serving Masonic lodges as his most sacred duty?” (A. Türkeş, *1944 Nationalism*
The Incident, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1972, p. 88).

’s Rise to Staff Officer

Alparslan Türkeş had taken the Military Academy entrance exam before his arrest in 1944. During the trial, the prosecutor stated that he had passed the exam.

After his release, his trial continued as his case was being reviewed by the Military Court of Appeal. For this reason, he was not admitted to the Military Academies.

The National Leader İnönü's initiation of the "Racism-Turancism" case also delayed Türkeş's dream of becoming a staff officer. In 1951, he took the exam again and regained his right to enter the Military Academies.

Türkeş was making plans for the future. In 1948, the General Staff was going to send officers to the United States. The aim was to learn about the innovations that had emerged after the Second World War. An examination had been organised for this purpose. Türkeş was stationed in Gelibolu at the time. He went to Ankara and took the exam. He then returned to Gelibolu and awaited the results of the examination. As soon as he received the news that he had passed the examination, he began preparing for his journey. However, around this time, he lost his father, who had been living with him. His father had been riding a horse when he got caught in the stirrup, was dragged along, seriously injured, and died 10 days later. Despite his father's recent death, having four children, and having to take care of his mother, he did not lose any of his idealism. He left his family in his wife's hometown of Isparta and went to America with 16 officers, where he would stay for two years.

Education in America introduced Türkeş to a new world and broadened his horizons. He studied at the United States Military Academy in Kansas and learned English. He was then sent to the United States Infantry School in Georgia.

When describing his first impressions of America to journalist Hulusi Turgut, he said: "It was in America that I saw what roads were like for the first time. Even back then

there were magnificent roads with three lanes, four lanes, separate lanes for going and coming. De-

The roads were also very well maintained. They had achieved prosperity fifty years ago. As far as we could see, the people were also very polite and very understanding.” (Hulusi Turgut, *Şahinlerin Dansı*, Istanbul 1995, p. 79).

* * *

Upon his return from America, he was appointed as a "guerrilla instructor" at the Çankırı Guerrilla School. He was still a captain at the time. He stayed there for two and a half years. He then passed the Military Academy entrance exam and went to Istanbul. He graduated from the Military Academy with the rank of major.

In 1984, following the PKK raids on Eruh and Şemdinli, Türkeş, as a former soldier, insisted on the establishment of a unit that would fight the separatists in a language they understood, as they had launched armed separatist movements. By the 1990s, however, the governments of the time, recognising Türkeş's validity, had established units to fight the PKK tooth and nail.

The former guerrilla instructor knew his business. In 1968, he certainly placed great importance on military discipline in the establishment of the first commando camps. (See the Commando section.)

After graduating from the War Academies, he came to Ankara. He was assigned to the General Staff Headquarters Publications Department. Nurettin Ersin also served in the same department as a staff major. Nurettin Ersin was Commander of the Land Forces during the coup d'état of 12 September 1980 and, alongside Evren, signed the Council's declaration demanding Türkeş's surrender!

At that time, the General Staff held an examination for foreign service. Türkeş took the examination and passed. He was appointed to the NATO Turkish Delegation at the Pentagon in Washington.

Türkeş in the Revolution ts Group

The year is 1958. Major Alparslan Türkeş has returned from America and is appointed to the 243rd Infantry Regiment, 1st Battalion Command in Elazığ.

Türkeş was friends with Major Talat Aydemir, Commander of the Motorised Artillery Battalion in Elazığ, who was arrested and executed during the coup attempt on 21 May 1963. Aydemir shared his idea of staging a coup with Türkeş.

As the coup plotters had no plan, Türkeş initially rejected Talat Aydemir's offer to join his organisation. Later, at a dinner meeting at his home, attended by Colonel Faruk Ateşdağlı and Talat Aydemir, the matter was raised again. At Ateşdağlı's insistence, Türkeş joined the "coup".

After completing his service in Elazığ, Türkeş was promoted to lieutenant colonel; he was assigned to the NATO branch in Ankara, and upon being promoted to colonel, he became the director of this branch.

The coup organisation continued to expand. It merged with the group consisting of Dündar Seyhan, Orhan Kabibay and Faruk Güventürk, who were among the first core members of the coup.

Something troubles Türkeş. It seems as if the revolution is being carried out to put opposition leader İsmet İnönü in power.

Türkeş explains:

"They have formed groups in Ankara and Istanbul. They do not yet have a plan. They are partially in contact with each other. They maintain secrecy.

When I came to Ankara, I made contact with them. They want to overthrow the Democratic Party and replace it with İsmet Pasha.

This seems easy and simple to them. They will tell the government, 'You can't do it, step aside,' and to Ismet Pasha, 'Pasha, please come.' I am investigating, they have connections with Ismet Pasha. They go to the Pasha's house and come back. They meet with his son-in-law.

For example, these are Muzaffer Karan and Fikret Kuytak. They later became members of the National Unity Committee.

These friends also meet with İsmail Rüştü Aksal, the CHP's general secretary at the time. I see that they have had some contact."

As the coup organisation developed, a separate circle formed around Türkeş. Because he taught at military schools, some young students placed great trust in him and wanted to see him in a different position than the one he held.

A few months before the coup, they told Türkeş, "We want to see you as head of state." Türkeş was both young and not of high rank. After all, he was a staff colonel.

The important point here is that the young officers, who knew their commanders well, considered Türkeş worthy of leadership.

In fact, those gathered around Türkeş even suggested staying on the sidelines and not getting involved in the intervention. But the point of no return had been reached.

A secret meeting is held in Ankara. Türkeş says the following:

"Young friends, they said, 'Let's stand aside'. Our response to them was this:

If we remain outside the coup movement, those who carry out the coup and succeed may eliminate us once they seize power.

Those who remain neutral are eliminated. In other words, while we wait to become generals, our roots are completely uprooted. We are left outside the army. Then we can do nothing.

So let us join these secret organisation activities, which are developing and seem impossible to prevent. Let us continue and try to take over the organisation, to dominate it. This is the more sensible path." (Hulusi Turgut, *Şahinlerin Dansı* [The Dance of the Falcons], Istanbul 1995, p. 127).

This speech shows that Türkeş was a leader who marched forward without hesitation. A moment of timidity, a moment of despondency, both weakens a movement and shakes his comrades' confidence in him.

When Cemal Gürsel was Commander of the Land Forces, after he presented his memorandum to the government, the Minister of National Defence granted him leave. His decision to leave his fellow revolutionaries behind and go to Izmir caused panic within the organisation. Consequently, the organisation, composed of a large number of colonels, began searching for a "general" once more, adding Lieutenant General Cemal Madanoğlu and Brigadier General Sıtkı Ulay to their ranks at the last minute.

Türkeş says:

"I was the de facto leader of the 27 May Revolution. Although I was not a general, I was the de facto leader. If I had been a general, I would probably have established discipline, strict discipline within the organisation.

The organisation was never a disciplined one. Because of this, many problems arose." (H. Turgut, *op. cit*., p. 129).

Türkeş states that he has been a leader since childhood:

"Ever since I can remember, I have felt like a leader. Following someone else never crossed my mind. I have always taken the initiative in everything.

I used to think about tomorrow, and beyond tomorrow. Thinking about tomorrow was my habit, ever since I was a child." (H. Turgut, *age*, p. 129).

The Revolution Begins

All preparations for the revolution had been made. Everyone was eagerly awaiting orders. It was the headquarters of the Military Academy. Türkeş had taken the initiative.

When he arrived at the Military Academy, Lieutenant General Cemal Madanoğlu said, "Let's abandon this plan." Türkeş's response was as follows:

"Sir, the forces are ready, the plan is ready, everything is ready. We have drawn the bow, we will release the arrow. There is no turning back now!"

Türkeş will also deliver an impassioned speech over the loudspeaker to the Military Academy cadets waiting in readiness for the coup, boosting their morale.

The Military Academy Commander was Brigadier General Sıtkı Ulay, who was involved in the coup. At the last moment, Sıtkı Ulay tells his friends that they do not have a statement to read on the radio. All preparations had been made, but the statement had been forgotten. Staff Colonel Alparslan Türkeş steps forward and says he can prepare the statement himself. Türkeş goes into a room:

"The department head's office was empty. I turned on the light, sat down at the head's desk, and began writing the statement to be broadcast on Ankara Radio.

I had reached the middle of the statement when I heard the sound of tanks outside. Thinking I would finish the rest later, I folded what I had written and put it in my pocket."

I went outside and looked; the tanks had their lights on, and their commanders were on top of the tanks, saluting us as they began to pass in front of us.

While thinking about writing that statement, I always paid attention to this: to strengthen the unity of the nation, to soften the conflict and tension between the People's Party and the Democratic Party and to ensure that the people sympathised with this military intervention.

To this end, I prepared it by selecting words that would achieve this. Just as an engineer, when preparing a construction project, decides which stone to place in which corner, how to calculate the density of the concrete to be poured, or what thickness the iron to be used should be, I also took care to select each word and each sentence in a way that would serve this purpose." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 89).

Türkeş got into a jeep with the unfinished statement in his pocket and followed the capture of strategic points in the streets of Ankara. He went to the radio station and read the first statement. He repeated the statement frequently. And with each repetition, he renewed it.

A revolutionary manifesto was extremely important. It would reveal the direction of the revolution and the strength of the revolutionaries. It had to appeal to as many segments of the population as possible. It was difficult for people who were not accustomed to writing to compose such a manifesto.

Türkeş, however, had a habit of writing. He had written articles under pseudonyms in nationalist-Turkish magazines.

The First " " Declaration

The declaration read as follows:

“Attention, attention!

Esteemed citizens, gather around your radios. The voice of our trusted Armed Forces will address you in one minute.

Due to the crisis our democracy has fallen into and the recent tragic events, and with the aim of preventing civil strife, the Turkish Armed Forces have taken control of the country.

Our Armed Forces have embarked on this action to save the country from the state of paralysis into which the parties have fallen and to hold fair and free elections as soon as possible under the supervision and arbitration of a neutral administration above the parties, with a view to handing over the administration to those who win the elections, regardless of which side they belong to.

This initiative is not directed against any individual or group. The administration will not attempt any personal attacks against anyone, nor will it tolerate such attacks. Every citizen, regardless of who they are or which party they belong to, will be treated according to the principles set out in the law.

It is deemed essential for the alleviation of our suffering and the preservation of our national existence that all citizens remember they are children of the same nation, descended from the same lineage, above party affiliations, and treat one another with respect and understanding, without harbouring resentment.

We request that members of the Cabinet take refuge with the Turkish Armed Forces. Their personal safety is guaranteed by law.

We address our allies, our neighbours and the whole world. Our goal is full compliance with the constitution of the United Nations and the principles of human rights. Atatürk's principle of 'Peace at home, peace in the world'

is our banner. We are faithful to all our alliances and commitments. We believe in and are committed to NATO; we are committed to CENTO.

We reiterate: our thoughts are peace at home, peace in the world. All garrison commanders within Turkey will take control of the civil and administrative administration of their respective areas and ensure the safety of citizens in all matters.

* * *

A leader must be cautious. He must act prudently. Türkeş became angry with Talat Aydemir, who was the first to propose joining a secret organisation for the coup, when Aydemir complained about being penniless during a conversation and said he was in debt to his subordinates: "A commander cannot be in debt to his subordinates. Otherwise, he cannot give them orders." This is a precaution.

He would take another precaution when he was appointed as the Prime Minister's undersecretary after the coup (or rather, when he appointed himself as the Prime Minister's undersecretary).

General Cemal Gürsel, while serving as Commander of the Land Forces, wrote a letter to Ethem Menderes, the Minister of National Defence at the time, on 3 May 1960, twenty-four days before the coup. Under the DP government, the General Staff was subordinate to the Ministry of National Defence, in line with general practice around the world. Gürsel's letter was a kind of "memorandum" expressing his dissatisfaction with the country's direction. The text of this letter was drafted by Türkeş on Gürsel's instructions. Gürsel then made corrections to it.

After the coup, this letter was altered and released to the press again through Alparslan Türkeş. Rather than calling this an alteration, it would be more accurate to describe it as a "falsification".

Türkeş said: "If the letter had been published in its original form, the course of the Yassıada trials would have changed and death sentences would not have been handed down."

Gürsel summoned Türkeş, made changes to the old letter, and requested that it be distributed to the press.

Türkeş said the following about this historical event:

"It could not be published as it was given to Ethem Menderes. Because Menderes and other Democratic Party officials had been arrested. Meanwhile, many members of the National Unity

Committee were in contact with the CHP and İsmet Pasha. They would not have allowed the letter to be published in its original form."

Türkeş retyped the text, taking into account the corrections made by Cemal Gürsel on the letter. He then added the following note to the letter:

"Letter given to the press by Cemal Pasha for publication, with corrections made in his own handwriting (9 June 1960)."

This was a precautionary measure. He did not want to be an accomplice to Cemal Gürsel. Why did he not reveal what he knew? Under the conditions of the coup, this was impossible. To take such a course of action, he would have had to take a stand against it and be outside the coup committee. Taking a stand meant "opposing", which required power. Since he had no power, he could do nothing but take a precautionary measure by making a note for posterity.

What did Cemal Gürsel glean from the letter? In

the first letter:

"Drawing courage and inspiration from our discussions last night..."

Instead;

"In light of our discussions last night..."

In the first letter;

"These measures should be as follows:

1. The President must resign.

Mr Adnan Menderes should be appointed President. I am convinced that, despite everything, the majority of the nation loves this honourable person. This affection should be used to win over those who have been alienated and to restore confidence in the nation.

Instead:

"These measures should be as follows:

1. The President must resign. Because there is a general consensus in the country that all the evils stem from this person."

In the first letter:

"6. The district and sub-district organisations of the parties should be abolished, and representatives should only be kept in the provincial centres."

"Party activities should be limited to twice a year in provincial centres and with restricted parties."

The provisions have been omitted in the new version. In the first letter:

"Dear Honourable Deputy;"

Instead:

"Dear Representative;"

In the first letter:

"Dear Representative, my statement is undoubtedly very important and even very bold. However, it must be taken into consideration for the sake of the country, the nation, the government, and even the parties, and it is indeed very necessary."

I extend my deepest and most sincere regards."

Instead:

"Dear Representative, my statement is undoubtedly very important and even very bold. However, it must be taken into consideration for the sake of the country, the welfare of the nation, and the salvation of the government and even your party.

Yours sincerely."

The person at the head of the coup, holding power in his hands, thought he could destroy all the evidence and that history would not judge him. But history is lifting the veil of secrecy.

Faced with the negligence of a commander, Alparslan Türkeş, who had forward-thinking ideas, felt it necessary to take precautions by writing the note we have provided above.

Türkeş and the Appointment of Chief of Staff

After the coup, Chief of General Staff General Rüştü Erdelhun was sent to Yassıada. Cevdet Sunay was Deputy Chief of General Staff at the time. Sunay was appointed Commander of the Land Forces. Third Army Commander General Ragıp Gümüşpala became Chief of General Staff. When Gümüşpala retired, Sunay was appointed to replace him. However, this caused some problems. MBK President Cemal Gürsel was angry with Sunay. Sunay had clashed with Gümüşpala during his tenure as Chief of the General Staff. Gürsel was also angry about this. Türkeş intervened and persuaded Gürsel to appoint Sunay as Chief of the General Staff. He personally informed Sunay of the appointment by telephone.

Türkeş will be in contact with Sunay during Talat Aydemir's arrest on 21 May 1963 for attempting a coup. Cevdet Sunay was the Chief of General Staff... When Türkeş was taken from his home on 21 May and brought to the Çankaya Police Station, he sent a letter addressed to Sunay, stating that he had no connection to the events, asking him to kindly summon him, and that he had some things to say. When Türkeş was taken to Mamak Military Prison, Colonel Orhan Çokdeğer brought Türkeş Sunay's reply. Sunay could not meet with Türkeş because of the martial law commander's statement number 6. Türkeş was astonished that Sunay, the "great" Chief of General Staff, did not want to meet with him because of the martial law commander's statement.

Sunay was elected president after Gürsel fell seriously ill in 1966 and lost his functions. During his presidency, the communists' armed movements had begun. The Ülkücüler were also organising themselves throughout the country. Sunay, on one occasion, praised the Ülkücüler. CHP Chairman İnönü made harsh statements against Sunay's praise of the Ülkücüler.

Sunay may have praised the Ülkücüler either out of genuine belief or as a gesture in response to Türkeş's gesture.

Türkeş and , the Americans

After becoming Prime Minister's Undersecretary, Alparslan Türkeş discovered that the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had an office in the Ministry of the Interior. The Americans had come to Turkey "to work together against subversive activities" based on an agreement between the two countries and had set up shop in the Ministry of the Interior building. But the Americans gradually expanded their operations. They were having all documents coming to and going from the Ministry of the Interior pass through their own offices. The Turks were unaware that this office was the CIA's headquarters.

First Secretary William H. of the US Embassy in Ankara Doyle, dated 25 July 1960, and the report entitled "Formalised Cooperation with the Turkish National Police" attached to it, revealed that Americans working in the Ministry of the Interior were there on behalf of the CIA. (For the text of the report, see: H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* pp. 210-222.) Türkeş's subsequent investigation revealed that Doyle was also the CIA's

first-degree responsible person for the CIA in the Middle East. Türkeş had this office closed down.

The Ambassador to Ankara and Doyle insist strongly on the opening of the office; however, Türkeş does not agree. Türkeş has stated in no uncertain terms that they can cooperate in the fight against communism, but they cannot accept the establishment of an office within the Ministry of the Interior.

After the coup, the second important contact with the Americans was to receive money from them. The situation of the Turkish army was discussed in the National Unity Committee. There were too many high-ranking officers. It was decided to reduce their numbers. 270 out of 300 generals would be retired. The number of other officers to be retired is around 700. It is considered that they should receive a satisfactory severance payment and salary when they retire. However, there is no money in the coffers. They say, since the US is our friend, let's ask them for the money. Previously, immediately after the coup, $15 million in aid had been received to pay the salaries of foreign representatives.

According to Türkeş, when NATO's Supreme Commander in Paris, Air Force General Morstad, visited Turkey, they discussed their projects and said they needed 12 million dollars. The US provided this money.

One of the architects of the coup, Dündar Seyhan, recounts the Eminsu (Retired Revolutionary Officers) affair differently in *Gölgedeki Adam (The Man in the Shadows*):

"The financial profile of our project was tied to 100 million TL. The most important issue was securing this money, and doing so in a very short time.

The Americans in the country may have known that something was going on or was about to happen, but they never learned how things would be done. From the day we began our activities, neither the army command nor the American aid organisation knew anything about it. Asking the Americans for help with this task meant allowing them to stick their noses in, which would inevitably lead to the exercise reaching an impasse and the issue being reduced to negotiation and bargaining.

Another of the main goals of the revolution, and perhaps the most important one, was to make Turkey self-sufficient. If we could not shake off the habit of begging at the very first step, achieving this important goal would, of course, be a pipe dream.

For this task, it was impossible to collaborate with the government, whose ministers, due to the nature of the institution, were passive, powerless, and even incompetent, with their old-fashioned mindsets. Therefore, there was no alternative but to proceed within the practical working framework we had identified. I went to the Ministry of Finance to find someone who was familiar with the Ministry's operations and whose character I could trust. They recommended Hikmet, the Director General of the Budget. Within the framework of the main directive we had given, Hikmet undertook the financial aspects and Judge Captain Sait, Director of the Law Department at the Ministry of National Defence, undertook the legal aspects. Sworn in and locked in a room at the Ankara Command Headquarters, they completed draft law no. 42 within a few days.

Following two days of negotiations in the committee, the bill became law. The Director General of the Budget had explained to us how 100 million lira could be paid in cash within a week from the state treasury, which had been left completely empty at that time, without causing any financial disruption. The salary allowances allocated to ministries in the budget at the beginning of the fiscal year would be returned to the Ministry of Finance in exchange for vacant positions, and we would use this money, which had been squandered in previous years, to do our job.

When it came time to implement the law, the Minister of Finance (Alican) was summoned to the meeting room next to Türkeş's office. Türkeş, myself, Kadri Kaplan, Şefik Soyuyüce, Suphi Karaman, and those who drafted the law were present in the room.

The situation was explained to the Minister. It was established that the Ministry of Finance was obliged to pay 100 million lira in cash within a week.

Alican, quite rightly, began to talk about how he was used to bringing water from a thousand streams and how, under these circumstances, it was questionable whether it was possible to pay the twenty-five million lira that the government could save that day. He could not possibly understand from his own perspective that the matter could not be referred to a commission and subjected to endless negotiations. I interrupted him and later, according to his complaint to his relative Talat Aydemir, I stood up and reminded him rather sternly that we had a law before us that had been passed by the committee, that the Council of Ministers had been tasked with implementing the law, and that secondary considerations were irrelevant. The Minister said that, of course, a way to make the payment would be sought, and we ended the meeting." (Dündar Seyhan, *Gölgedeki Adam [The Man in the Shadows],* Istanbul 1966, pp. 104-105).

The writings of renowned journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman also corroborate Türkeş's account. Yalman stated: "... General Morstad was summoned to Ankara. Through his efforts, twelve million dollars in aid was secured and the project was launched." (A. E. Yalman, *What I Saw and Experienced in Recent History,* Vol. 4, Istanbul 1971, p. 372).

-Türkeş in British Documents

The British Ambassador to Ankara, P.J. Goulden, closely monitored Alparslan Türkeş and reported his observations to London. Before discussing these documents, we must explain how they were discovered.

Professor Dr. Mustafa Ünal has entered the British archives. Professor Dr. Mustafa Ünal is a faculty member at the Faculty of Theology at Erciyes University.

Mustafa Ünal went to the University of Birmingham in England in 1992 to pursue a doctorate in the field of History of Religions, completed his doctorate and returned in 1996. In London, at the PRO (Public Record Office), where the British keep their secret documents, he and a friend who was doing a doctorate in history accessed documents relating to Türkeş.

The documents are not classified as "top secret" but are third-degree "confidential" documents that cannot be disclosed for "at least thirty years." The document reference numbers are: CT1015/21 (1013/110-111-1013/61; F0371/180151.

A report prepared by P.J. Goulden, the British Ambassador to Ankara at the time, focuses on Türkeş's personal characteristics:

"Alparslan Türkeş, with his hawk-like gaze, was a highly successful and authoritative figure during his military service. He acquired profound knowledge in nuclear physics and economics in Germany and America. He spoke English better than most of the elite of his time, even better than some distinguished Englishmen."

Ambassador Goulden included the following detail in his report:

"Although Türkeş was equipped with modern knowledge, he was someone who knew Turkish culture, history and people down to the finest detail and who blended both characteristics, conservatism and modernity, very well."

Ambassador Goulden wrote his report after the 1960 coup.
He described Türkeş's role in the coup as follows:

Türkeş, who carries considerable weight within the revolution, possesses plans and capabilities that could threaten British interests in the future. According to our information, he is working to establish factories that will produce basic necessities alongside the motor and aircraft industries in order to strengthen Turkish industry. More importantly, with the aim of establishing nuclear power plants, he is sending the country's brightest students to the United States, France, Germany and Britain to receive training in nuclear physics, and is personally taking a very close interest in them. If these students complete their relevant education and return to Turkey, it is inevitable that Turkey will possess nuclear energy and, consequently, nuclear weapons.

Through MI6 (the British Foreign Intelligence Service), certain measures could be taken in the friendly countries to which the students were sent to ensure that they did not return to Turkey.

Mustafa Ünal met Turgut Berkman in Birmingham, one of those sent abroad for training related to nuclear power plants. Turgut Berkman, who worked as a machine technician at Wolverhampton College, confirmed what was written in the ambassador's report.

Ambassador Goulden also reported to London on Türkeş's return from exile in India and his entry into the CKMP:

"Türkeş, who was elected president of the CKMP, has a hawkish gaze, dreadful black hair, and speaks perfect English. Since the coup d'état of 27 May 1960, he has been an enigmatic figure on the Turkish political scene. He has been involved in Pan-Turkist movements since the 1940s.

In the 1950s, the CKMP, which was religiously conservative, stored up strength for the future by combining religious and national characteristics after Türkeş and his friends took over the party. Türkeş had journalist Gökhan Evliyaoğlu write that Turkey's fundamental problems and their solutions were truly very reasonable. He has put forward very radical and feasible solutions for an independent and prosperous Turkey of 100 million people in every area. He is someone with dynamic goals rather than constructive and temporary programmes.

His state is a unitary state, both politically and culturally. His state is a civilised state with industrial and technological power, not agricultural power. His understanding of economics is also very interesting: he plans to take public institutions away from the state and sell them to the people.

With this programme, Türkeş could gain considerable power in the elections, but upon closer examination of his programme, it could be revealed that he holds fascist and chauvinist views; thus, his failure in the elections could be ensured.

* * *

The following news item appeared in the 10 July 2000 edition of the *Hürriyet* newspaper:

Front-page headline: Türkeş Demanded Money.

The news takes up a full page inside. A Hürriyet reporter finds Fred Haynes, who served as military attaché in Ankara between 1958 and 1961 with the rank of lieutenant colonel, at his home in the United States, where he is spending his retirement, and interviews him. The conversation is lengthy. Under the subheading "Türkeş Asked for Money," the following is written:

"Haynes said that at around 9 a.m., he and the ambassador went to the prime minister's office to meet with MBK President Cemal Gürsel at his request. 'The request came from Gürsel. They had not met with any other foreigners. The ambassador and I went to see the MBK President,' he said."

Fred Pasha said they were received by Colonel Alparslan Türkeş. Haynes stated that Türkeş said they would retire four thousand officers from the army and needed a sufficient amount of money. Haynes said, "Türkeş later denied that they had requested money. But he did ask for it. And this money was given to them. It is not recorded in any official records. It is not clear from which budget line the money was transferred. But we definitely gave them a generous financial aid. After the meeting, the Ambassador called Washington and formally requested the money. The money was given, and the officers were retired."

Dündar Seyhan, although he mentioned that they did not want to be indebted to anyone and claimed that the money was taken from the Treasury, the money was actually taken from the US and deposited in the Treasury, and the payment was made from there. This is because what Türkeş told Hulusi Turgut had not been denied by the revolutionaries who were still alive.

In the news article published in the *Hürriyet* newspaper above, the American general speaks without evidence. He knows certain things because he was serving at the US Embassy in Ankara at the time. He states that money was given to Türkeş for the Turkish coup government and goes further by stating that no record of this money was kept, the purpose of which is to cast aspersions on Türkeş.

It is to abandon. The news was published without considering that the 79-year-old man's memory may have weakened or that he may be angry with Türkeş because the CIA did not allow him to work in the Ministry of the Interior building after the coup. Those who published the news should have taken into account what Hulusi Turgut wrote in his book. Türkeş had stated long ago that money was taken from the Americans. What the American general said is nothing new.

In the same report, the American stated that Türkeş had demanded the execution of Menderes, Zorlu and Polatkan. To date, no researcher or published memoir of the coup plotters has written that Türkeş demanded the execution of these three statesmen. In fact, when the sentences of these individuals were discussed in the MBK, Türkeş had already been sent into exile.

Towards a New Party

After the coup, the Democratic Party was closed down. A large segment of the population was left without a party. There was a need for a party that would bring them together under one roof. Türkeş, who was serving as Prime Minister's Undersecretary, held initial talks on establishing a party with Ekrem Alican, a former DP minister and also the Finance Minister of the coup government, at Gürsel's suggestion. He then continued discussions on forming a party with Justice Minister Abdullah Gözübüyük, General Director of Security Necip San, Prof. Dr. Aydın Yalçın, and others. He began preparing the party's principles and organisational foundations.

Alparslan Türkeş's image as the "Powerful Colonel" provided an opportunity for him to be given a different image after the coup. Publications were being made both in Turkey and abroad that could be detrimental to him regarding his arrest in the 1944 Nationalism Incident. The foreign press referred to him as Turkey's Nasser. The reason for this was that Major General Cemal Abdünnâsır, after the coup in Egypt on 23 July 1952, overthrew General Necib and assumed the presidency. It was written that Türkeş would also take such a path and overthrow Cemal Gürsel. There were even rumours that he had shot and wounded Gürsel, which Türkeş categorically denied. Allegations that Türkeş would establish a dictatorship and was against democracy were repeated daily. The reason for this was clear: to sideline Türkeş.

However, Türkeş was also at the forefront of the revolutionaries who had begun efforts to establish a party.

After the exile of 13 November, Ekrem Alican (1916-2000) continued his party activities and founded the New Turkey Party. The idea and work of forming a party must have been the first step in Türkeş's experience of entering politics after returning from exile.

Türkeş's Assistance to Algeria ( )

When the revolution broke out, Algeria was engaged in armed struggle against French colonialism. Both France and Turkey were members of NATO. Algeria was a former Ottoman province and its people were Muslim. It was natural for it to expect support from Muslim countries. However, the expected support was not provided during the DP era. Some members of the MBK, known as Türkeş's friends, issued a statement on 16 September 1960 declaring their support for the Algerian Liberation Movement.

The Algerians maintained their contacts with the world mainly through the Libyan embassies. The revolutionary government established contact with the Algerian Liberation Movement through the Libyan Embassy in Ankara. A three-person Algerian delegation, which included a woman, arrived in Ankara. Türkeş met with the delegation. The delegation had requested ammunition from Turkey. Türkeş promised to send a large quantity of ammunition. The weapons were shipped to Libya by boat and then delivered to the Algerian Liberation Movement.

The Algerians did not forget Türkeş's assistance. After Türkeş was exiled to India, they sent a delegation led by a colonel to express their gratitude.

Türkeş and Press

Türkeş states that after the coup, they wanted to publish a newspaper to explain the MBK's ideas and get the public to accept their reforms, and that they launched the newspaper *Öncü*, whose name he himself had chosen. Türkeş entrusted the task of establishing the newspaper to Ziya Tansu, owner of the İKA Agency. They secured the capital from Kazım Taşkent, then owner of Yapı ve Kredi Bank. Taşkent provided a loan of 300,000 lira.

Some MBK members opposed the launch of Öncü. Their objections stemmed from various reasons. After all, all the newspapers were supporting us.

They said they were concerned about offending other newspaper owners. Beyond this, another reason must have been Alparslan Türkeş's leadership of Öncü. Indeed, after Türkeş and his friends were exiled abroad on 13 November 1960, they printed the newspaper and took the publishing rights from Ziya Tansu.

The Case of Kasa

People who aspire to leadership must not have past mistakes that will cause them problems in the future. Since Alparslan Türkeş always acted according to a plan, he was also careful in the matter of the Prime Minister's Office treasury. During the Yassıada trials, the Prime Minister's Office treasury's covert funds were questioned by the Prime Minister's Office Undersecretary, Ahmet Salih Korur.

In Hulusi Turgut's book entitled *The Unmade Defences,* he writes:
he writes:

"In the hearing held on Thursday, 15 December 1960, the letter dated 14 December 1960 and numbered 960 from the Office of the Chairman of the National Unity
Committee Liaison Office stated that when the Prime Minister's safe was opened, a yellow envelope was found, but no foreign currency or cash was found, only sixty-one Swiss gold coins.

Chairman Başol asked the defendants if they had anything to say regarding these minutes:

Chairman - Do you have anything to say about the minutes?

Korur - I am now becoming aware of the minutes (I am being informed).

Chairman - Well, I am also becoming aware of them.

Korur - There was definitely 260 thousand dollars in the safe. Colonel Türkeş asked me for the code, and I gave it to him. It was 28 or 29 May. However, this report was drawn up on the 1st of the month (1 June 1960).

Chairman - Did anyone see or know that the safe was opened by Türkeş earlier?

Korur - I cannot say. I was detained at the Military Academy. However, the money was definitely in the safe.

Chairman - That is your word.

(Hulusi Turgut, *The Unmade Defences*, Istanbul 1988, p. 72).

The issue of the safe has been much debated. After Türkeş entered political life, the issue of the safe was raised every time. Whenever someone published their memoirs about 27 May, they would bring up the issue of opening the safe and mention Türkeş's name. In 1987, when Menderes was prime minister, the memoirs of Ahmet Salih Korur, who was the prime minister's undersecretary at the time, were published in Hürriyet, and they also focused on the opening of the safe. Hürriyet published a news article by Kasım Gence titled "Türkeş: It wasn't me who opened the safe, it was the judges." We are reproducing the article below for the sake of clarity on the matter from Türkeş's own words:

The former leader of the closed MHP party, the powerful colonel of the 27 May coup and former deputy prime minister Alparslan Türkeş, made a statement yesterday at his home in Yakacık regarding the allegations against him, saying, 'They are completely fabricating things. All documents on this matter are available in the state archives. I am a person who will account for everything I have done, openly and without fear. I have not opened any safe in this regard, nor have I entered any room. All counts and inventories have been carried out by judges.' Türkeş made this statement in response to the claim made by Ahmet Salih Korur, undersecretary to the prime minister during the Democratic Party era, at Yassıada and reported in yesterday's Hürriyet, that "Türkeş took the $270,000 from Menderes's private safe after learning the code from me." Sevin (Zorlu) Özen, the daughter of Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, also claimed that Türkeş had opened her father's safe.

Türkeş stated that the keys and passwords for the safes could not be obtained on 28 or 29 May, but could be obtained on 30 or 31 May, saying the following:

'With MBK members Fazıl Akkoyunlu and Selim Sarper by my side, we took the items confiscated from the defendants' families to the Military Academy. Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Ahmet Salih Korur were in the same room. We asked him about the secret safes at the Prime Minister's Office, and he said there were three safes and that the code was found in one of them. We took the keys and the code. We arrived at the Prime Minister's Office. There, in the presence of Cemal Gürsel, I gave the keys and the code to the judges. The judges first took inventory of the scattered, valuable items in the Prime Minister's Office. That is why the safe inventory bears the date of 1 June. Because the code did not work that day, an oxygen torch was used. I did not open the safe.

Alparslan Türkeş, who described the incident in full detail in his statement, continued as follows:

There were two gendarmerie battalions under the Prime Minister's Office responsible for security. When the operation began on the morning of 27 May, there was a brief armed clash between the Military Academy battalion, the gendarmerie unit and the police officers on duty. After officers intervened, the firing ceased, and the Military Academy battalion took control of the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That day, we moved from our headquarters at the Military Academy building to the Military History building. General Cemal Gürsel also joined us from Izmir. When General Cemal Gürsel became Chief of the General Staff, we moved our headquarters to the General Staff Headquarters and began working there. We were constantly at General Cemal Gürsel's side. Two days later, it was decided to move to the Prime Minister's Office. Cemal Gürsel Paşa told me to activate the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I also looked for the people responsible for the Prime Minister's Office. I found Tahsin Bey, the Quartermaster General appointed by the former administration, and Zafer Bey, who worked alongside him. I asked them about the situation at the Prime Minister's Office. They told me that some soldiers had broken down some doors. Upon hearing this, I ordered them to form a committee and seal the rooms and safes. Later, they came and told me that the rooms and safes had been sealed. It was said that three safes belonging to Ahmet Salih Korur and three safes belonging to the Prime Minister had been found in the Prime Minister's Office, and that two safes had been found in each of the other ministries. Upon this, ten civilian judges from the Ministry of Justice and six military judges from the Ministry of National Defence were brought in. They were ordered to form committees, assess the situation in the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, conduct an inventory count, and record their findings in minutes. The keys taken from Ahmet Salih were also handed over to the judges. After the inventory of the rooms, we went to the Prime Minister's Office with Cemal Gürsel Pasha. My and Cemal Gürsel Pasha's first entry through the door of the Prime Minister's Office was three or four days after the coup. One of the safes in Ahmet Salih's room was locked with a code, the other two were normal safes without a code. The judges could not open the code. A code expert was requested from the National Intelligence Organisation, and the experts arrived. They were also unable to open it. Upon the judges' decision, the locked safe was opened using an oxygen torch. The contents of the safes were officially recorded by the judges in official minutes. The keys to the safes were taken from Ahmet Salih on 30 or 31 May. I immediately handed the keys over to the judges. The safes and rooms were already sealed. Photocopies of all the minutes are available at my home in Ankara. In addition, the originals were sent at that time to the Prime Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Justice for filing.

It was placed there. It is still in these ministries and state archives. When I left my position as Undersecretary to the Prime Minister, I handed over to Hilmi İncesulu. Everything that came out of the safes and was in the rooms was counted and handed over to him." (*Hürriyet*, 15 September 1987).

While in exile in New Delhi, Türkeş published a long article in the 12th issue of *Millî Yol* magazine on 13 April 1962, titled "How were Ahmet Salih Korur's safes opened at the Prime Minister's Office after 27 May?"

This lengthy article details the information Türkeş briefly provided above. For such detailed information to be known, it would have been necessary to contact Türkeş in India or for Türkeş himself to write about the incident and send it, and for this writing to be turned into a news story. In order to clarify a frequently repeated issue for the accusation of a "leader" and to enable those researching the period to grasp the nuances, we reproduce below the directly relevant section of the article published in *Millî Yol*:

"... On 31 May or 1 June, Selim Sarper [who was Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs and was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Revolutionary Government. *A.T.*] is coming to the Prime Minister's Office. He says that because he used to have a personal friendship and relationship with Gürsel, and because their families constantly inquired about their health, he wanted to visit Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and his friends to obtain the keys to the safes, especially those belonging to the Foreign Ministry, and asks Gürsel for permission to do so. Gürsel replies, "Discuss this matter with Mr Türkeş." Türkeş, who was present, found Sarper's request appropriate and even went to the Military Academy with Sarper, where they obtained the keys and codes from Bayar, Menderes, Zorlu, and Ahmet Salih Korur, who were detained there, and had some very interesting conversations with them on this occasion.

After returning from there, a second panel of judges was formed [The first panel of judges is mentioned in the beginning of the article I did not include here: "On the morning of 29 May, a panel of eight civilian judges was formed, and the first task of this panel was to secure the documents in the office of Ahmet Salih Korur's office and to inventory and record the movable and immovable property found in the room."] and this panel was tasked with opening the safes and identifying the documents and other items that would be found there. And the panel began its work. However, Ahmet Salih Korur's concealed

It was impossible to forge the key to the safe, which contained the funds and was locked with a code, and to open the safe. Mehmet Geylangil, the former director of the Prime Minister's Special Office, who had been retained in his position by Türkeş, was also present with the panel of judges to open the safe. He was also unable to open it. Finally, a locksmith was brought in through Mehmet Geylangil, and he was able to open the safe only by melting the lock with a welding machine in front of the panel of judges. The inspection and counting of the safe began in this manner and thereafter. Only after this count, and according to the minutes of the panel of judges, did Türkeş take delivery of the safe, having the money counted by Mehmet Geylangil and another official present, named Muzaffer. (*Millî Yol,* p. 12, 13 April 1962).

Türkeş's Exile to

The revolutionaries intended to hand over power to the extreme İnönü supporters within the CHP. Türkeş, however, opposed this. He was also striving to ensure that the leading figures of the Democratic Party received as little punishment as possible. He had shared this view with Cemal Gürsel. In addition, he wanted to remain in power for a while to develop the country and then go to the polls.

He had founded the Turkish Cultural Association. He had appointed Şahap Homris as its head. He gave the house built for the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly as the association's headquarters. When Türkeş was expelled, they would take the presidency of the association from Şahap Homris and replace him with the poet Behçet Kemal Çağlar. Türkeş's purpose in establishing the Turkish Cultural Association was to protect Turkish youth from Marxist influences and ensure they were imbued with national culture.

Sami Küçük was in charge of the Ideology and Culture Union project of the Social Affairs Committee, which worked under the orders of the National Unity Committee.

Türkeş also ensured the establishment of the State Planning Organisation and the Institute for Research into Turkish Culture.

İnönü, however, was pushing for elections to be held as soon as possible. For this reason, Türkeş's influence had to be reduced. As Türkeş was not yet prime minister, systematic efforts were made to remove him from the position of undersecretary, which he held in lieu of the prime minister. Finally, on 22 September 1960, Türkeş was forced to resign from his position as undersecretary to the prime minister. Then, on 13

November 1963, Türkeş's home was raided, and he was put on a plane and sent to India. A cover story had also been found: Türkeş was an embassy advisor.

He again sees İsmet İnönü among the reasons for this exile. In the *1944 Nationalism* Incident, under the heading "The CHP and İnönü are Most Responsible," he states that İnönü had a hand in their exile.

The primary factor in Türkeş's emergence as a leader was 3 May 1944, while the secondary factor was 13 November 1960. Others had begun to form the nucleus of the coup; when he learned of such coup preparations, he analysed the situation and, realising that the coup would definitely take place, took the risk. Since the coup was going to happen, he could step forward and implement what he wanted to do. Perhaps he had unwittingly considered becoming not only the "Powerful Colonel" of the coup, but also its "leader".

Türkeş summarises the developments following the coup as follows:

"... The CHP wanted the elections to be held without a strong new opponent emerging on the political horizon.

Gürsel Pasha, who did not want to relinquish power to him, also wanted to delay the election until the attempt to form a party was successful.

As for us, my friends and I thought quite differently.
We had nothing in common with either the İnönü supporters or the Gürsel supporters...

We were neither intoxicated by the lust for power nor chasing personal fortune.

We wanted to prevent many of the country's long-standing wounds, which had not been treated for a long time, from becoming gangrenous.

We were impatient too, but we wanted the country's problems to be solved as soon as possible..." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit*., pp. 98-99).

* * *

Alparslan Türkeş was 42 years old when he staged a coup. It was a mature age at which he could think clearly about everything. By this age, he had been pondering national issues and developing theories since his early youth. In 1944, when he was arrested in the Racism-Turancism trial, he was 27 years old and had exactly 600 books. However, these books were taken from his home and never returned to him.

A person who had been thinking about national issues must have taken calculated steps while participating in a revolutionary group that had no turning back. The above words confirm this. They

İsmet İnönü, who played a significant role in the expulsion of Alparslan Türkeş and his associates, whom he saw as the greatest obstacle to taking power by going to the polls as soon as possible, later regretted this effort. Let us read from Türkeş:

"The CHP leader, who hoped to reap great benefits from the snap election, found himself compelled to acknowledge the adverse political consequences that arose from the snap election four years later. He gave the following statement to the daily political newspaper *La Tribune* Lausanne, published in Lausanne, Switzerland:

The election was rushed... The 14 were proven right. Following a military action, an authoritarian transition period is an unavoidable necessity. Many problems arose from this period being too short. I repeat: after every revolution, there is a definite need for an authoritarian, strict transition period. In our case, this period was not as long as it should have been. It lasted only a year and a half. After a year and a half, the members of the revolutionary committee voluntarily stepped down from power. They held elections and handed over power to those elected. Some members of this revolution committee believed that the transition period should not have been short. The fact that there were two attempts at a government coup within a year proved them right. (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.,* pp. 100-101).

İnönü acknowledged Türkeş's rights. However, he would later emerge as his political opponent and launch a merciless and harsh attack on Türkeş and the members of the party of which he was the leader. After he was defeated by Bülent Ecevit and forced to resign as leader of the CHP in 1972, the people who had grown up around him levelled unfathomably serious accusations against the MHP. turned a blind eye to the infiltration of extremists into the CHP solely to oppose the MHP, and, even if only for short periods, regarded the oppression of nationalist groups as a "pleasure" whenever Ecevit became prime minister.

Türkeş lists the reasons for his expulsion from the National Unity Committee on 13 November 1960, including the attitude of the communists. He says:

The Communists were striving to benefit as much as possible from 27 May. They were succeeding in easily infiltrating the MBK members, who lacked political experience and were unfamiliar with the cadre of civil intellectuals, and in persuading them of many of their ideas.

Our nationalist, Turkic, radical reformist and socially just plan frightened them.

For this reason, they engaged in all kinds of activities and propaganda against us. They attacked us in a united front with İnönü." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit*., p. 104).

Türkeş recounts how the novelist Yaşar Kemal, upon meeting Muammer Özdağ, the brother of the exiled Muzaffer Özdağ, joyfully said:

"Did you see how the communists defeated the nationalists? We expelled yours, we threw them out." He then makes the following comment, in keeping with his character:

'How could the unfortunate Yaşar Kemal have known that Turkish nationalism was an invincible force, capable of crushing communism and everything else that was the enemy of the Turkish nation?'

Türkeş had said that İnönü and his circle were the main reason for his exile. He also notes that İnönü had previously unsettled many foreigners both at home and abroad with the "racism-Turancism" case, and that circles that did not understand that these stories were fabricated for petty political gain held opinions detrimental to the Turkish nation:

"As a result, even among those who did not know me personally, the opinion had formed that I was a fanatic and a terrible person. As a consequence of this false opinion, foreign powers also played a role in the events of 13 November." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit*., p. 105).

* * *

Türkeş cites their refusal to accept the offer to become Freemasons as the reason for their expulsion:

"After 27 May, committee members were occasionally offered membership in the Freemasons. However, no one in our group was interested in such a thing. In addition, some young staff officers, without orders from anyone, suddenly raided the Masonic lodges in Istanbul and seized the documents they found there. This incident had frightened the Masons." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.,* p. 105).

Is his claim that the Freemasons themselves played a role in their expulsion a guess, or does he know something? It is not fully explained. Although not mentioned here, the young officers may have raided the Masonic lodges because

They acted on his suggestion or direct orders. This is because those who have claimed that Freemasonry has engaged in activities harmful to the Turkish nation have always been nationalist-religious circles. The young officers may have gathered around a certain idea, which led them to take such action. As is well known, Freemasons have always been powerful within the state apparatus. Even revolutionaries who hold all the power find it very difficult to take action against Freemasons. However, people like Türkeş, who are capable of making bold decisions, possess the strength to fight such organisations.

Later, we frequently encounter publications explaining "the inner workings of Freemasonry" in magazines that would later refer to Alparslan Türkeş as the "leader of the nationalist front" and that played an important role in bringing together people who published along nationalist-sacred lines, such as *Millî Yol* and *Millî Hareket*, and who carried these ideas. It is noteworthy that after these magazines, publications against Freemasons decreased and disappeared in the magazines that emerged later, which were the mouthpiece of the Nationalist Movement. Perhaps Türkeş did not want to broaden the front and felt the need to fight the visible enemy first.

* * *

Colonel Dündar Seyhan was one of the leading figures of the 27 May coup. However, as he was in Washington during the coup, he was unable to join the National Unity Committee. In his book *Gölgedeki Adam* (The Man in the Shadows), he describes the factionalism within the MBK.

In order to understand Türkeş's position and, consequently, his leadership role in the 27 May 1960 coup, which marked the beginning of coups in Turkey and constituted a historical turning point, we need to know the views of the people involved in the event.

Dündar Seyhan wrote the following under the subheading "Differences of Opinion are Felt within the Committee":

"There were not yet clear divisions and factions within the committee, but signs were beginning to emerge that various centres of opinion were forming. Every day, conflicts arising from differences of opinion and personal animosity showed signs of shifting towards factions in the near future. The identities of the personalities who would inevitably emerge as the focal points of a future factionalism

would be the personalities who would emerge as the focal points:

Türkeş had begun to form one of these focal points. Among the younger members, Esin, Özdağ, Baykal and, in general, those seen to be under his wing were part of it.

The second faction was the Küçük-Madanoğlu duo. Although Küçük was his classmate, it was clear that he had an incurable allergy to Türkeş. He was quite adept at using Madanoğlu as a front and often acted as an advisor to the general, who would say, 'I don't have a brain anyway'." (D. Seyhan, *op. cit.,* p. 89).

* * *

Dündar Seyhan returns to Alparslan Türkeş later in his book and describes him as he knew him. Here are some noteworthy points from a comrade-in-arms' view of Türkeş:

"Having personally participated in the work, I consider it my duty to mention Alparslan Türkeş alongside Orhan Kabibay, who has been my greatest source of support and with whom I have been in complete agreement on every issue since 1954, and to briefly introduce Türkeş to the public according to my own views:

During the single-party era, he had been imprisoned due to his involvement in the Turkic-Turani movement. The general perception of him was that he was a skull-worshipper, a dictator, and inclined towards National Socialism.

After the coup, during the three and a half months I spent in Turkey, I never left the undersecretary's office at the Prime Ministry for a single day. I believe I came to know Türkeş very closely, to the extent that I can claim to have penetrated his mindset and personal character.

In my opinion, Türkeş is truly a Turkish nationalist. Underlying all his thoughts is the principle of prioritising the interests and welfare of the Turkish people. Within his understanding of nationalism, he holds a realistic view that does not indulge in crude fantasies about racial superiority based on skull shape. In his line of thought, this patriotic man, who acts on the fundamental idea of serving the Turks and Turkey, has witnessed the happiness of nations living within the democratic order of the West and has a deep understanding of Western culture, having studied the reasons for their prosperity in depth.

Having thoroughly assimilated Atatürk's principles and ideas, clearly sees what Turkey's current capabilities can offer the Turkish people, believes that these capabilities are not sufficient for global aggression, but that it is entirely possible to bring Turkey up to the level of Western civilisation within its current borders in the shortest possible time.

He possesses a strong reasoning style based on a culture that has assimilated what it has read, and sufficient courage to implement the decisions arising from that reasoning without hesitation.

His honesty, his role as a perfect head of the family, his friendship and his human qualities are beyond dispute in every respect. Alongside all these qualities, he also has the ambition to put himself first and to be the absolute leader of the group with which he is associated. This is a fixed idea that he has never abandoned. This fixed idea often has a divisive rather than a unifying effect. If we cannot see the 14s united and together on a common front today, one of the main reasons for this is Türkeş's stubborn refusal to abandon this idea. It is very rare to see fixed ideas yielding beneficial results, but it is still too early to make a decision about Türkeş's character in this regard. (D. Seyhan, *op. cit.,* pp. 99-100).

Dündar Seyhan, while emphasising his friend Türkeş's desire to be an "absolute leader," also leaves the door open: "... It is not yet time to make an immediate decision about this characteristic."

We do not know whether Dündar Seyhan followed and evaluated Türkeş's activities after he became head of the CKMP (later MHP).

Dündar Seyhan describes Türkeş's determination and the benefits that determination would bring in the same book:

The group led by Kabibay, Türkeş and Erkanlı was attempting to persuade the Committee to remain in power until the objectives set out in the directive given to the Government were achieved, using every means at its disposal. This group received open support from members such as Esin, Özdağ, Baykal, Er, Karaman, Solmazer and Akkoyunlu. Their fundamental idea was that the Committee should take advantage of its position in power to revise the state mechanism and, by undertaking economic, social and cultural reforms within this framework, transform the country.

It was about pulling ourselves out of the pit of backwardness. According to the views of those in this group, which I was also part of, a democratic system could only thrive in an environment where these reforms had been implemented and democratic institutions had been established. Democracy was now an indispensable part of Turkish social life. This structure could only flourish in such an environment, but the emergence of a democratic environment depended on certain conditions. So, we had tried to implement it for fifteen years, and it had become ingrained in our minds and faces. A democratic regime that did not rely on the culture of the masses and the independent economic identity of the individual did not bring any benefit or advantage other than creating an environment where political schemers roamed free, plundering the nation and reducing it to poverty. Democracy was ultimately a means for the nation to live happily. With a host of problems standing in the way of bringing happiness and peace to Turkey, what else could it mean to push them all aside and hastily try to establish a democratic system on top of a chaotic disorder, other than handing over the keys to Turkey's treasury to these notorious political gangsters?

Above all, Turkey had to be saved from being a land where those who exploited the Turkish nation roamed freely. Patriotic slogans such as homeland, nation, democracy, and freedom had served no purpose other than as tricks and lullabies for those who had been deceiving the nation for a hundred and fifty years, inflating their bellies to bursting point!

We intended to deeply root the principles established by Atatürk in the homeland and deliver their fruits to the hard-working Turkish nation as soon as possible. Would protocol dignity be hurt if 'democracy' lagged a little behind in order to achieve this lofty goal?

From the very beginning of the revolution, we never hesitated to openly express this view everywhere and to everyone." (D. Seyhan, *op. cit*., p. 113).

* * *

Revolutions are carried out for specific purposes. Without a plan and programme, the outcome is mere adventure. Dündar Seyhan is undoubtedly summarising the decision reached with his friends here. Alparslan Türkeş is the most methodical person within this group. Dündar Seyhan highlights the name of Orhan Kabibay, but this stems from the fact that Dündar Seyhan had been working with him since 1954 and they were much closer friends. Türkeş, however, was not part of the revolution committee established by Seyhan and Kabibay. He was part of another committee. Both committees worked towards the same goal, but independently of each other.

It had been established without their knowledge. When Seyhan and his friends learned that the other committee had been established, they joined it individually and later merged the two committees. Seyhan and Kabibay's rapprochement with Türkeş also came after this merger. Therefore, Seyhan felt the need to mention and favour Orhan Kabibay, with whom he had been working from the beginning, more. In addition, he acknowledged Türkeş's rights.

In the following pages of *Gölgedeki* Adam *(The Man in the Shadows*), Dündar Seyhan also admits that developments within the National Unity Committee prove Türkeş's case. This is because the 38-member National Unity Committee is now clearly divided into two camps. On one side was the Sami Küçük-Madanoğlu group, and on the other was the Türkeş-Kabibay group.

Dündar Seyhan describes those outside his own group with the following words:

"They perpetuated discord by turning everyday issues into subjects of contention. Their true nature was scepticism. They never believed in the sincerity of the ideas put forward. They harboured the suspicion that behind every idea lay the ulterior motive of continuing their lust for power."

Refet Aksoylu, Fikret Kuytak, and later Suphi Gürsoytrak and Ahmet Yıldız joined this group. The impression that they were working in connection with political circles outside the Committee and taking a contrary stance within the Committee, as if acting as party spokesmen, grew stronger day by day. (D. Seyhan, *op. cit*., p. 114).

By "political circles," Seyhan refers to the CHP. Türkeş and his friends said that the aim of the coup was not to overthrow the DP and bring the CHP to power.

It had reached such a point that one wing of the MBK needed to purge the other...

The idea of "elimination" had begun to be discussed among Türkeş and his friends. Seyhan says:

“In early September, when all efforts seemed to have been in vain and I personally lost hope that unity and solidarity would continue, I came to the conclusion that the only recourse was to prune the committee’s indecisive wing. There was nothing left to do but submit to the inevitable manifestation of power and its laws

. Either we would withdraw from the stage, or we would remove them." (D. Seyhan, *op. cit*., pp. 114-115).

Alparslan Türkeş, Orhan Kabibay and Orhan Erkanlı shared the same view. Four or five people who were "working against the goals of the coup" would be sent out of the country. Plans had been made as to who would be sent, how and where, but only the day and time of the operation had not been decided.

* * *

Leadership is seeing in oneself the courage to implement decisions without hesitation. Türkeş stated that he was always ready to implement his decision, but another powerful figure in the group, Orhan Kabibay, was hesitant. While Türkeş insisted that there was no other option but to take this path, Kabibay wanted to delay the matter. Perhaps a solution would be found in time. It was necessary to wait a little longer. However, Kabibay's calculations did not work out. Seyhan states, "The outcome of all the calculations made by Kabibay proved to be incorrect." (D. Seyhan, *op. cit.,* p. 115).

Muzaffer Yurdakuler from the MBK happened to overhear Seyhan discussing his views on the "purge" with his friends in a room and immediately informed the other MBK members of the situation. They acted swiftly and staged the coup on 13 November 1960. A coup within a coup took place. Türkeş and 13 of his friends were taken from their homes in the middle of the night and exiled abroad.

Here, we need to look at the issue from Türkeş's perspective: "I told my close friends, 'The National Unity Committee cannot be of any use in this climate

, let's carry out a purge and take the reins firmly into our own hands
'." (H. Turgut, *op. cit*., p. 271).

Türkeş is unable to persuade his friends. His friends argue that Cemal Gürsel will not accept their operation. Türkeş, however, knows Gürsel well. He states that Gürsel will side with the powerful and will not say no to those in power. His friends remain unconvinced.

When he attended the opening ceremony of Istanbul University with Orhan Erkanlı, Orhan Kabibay, Numan Esin and İrfan Solmazer, who were part of the same group, Türkeş suggested to his friends that they leave the ceremonies and official meetings

and this proposal is accepted. They discuss the situation in a car in Bebek on the Bosphorus. Türkeş says:

"The issue has become quite complicated. We need to resolve it. To resolve it, intervention is absolutely necessary. We need to rescue the National Unity Committee from the disruptive group and take full control of the steering wheel." (H. Turgut, *op. cit*., p. 272).

During this meeting, the strategy is determined and the operation plan is drawn up. However, some colleagues intend to raise the matter with Cemal Gürsel and seek his support. Türkeş strongly objects to this, saying that Cemal Pasha will become suspicious and that things will turn out badly.

The decision to proceed with the operation has now been made. It will be implemented the following week, either on Wednesday or Friday.

They part ways, agreeing to meet at Yeşilköy Airport at 12:00 the following day. The next day, when Türkeş arrives at the airport, he sees that his colleagues have not yet arrived.

The reason for Türkeş's friends' delay is that, contrary to their decision, they visited Cemal Gürsel at the Florya Naval Mansion. They relayed their complaints to Cemal Gürsel. The Pasha listened to them and agreed with them.

Cemal Pasha thus learns of Türkeş's friends' intentions. As soon as they leave the mansion, they telephone Madanoğlu, a member of the MBK and the Ankara Commander. Türkeş orders that Orhan Erkanlı, Orhan Kabibay, Numan Esin and İrfan Solmazer be arrested as soon as they land at the airport and imprisoned in Erzurum Castle. Madanoğlu responds: "Commander, I will take care of them, let's not rush today." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 274).

* * *

Both sides are watching each other. In the end, Madanoğlu's side prevails.

There are differences between what Dündar Seyhan and Türkeş recounted. Just as Türkeş described the developments, so did Dündar Seyhan. Two separate developments made it possible for the other side to learn of Türkeş and his friends' intentions.

Türkeş's determination is evident in the accounts of both sides.

The opposing side took action on 13 November 1960 and sent letters to the members of the National Unity Committee whom they intended to exile. Türkeş received the following letter signed by Cemal Gürsel:

"Dear Mr Alparslan Türkeş,

In view of the obstacles and difficulties encountered in fulfilling the promise made to the nation on behalf of the Turkish Armed Forces, I have dissolved the National Unity Committee at your request.

You are requested to await the overseas assignment that will be given to you in a manner befitting the high service you have rendered, During this period, for the benefit of the country and yourself, you are not to leave your home or receive visitors. Failure to comply will result in the application of the provisions of Laws Nos. 6 and 25, and you are hereby notified that you have been retired as of today (13 November 1960).

Cemal Gürsel,
General, President of the Republic
and Commander-in-Chief of the
Armed Forces.

After receiving this letter, Türkeş found his house surrounded by soldiers and police, and his telephone lines cut. Türkeş sought ways to get out but found none. Had he been able to leave, he would have either launched a counter-offensive with his loyal troops, seized control, or reached an agreement with the others.

When night fell, the police and soldiers came to take him to Mürted Airport. Türkeş did not open the door. They broke it down. The police withdrew, and a major and a captain told him that they loved him but were obliged to carry out their orders. Türkeş was held at Mürted Airport until 19 October 1960. He was then sent with his family to New Delhi as a government adviser to the Turkish Embassy.

If others had acted as decisively as Türkeş, the opposition would have been eliminated. Whether their forces would have been sufficient is a separate matter. Those who embarked on such an action knew that failure would mean execution, so they had calculated the consequences.

Here, Türkeş's entry into the coup committee, already risking his life, and then embarking on an even more dangerous undertaking, is significant. However, due to the hesitation of Orhan Kabibay, who claimed leadership

Orhan Kabibay, who claimed to be the leader, hesitated, and the situation turned against them.

* * *

Türkeş did not sit idle in New Delhi; he was reading, keeping in touch with friends scattered across the globe, and following political developments in Turkey. He was a man of the long term, making plans for the future. He wrote his famous letter to Cemal Gürsel, urging him not to execute Menderes and his friends. This letter would prove very useful to Türkeş in his later political life. The Yassıada trials had concluded, and sixteen death sentences had been handed down. Opposed to the executions, Türkeş sent a letter dated 7 September 1961 from New Delhi to President Cemal Gürsel, with whom he was at odds.

First Letter: Do Not Hang Them!

"General,

I never intended to write to you. However, today, in the interests of the country, it has become necessary to bring certain matters to your attention. Namely:

The High Court of Justice will deliver its verdict on former members of the government within a few days. It is imperative not to interfere with the verdict of justice and to always remain respectful. However, considering the current situation in the country, the enforcement of the verdicts has also been deemed worthy of further examination.

If the sentences handed down by the High Court of Justice include death sentences, it would be highly beneficial to amend and reduce them. Because:

a) The execution of death sentences will further increase the unrest that has arisen in the country since 13 November due to the execution of many wrongly convicted individuals.

b) The execution of death sentences will also provoke reactions against our nation and state abroad.

c) The execution of death sentences will intensify the feelings of hatred and resentment that divide our nation and make it difficult to foster the spirit of national unity, which was the aim of 27 May.

c) In view of the above-mentioned drawbacks, the enforcement of these penalties will bring no benefit whatsoever to the country.

Essentially, the imposition of death penalties for political offences is incompatible with contemporary humanitarian sensibilities.

In addition to the considerations listed above, the following points must also be examined from a legal perspective.

1- The final review of death sentences handed down by the High Court of Justice was the responsibility of the 27 May National Unity Committee, which was the sole legitimate legislative body at the time the relevant law came into force.

***II**- Today, however, the legislative body is not solely the 13 November Committee, but the Constituent Assembly, which consists of the Committee and the House of Representatives.*

***III**- According to the Turkish Constitution, the final review of death sentences is the responsibility of the legislative bodies. Therefore, it is neither legal nor legitimate for the death sentences handed down by the High Court of Justice today to be reviewed solely by the 13 November Committee.*

Otherwise, I remind you that we will be held accountable before the nation and history.

Yours sincerely,

Alparslan Türkeş"

Alparslan Türkeş sent this letter to Cemal Gürsel, hoping it might have an effect, but also, of course, to make a note in history! Türkeş was the powerful colonel of the coup... In his political life, his opponents would accuse him of overthrowing a government elected by the people with military force. He, however, felt the need to explain his motives for joining the coup each time, and he had made it clear in his letter to MBK President Cemal Gürsel that he never wanted executions.

This letter was first published in the *Millî Yol* magazine (Year: 1, Issue: 1, 26 January 1962). Türkeş wanted the contents of the letter he sent to Cemal Gürsel to be known to the public.

Second Letter: What a Pity They Did to !

Türkeş sent a letter dated 19 September 1961 to a friend, expressing his sorrow at the execution of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan. He wished for this letter to be made public, with his name removed. This letter was also published in the *Millî Yol* magazine. (Year: 1, Issue: 10, 30 March 1962).

Because of this letter, the tenth issue of the magazine was confiscated by the Istanbul Magistrate's Court of Peace, following an application by the Istanbul Press Prosecutor's Office based on the Law on Precautionary Measures No. 38.

"Dear Brother... Sir,

I have received your heartfelt and sincere letter dated 14 September 1961. You are right to feel sorrow and grief. But never lose your faith. Menderes's (may Allah have mercy on him) misguided stance and the intrigue and corruption perpetrated by İnönü and his associates had plunged the country into a state of great turmoil and confusion. I became involved in a coup to stop the squabbling between the parties and, above all, to protect the country from the intrigues of the CHP. Because the main thing was to protect and save the sacred existence of the Turkish nation and the poor Turkish villagers, the Turkish people. Otherwise, parties or individuals meant nothing. After 27 May, I always endeavoured to establish a neutral and fair administration. However, seeing me as an obstacle to their own interests, ambitions, and corruption, those who opposed me attempted to assassinate me and forcibly exiled me (by breaking down my door in the middle of the night). After 27 May, I persuaded Menderes and his friends to go to Switzerland. However, my initiative was thwarted by Mucip Ataklı, Osman Köksal, Ekrem Acuner, Cemal Madanoğlu, Sami Küçük, Fikret Kuytak and ..., who were tools of the CHP within the committee and the army, and the very unprincipled ... also reneged on our initial decision due to their intrigues.

From here, I wrote another letter to them, asking them not to consent to the execution of the death sentences to be handed down to the Yassıada defendants.

Learning that three people had been executed, I was deeply saddened, just as you are... May God grant our nation and homeland peace and happiness in the near future.

I send you my warmest regards and kiss your eyes. I await news of your health and wellbeing.

Alparslan Türkeş

As can be seen, Türkeş continued to seek solutions and develop ideas to have a say in the administration of the country while in exile.

Here we will discuss a letter he wrote to Orhan Erkanlı. The letter was written on 24 January 1962 and sent from New Delhi.

His comments on intellectual currents in this letter are noteworthy.

Letter to Erkanlı: We are Turkish

"Dear Brother Erkanlı,

(...) In the country, factions and groups have engaged in a life-and-death struggle with each other. There is no sign of tolerance, forbearance or respect on either side. This is a situation even more perfect than the communists could have wished for. For the communists have adopted as their goal and method the maximisation of hatred and enmity between factions, groups and parties, and the elimination of forces opposed to them by pitting them against each other, thereby seizing power. In this struggle, it is of great importance that we do not rush to take sides with one of the factions prematurely.

I see it beneficial to explain some things about the Turanism, communism and reactionaryism you mentioned. Looking at the history of Turkish intellectual movements, the following main currents can be observed:

a) Islamism and the Idea of Islamic Unity; this is an idea that has been pursued and attempted to be realised since ancient times. Talat Pasha and Enver Pasha (also a Turkist), who were members of the Committee of Union and Progress triumvirate, as well as Grand Vizier Halim Pasha and many others, were supporters of this idea.

b) The Idea of Ottomanism: Among the Unionists, Cemal Pasha was foremost among those who embraced this idea. Ottomanism aimed to unite all Arabs, Albanians, Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians within the Empire into one nation, thereby creating an Ottoman nation around the Ottoman dynasty and preserving the territorial integrity of the Empire. This vision had been proposed by the Tanzimat reformers.

c) Turkish nationalism, Turanism and Pan-Turkism: Turkish intellectuals, recognising the impossibility of other nations joining us, accepted the unification of Turks as an appropriate course of action, giving rise to movements such as Turkish nationalism, Turanism and Pan-Turkism (all of which are distinct terms). Prominent figures who embraced these ideas include Ali Suavi, the poet Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Ziya Gökalp, and Enver Pasha.

c) The Idea of Turkishness: This idea emerged at the end of the First World War and was embraced and implemented by many Turkish intellectuals, foremost among them Atatürk. This is the idea we also embrace. It aims to bring Turkey, the sole embodiment of Turkishness, to modern civilisation by protecting it from a kind of adventure and risk. While we wish well for Turks living outside Turkey, we consider their destiny to be their own concern. However, we accept the migration of Turks in the Balkans and elsewhere to Turkey in accordance with agreements and our own internal laws, and we welcome them as our own brothers.

d) The Idea of Anatolianism: This idea traces the beginning of Turkish history to the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071 and claims that after this date, the Turks who came to Anatolia assimilated with the indigenous population and were moulded by Islamic culture, giving rise to a new Anatolian nation that was completely distinct from the Turks of Central Asia. The nationality of this Anatolian nation is put forward as an inseparable entity from Islamic principles, and the Turks of Rumelia are not accepted as part of this nation. According to most of them, the Turks who migrated from Rumelia (including Atatürk) are not part of the Anatolian nation. They use the expression "from the other side of the water" to refer to them.

They want the administration of the country to be entirely in the hands of people from Anatolia and want migrant Turks to be employed in secondary positions. According to them, there is not much difference between Central Asians, Azerbaijanis, Kazanis

Turks are no different from a Russian or an Englishman. They consider them all equally foreign.

In this respect, there is a great contradiction between them and the Turanists. The main advocates of this idea are Ali Fuat Başgil, Associate Professor Nurettin Topçu (currently a Member of Parliament from the AP) and Professor Fındıkoğlu. When Ali Fuat Başgil was expected to be elected president, the well-known Turanist Nihal Atsız published a pamphlet against Başgil, vehemently criticising the ideas he pursued and demanding that such a person not be made president of Turkey.

Having summarised these points thus far, why are Dünya, Hür Vatan and others now attacking their opponents in the AP (despite being Anatolianists themselves) as Turanists and racists?

These newspapers and those gathered around them know that their opponents are not a significant force and do not fear them. Their real fear is the 14s. Because the social reform policy and the principle of not granting privileges that the 14s have pursued from the outset have greatly frightened and alarmed these oppressive people, who have acquired illegitimate wealth over the years and brought great power and opportunity (the press) under their control.

As a result, they launched the unjust and despicable attack we all know about. Today, as the country's affairs become increasingly deadlocked, the Armed Forces and the people turn to the 14th as their only hope, driving these men mad with fear and terror. With the aim of killing two birds with one stone, they attack those opposite them and also try to portray us as being of the same mind as their enemies. The card they hold in their hands is the label of Turanism-racism. Now, the whole issue is to alleviate these men's fears. It is very difficult to determine whether this is possible or not. (...) I believe it would be beneficial for us to always be cautious and never speak in an intimidating manner...

Alparslan Türkeş"

* * *

's views in the letter he wrote to Orhan Erkanlı can also be seen as an attempt to alleviate the concerns of the 14s regarding the label of "racist-Turancist" that has long been pinned on him. Türkeş did not want to appear marginal. The head-

Since then, the "Turancılar" he has been in contact with have not been able to organise themselves into a broad-based organisation and have merely gathered around monthly publications such as *Orkun and Ötüken* as a group of friends. Türkeş wants to break out of this circle and gain acceptance among all segments of society. To this end, he must convince his friends with whom he has been working and establish intellectual unity. Among the intellectual currents he listed in his letter, the idea that would attract attention should have been "Turancılık" (Pan-Turkism) – because he himself came from lands outside the Misak-ı Millî borders – but he focused more on the idea of "Türkiyecilik" (Turkishness), which would always be generally accepted and leave no room for anyone's objection. He also linked Turkishness to Mustafa Kemal. This link would also be welcome to the 14s. There is no harm in him keeping ideas that transcend Turkishness to himself. At a certain point, Turkishness continues, and once power is gained, one moves beyond Turkishness. We see this when we follow Türkeş's political movements.

Even if Türkeş presented ideas that did not endorse Anatolianism, it is impossible for him not to have accepted at least to some extent the "Anatolian" axis—which is part of Turan and also Turkey. The names he counted as Anatolianists are distinguished figures in Turkish intellectual life. Türkeş was certainly aware of this. For example, Ord. Prof. Dr. Ali Fuat Başgil was elected senator from the Justice Party in 1961 and ran for the presidency. However, the new junta, the Armed Forces Union, formed after the exile of Türkeş and his friends, wanted to prevent Başgil's election at all costs by bringing the National Unity Committee under its influence, even under its command, and Başgil was threatened and forced to resign from his position as senator. Türkeş came to the following conclusion here:

"On the issue of the presidency, I supported Ali Fuat Başgil. However, due to the opposition of the Armed Forces Union, I reconsidered and, given the circumstances at the time, did not insist on Başgil. Because even if he were elected, they would not listen to him. Meanwhile, İsmet Pasha's premiership was discussed, and I objected. I said, 'İsmet Pasha is responsible for the neglect in many areas of the country.'" (Hulusi Turgut, *Şahinlerin Dansı [The Dance of the Falcons],* Istanbul 1995, p. 336).

In this letter, we see the leader's caution and certain sensitivities. He urges Erkanlı "never to speak in an intimidating manner" so as not to exacerbate the hostility of the opposing side.

At the end of the letter, he also added a note:

In a letter I received today from a friend, it is stated that F.R. Atay has written a leading article against me, citing as the reason that I submitted an article to a reactionary magazine. F.R. Atay's article, like his others, is a complete fabrication from start to finish. I have not submitted any articles to any magazine since leaving Turkey. I am informing you of this to enlighten my friends."

This note was written to keep the 14 together and also to keep them in touch. The other members of the 14 are, of course, also corresponding with Turkey. They are being informed of what is being written about themselves and Türkeş. After the 14 were expelled, the MBK, which was reconstituted, is resorting to various means to break Türkeş's power.

Letters to Esin and Özdağ: The Press Gang is Our Enemy

In a letter he wrote jointly with Numan Esin and Muzaffer Özdağ, former members of the MBK who had been exiled, Türkeş used very sharp language and felt the need to dispel rumours about himself:

"... The nation is busy digging wells for each other, divided into two hostile factions, one seeking revenge, the other seeking to exact the revenge it could not fully achieve and to protect its gains. Communists and Russian agents are exerting all their efforts to further exacerbate this situation, which promises great opportunities for them, and to make it irreconcilable and irreversible."

Most of our friends and relatives who love and support us are also hostile towards socialism, largely because they fear communism and because most communists in our country hide behind the veil of socialism. The opposing side, in turn, drowns them in classic accusations of being 'reactionary, fascist, Turanist, racist'.

We should not be concerned about this. The CHP and Ahmet Emin, along with the press gang headed by Falih Rıfkı, are our irreconcilable enemies. After the coup, I explained and assured them many times in order to appease and satisfy them. I showed them friendship and provided them with benefits. However, they did not abandon their hostility. This is because the social reforms we wish to implement are not in line with their interests.

Until yesterday, these individuals accused us of being 'aspiring dictators, fascists or communist sympathisers' while proclaiming themselves the guardians of democracy and freedom. Now, they are declaring themselves supporters of 'State Socialism'. Given that their insincerity is now evident, it is impossible to trust this crowd or rely on them, even if they claim to share our ideas.

We shall openly put forward our ideas and doctrine, and if necessary, we shall not hesitate to face even more violent attacks than before, even if it means standing alone. Meanwhile, if we need to hold out and seek help, the place to turn to is now directly the nation itself. I will continue our good relations with our friends, striving to enlighten them. (...) Many of our friends still follow hostile newspapers such as Hâlâ Dünya, Hür Vatan, Cumhuriyet, Akis, and Kim, feeding their ideas with the deliberate publications of these papers. Our comrades Erkanlı, Bedii Faik, and Abdi İpekçi are in constant communication and contact. Kabibay is in constant contact with Abdi İpekçi both by letter and by telephone. Furthermore, in his letter, Erkanlı states that members of the Republican People's Party have made offers to him. It is beneficial to maintain contact with them. However, one must be careful not to be deceived by their deliberate ideas and suggestions.

Some friends are so influenced by these things that they sometimes accept what they read as the absolute truth and take it at face value. They then confront us with what is written there and accuse us without any need for examination or investigation. In fact, that is precisely the purpose of those writings: to create such accusations and suspicions among us and among those who love us...

Alparslan Türkeş"

Letter to Solmazer: We Must Gather Around a Leader

In a letter dated 15 February 1962 to İrfan Solmazer from the 14s, he stated that it was necessary to gather around a "leader":

"... The pitiful state of the lords of 13 November is a separate issue. They have done great harm to themselves, to us, and to the country. They are not even worthy of pity..."

However, as the class of '14, we must learn from their situation, prioritise our unity and solidarity above all else, cast aside all gossip and envy, and rally tightly around a 'leader' like a fortress.

like a fortress. Whether we sink or swim, we must sink or swim together with our 'leader', without splitting or dividing.

Türkeş is extremely resentful towards his fellow committee members who forced him into exile. "They have done great harm to themselves, to us and to the country. They are not even worth pitying..." We cannot say that he does not harbour a feeling of "revenge". After these words, he reiterates the unity and solidarity of the 14, as he does at every opportunity. He then states that they must gather around a "leader," who will naturally be himself.

Dündar Seyhan wrote in *Gölgedeki* Adam (The Man in the Shadows) that the 14s could not agree on the issue of leadership and dispersed. Dündar Seyhan always highlighted him because of his association with Orhan Kabibay. Seyhan, who was also active with the 14, did not go into exile because he was outside the MBK and continued to serve as a staff colonel. (Seyhan was forced into retirement by Staff Colonel Talat Aydemir, Commander of the Military Academy, during the first coup attempt on 21 May 1962). The powers that held the reins of government—which later formed another junta called the Armed Forces Union—wanted Seyhan to maintain contact with the 14. This was because it was believed that the 14 enjoyed prestige both within the country and among the forces that carried out the coup. Seyhan travelled to Brussels on behalf of the Armed Forces Union and held a meeting there. Türkeş attended the meeting, having travelled from New Delhi. At the Brussels meeting, when Seyhan stated that Orhan Kabibay should be the leader of the 14, Türkeş objected. Moreover, Türkeş had previously informed Kabibay in a letter that he had accepted his leadership.

Either Accept My Leadership or I'm Out

Türkeş wrote the following to Kabibay in a letter dated 11 June 1962:

"... The ambiguous and uncertain situation we find ourselves in will always confront us with various events. We must now find a definitive solution to this. Saying 'Everyone is 1/14. There is no leader.' This leaves us open to the accusation that 'they are in disagreement and confusion' before the nation and the world. Because it is contrary to organisational and working principles.

Even in a society of two people, it is essential that one be the leader. In order to bind our comrades closely together and prevent such statements from being repeated in the future, you have a great task ahead of you:

1. We are gathered around Türkeş's leadership. I ask my friends to recognise that this matter is now closed, that I stand with our brother Türkeş and acknowledge his leadership, and to announce this appropriately to both domestic and international public opinion through the KG, thereby dashing the hopes of those who seek to divide us in this way.

For this is the cunning of the fox İnönü. Look, he succeeded in splitting and dispersing the AP and CKMP. Now all their fears are directed at us. They seek to divide us by inciting us against one another and are working towards this end.

(...)

The second course of action is to continue the current situation exactly as it is. In my opinion, this is always prone to sudden crises.

The third course of action is that, if you do not agree with what is written above, as leader, you should personally take the necessary action at the head of the 13. In that case, I will step aside. My bonds and love for you will continue unchanged."

* * *

Sixteen years after the coup, Kabibay, one of the drafters of the 1961 Constitution, Ord. Prof. Dr. Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu, who drafted the 1961 Constitution, in response to his name being mentioned in the article entitled "Some Memories of Türkeş" published in the "Events and Opinions" column of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper on 25 April 1976. Velidedeoğlu published Kabibay's response on 16 May 1976. Orhan Kabibay said the following about Türkeş:

"I believe I know Türkeş well enough. During our time together on various issues, I witnessed some of his characteristics. Türkeş knew better than anyone that the 14s were not a gang. (Türkeş's statements, 'I will save Turkey,' 'It's in my heart, it's a feeling, I have this feeling inside me,' were never heard anywhere during the time we spent together with Türkeş.

He never expressed it at any time or on any occasion. It is impossible to convey something that has not been expressed as if it had been expressed.

He was aware of how contrary such a request would be to social science and human psychology. Türkeş would not compromise on the ideas he believed in. However, he never strayed from humility, forbearance, simplicity, and politeness. We have had heated discussions with him. But in none of them was he ever hurtful to anyone.

Türkeş knew, as everyone else did, that true leadership does not come about through desire or choice, but that a leader emerges from events, and that fundamental principles govern the formation of leadership and the leader, which are, in order: a strong personality, consistent ideas and goals, and continuous success. In this situation, you must also accept that Türkeş would not have said such things, transcending the boundaries of reason, logic, science, humility, and courtesy. We had several more brief meetings with him on various dates; I don't know about those, but once we had a rather long meeting with Türkeş and others over a meal, where I was also present, on a very important topic or topics. I believe it was during one of the autumn months, in a private dining room at the Ankara Palas Hotel, with you (H. V. Velidedeoğlu), Prof. Kübalı, Türkeş, Erkanlı, Taşer, Özdağ, Esin, and myself... You and Kübalı were invited. Our main topic was how we would achieve the goals of the 27 May Revolution. In this joint meeting, which took the form of a discussion, everyone expressed their views sincerely. Sir, I have no doubt about your abilities, and I am sure that you have reached firm conclusions about each of our ideas, attitudes and behaviours, at least in these discussions.

It is a fact that the 14 did not form a political group." (*Cumhuriyet*, 16 May 1976).

's Return from Exile

While in New Delhi, Türkeş received a letter from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that he could continue his duties as a "foreign service officer" if he wished. Interpreting this letter to mean that he could return to his country if he did not wish to continue, Türkeş brought his family to Lebanon and sent them to Turkey from Beirut. He himself went to Switzerland and stayed with Dündar Taşer in Bern. He would meet face-to-face with his friends in Europe to understand whether they would return to their homeland and decide on a course of action. Many of his friends had decided to stay in Europe. In Tokyo

While in exile, Muzaffer Özdağ, who had travelled to Europe and was working alongside Türkeş, set off for Turkey in a car he had purchased in Antwerp, Netherlands, with his family. To enter Turkey, he had to pass through either Bulgaria or Greece. He chose to come via Greece because communists were in power in Bulgaria. It was known that he was anti-communist and a Turkist. Türkeş chose the Greek route as a precaution. When they arrived in the Yugoslav city of Niš, Muzaffer Özdağ and his family returned to Turkey via Bulgaria, while he crossed into Greece. Following the Thessaloniki route, he visited İskeçe, Gümülcine and Dedeağaç, where Turks lived. He met with Turks and visited the historical monuments left by Turks. He entered via Kapıkule and arrived in Edirne.

‘ ’s Statement to the Nation’

Türkeş arrived in Turkey on 22 February 1963. His 815 days of exile were behind him. But an unknown path lay ahead.

In the statement he published on the occasion of his return, entitled "Declaration to the Nation," he said, in summary, the following:

As a person who never relinquishes his ideals and beliefs, I left your midst two years ago and went far away. Today, filled with the same determination and faith, and carrying great hopes for the future of the Turkish nation, I rejoin you with joy and excitement. (...) As I begin my speech, I would like to reiterate that I see the will of the nation as paramount, and that respect and obedience to it by all is the path to salvation. Without regard to race, religion or sect, every effort must be made to ensure the welfare and happiness of citizens and to swiftly establish peace and stability in the country with a humane mindset that values people. (...) 27 May was not carried out as a movement against any party or group, nor in favour of any individual, group or party. (...) In our behaviour towards one another, feelings of mutual love, respect and tolerance should always prevail. Political parties should be regarded not as a means of power or an end in themselves, but only as a means of serving the country and the nation. Compassion, love and legal protection should be considered essential for all citizens, whoever they may be. Even those whose ideas we do not accept or with whom we have personal differences should be treated humanely and in accordance with the rule of law..."

The Second Arrest of

On the road to 21 May 1963, Talat Aydemir, because he was an old friend, wanted Türkeş to be among them. At Aydemir's insistence, on 10 April 1963, Türkeş and his friends met with Aydemir and his friends at the Dikmen quarries in Ankara. Aydemir and Türkeş met privately. Once again, the issue of "leadership" arose, and they failed to reach an agreement. Aydemir saw himself as the leader. Türkeş, on the other hand, had fought for leadership in the matter of the 14s. It was impossible for Talat Aydemir to take the lead here.

Reports emerged that Türkeş had informed on Talat Aydemir's second coup attempt.

Ahmet Emin Yalman writes:

In early May 1963, Talat Aydemir was in a state of frenzy. He had decided to proceed with the coup immediately and had prepared plans for the 'Coup', 'Arrest', and 'Post-Coup' phases. He was striving with all his might to draw at least some of the air force personnel to his side.

On 20 May, everything was ready for the 22 February group. That night, Alparslan Türkeş felt the need to inform his friends in the CKMP, which formed one wing of the coalition, that a coup was imminent. They immediately told Party Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Hasan Dinçer, who promptly telephoned İsmet İnönü. That night, the government president learned at 9 p.m. that a coup was imminent." (A. E. Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim [What I Saw and Experienced in Recent History]*, Vol. 4, Istanbul 1970, p. 390).

Türkeş did not like Ahmet Emin Yalman. In one of his letters, he referred to Ahmet Emin Yalman and Falih Rıfkı Atay by name, using the term "press gang". Yalman, who was shot and wounded by Hüseyin Üzmez in Malatya in 1952 for writing harsh articles against the sacred values of the Turkish nation, sought to portray Türkeş as an "informant" in his memoirs.

Türkeş, however, clarifies the informant issue. Those who wish to see Türkeş involved in political movements visit him frequently. Türkeş is also inclined to take part in a political movement. On the evening of 20 May 1963, Senator Hazım Dağlı, AP MP Gökhan Evliyaoğlu, İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu, and Kamil Kırıkoğlu were together at his home on Kader Sokağı in Gaziosmanpaşa. Their intention was to make Türkeş the chairman of the Justice Party...

While the guests are at home, two captains arrive first and announce the coup, asking if there are any orders. He tells them not to get involved in the coup. Then two more people arrive. The same kind of conversation takes place with them. After they leave, retired Staff Colonel Ekrem Süer, who lives downstairs, arrives. Türkeş invites him in. Ekrem Süer works for the American Aid Agency. He relays the news he has received from the Americans: Talat Aydemir will attempt a coup either tonight or the following night...

Upon hearing this, the guests at the house dispersed. According to what Türkeş told Hulusi Turgut, AP MP Gökhan Evliyaoğlu relayed the rumours of a coup he had heard at Türkeş's house to his party's General Chairman, Ragıp Gümüşpala. CKMP MP Fuat Uluç also relayed the same news to CKMP Chairman Hasan Dinçer, who was Deputy Prime Minister in the coalition government at the time. Dinçer then informed Prime Minister İsmet İnönü. (H: Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 358).

* * *

Talat Aydemir's second attempt also fails. Aydemir and his friends surrender. The government arrests Türkeş as well, claiming he was involved in the plot.

Türkeş spends the night of the coup in two separate houses found by his friends. The next day, he returns home. Civilian police officers from the security forces tell Türkeş they will take him to the security headquarters and take him from his home. They also search his house. Türkeş is taken to the Çankaya Police Station. As some of those who attempted the coup were also brought to this station, the front of the building is crowded. As Türkeş gets out of the car to enter the station, someone steps in front of him and starts shouting and speaking against him. Türkeş is already angry and irritated. He slaps the man, and the man falls to the ground.

The incident was also reported in the newspapers. The man who stood in front of Türkeş and shouted at him was an extreme CHP engineer. The engineer said he would sue Türkeş, but nothing came of it.

Türkeş was held at the Çankaya Police Station for 10 days before being transferred to the Mamak Military Prison and thrown into a cell.

Türkeş was tried for death under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code along with the 21 Mayists. When they brought Türkeş to the courtroom in prison, they handcuffed him together with Aydemir. The trial, which began on 7 June

trial, which began on 7 June, ended on 5 September. Talat Aydemir and six of his associates were sentenced to death, while Türkeş and his fellow detainees Muzaffer Özdağ, Fazıl Akkoyunlu and Rıfat Baykal were acquitted. Of the May 21st coup plotters, only Talat Aydemir and Major Fethi Gürcan, a former national equestrian, were hanged.

Türkeş had survived this ordeal after serving three and a half months in prison, but he could not escape surveillance. At that time, Cemal Tural, the Commander of the Ankara Martial Law Command, was searching for evidence against Türkeş. During a search of his home, a history book was found containing the names of 400 officers. The list had been compiled in 1959, and the date was written on it. After several investigations, the prosecutor's office decided not to pursue the case. However, İnönü was prime minister. He would not let Türkeş go.

The Best Revolution-The Worst Democracy:

Journalist Nazlı Ilıcak published an interview she conducted with Alparslan Türkeş in her work *15 Years Later*, *27 May on Trial*. Ilıcak asks:

-You are now the leader of a party that came to power through elections and is growing steadily. In your opinion, is it better to come to power through elections and serve the country, or to come to power through a coup and serve the country? Which would you prefer?

Türkeş's response is as follows:

After experiencing the events of 27 May, I came to the conclusion that it is impossible to serve a country through revolution. No matter how damaging and disruptive it may be, serving a country and a nation through the rule of law is the best way. Revolution destroys authority and leads to anarchy. Stopping this anarchy and re-establishing authority is a problem, and the country suffers as a result. I was involved in this; I experienced it first-hand. Officially, I was the Prime Minister's undersecretary, but in practice, I performed the duties of Prime Minister. This was because Cemal Pasha had extraordinary trust in me, especially at the beginning. In fact, he often did not come to the prime minister's office, but rested in the mansion above. For this reason, I became involved in the administration of the entire country. I encountered many problems. I discovered that injustices, unfair pressures and abuses were being committed in our name, which we did not want at all. We struggled and worked to stop these things. For example, on one occasion, the sister of the Tourism Minister of the National Unity Committee Government came to visit me. There was another lady with her. When I asked, "What is troubling you?", the lady told me: Her husband, Uşak...

He was the Mayor. He was a member of the Democratic Party. Two days ago, shortly after midnight, the local gendarmerie, the Provincial Chairman of the People's Party, and others broke down the door to his house and entered the bedroom. They took the Mayor from his bed, in his nightclothes, from beside his wife. For four or five days, there had been no word. His wife had been unable to find out where her husband was. That is why she had come to her brother. Here is a typical example. Yes, even though we did not want it, even though we absolutely did not want it, incidents of this kind were happening almost every day.

There are many more events I have experienced and lived through. The conviction I have gained from these is that today, the best way to serve a country is within the framework of the rule of law. My advice to the enlightened people of the country, to its patriotic citizens, is this: "The worst legal system is better than the best coup." (N. Ilıcak, *15 Years Later, 27 May is on Trial,* Vol. I, Istanbul 1975, pp. 88-89).

He was not saying this for the first time here. In 1966, on the cover of *Millî Hareket* magazine, there was a typewritten clipping that read: "The worst legal system is better than the best revolutionary system... (Alparslan Türkeş)" (*Millî Hareket,* No. 2, 15 November 1966). In other words, Türkeş had declared long before that he would "walk the democratic path".

CKMP 's Days

Türkeş was seeking a path in political activism. Osman Bölükbaşı, the general chairman of the Republican Peasants' National Party (CKMP), had left his party and taken over the leadership of the National Party. The CKMP was leaderless. The CKMP was seen as the most suitable party for political activity.

Türkeş was initially the party's chief inspector. The party inspectorate oversees the organisation. This presented an opportunity for Türkeş and his colleagues. It afforded them the chance to meet face-to-face with the provincial organisations, introducing themselves directly to the delegates. The CKMP convened an extraordinary congress. At the congress, Türkeş competed against Ahmet Tahtakılıç.

Türkeş visited President Cemal Gürsel before the congress. This time, Cemal Gürsel supported Türkeş. He gave Türkeş notes for his speech at the congress. Gürsel advised Türkeş to say that he had no eye on position or office, that he had come among them as a soldier, and to deliver his speech in a gentle tone.

At the congress held between 31 July and 1 August 1965, Tahtakılıç set a record in Turkish political life by squeezing his five-hour speech into two days. Türkeş, however, took Gürsel's advice and spoke for only half an hour, winning far more votes than Tahtakılıç and being elected as the party leader. Türkeş received 698 votes, while Tahtakılıç received 516 votes.

His election as leader of the CKMP marked a turning point in Turkish intellectual and political life. The development of the Nationalist Movement into a political force must be traced back to this date. On 10 October 1965, he entered parliament as a member of parliament for Ankara. Muzaffer Özdağ from Afyon and Rıfat Baykal from Mardin were also elected as members of parliament from the 14th district. Türkeş nominated his rival Ahmet Tahtakılıç as a candidate from Istanbul, and he was also elected and joined parliament.

Türkeş's parliamentary career, which began in 1965, would end with the coup d'état of 12 September, and he would have to wait 11 years to be re-elected.

Türkeş took care to ensure that the CKMP acquired a nationalist identity. A congress was held on 24-25 November 1967. It was the first congress held after Türkeş and his colleagues came to power. *Millî* Hareket published the following assessment of this congress:

The Congress was interesting not so much for fulfilling a classic legal formality, but rather for bringing together nationalists in Turkey and addressing the country's problems in a congress-like atmosphere. In particular, the fact that nationalists who had not yet registered with a nationalist organisation followed the congress with interest and left with positive thoughts was evidence that they would join the CKMP in the future." (*Millî Hareket,* p. 17, December 1967).

By 1965, the CKMP had established organisations in twenty-five provinces. By the date of the congress, the number of provinces with organisations had risen to 61, and the number of districts to 435.

* * *

He recounts meeting Mehmet Doğan Türkeş, who was elected as a member of parliament from Kayseri in 1977, and Türkeş's entry into the CKMP:

We met in person in 1963 upon my return from India. As far as I recall, it was January or February. There was a judge named Osman Oğuzoğlu on Kurtuluş Kıbrıs Street. As far as I know, he was Türkeş Bey's nephew. Yaşar Türkiş also lived in the same building.

He was also a close relative. They had emigrated from Cyprus to Turkey. I lived in the same neighbourhood. There was a hundred-metre distance between our houses. Yaşar Bey and I often spoke. Our meeting place was the photo shop of Mr Hamit Çeken, located below the building where I lived. One day, Mr Yaşar told us that Mr Türkeş would be visiting Uncle Osman the next day and that he would bring him to the photo shop to introduce him to us. We met the following day. We had our picture taken together, chatted, and talked frequently after that day. I occasionally visited Gazi Osman Pasha's house on Kader Street. There, I met İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu, who was the Kastamonu MP at the time, and many other dignitaries. At that time, Mr Türkeş's appointment as head of the Justice Party was the topic of discussion.

My last visit that year was on 19 May 1963. On 20 May 1963, I travelled to the island by bus; my brother had gone on the pilgrimage by road. I was going to meet him in Adana. I stayed at a hotel that night. On the morning of 21 May, I woke up to the Talat Aydemir coup. Unfortunately, the enemies of Turkish nationalism, led by Ismet Pasha, were back on the scene. Although Mr Türkeş had nothing to do with it, he was detained, arrested, tried, and ultimately acquitted. But unfortunately, the days he spent in prison could not be taken back. The unfulfilled ambition of taking over the AP midway had led him to join the CKMP. The 1965 CKMP Congress was being held at the Büyük Sinema in Kızılay, Ankara. There were two candidates: Mr Türkeş and Ahmet Tahtakılıç. Mr Türkeş made the first speech. Then Ahmet Tahtakılıç came to the podium. We had known Tahtakılıç by name since before 1950, in absentia. He was a good orator and skilled at demagoguery. He was a DP MP. He occasionally took a beating from the CHP. Between 1946 and 1950, there were few DP MPs. So, that wooden sword took the podium and immediately launched into a fiery speech aimed at exploiting demagoguery. He was having an effect on the delegates. We were watching the congress from the balcony with the famous Hüseyin Üzmez. Hüseyin Üzmez suddenly stood up. He began shouting in a loud voice, addressing Tahtakılıç: 'Aren't you the one who opposed Imam Hatip schools, who closed the middle section? Answer me, come on, speak up, what are you waiting for? You're lying!' Tahtakılıç suddenly faltered. Hüseyin Üzmez continued to shout. A commotion began among the delegates. Tahtakılıç lost his composure. The delegates he tried to influence turned against him, and Mr Türkeş was elected as General Chairman. Unfortunately, the famous Ahmet Tahtakılıç became a staunch leftist in his later years and acted as an advocate for the communists. He became their most ardent defender. He was the chairman of the People's Houses and a CHP MP before 1980.

This is a cautionary tale showing the fate of a man whom Allah has surprised. After this, the CKMP era began for the Nationalists." (Mehmet Doğan, *M.H.P and Alparslan Türkeş*: *The Man in the Shadows*, 2000).

Türkeş, Presidential Candidate of the Nationalist Movement Party ( )

One little-known aspect of Türkeş is that he was nominated for the presidency. While Türkeş was the General Chairman of the CKMP and a member of the Grand National Assembly, in 1966, it was confirmed that Cemal Gürsel could no longer serve as president based on a report signed by thirty-eight doctors, and it was decided that an election would be held for a new president. On 28 March 1966, the CKMP General Administrative Council convened and decided to nominate Türkeş. This decision was announced to the public in a statement. The other parties, however, had reached an agreement on Cevdet Sunay.

The CKMP's statement read as follows:

"In the election to fill the vacancy in the office of the President of the Republic, which has become vacant due to the serious illness of our President, Cemal Gürsel, who is unable to continue in his duties, it is impossible to view the speed and procedure with which this matter is being handled, which casts a shadow over the international reputation of Turkish democracy, as a normal start to a tradition for the future of the Grand National Assembly and the democratic regime.

While it is always possible to find exceptional personalities to govern the Turkish State both within and outside the Assembly, the attempt to implement a procedure that would suggest a lack of such personalities in the Grand National Assembly until fifteen days prior to the election has been seen as something that could lead to debate over the reputation of the Grand National Assembly.

While it is true that Mr Sunay and any individual who has served as Chief of the General Staff may always be worthy of the office of President, the establishment of a precedent whereby the path to the presidency necessarily passes through the position of Chief of the General Staff would not be consistent with the fundamental principles of a democratic regime.

The current ruling party's stance in the Grand National Assembly, its efforts to eliminate the opposition, its disregard for the decisions of the Council of State, and its attempts to establish itself as the eternal ruling party have led some parties and the public to accept this rapid procedure as natural. Although it is known that the ruling party is responsible for this, we base our decision

is not based on current events or the highly esteemed personality of Mr Sunay, but rather on the future of the democratic regime and the Grand National Assembly's commitments to the Turkish people.

Our party nominates General Chairman Alparslan Türkeş as a candidate for the presidency, ensuring that the Grand National Assembly does not enter the presidential election with a single candidate, and considers this a gesture worthy of the esteemed Assembly's reputation.

The decision will be made by the Grand National Assembly, and whatever the outcome, we will exert all our efforts, both within and outside the Assembly, with a high sense of duty for the success of the person elected to the presidency. May the election be beneficial to the Turkish nation." (Muammer Taylak, *Alparslan Türkeş Birinci Yıl Armağanı* [Alparslan Türkeş First Anniversary Tribute], Ankara 1998, p. 235).

As stated in the declaration, Türkeş was nominated for the presidency as a democratic gesture. At the end of the elections, Sunay was elected president with 461 votes. Türkeş received the votes of 11 CKMP MPs.

9 Işık Principles

Unlike other political party leaders, Türkeş entered politics with a doctrine. He summarised the main principles for developing Turkey in nine points and called them the "Nine Lights". Türkeş generated ideas to solve Turkey's problems and consulted with nationalist scholars. Among those he consulted was undoubtedly Atsız. Türkeş maintained relations with Nihal Atsız's circle until a certain period, after which
-in the early 1970s- he severed them.

Atsız also set out his principles of development in nine points. He also published an article entitled "Call to the Turkish Nation" in an issue of *Orkun* magazine in 1962. In his article, Atsız presents a development programme. He summarises this development programme in nine principles:
1. We are Turkish, 2. We are purists of the Turkish language, 3. We are legalists, 4. We are socialists, 5. We are traditionalists, 6. We are supporters of democracy, 7. We are moralists, 8. We are scientists,
9. We are technical. (Atsız, *Articles*, Vol. 4, Istanbul 1992, p. 53).

All of these proposals were developed and refined to produce the "9 Lights".

Türkeş published the "9 Lights" in 14 pages in 1964, and after being re-elected as chairman at the CKMP congress in 1967, he explained it as the party's doctrine as follows:

"We, as the CKMP, are a political organisation that claims to be the owner of such a national doctrine. The actual name of our national doctrine is the '9 Lights' doctrine. This view is based on nine main principles.

These principles are, in order:

1. Nationalism:

Everything is for the Turkish nation, with the Turkish nation, and according to the Turkish nation. It can be summarised as loyalty to the Turkish nation, love for the Turkish nation, and loyalty and service to the Turkish State.

2. Ultranationalism:

It is the ideal of making the Turkish nation the most advanced, civilised, and powerful entity.

3. Moralism:

It is based on principles that aim to preserve and develop the Turkish nation's spirit and traditions in accordance with its high standards.

4. Intellectualism:

It is the principle of examining events and existence with a scientific mindset, free from prejudice and ulterior motives, and making science the guiding force in all activities undertaken.

5. Socialism:

It is the view that all activities should be conducted in a manner beneficial to society. It encompasses two separate sections: social and economic.

As an economic view, it refers to a view that accepts ownership as fundamental but opposes the misuse of ownership to the detriment of the nation. It envisages a mixed economy and the state control of key strategic economic activities. As a social view, it accepts the establishment of a social justice system, equal opportunities, social security and social welfare organisations.

6. Rural Development:

It envisages development by uniting villages into agricultural towns. It aims to liberate villagers from the hands of moneylenders and to provide them with the necessary credit and other assistance through cooperatives.

7. Liberalism and Individualism:

It aims to secure all the freedoms written in the United Nations Charter. It accepts the development of individuals as a useful path for the advancement of society.

8. Progress:

People and civilisations always develop by seeking and striving for what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect. It is the awareness of not being satisfied with what has been achieved and always striving for more and making an effort to achieve it. However, the goal is to rise and progress without breaking away from the history, national identity, and roots of the Turkish nation in these efforts and endeavours.

9. Industrialism and Technicism:

The Turkish nation must industrialise quickly in order to develop. These are the principles of our national doctrine, the Nine Lights." (*Millî Hareket*, p. 17, December 1967; see also A. Türkeş, *Temel Görüşler*, Istanbul 1975, pp. 46-48).

, Member of the MHP

There was a desire to change the party's name and emblem, to make it more inclusive of all nationalists. Young people showed great interest in the party.

Yılmaz Yalçıner, writing under the pseudonym "Dündar Soylu," describes the organisation of the youth wing in his book *The Commando Problem*:

"(The CKMP's) first Youth General President was Kemal Zeybek. One of the first tasks of Zeybek, who took charge of the executive committee with a few friends around him, was to plan weekly seminars to be held at the party headquarters." (*Komando Sorunu,* 1975, p. 16).

As we will detail below, Yılmaz Yalçıner focuses on the effort to bring nationalist youth together:

"... According to them, associationism was not an effective form of organisation. Ideas should be gathered under a political umbrella. The communists were acting with the same tactic. (...) The idea of nationalism had always been pursued at the level of associationism until now. They did not deny the benefits of associationism, but that era was over now. Or it should be over. Nationalists should unite under the umbrella of the CKMP and make their presence felt in political life.

Zeybek and his friends insisted on this view." (*The Commando Problem*, 1975, pp. 16-17).

Naturally, it is inconceivable that any of these activities could have been carried out without Alparslan Türkeş's knowledge.

The need to establish associations that were not organically linked to the party soon became apparent. Efforts to establish Ülkü Ocakları (Ideological Centres) at universities and colleges were accelerated in 1967. The statutes had been drafted and reproduced. Ülkü Ocakları began to be established in Ankara in late 1967 and early 1968. Following the faculties of Law and Political Science, Ülkü Ocakları were established in the faculties of Theology, Education, Language and History-Geography, Science, Medicine, the Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences, the Higher Teacher Training School, the Higher Teacher Training School of Commerce and Tourism, the Higher Technical Teacher Training School, and the Middle East Technical University. Furthermore, in 1969, the Young Ülkücüler Organisation was established to bring together high school students under the same umbrella, and within a short time, 400 branches were opened across the country.

In 1968, Ülkü Ocakları gathered under the umbrella of the Ülkü Ocakları Birliği (Ülkü Ocakları Union). It was shut down by the 12 March 1971 Memorandum. In 1973, it was re-established under the name Ülkü Ocakları and continued its activities.

There was lengthy debate over the name of the party... Names such as "Peasant Workers' Party", "9 Lights Party", "National Movement Party" and "Nationalist Peasant Party" were proposed. Among these names, the General Administrative Council deemed "National Movement Party" to be appropriate. In addition, the emblem was also changed. However, the use of the word "national" required the approval of the cabinet. To avoid bureaucratic obstacles, the name "Nationalist Movement Party" was decided upon.

At the congress held in Adana on 8-9 February 1969, the CKMP changed its name to the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and adopted the three crescent moon as its emblem. The Bozkurt emblem within a crescent moon was chosen for the youth wing. This emblem would later be used by the Ülkü Ocakları and Genç Ülkücüler Teşkilâtı.

The *Millî Hareket* magazine published the following commentary in one of its issues following the congress where the party's name and emblem were changed:

"The MHP, which is the home of Turkish nationalists, has changed its name with the claim and belief that it will represent historical Turkish nationalism."

The party emblem, as Türkeş explained at the Beşiktaş District Congress, draws its meaning from the depths of our history and symbolises the Turkish-Islamic synthesis. The three crescents were chosen not for electoral reasons or other fabricated motives, as some have suggested or claimed, but for the meaning they carry. This meaning is the ideal of re-establishing and reviving the Turkish-Islamic civilisation... The MHP, which has chosen the crescent-moon wolf symbolising the Turkish-Islamic synthesis for its youth wing, is marching towards its great goal. (*Millî Hareket,* p. 33, April 1969).

After the Adana Congress, the MHP rapidly advanced towards becoming the centre of nationalism, with nationalist intellectuals largely preferring the MHP. Over time, the MHP and the idealist organisations produced a cadre of ideas.

Alparslan Türkeş stood as a candidate in the 1969 elections in Adana and was the only one elected to Parliament.

The CKMP's vote share was 3% in 1969. It rose to 3.4% in 1973. The number of MPs also increased to three.

In the 1977 elections, the MHP won 6.42% of the vote, securing 16 seats in parliament and forming a parliamentary group. At that time, a group could be formed with 10 MPs. Now, 20 seats are required.

* * *

Mehmet Doğan writes the following in his memoirs:

The MHP was not a party but a school. Its founder, Başbuğ Türkeş, had devised its plan and programme. Investing in youth, some so-called nationalists, who were nothing more than loudmouths in mass parties, even MPs and ministers, were laughing under their breath. But soon they lost their sons and daughters to the MHP. Our late brother Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti used to say, 'Our party is a noisy party'. In other words, he said it was a children's party, a rowdy party. The son of one of the leading figures in the AP Party became a nationalist, and the father was curious, unable to comprehend his son's nationalism. MHP Headquarters...

He arrives at the bookshop. He enters the book sales area and sees young people eagerly buying books. The man says loudly, "Now I understand why my son became a nationalist," and leaves. With patience and perseverance, as if digging a well with a needle, tirelessly and relentlessly, despite all the adversity and hostility, the Movement was spreading rapidly across Anatolia." (M. Doğan, *op. cit.,* 2000).

Nationalist Front ist Governments

Following the 1973 elections, the Republican People's Party and the National Salvation Party formed a coalition government. Bülent Ecevit was Prime Minister, and Prof. Dr. Necmettin Erbakan was Deputy Prime Minister. However, this coalition lasted only nine months. The government resigned on 18 September 1974. Subsequently, President Fahri S. Korutürk appointed Ord. Prof. Dr. Sadi Irmak as Prime Minister. Sadi Irmak remained in office for a while despite failing to win a vote of confidence, as no alternative government could be formed.

MHP leader Alparslan Türkeş had been in government twice before 12 September.

Between 31 March 1975 and 21 June 1977, he was State Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in the MHP-MSP-CGP-MHP coalition government formed under Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel.

Between 21 July 1977 and 5 January 1978, Alparslan Türkeş joined the cabinet with the same duties in the AP-MSP-MHP coalition government formed under Süleyman Demirel's premiership.

The protocols of the governments in which Alparslan Türkeş participated were also drafted differently from the protocols of previous governments. "National and spiritual values" were emphasised and the term "Turkish nationalism" was used.

The MHP entered the First Nationalist Front Government with three MPs. Türkeş became Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister, while Mustafa Kemal Erkovan also became Minister of State. When it entered the Second Nationalist Front Government, it had 16 MPs.

In the Second Nationalist Front Government, Sadi Somuncuoğlu was the state minister, Agah Oktay Güner was the trade minister, Cengiz Gökçek was the health minister, and Gün Sazak, from outside the party, was the customs and monopoly minister.

The place where corruption was most prevalent was the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies. The MHP had prevented smuggling, bribery and corruption at customs

The Customs and Monopoly Minister, Gün Sazak, was later shot dead in front of his home by communist militants in 1980.

The Second Nationalist Front Government fell as a result of negotiations between Ecevit and 12 deputies from the Justice Party at the Güneş Motel in Ataköy, Istanbul, and Ecevit formed a government with the support of 11 of the 12 deputies who had resigned from the AP. The Ecevit government viewed the Ülkücüler as "enemies" and ignored all of Türkeş's calls for goodwill, rapidly plunging the country into anarchy. Encouraged by the Ecevit government, revolutionary leftist groups accelerated their campaign to intimidate the public.

During that period, hundreds of nationalist youths were killed, along with 13 provincial chairmen, 44 district chairmen, including MHP Istanbul Provincial Chairman Recep Haşatlı and his son. Many of their wives and children were also shot.

Türkeş and Necip Fazıl's " " declarations

As the 1977 elections approached, Alparslan Türkeş and Necip Fazıl each published a declaration. Necip Fazıl's declaration confirmed Türkeş's. Both declarations appeared in the *Hergün* newspaper on 3 and 7 May 1977.

Türkeş's Manifesto to the Turkish Nation: " "

As the leader of the MHP, Alparslan Türkeş is in a position to account for himself and his party on the eve of the 1977 elections as follows:

1- Alparslan Türkeş, considering the 1960 coup d'état to be a mindless act against a paralysed administration, initially participated solely to give it an ideological direction and prevent the Republican People's Party from exploiting the coup. However, when this course of action proved unstoppable, he distanced himself from it. He considered it essential to remain outside the circle of guilt that the Turkish nation and history had assigned to the coup leaders and to be acquitted.

2- The worldview of Alparslan Türkeş and his Party is, in a word, Islamic faith, an understanding that gives allegiance to the spirit and naturalness of nationalism based on spiritual content.

3- Alparslan Türkeş and his party view nationalism as a cup filled with nectar, but they find its value not in the cup itself, but in the nectar, and they value the cup only to the extent that it reflects the radiance of that nectar.

4- Alparslan Türkeş and his party declare the guiding principles for humanity, which is currently experiencing its most acute crisis, to be the spiritual and moral standards brought by the Lord of the Universe, and they gather their plans, their aspirations, and everything else around this centre of belief.

5- Our criterion in determining our poles of friendship and enmity is this: whoever and whatever they may be, as individuals, groups, classes, or positions, the enemies of Truth are our enemies, and the friends of Truth are our friends.

Considering the historical development of the profound crisis faced by the Turkish nation, we observe that the administrators have failed to diagnose the causes of the Turkish nation's troubles and sufferings, have been unable to implement measures and remedies at the grassroots level, have failed to subject Turkish history to a genuine revision, and have remained imitators. We believe that any measure that does not reach and connect with the spiritual roots of the Turks will remain unfounded. On the eve of the 1977 elections, the identity of Alparslan Türkeş and his party consists of these lines and the profound meaning they express, especially for the nationalist, sacred Turkish youth.

ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ MHP GENERAL CHAIRMAN

3 May 1977

Master Necip Fazıl's declaration to the Turkish Nation

(This is also my declaration)

I have read the "Declaration to the Turkish Nation" by Alparslan Türkeş, Chairman of the MHP.

Among the parties that are like tin cans lined up on the shelves of junk rooms, with their lids turned upside down and their insides empty, even filled with rubbish, from today onwards, the MHP has a completely different meaning and identity in my eyes. I regard it as a community poised to uphold the true rights of Islam and Turkishness, and I greet it with all my heart.

This declaration is a historic event of such significance that it will stir the entire Islamic world, from the believer in Java to the black Muslim in America, and lay the foundations for the cause of creation. It is a seed that contains every fibre of our ideal, the seed of the manifestation and revelation that the Islamic world expects from Turkey...

In his declaration, Türkeş sets forth four main principles, like the four pillars of a building:

1- He is not among those responsible for the 1960 coup.

2- He is a nationalist in the sense of being free from superficial and superficial nationalism and subject to spiritual content.

3- The sole spiritual content he relies on is, in a word and in every respect, ISLAM.

4- It aspires to a revision of history that will expose all the frauds of our last 150 years of imitation and crystallise the truth.

Neither Member of Parliament, nor Senator, nor Minister, nor this, nor that! None of these can translate the spiritual position and office that Allah has bestowed upon me. In this regard, I proclaim with the utmost sincerity and dedication: After 40 years of struggle and building a new generation in my life, today, after the honour and responsibility bestowed upon me by this declaration, its author, and his party, I can finally breathe a sigh of relief, close to certainty.

This historic moment is the first day of hope for bringing the Turkish nation, which has been waiting for its saviour with an ever-growing longing for 150 years, the glad tidings that "what you have been waiting for is coming!"

Having seen the spark of "hope bordering on certainty" and having imagined this spark many times only to fall back into darkness, from now on, I entrust my heart, which can no longer bear any new disappointment, to the warm hands that embrace this declaration with a sensitivity that will not tolerate even the slightest deviation from the path of justice. I expect and demand the fruits of my 40 years of labour from the proactive spirit of this community!

I am wherever the community lies that has the capacity to be the yeast in the dough of a new Turkish generation: Muslim at heart, sparkling Turkish on the outside, master of its inner self, slave to its outer self.

May Allah's grace and the Prophet's spiritual presence be upon those on this path!

NECİP FAZIL

7 May 1977

Third Arrest of

In 1974, following the lifting of martial law, the CHP-MSP Government's declaration of a general amnesty, and the release of all leftists, events in Turkey became even more violent than before. The country was targeted for occupation street by street, faculty by faculty, neighbourhood by neighbourhood. Security forces were either powerless or sided with the opposition. The burden fell on the people. The people's representatives, the idealistic youth, waged a great struggle.

Under these conditions, 12 September 1980 arrived.

The country had reached such a state that something was expected. Rumours of a coup were spreading.

On 11 September, some "idealist" officers had informed Türkeş during the night that Chief of Staff General Kenan Evren was about to launch a coup. Türkeş, who never let his guard down, returned home and telephoned Turan Kocal and Yaşar Okuyan, the nephew of Koçal, both members of his party's executive committee, and summoned them to his house. Together, they left his home in Or-An and went to Turan Koçal's house.

Ramiz Ongun, former chairman of the Ülkü Ocakları and MHP Youth Wings, who ran for the MHP chairmanship after Türkeş's death, was someone who knew Türkeş's situation well during the days of the 12 September 1980 coup. He recounts the following:

"Around 8 p.m. on the evening of 11 September, I received a phone call. It was from Mr Turhan Kocal's house. They asked me to come there. The General Chairman was there, and we had a private conversation. He told me something had happened. While I was there, Mustafa Mit, Yaşar Okuyan and some of our friends from the youth wing also arrived. The place we decided on was Halil Şıvgın's house. Halil Şıvgın is a friend of ours, but he is not well known as an MHP member or a nationalist... His wife was a very conscious girl from the Taşer family, which has a nationalist tradition. That's why we thought it was a safe place. We took him there. We didn't go around to many places as was mentioned. We took him there directly. There was no going to some MHP members and them refusing, or going there and such. The place we initially decided on was there, so we took him there.

We had a private meeting in the room. (...) I had also received information that morning. I don't know how seriously it should be taken. I also reported this to our General Chairman... Sir, there is talk of a revolution, we need to warn our organisation... I have just returned from the army, so I am still adapting. 'Right,' he said, 'I've heard some things too... Similar things were discussed in the parliamentary group...' When we met at 8 p.m. on the evening of 11 September, he said, 'I guess what you said is happening.' But I had encountered something... The coup rumours had become a joke... They said, 'You're taking this seriously, but these rumours have been going around for six months. In the evening, our General Chairman confirmed it. I said, 'Sir, is this coup one that our army itself has decided on, one that it has determined of its own volition, or could it also be a communist coup?' They said that Doğan Avcıoğlu's group could also carry out a communist coup through military channels. Others defended the proletarian revolution, the people's revolution. Our General Chairman said to me: 'Our army is not very prone to coups; it is prone to hierarchy and obedience... 27 May was essentially a bad experience, such as...'

I don't think it's likely, but the issue of a communist revolution is dangerous. Could such a thing happen? Therefore, let's take precautions. It will become clear within a day or two, from their slogans, from their statements, from their declarations. It shows that there is nothing to fear from the commanders taking control of the country within the hierarchy. But if the hierarchy is overturned, it means there are more changes to come,' he said. Our General Chairman settled in Halil Şıvgın Bey's house. A day or two later, I received news that our General Chairman was calling for me. I went. 'What shall we do?' he said. 'Thankfully, I don't think there will be a communist revolution,' I said. 'Yes, I am relieved too. Our army traditionally embraces and loves democracy. You can see the state of the country,' he said. The next day, he surrendered." (Arslan Tekin, *A New Era in the Nationalist Movement and Dr Devlet Bahçeli,* 2nd ed., Istanbul 1998, pp. 88–89).

* * *

Mehmet Doğan, MHP Kayseri MP and former general treasurer, recounts 12 September in his memoirs as follows:

We tried with all our might to prevent it, but 12 September arrived despite our best efforts. On 11 September, at the MHP group meeting, the party leader said he had received information about certain movements in Izmir but could not confirm it, and that he would pass on any new information to us. Thus, the group meeting ended, we went down to the general assembly hall, and it was the same old story, nothing had changed. I went to the party headquarters, everything was normal, the party was bustling, visitors were pouring in. Meanwhile, an officer in civilian clothes had arrived and wanted to speak to Mr Türkeş, but he couldn't find an opportunity to speak in such a crowded place and didn't reveal his identity. After waiting for about two hours, he left without speaking, even though the party's general secretary, Ankara MP Necati Paşa, was there, and I was there. There were other friends there too, but we only found out later that evening when everyone had dispersed. Turan Kocal Bey, Istanbul MP and member of the general administrative council, was speaking to Istanbul at 7 p.m. when he overheard a conversation on the line. The speaker was Istanbul martial law commander Org Necdet Uruğ, issuing orders to the commanders of the First Army units, demanding that preparations be made immediately according to his instructions on who would take control of which areas and how. After hanging up, Turan Kocal immediately called the General Chairman, Mr Alparslan Türkeş. "Mr Chairman, I have important news. I am coming to you immediately," he said. Bahçelievler 3rd Street, same

They live in the same block of flats, upstairs and downstairs. They pick up Yaşar Okuyan, who is eating, throw him into the car and drive to the general chairman's house in the neighbourhood. Mr Türkeş has sent the children away from the house and is waiting, dressed and with his bag in his hand. They arrive at Mr Turan's house in Bahçelievler in Mr Turan's car. They negotiate here for a while, but in the meantime, the phones are cut off, making it difficult to communicate. They put the general chairman in the car and send him off. Although instructions were given to the youth wing to pass on the news to their friends, unfortunately, this news did not reach us. I personally learned about the 12 September coup in the morning. (M. Doğan, *age,* 2000).

* * *

The leader of the Justice Party and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the Republican People's Party Bülent Ecevit, and the leader of the Welfare Party Necmettin Erbakan were taken from their homes on the night of the coup. Demirel and Ecevit, along with their wives, were taken to a military facility in Gelibolu Hamzakoyu; Erbakan was taken alone (his wife would join him later) to the Uzunada Naval Base near Izmir. But Türkeş could not be found. This situation caused the coup leaders to panic. Evren said that Türkeş's absence was "a bad sign for us." Evren wrote the following in his memoirs:

"This situation indicated that someone from within the Armed Forces had informed Türkeş. Although the Ankara Martial Law Command issued a statement demanding Türkeş's surrender to the Martial Law Command, it was to no avail."

As a result, rumours reached my ears that Türkeş's supporters would gain control of the situation within the army. Such a thing was impossible. I knew the army's state of mind very well. However, Türkeş's failure to be captured would also be a bad mark for us. Although orders had been issued to all Martial Law Commanders in case he had gone somewhere else within the country, I gave the order to issue a statement saying that if he did not appear, he would be treated as having disobeyed the orders of the National Security Council. (H. Turgut, *op. cit.,* p. 438).

As Ramiz Ongun recounted above, Türkeş was taken directly to Halil Şıvgın's house, where the coup was welcomed. Halil Şıvgın hesitated as they entered the house, but his wife, Hale (Taşer) Şıvgın, invited them in without hesitation.

The Şıvgın family home was in the same location as Türkeş's house on Kader Street in Gaziosmanpaşa. On 15 September, he went to the house where his son Tuğrul Türkeş lived as a bachelor to surrender, and from there he telephoned the military authorities and told them to come and take him. Türkeş was also taken to Uzunada, where Erbakan was being held. Erbakan was placed in one of two villas on the island, fifty metres apart. Türkeş was brought to the other. All of Türkeş's belongings were in a handbag. The bag contained some papers and a copy of the Qur'an. His tie and belt had been taken on the island.

Türkeş was greeting Erbakan as they stepped out onto the balcony. A short while later, seeing that his family had also been brought to him, he had his second wife, Seval Hanım, whom he married on 18 October 1976 after the death of Muzaffer Hanım in 1974, and his two young children brought to him. Then they began to meet with Erbakan's family. They were also allowed to go into the sea.

They were not kept on the island for long. On 10 October 1980, they were brought to Ankara.

Türkeş was taken to the Mamak Military Garrison.

While Türkeş was staying at the Şıvgıns' house, his friends heard that the other party leaders had been taken to rest camps and were relieved. They thought this would not last long, that they would be released in a few days, and they happily told Türkeş this. Türkeş was an old revolutionary. He told his friends, "First they are soft, then they become hard," and he was right. Türkeş was to be tried. On the first day at the Mamak Garrison, Military Chief Prosecutor Colonel Nurettin Soyer and other prosecutors questioned him. Türkeş was then sent to the Military Language School. When Türkeş was brought to the Language School, he saw that Erbakan was also there. They shared the same room that night. A decision of non-prosecution was taken regarding Erbakan, and he was released. As Erbakan was leaving, he consoled Türkeş and gave him some of his belongings.

* * *

Mehmet Doğan was a member of parliament for Kayseri during the 12 September coup.

He describes the first days of his detention as follows:

General Chairman Türkeş and Erbakan had come from Uzunada. However, we had no opportunity to speak; both of them had been isolated. For this reason, we were only able to speak after the interrogations were over and they had been arrested.

The prosecution first took Cengiz Gökçek away from us, followed by Agah Oktay Güner, but when these friends returned from questioning, they came to our side.

He was not released, but isolated on the lower floor. On 11 October, the rest of us friends piled into a bus and headed for the prosecutor's office. They took us from the bus in groups of three or five for questioning, and those who came out of questioning were not allowed to talk to the other friends. Our friends who came out sent a short note inside the book. In that note, there were some headings about the questions asked. We were brought in one by one, and separate prosecutors took our statements. I was assigned to Lieutenant Commander Nihat Demirel. He had a printed list of questions in front of him, questions prepared with a completely socialist mindset. Why do you want a Turkey of 100 million? Why do you say national state, strong government? Why do you celebrate Captive Turks Week? Are you a Turkist? What is your connection to the Ülkü Ocakları? These were the main questions. I started with a Turkey of 100 million. As nationalists, we want a Turkey that has achieved instant development, has a strong economy, has reached the highest level of per capita national income, and has a population of 100 million. We want a superpower that is the envy of the world. This is our passion. I cannot imagine a Turk who would not want this. Don't you want this? I asked. The young prosecutor relaxed, offered me a cigarette, ordered tea, and the interrogation turned into a conversation. By a national state and strong government, we mean one in which Turkish culture and national spiritual values prevail in all state institutions, and which has the approval of the people and the majority in the Grand National Assembly to implement and enforce these values. Meanwhile, the door opened and a person in an air force uniform with his jacket buttons open entered. He asked the prosecutor, "Who are you interrogating?" Prosecutor Demirel replied, "Sir, he is Mehmet Doğan, the MHP general treasurer and member of parliament for Kayseri." Immediately, in a rude tone, he said, "Let's see, Türkeş opened an account at the Kavaklıdere Akbank branch on 11 September 1980 with 5,180,818 lira. Did you give him the money?" The prosecutor was standing with his hands in his pockets, while I was sitting. Calmly and in a serious tone, I addressed the prosecutor, whom I saw had the rank of colonel on his shoulder. "Colonel, please calm down a little, you're not dealing with a child," I said. He calmed down a little, and I said, "Look, all the party's accounts are in your hands. As far as I remember, the party headquarters has a total of around 3 million TL." He was taken aback when I said that if five million came out of three million, I had given the money. He tried to do the maths but saw that it didn't add up. "Well, who gave it?" he asked. I said, "Don't ask me, ask Mr Türkeş." This individual, who seemed like a greedy person, turned out to be the famous prosecutor Colonel Nurettin Soyer. He stormed out of the room. We tried to explain the significance of our involvement with the Turkish prisoners.

I worked, we came to Anatolia from Central Asia, our kinsmen are there, their population is equal to that of Turkey at present, they are all under Russian imperialism, we want them to gain their freedom. This desire is our right as Turks. We will not, as some fools claim, mount our horses, take up our swords and declare war on Russia. For us, Turkey is above all else. We will not tolerate a thorn in its side. That is our Turanism, I said. Then came the turn of the Ülkü Ocakları; a liberation movement established by nationalist youth in accordance with the law on associations. We have an emotional connection to this organisation, but in no way an organic connection; the party has its own youth wing. He asked a few more questions about the party's financial matters, and the interrogation ended. Later that same day, after midday, we began appearing before the judge one by one. The investigating judge, Major Üstün Günsan, took our statements, asking questions and receiving our answers. Meanwhile, the judge asked about the headquarters building. The building was owned by Mr Alparslan Türkeş, and according to the protocol between the party and Mr Türkeş, it was allocated to the party on the condition that the party pay the maintenance and taxes for 10 years. I oversaw the construction of the building. As Mr Türkeş's representative, I acted with the authority of the party's executive committee, alongside Deputy Chairman Tahsin Ünal Bey Bahçelievler.

We drew up this protocol at the 12th notary on 7th Street. Judge, Tahsin Ünal building

He said it was mine. I said Mr Tahsin had mixed up the incident, as I had explained. The late Tahsin Hoca was a very simple man. He thought the contract at the notary had been transferred to his name, so he told the judge the building was his. When the judge asked why he had taken the money, he said he had found it here and there, and I laughed. When we went outside, the teacher asked why I had said that, and I said, "I don't know, I thought that's what happened." After questioning us until late at night, they decided to arrest us under Article 149/1 of the Turkish Penal Code on the grounds that we had committed the crime of inciting the people to revolt, and we headed for the language school. On the same day, the MSP and TİKP members appeared before the judge. We later learned that four judges had gathered together, Hamdi Sevinç, Vural Özenirler, Üstün Günsan, İlhami Uguryılmaz, and the cases were divided among them. Colonel Hamdi Sevinç took the MSP case, Üstün Günsan took the MHP case, Vural Özenirler took the Halkevi case, and İlhami Uğur Yılmaz took the TİKP case, and they agreed on the arrests. However, Hamdi Sevinç's decision to release three individuals, Erbakan, Tahir Büyükkörükçü, and Temel Karamollaoğlu, except for the others, disrupted the partnership, and the martial law command objected to this decision and re-examined it.

They were arrested on 15 October. Meanwhile, the Council held an official meeting in the Grand National Assembly budget committee hall. Council members: Second President, Martial Law Commander Lieutenant General Recep Ergun, Martial Law Chief Prosecutor Colonel Nurettin Soyer. Agenda: Whether or not to bring charges against the MHP and MSP parties.

Lieutenant General Recep Ergun and Prosecutor Nurettin Soyer provided information to the council regarding the two parties. Naturally, the information and documents they presented, the main basis of the allegations being photographs of weapons seized from left-wing organisations and a letter in which CHP Erzincan senator Niyazi Ünsal confessed to how he made convicted communists into civil servants, statements extracted from certain individuals under torture. Kenan Evren looks at his colleagues and a decision will be made on whether or not to open a case. While one member argued that there was no need to file a lawsuit, two members defended the idea of filing a lawsuit. Kenan Pasha maintained his position, saying that since things had come this far, the evidence showed this to be the case. The MHP and MSP were being tried under special laws. I quoted this from Yalçın Doğan's book, Politics in Narrow Streets. The names of the council members for and against this decision are not mentioned. Sedat Celasun, Commander of the Gendarmerie, and Nejat Tümer, Commander of the Navy, were in favour, while Nurettin Ersin, Commander of the Land Forces, and Tahsin Şahinkaya, Commander of the Air Force, were against. Kenan Evren put the final nail in the coffin. Yalçın Doğan describes the intentions of those who made this decision on page 134 of the same book as follows: MSP Chairman Erbakan was already unpopular, MHP General Chairman Alparslan Türkeş was already unforgivable for wanting to bring politics into the army and would never be forgiven. Information confirming this assessment reached us through several channels. At the very beginning of the coup, when we were detained, Evren's classmate Süreyya Koç... Who is Süreyya Koç? Mr Süreyya was a classmate of Mr Evren and Mr Türkeş, one of the star students of the Military Academy. Kenan Evren, a nationalist who exposed Nazım Hikmet's communist activities at the Military Academy and a hard-working, enterprising student interested in wrestling, graduated from the Military Academy under Süreyya Koç's tutelage. Everyone dispersed to different units, meeting from time to time. Türkeş and Süreyya Bey served together at the Çankırı Infantry School for a while. Süreyya Koç retired, entered politics with the CHP, became a member of parliament, and in the meantime, İsmet Pasha declared the centre-left, the CHP split, Turhan Feyzioğlu broke away from the party, and military-background figures such as Süreyya Koç and İhsan Kabadayı also broke away from the CHP and founded the CGP. To summarise, Süreyya opposed Türkeş, the MHP and the nationalists at the very beginning of the 12 September coup.

Distressed by the attitude and behaviour displayed, Süreyya Koç immediately goes to the mansion, reveals his identity, and says he wishes to speak with Kenan Pasha. The message is relayed to Evren, who immediately orders him to be brought in. He greets Süreyya Bey at the door, embraces him, and gives instructions to the staff. When Süreyya Bey arrives, he says there is no need to ask me, let him in immediately. They go inside, and after a short conversation, Süreyya Koç gets to the point. He says to Türkeş and his friends, "What you have done is not right. Release them immediately. The treatment they are receiving will harm the state in the future," and insists. They leave. As a result, after this conversation, Evren's attitude towards his patron, Süreyya Bey, changes. He never spoke to him again. This is one of the stories that has been passed down to us. He rejected the requests and intercessions of various individuals, including classmates and comrades, regarding this matter and severed all contact with them. All indications clearly show that Kenan Evren was at the centre of the persecution of Türkeş and the MHP. In his memoirs, he used the term "evil organisation," which he did not use against the Communists or the PKK, only against the MHP and the idealists. Meanwhile, the MHP MPs, apart from the members of the general administrative council, the members of the disciplinary committee, the members of the supervisory committee, and the entire language school, are in prison. (Mehmet Doğan, *op. cit.,* 2000).

* * *

At first, the revolutionaries did not interfere with the Ülkücüler. When the leftist movement failed to materialise and they gathered individually, this time they came down on the Ülkücüler. They imprisoned thousands of Ülkücüler. It would not be wrong to say that loving the Turkish nation was "certified" as a "crime" during this phase of the trial. Just as the price of the struggle in 1944 was demanded in proportion to the struggle itself, so too in 1980, the price of the struggle against the local extensions of imperialism was demanded in proportion to the intensity of that struggle. The nationalists who gathered around Alparslan Türkeş suffered greatly. Thousands were martyred, tens of thousands were wounded. The Idealists never fought against the destroyers and separatists for reward. However, they never expected to be punished either. The coup d'état of 12 September 1980 put those who loved their country and those who did not on the same scale; it gave the same punishment to both sides... In fact, a court was set up to tarnish the reputation of the Nationalist Movement Party members with baseless and unfounded accusations. Nine Nationalist Movement Party members were hanged, while many young people fell ill and lost their lives as a result of the torture they witnessed. Thousands were sentenced to various prison terms.

Türkeş remained in custody for four years, seven months and twenty-five days. He was released on 7 April 1985. Türkeş had "health problems". From 29 May 1983 onwards, he spent part of his detention in the Military Hospital.

The indictment against Türkeş and the Ülkücüler was 945 pages long. It was completely full of nonsense. You will see this when you read the indictment.

On 19 August 1981, when Türkeş entered the courtroom for the first hearing, all 391 defendants in the MHP and Ülkücü Organisations trial stood up together and recited the National Anthem. The court panel was also forced to stand up. For this reason, the court president had Türkeş brought in before everyone else on subsequent days. On winter days, to prevent the young people from helping Türkeş put on and take off his coat, he left the first two rows after Türkeş empty.

During these hearings, there was one unforgettable incident that alone was enough to reveal the court's prejudice, incompetence and ignorance. It was such an irreparable mistake that the court panel should have been removed from their duties after committing it, as they were unfit to judge. This situation is another aspect of the pitiful state the coup plotters found themselves in.

* * *

Türkeş was very composed in court. He was calm and spoke quietly. But the indictment had been prepared in such a way that it was very difficult for anyone to control themselves. A letter from Niyazi Ünsal, the CHP Senator for Erzincan, had been included in the indictment, mistakenly attributed to Ünsal, the MHP Senator.

It was 15 October 1981. Türkeş took the indictment in his hands in court and showed it to the court:

"I can't believe you! This indictment is not your doing! It was prepared outside. Are you going to judge us with the indictment that made Niyazi Ünsal a member of the MHP?!"

The court panel consisted of three members. The presiding judge was Lieutenant Colonel Vural Özenirler. Özenirler said, "Since our nation will doubt the decision we will make, and since we ourselves have doubts, I am withdrawing from the case." He left the file in front of him and went inside. The second member, Ali Fahir Kayacan, also withdrew, and the third member went inside, looking at the other two members. The files remained in the middle

. Something strange had happened. Those in the courtroom laughed. A soldier came and collected the files.

A three-and-a-half-hour break was taken in the hearing. During this time, the court members decided to recuse themselves and reported this to their superiors.

However, the Supreme Court did not accept the court panel's resignation.

It is said that Kenan Evren prevented these resignations. Evren reportedly said, "A defendant is leaving, and you are abandoning the court. Whoever we appoint in your place, the court will not function. Continue with your duties."

The court panel was to continue its duties, but one colonel withdrew. Three members, including a general, were appointed to replace them, and the number of court members was increased to five.

* * *

We must also shed light on the Niyazi Ünsal case, as it highlights the deplorable state of the 12 September courts.

In the indictment, CHP senator Niyazi Ünsal was listed as an MHP senator, and the MHP was being accused based on a letter written by Ünsal. If the CHP senator's letter was included in the MHP indictment, imagine what the other allegations might be.

Türkeş, who correctly presented the indictment to the court, stated the following in his defence:

The indictment also contains a widely publicised allegation that a Republican People's Party senator was portrayed as a member of the Nationalist Movement Party. Niyazi Ünsal, the former CHP Senator for Erzincan, who has been a member of the Republican People's Party for years and is well known to the public for his extreme behaviour, has been made an MHP member by the prosecution, and a letter written by this person, which is considered a crime, has been attributed to us, described as hair-raising and terrifying. During the reading of the indictment, the prosecutor attempted to dismiss this issue by stating, 'We do not understand politics'. It was impossible to believe the sincerity of this statement, which was worse than the offence itself. Because, while the poor citizens who wrote the letter to us were brought to Ankara from all over Turkey to give their statements, how could the statement of the MHP senator, who was alleged to have committed the crimes described as 'chilling and terrifying', not be sought?

Why is such a letter obtained and why is the person summoned and asked to explain themselves?

Since Niyazi Ünsal is an MHP senator, why has he not been sought by the prosecution, why has no action been taken against him? This is a matter of great concern. On the one hand, he considers his letter to be a very serious crime and therefore accuses and incriminates us, yet on the other hand, he does not search for and find this person whom he accepts as an MHP senator, does not ask for his statement, and does not pursue legal action against him. This is very striking. And when this issue was discussed here that day, as you saw, the honourable prosecutor stood up and said, 'So what, what happened, we are not politicians, how could we know he was a CHP senator, we thought he was an MHP senator. (*Nationalist Movement Party and Idealist Organisations Trial – Interrogation – Alparslan Türkeş,* Ankara 1982, p. 59).

A trial rarely seen in world legal history... Before 12 September 1980, there were two opposing parties: one was the MHP, the other was the CHP... The CHP's leaders, İsmet İnönü and Bülent Ecevit, not only refused to recognise the MHP as a legitimate party, but also resorted to every means possible to break the resistance of the Ülkücü movement, which was defending the country against the communist armed uprising. Niyasi Ünsal was a CHP senator who spoke out frequently and whose name appeared in the newspapers almost every day. If the prosecutors and judges of a martial law court did not know that Niyazi Ünsal was a CHP senator, then they were not competent to judge. Moreover, the indictment goes through many stages before taking its final form. First, evidence is gathered. The evidence is then evaluated by several people. The prosecutor reviews it with his assistants, after which the indictment takes its final form and is distributed to the judges. No one has come forward to say that there is a mistake here. An ordinary court was set up to accuse the defendants, and a trial with a predetermined outcome was sought, or the court panel is very ignorant. Naturally, the verdicts to be handed down are unacceptable in the eyes of history. However, since the laws of the coup are in force, nothing can be done about it.

Alparslan Türkeş made excellent use of this unbelievable oversight by the court and, as the accused, forced the court to back down, demonstrating an attitude that would be much talked about in the future and held up as one of the defining characteristics of leadership.

Türkeş's Letter to Evren: You Are Trying the Nation

Türkeş wrote a letter to Kenan Evren while in prison. Mehmet Irmak, an MHP leader held in the same place as Türkeş, described Türkeş's letter to Evren as follows:

The leader was not going to write a letter to General Evren, who had staged the military coup. But at the request of his friends, he wrote those famous letters. His friends had said, 'You have a relationship with General Evren, and you understand the psychology of soldiers very well. Write a letter to the Pasha explaining our innocence. Don't let our detention be prolonged." The leader wrote a letter to Evren so as not to disappoint his friends.

In his letter, Türkeş states that Turkish nationalism is being condemned:

"Dear General Kenan Evren,
President of the Republic
Chairman of the National Security Council, Chief
of the General Staff

Following 12 September, which I hope will yield beneficial results for our nation, my friends and I find ourselves under a very serious accusation. In light of the reasons I will attempt to explain, I consider it my duty to write this letter.

First, I must point out that I have always been a person who has tried to account for my intentions to myself before my actions. As people who have served in public life, I believe that our responsibility is not only to history but also to our nation and to ourselves.

The documents that the Martial Law Prosecutor's Office has put forward as grounds for the serious accusations against us – because, despite our request, the search records belonging to our party have still not been given to us – or that it has attempted to collect, could be used as material to discredit a political movement in terms of propaganda. Indeed, similar things have been done for years by Marxist circles and some of our political opponents. However, all of this is punishable by law.

I believe that it does not carry any responsibility. However, it is stated that there are certain items whose possession constitutes a crime, and if these exist, their owners must be punished in accordance with the law. Given that a political party is a social centre where hundreds of people come and go every day, it is only natural that the search for the owners of such items should focus on real persons and the actual responsible parties, rather than a legal entity.

I must also state that a judicial investigation will only lead to sound conclusions if it is conducted within the framework established by law, gathering genuine evidence both for and against the defendants. Statements obtained under duress and forced interpretations cloud justice. According to rumours circulating among the public, in many parts of the country, statements incriminating us are being sought from our members and certain individuals who have been detained. It is said that torture is particularly prevalent in Ankara and Adana, even to the extent of pumping air into the lungs. It is certain that statements obtained through such methods will not be taken seriously by the courts. However, I am concerned that the public conscience and history will pass judgement on such a biased investigation and that the tension created in public opinion by such attitudes will be exploited by hostile forces. Nevertheless, I do not want to believe such reports and hope that they are false.

In conclusion, with confidence in your respect for the law, which you have assured us of, I state that the court will result in an acquittal. However, from the perspective of our national security, certain positive characteristics that are essential to the public conscience will be destroyed. This is because the court, which must be open to the public, will inevitably have to judge, along with a political movement, a movement of ideas and a mindset that our nation, due to its historical and social structure, naturally finds itself in. This mindset and spirit are the nationalist, Atatürkist views and principles that Your Excellency succinctly expressed on 12 September and thereafter.

This structure constitutes the Turkish nation's resistance to all forms of imperialism. Neither today's nor future generations should be branded as having lost their sense of national values, having been acquitted

should not be branded as condemned or despised. I see the direction you have taken in your statements regarding the 12 September Movement as an effort to strengthen this damaged resistance.

The judgement I propose, I fear, will destroy the foundations of this resistance in the public conscience and, before long, turn our country into an open market for foreign ideologies in a manner worse than today. If the faith of our soldiers at the borders in national values is lost due to foreign ideological propaganda, the homeland cannot be defended. The values we are trying to defend
-for you too rely on them and strive to make them dominant- they are the barriers that protect our nation's unity against foreign imperialism and ideologies, giving it vitality and dignity. This reality, unfortunately overshadowed by political propaganda, is undoubtedly well known to you. If you destroy this consciousness and belief in resistance, the floodgates of all kinds of imperialism may open. Because ideological infiltration and psychological warfare are the greatest realities of our age. Certainly, no Turk can wish or have the right to bear such a burden.

We may have made mistakes in pursuing the politics of these ideas; we may not have promoted ourselves sufficiently and may not be liked. But these thoughts and sensitivities belong not to me or my party, but to our entire nation, and we are all obliged to defend them.

When the 27 May Movement took place, no one involved, whether directly or indirectly, ever thought or wanted this liberating movement to create an environment conducive to Marxist imperialist propaganda. However, we lived through the subsequent years together and saw that communism took advantage of the gaps opened by this movement to enter our lives, and now you are trying to close those gaps and repel the attack. Please appreciate that, leaving aside external conditions, our national structure is weaker than it was in those days and, unfortunately, has suffered greatly. I believe that one day, history will record that you have undertaken the most critical task in the history of the Republic during the period in which we find ourselves. Your decisions and actions will influence the coming decades as well as the present. You are in a position to see this. People can make mistakes, but I, along with our entire nation, hope that you will not make any. Within the parliamentary system, it is well known that the legislature has been led into certain dead ends.

The necessary regulations for these activities have not been implemented in our country. Therefore, we have been unable to do what we consider necessary. I sincerely hope that you will be able to do so for the sake of the nation's future.

You will appreciate that if Atatürk's vision and goals for Turkish national education had been kept alive, the period after 27 May would not have produced such unexpected results. For years, under the guise of reinterpreting Atatürk, bringing him up to date, or surpassing him, national consciousness was destroyed, paving the way for Marxism. Because communism carries an element of coercion within it and has become the ideological tool of a great imperialism, it has sooner or later brought anarchy and terror to every underdeveloped country it has entered.

In our country, a portion of Turkish youth have been turned against their own state and their own flag through the ideological poison administered daily in increasingly larger doses. Turkish national education, trapped in its outdated system, could do nothing about this; it did not even consider it its duty. The philosophy that Atatürk pointed to as the foundation of the state could not be instilled in our youth as a spirit and enthusiasm; it could not be incorporated into education as a way of life, a civic duty, and a human ethic. Merely learning geography and physics could not protect our students from the attacks of communism and separatism. The mistakes made after 27 May exposed certain constitutional institutions and the bureaucracy to these attacks. Now you are endeavouring to rectify these with the legal reforms you have conceived. The circumstances compelling you to undertake this rectification as a historical duty have provoked the nation's reaction and increased unrest.

As will be recalled, as in some European countries, anarchy in Turkey was initiated by the left in the 1960s. At that time, there were no opposing groups. Under the conditions created by this anarchy, the 12 March Martial Law Courts sentenced hundreds of people who had committed treason by destroying every value belonging to the state and the nation; not a single nationalist was among them.

Undoubtedly, this fact clearly expresses a serious meaning. If we think with an open conscience, leaving aside the propaganda nonsense of "fascism, Nazism" that the same circles are now directing at you, how nationalist youth later

It is easy to understand why they emerged and why they became involved in these conflicts. If the Internationale can be sung instead of our National Anthem at a university, if rallies can be held under red flags in a square, and if the values that define the Turkish nation can be openly violated in Turkish educational institutions, then millions of Turkish youths witnessing these scenes cannot all remain silent. Indeed, some young people got involved in the events, sometimes unfortunately at the cost of breaking the law, in order to defend the values of the Turkish nation that were being targeted for destruction. Such resistance occurred spontaneously, as a sociological reaction, without requiring any organisation. Because every social organism whose consciousness has not been paralysed will exhibit a defence reflex. Didn't you also carry out this movement for the sake of values such as the integrity of the state, the unity of the nation, the sanctity of the flag, and the strengthening of democracy? If the democratic state authority had been able to use it appropriately and in a timely manner against the enemies of the state, and if our national education system had been able to equip our youth with national consciousness, the involvement of nationalists in the events would have been much more marginal compared to before 12 March.

Unfortunately, governments have been unable to fill the void of authority and culture. I am pleased to note that you have made the same observation in your statements and declarations.

In our struggle against this undeclared ideological invasion, we have always sought to strengthen our nation's democratic and national resistance and unity by encouraging respect for the law and compliance with legislation. To the extent that a political party can, we have endeavoured to instil in our youth the philosophy that founded our state and to revive it.

Despite sixteen years of effort, our political success remained limited. Because communism and separatism constantly attacked us both internally and externally; they tried to break us physically and mentally, from presenting the idea of nationalism as 'fascism' to martyring my closest colleague, Gün Sazak, along with many of our supporters. Against its global propaganda power, it was not our political ambitions but only our patriotism that fought back.

Despite everything, I believe that we have created serious resistance in the public conscience in the Turkish nation's struggle against the attacks our people have been subjected to. Only a million voters cast their ballots for us; however, it is certain that there are millions more who enthusiastically embrace the idea of Turkish nationalism that we defend, that is, the idea that founded our state. This is undoubtedly not our work alone. But history will not deny our service on this path.

For these reasons, I am concerned that our prosecution for a crime broadly defined as 'separatism' under Article 149 of the Turkish Penal Code will result in the prosecution of an idea that we share and that has been the guiding principle of our state since the founding of the Republic. It is impossible today, as it has been throughout history, to isolate the thoughts of people who have assumed duties and responsibilities in state and political life.

The public conscience can never do this, nor can it be expected to do so. We will be judged as a whole for our thoughts and politics. The mark this will leave on future years is the idea that political cadres who fought for nationalism, national consciousness, and the indivisibility of the state, its country, and its people have been judged by the state on charges of 'separatism'. Indeed, at this stage, most of the questions my colleagues and I faced were of a nature that questioned the idea of nationalism.

When a free and democratic pluralist regime is eventually established, the hotbeds of corruption and propaganda centres that will continue their treacherous activities will always try to use such a situation as an opportunity to condemn Turkish nationalism in the public eye. Indeed, the TKP, whose nature is well known to you and which engages in full-fledged 'fifth column' activities, is still attacking us and still targeting us with its pirate publications. This is because the TKP wants to eliminate, even now, the civilian cadres who will strengthen the nationalist consciousness and the understanding of loyalty to the state and democracy among the masses for its future activities.

Communism and separatism, which had already targeted state forces before 12 March, neutralised the state after 12 March.

They have attacked nationalists in order to achieve this. In this way, these hotbeds of corruption have sought both to physically destroy nationalists and to delay the state's response, thereby gaining power and time. Under current conditions, this strategy continues in the form of hostility towards nationalist cadres and plans for their elimination by the TKP and other communist publications. Communism and separatism have always been condemned throughout the world, but no national state has ever condemned nationalism by accusing it of separatism. When our country transitions to the pluralistic democratic regime that is the fundamental goal of our people and your high council, the centres of corruption will use this accusation levelled against nationalists as propaganda material to purge Turkish nationalism.

Finally, I led a political and intellectual movement that exalted the slogan 'One God, one state, one homeland, one flag'. From the age of sixteen, when I had the honour of joining the military, until the present moment in my political life, my entire existence has been the clearest proof of this thought and belief. History will undoubtedly judge me and my friends. However, the fact that such a movement has been accused of dividing the nation and 'inciting the people to fight' will surely not be forgotten by any future generation. This accusation is not only diametrically opposed to our sincere intentions from a purely legal standpoint, but it is also incompatible with the 'material element of the crime' in criminal law.

Dear General,

Your statements since 12 September confirm, in a different style, the ideas that we have been defending for years and will continue to defend under all circumstances. I am pleased about this for the sake of our nation's future. It is our sincere wish that the shaken life of the nation be reorganised with justice, that a healthy and swift return to a free democratic regime be achieved, and that Turkey never again face such crises in its future.

The main reason for writing this letter is my sense of responsibility to fulfil my duty to the nation and history, in the person of Your Excellency, the head of state and the high council entrusted with this task.

I have no doubt that, following a fair trial, we will be acquitted of the charges of separatism and 'inciting the people to fight', which do not suit us at all. My only concern is that such an accusation could be used by the enemies of our state against Turkish nationalism in the Turkey of tomorrow.

I extend my most sincere wishes for success to you and your colleagues in strengthening the Turkish State, laying the foundations for a happier and brighter future, and re-establishing the free democratic regime.

Alparslan Türkeş

(For the full text of the letter written by Alparslan Türkeş from Mamak Prison to General Kenan Evren after 12 September: *Yeni Harman-Alparslan Türkeş Special Issue*, No. 4, 11-17 September 1998).

* * *

In his defence, Türkeş also revealed that the indictment sought to criminalise Turkish nationalism:

In the section of the indictment titled "The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Our Country," Turkish nationalism is unfortunately deemed entirely culpable throughout its history. In a country where Turkish nationalism is defined in the preamble to the Constitution, and at a time when we are celebrating the centenary of the birth of Atatürk, whose defining characteristic was nationalism, what could be more shameful than putting the entire history of nationalism on trial? However, a nation under invasion and occupation can be blamed for practising nationalism.

Now let us take a look at this shameful picture: Look at what kind of organisations are included in the historical flow and development process of nationalist, idealist thought. The organisations I mentioned a moment ago. These have never had any connection with fascism, never had any connection with Nazism. While we are being accused with this indictment, unfortunately, Turkish nationalism, which is the founding philosophy of the Republic of Turkey, has been accused and Turkish nationalism has been put in the dock and prosecuted.

On the centenary of his birth, Atatürkism and Atatürk have been put on trial. This trial is in the life of the Turkish nation, in the life of the Turkish state.

has inflicted a fatal wound." (*Nationalist Movement Party and Idealist Organisations Trial – Interrogation – Alparslan Türkeş*, Ankara 1982, pp. 78–79).

's Return to Party Politics

After 1982, the coup leaders allowed new parties to be established under controlled conditions. The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) immediately took action. On 7 July 1983, they founded the Conservative Party (MP). The party's emblem was a pine tree rising above Turkey. The founding president was Mehmet Pamak. Pamak had visited Türkeş at the Military Hospital and obtained his permission. Pamak was also a member of the Consultative Assembly established by Evren in place of the Grand National Assembly. Pamak had an interesting journey. As a civil servant, he wrote articles under pseudonyms in nationalist newspapers and magazines. He used the name "Mehmet Ercişli" in his articles in Hergün. On 26 July 1983, the Council vetoed 25 MP founders with its decision number 100. Pamak was among those vetoed. Mehmet Pamak would learn that his family came from the east, thus discovering his new ethnic identity. He would then cloak this identity in Islam, deliver speeches about "freedom," and wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle! There is another such name... Yılmaz Yalçıner, who was the first Ülkü Ocağı President at the Ankara Faculty of Political Sciences and was famous for entering the school alone and fighting hundreds of communists in the process, later became a journalist and, as mentioned, parted ways with the Ülkücüler and moved to the "radical Islam" line.

When Pamak's candidacy for the MP presidency was rejected, Ahmet Özsoy, the MP Deputy Secretary General and pharmacist, who had not been vetoed, became the party's president. New names were submitted to the Council to replace those who had been vetoed. However, on 16 August 1983, the Council vetoed 19 members of the party again with its decision No. 117. Names were submitted again. But the Council did not want the MP to participate in the elections. The vetoes continued. For the party to be able to participate in the elections, it needed to be organised in 34 provinces. This did not happen either. In the first general elections held after the coup on 6 November 1983, the Nationalists could not unite under one roof.

After Ahmet Özsoy, the writer and poet, former Member of Parliament İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu (1918-1993) took over as party leader. By 1985, those who had been vetoed returned to the party. Ali Koç, one of the first deputy chairmen, was elected party chairman at the Founders' Council meeting on 2 December 1984. İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu left the party.

The Conservative Party increased the number of members of its Central Decision and Executive Board at a congress held in Ankara on 30 November 1985 at the Selim Sırrı Tarcan Sports Hall. The party's name was also changed to the "Nationalist Labour Party". The party's emblem was a white crescent on a red background surrounded by nine stars.

* * *

Türkeş was released on 9 April 1985. The MHP and Ülkücü Organisations Trial would continue at the No. 1 Military Court, and the 162-page reasoned decision would be read on 7 April 1987. Türkeş had been sentenced to eleven years and ten months, while none of the members of the General Administrative Council had received any punishment. Due to the new enforcement law, he would have to serve one day in prison. The case was prolonged in the Court of Cassation and was dismissed on 11 May 1995 due to the statute of limitations. Everyone knew that Türkeş and his friends had been imprisoned because of the storm of 12 September.

As he was banned from politics, Türkeş did not openly engage in politics. The Nationalist Labour Party (MÇP) participated in the elections held on 28 September 1986 in 10 provinces where parliamentary seats had become vacant, but only managed to secure 2.2 per cent of the vote.

* * *

Türkeş did not consider joining another party after 12 September. He strongly criticised those who did. Halûk Dursun recounted a conversation he had with Türkeş in 1988. When Halûk Dursun asked Türkeş how he felt about some idealists not joining the MÇP after 12 September and going to other parties such as the ANAP and DYP, he strongly criticised the idealists who joined other parties and said "These are people who have embraced disloyalty to their cause, to their leader, to the memory of the martyrs who fell on the battlefield, and to the memory of the honourable struggle they waged before 12 September..."

Haluk Dursun responded to the question, "Did you consider not forming a party after 12 September and instead remaining within the DYP and ANAP, gathering personnel there and fighting within a large mass party?" as follows:

"If I had pursued such a policy, I would not have been in the Republican Peasants' Party in 1965, I would have joined the Justice Party. At that time, they were saying, 'The nationalists are in the Justice Party today. Prof. Osman Turan, Sadettin

Bilgiç, Faruk Sükan, etc. are here.' We responded by saying, 'We must bring Turkish nationalism to power as a political action,' and we set out to work as a separate party. If we think the same way today, the MCP is small, it cannot develop, ANAP exists, DYP exists, new cadres will not emerge, idealism will disappear, our idealism will die. But I am still the leader at the forefront of the action today, I am the representative of the ideology. I set the principles.

This will work, and you will see that the movement will grow again as before. (Halûk Dursun, "Why Türkeş Did Not Go to the AP," *Son Çağrı*, 9 April 1997).

* * *

Meanwhile, extraordinary events were unfolding in the MÇP. When Ali Koç resigned as the party's chairman, an extraordinary congress was convened. Abdülkerim Doğru, Hüseyin Abbas and their friends, who were Kars MPs and ministers of the National Salvation Party and founders of the Nizam Party, had registered with the MÇP. Abdülkerim Doğru was a nationalist intellectual and the brother of the late Prof. Dr. Abdülmecit Doğru, former president of the Mountaineering Club. Abdülkerim Doğru was elected chairman at the congress held on 19 April 1987. Dr Devlet Bahçeli was appointed as the general secretary. (See Dr Arslan Tekin, *The Dr Devlet Bahçeli Era in the Nationalist Movement,* 3rd ed., Ankara 2000). One of the deputy chairmen was Tuğrul Türkeş.

It was clear that Türkeş had chosen this list. A transitional period was about to begin.

On 6 September 1987, a referendum was held on whether banned former politicians should be allowed to engage in politics. With 51 per cent of the vote, the ban on former politicians was lifted. Although MÇP Chairman Abdülkerim Doğru stated that he was not a "caretaker" but a "leader," MÇP members turned their attention to Türkeş following the lifting of the ban. As a result, Abdülkerim Doğru and his colleagues resigned. Türkeş joined the MÇP on 20 September 1987. At the Extraordinary Congress held on 4 October 1987, he was elected as the party's general chairman, receiving the votes of all 210 delegates.

Türkeş was again party leader. After coups, once the leaders were no longer hanged, they would re-establish their parties and perhaps become even more determined than before. Besides Türkeş, Demirel, Ecevit and Erbakan also became leaders of their new parties

Demirel and Ecevit both became prime minister again. Erbakan served as prime minister for the first time. Türkeş later entered parliament. After his death, his party emerged as the second largest party in the first general election it entered, winning 18% of the vote and sending 129 MPs to parliament. The coups, however, became known for the damage they inflicted on the country.

Under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş, the MÇP participated in the general elections held on 29 November 1987 and received 2.91% of the vote. In the 1977 elections, which Türkeş entered before 12 September 1980, the party's vote share was 6.42%. After ten years, the Ülkücüler, who were just beginning to recover, had a vote potential of only 3%.

Nationalists who had been imprisoned also began to be released. Former Ülkü Ocakları (Nationalist Movement Youth Organisation) leaders joined the party at the 2nd Ordinary Congress on 27 November 1987.

In the local elections held on 29 March 1989, the MÇP's vote share in the Provincial General Assembly was 4.2%. They also won some mayoral positions.

* * *

After the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, a new constitution was drafted and a 10% threshold was introduced for parties to enter parliament in general elections. It seemed unlikely that the MÇP, the Welfare Party (RP) established to replace the National Salvation Party, or the Reformist Democracy Party (IDP), led by Aykut Edebali, former leader of the New Nationalists, would be able to exceed the 10% threshold on their own in the new general election. The RP had only managed to secure 7.2 per cent of the vote in 1987.

To this end, the parties sought alliances. Right-wing intellectuals desired the unification of all nationalist and conservative parties under one roof, writing and speaking in this vein. They sought to imbue the coming together of right-wing parties with a meaning beyond a normal electoral alliance, and this appeared to be the general desire of the people. With the alliance secured, the "believing segment" would become a "fist", a "heart"; nationalist-religious people would be saved from being seen as second-class citizens, from being pushed around at every opportunity. The desire became so strong that party leaders felt they had no choice but to meet. Whether viewed abstractly or concretely, it was already impossible to win the election without an alliance.

The MÇP and IDP decided to run in the elections under the banner of the RP, which had previously received the most votes.

Some MHP members could not accept running in the elections under the RP banner. They had also told Türkeş this. Türkeş had persuaded the MHP members, saying, "I cannot stomach it either, but we will endure this until we cross the bridge, and then we will return to our party."

On the other hand, the DEP, which operated like the political wing of the PKK, had collaborated with the SHP.

In the 20 October 1991 General Elections, as a result of the alliance between the three parties, %

They received 16.9 per cent of the vote. The MÇP had secured 19 seats in the Grand National Assembly under the umbrella of the RP. These MPs broke away from the RP and became independent. Article 86 prevented them from joining the MÇP. Therefore, they established the Democratic Movement Party (DHP). At the 3rd Ordinary Congress of the MÇP held on 29 December 1991, the DHP joined the MÇP. Alparslan Türkeş was re-elected as the chairman of the Nationalist Action Party.

In his speech at this congress, Türkeş said that the Ülkücüler had achieved two great victories with the collapse of communism and the independence of the captive Turks.

What role did the Ülkücüler play in the collapse of the Soviet Union and the successive downfalls of communist regimes? More accurately, did they play any role at all?

This issue has been much debated. In the collapse of the Soviet Union, besides the fact that a communist regime, contrary to human nature, could only survive to this point, the failure of the Soviet Union's expansionist policy also played a major role. It is inconceivable that this expansionist policy would not have included Turkey. The biggest obstacle to a communist government in Turkey was the Nationalist Movement. The establishment of a communist government would have been a great motivation for the Soviets. Perhaps Deli Petro's legacy would have been realised without them using weapons, and the Soviets would have descended upon the Straits and from the Straits to the Mediterranean.

As we travelled to the Turkic republics and they came to Turkey, the intellectuals from the Turkic republics I spoke with said that during the Soviet era, in the turbulent days of the 1970s, Soviet newspapers published very harsh articles about the Ülkücüler. Intellectuals who defended Turkish unity found their direction by reading these articles and carried the belief that what the communist regime accused them of would be "reputable".

The MÇP also split in July 1992. Seven MPs left the MÇP and founded the Great Unity Party (BBP).

's Return to the MHP

While these developments were taking place among those gathered around the Nationalist Labour Party and those outside it, the MHP congress convened on 27 December 1992 in the hall of Yükseliş College in Söğütözü, Ankara.

Türkeş devised a tactic to prevent the opposition from gaining strength. The Ülkü Ocakları were on Türkeş's side. He went to Söğütözü, where the congress was to be held, at 7:30 a.m. with the delegates and supporters who backed him. However, the doors to the hall were locked. This was a precautionary measure by the police. Türkeş was furious. He kicked the door open. No one could be kept waiting outside in this cold! The leader's action gave the crowd excitement and determination. Türkeş's uncompromising attitude renewed the trust in the leader. The Ülkü Ocaklı youths were guarding the doors so tightly that they did not allow anyone to enter without considering which delegate supported Türkeş and which supported Somuncuoğlu and his friends. If there was not a quorum of delegates in the hall, the congress would be cancelled, and the second congress would be held at Sadi Somuncuoğlu's office. This was because Somuncuoğlu had exercised authority on behalf of the last general administrative council before 12 September 1980 and had announced the congress. Eventually, the young people were persuaded and the delegates were allowed to enter. It was announced that 451 delegates were present.

Türkeş made his second move, which would impress the delegates and guests. As soon as the congress opened, he walked to the podium and immediately began his speech. His speech was occasionally interrupted by wild cheers. Türkeş proclaimed the victory of the Ülkücü struggle in simple and clear sentences:

"We denounced the scourge of communism, and thankfully it collapsed. We called for freedom for enslaved Turks, and they attacked us as Turanists. Thankfully, that too has come to pass. Those with such accurate views come to power in other countries!"

At the congress, it was decided that the party would be dissolved and that its name and emblem could be used by the MÇP.

Despite all the efforts of the opposition, Alparslan Türkeş, with his charisma and political manoeuvring, prevented the MHP from continuing as a separate party from the MÇP.

At that time, it was reported in the newspapers that President Turgut Özal had intervened in the party, first giving hope to those who founded the BBP and splitting them off, then supporting Sadi Somuncuoğlu.

* * *

On 24 January 1993, the 4th Extraordinary Congress of the MÇP was convened. At the congress, the name of the MÇP was changed to MHP and the three crescent emblem was adopted. Alparslan Türkeş was elected as the party's chairman with 589 delegates' votes.

Türkeş delivered the following speech at the congress:

The Nationalist Movement, which was struck and scattered by the 12 September coup, is now experiencing the joy of fully regaining the rights that had been rendered unusable by the 12 September regime, rights that had never wavered, unbroken line. Now, our glorious three crescents, which our forefathers called a symbol of majesty and splendour; and the name 'Nationalist Movement', written in the pages of history as the name of an honourable struggle, have regained the opportunity to take their honourable place in our political life, both legally and in practice, as they have done since 12 September, no longer existing only in our hearts and as an element of love.

The Nationalist Movement Party (MÇP) is the cadre and political organisation that led the Nationalist Movement through the most difficult conditions and brought this movement to Parliament after 12 September. If it weren't for the MÇP, if it weren't for the political struggles of the MÇP members, the nameless soldiers who pursued and represented the cause of the Nationalist Movement after 12 September, would there still be a platform for debates about whether the MHP should be opened or closed before 27 December? Would there be debates about which path the Nationalist Movement should follow from today to tomorrow? As it was yesterday, the MHP, with its three-crescent flag, will continue to be the sole representative of the Turkish nationalist movement."

Türkeş used the words "raid" and "caravan" in his speech. Raid represents "bandits", while caravan represents "a convoy travelling to reach its destination". Türkeş, once again fearlessly, likened the 12 September coup leaders to "bandits" and said that bandits scatter caravans.

After the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, political parties were banned. They were reopened in 1992. Of the parties that existed before 12 September, only the CHP and MHP retained their names. Of these two parties, only Alparslan Türkeş returned to lead his former party. Bülent Ecevit, the last general chairman of the CHP before 12 September, did not follow the CHP after founding the DSP

and, despite all invitations from those who took the party's name, did not join them under the same roof.

Süleyman Demirel also left the AP, of which he was the last chairman, and continued his career in the True Path Party. The National Salvation Party also faded into the past, and its last chairman, Prof. Dr. Necmettin Erbakan, founded the Welfare Party.

The Nationalist Movement Party participated in the 27 March 1994 Local Elections for the first time after its reopening. The MHP received 7.96 per cent of the vote in these elections. This percentage was higher than before 1980. In these elections, it won 118 mayoral seats, including 7 provincial, 56 district and 55 town mayorships.

Why did the MHP rise? MHP officials attributed this to the party's "content reflecting the general inclination and sentiment of the Turkish nation."

* * *

Türkeş supported the DYP-SHP coalition, led by Prime Minister Demirel, even at the risk of some members leaving his party.

In 1992, the PKK were almost at their goal. They even had representatives in parliament. Turgut Özal was in contact with the PKK circle both when he was prime minister and when he was president. He even spoke of a federation. Some journalists who saw "vision" in Özal travelled to the Bekaa Valley and Damascus, ate Öcalan's bread, drank his tea, and were guests in his "home." Then they wrote about Öcalan's ideas in their newspapers. Patriots were being systematically suppressed.

According to Rıza Müftüoğlu, a few days after the MHP gave its vote of confidence to the DYP-SHP coalition, the DEP members within the SHP held a meeting and said: "Why did Türkeş support the DYP-SHP government? They will go after the PKK... Otherwise, Türkeş would not easily support them. Let's leave this party."

Secondly... Türkeş had said: "I believe that Demirel chose the SHP for several reasons... Not just because of the ANAP-DYP conflict. If the SHP had been left out at that time, the current government would not have been able to crack down so harshly on the PKK. Because they would have been the opposition then."

Another reason was this: when the DYP-SHP Government was formed, three parties remained in opposition. ANAP, RP and MHP... These three parties would oppose the coalition, and the MHP would inevitably compete with the RP. This would make the MHP base more radical. Furthermore, the need to oppose the RP's line would inevitably arise. Opposing the government in line with the RP was not appropriate for the MHP, both politically and in terms of the future of the state and the nation. The MHP preferred to set an example of constructive opposition outside of ANAP and RP. They stated that they had given their vote of confidence for this reason. Türkeş told his staff:

"Separatism is at its peak. We must establish a broad front. This front must include leftists and social democrats. We must remove social democrats and leftists from their position of cooperation with separatists. We must reduce the power of separatists. To this end, we must extend an olive branch to leftists and social democrats."

Nâzım Hikmet Ran's poem

The MHP held its 4th Ordinary Congress on 9 November 1994. In his speech at the congress, Türkeş focused more on separatism.

Türkeş's strategy was to narrow the space for PKK supporters. The left had hostility towards Turkish nationalism and the leader of the Nationalist Movement. This hostility could not be broken despite all efforts. Such hostility that people preferred to side with the PKK rather than be seen with Türkeş. Türkeş wanted to send a different message at this congress. That is why he recited a poem by Nâzım Hikmet Ran at the MHP congress. The section he recited was as follows:

"Galloping in from distant Asia / Stretching like a mare's head to the Mediterranean / This country is ours..."

Türkeş did this deliberately. What is the truth of the matter? You social democrats may be democrats, leftists, but if you are in favour of the country not being divided, of one flag, one language, one state, then we must stand with you against the current danger. This is what nationalism requires. In international relations, states do not have permanent friends or enemies... Whatever is in the interest of the state is done... If Turkish nationalists fought against communism before 1980, they did so for their country... If they are fighting against separatists today, it is also a requirement of nationalism for them to be in at least some

psychological rapprochement with those who oppose them. There is a tactic here.

Türkeş's aides were of the following opinion: If Türkeş had said about Erdal İnönü, the leader of the coalition partner SHP, that his father had pulled out my fingernails in 1944... I would not give him a vote of confidence... That would not be a nationalist stance; it would be politics based on hatred. İsmet İnönü's son came to Antalya as Türkeş's guest at the First Turkish Congress in 1993 and hammered iron.

At the 1994 congress, Türkeş's recitation of Nâzım Hikmet Ran's poem had not been planned in advance. It occurred during his speech after being elected as general chairman at the congress. The first four pages of his speech had been prepared by Müftüoğul. He had provided a separate text for his closing speech. However, he did not read the text he had provided. He gave a different speech. Müftüoğlu asked Türkeş, "Chief, why did you speak like that?" The incident was this: At that time, a bureaucrat at the Ministry of Culture had said to Türkeş, "Put in this poem by Nâzım Hikmet... It will be good." But Türkeş said, "I did not read it for the reasons he gave. I read it to draw leftists to this side against separatism."

Some circles saw Türkeş reading a poem by someone he called a "traitor to the nation" as a "major change". Nâzım Hikmet (1902-1963) fled to Russia in 1951 and wrote poems praising Stalin.

Later, at a press dinner held by his party at the Ankara Hilton Hotel on 13 November 1994, journalists asked Türkeş why he had recited a poem by Nâzım Hikmet Ran. Türkeş replied:

"That poem is the epic of our War of Independence and is written in beautiful Turkish. Furthermore, by reading that poem by Nâzım, I extended an olive branch to the left wing. I read it so that it would help eliminate harshness and negative attitudes. For the unity and integrity of the country, this division and image of confrontation must be eliminated. I read it to serve this purpose." (*Türkiye,* 15 November 1994).

Türkeş: Let's Enter Northern Iraq with ' '

They met Turgut Özal at the First Turkish Congress held in Antalya in 1993. The Gulf War had begun. Özal was in favour of entering northern Iraq. Türkeş wrote a letter to Özal:

"Dear Mr President,

With your kind permission, I would like to express my views on the 'Gulf Policy' below.

Your foreign policy regarding the Gulf Crisis is, in every respect, a policy that is in line with and appropriate for our country's interests.

The main forces undermining the Gulf policy currently being pursued are external sources. Greece, in particular, is focusing its activities in this direction on Western countries. Greece and some European countries find it objectionable that Turkey is acting in concert with the US and that our country has a say at the peace table, because they do not want a strong Turkey in the Middle East.

Some Western countries also do not consider Turkey's cooperation with the United States to be appropriate in terms of their current interests in the Middle East.

The reason Greece is provoking Western countries is likely because Turkey is likely to be strong in resolving the Cyprus and Aegean issues. With the contribution of the Greek lobby, some European countries are trying to prevent Turkey from joining the US in the war against Iraq.

Under the influence of this propaganda, the domestic opposition remains under pressure.

For this reason, I believe it is important to carry out efforts to rebalance domestic politics. At present, it is crucial that the Gulf policy pursued under your leadership be pursued with perseverance, and that while the US attacks from the south, Turkey also enters Iraq from the north, as this could propel our country forward by perhaps half a century.

However, as you will appreciate, it is also essential that all necessary preparations are made to achieve victory.

Although your foreign policy regarding the Gulf Crisis is in every respect in line with our country's interests, there is fierce opposition to this policy within our country. Despite having been very successful in shaping public opinion in the past, for some reason this aspect seems to have been neglected in foreign policy matters recently. Domestic public opinion and world public opinion...

Urgent and serious efforts are required to shape the game in favour of our Gulf policy. To this end, an organisation comprising experts should be established under the Presidency, named the 'Public Relations Advisory Board'. Within this organisation, a unit should be created for 'Domestic Public Opinion Formation', 'European and American Public Opinion Formation' departments, and 'Information (Intelligence Gathering)' departments.

The Gulf Crisis has presented Turkey with a historic opportunity. It is crucial that we take control of Mosul and Kirkuk. To secure the necessary support for this endeavour, if required, a portion of the oil interests in this region should be discreetly offered to American and British companies.

In summary, I wish to express that I am always at your service to ensure the complete success of the Gulf policy you have pursued.

Alparslan Türkeş

'The 1944 Nationalism Incident' Book

The events of 1944 began to be discussed again after Türkeş emerged with the 1960 coup. I believe that if Türkeş had not been involved in such an incident and had not been imprisoned, the issue, which was belittled and disparaged by the left-cosmopolitan segment as "racism-Turancism," would have remained a historical relic, an example of the oppressive regime of an era.

In the early days of the 1960 coup, it was not understood that Türkeş had been tried alongside Atsız in 1944. Then someone rummaged through dusty shelves and discovered it. Especially when disagreements arose within the National Unity Committee, incredible, unimaginable, beyond comprehension attacks would begin against Türkeş, who was leading one side. People of the same mindset, using the same arguments and the same clichéd expressions, were painting a completely new portrait and scrambling to portray Türkeş as some kind of "monster." For years, attacks reaching the level of delirium would continue unabated at Türkeş's every turn.

Faced with these outbursts, Türkeş felt compelled to explain what had and had not happened in 1944. Those with forward-looking ideas had to shed light on each point in their past that others sought to portray as dark. No one looking back should find anything to cast doubt on him.

Türkeş had to explain why he was accused of "racism-Turancism" in 1944, why he was imprisoned, how he was released, and what the intentions of those who accused and imprisoned him were. *The 1944 Nationalism Incident* was first serialised in the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper in 1967. It was then turned into a book. *The Committee Members, the Army and Politics,* the author of the book, the renowned journalist Nizamettin Nazif Tepedelenlioğlu (1901-1970), also contributed to the publication of the memoirs. He reviewed the memoirs in terms of style and made the necessary corrections.

In the foreword he wrote for the second edition of his memoirs, published in 1972, Alparslan Türkeş explains that if the nationalists had been heeded in 1944, rather than being persecuted, Turkey's circumstances would have been different. We reproduce this meaningful explanation below:

"The first edition of the book *The 1944 Nationalism Incident* sold out quickly. It became necessary to reprint it because the book was constantly being sought after from all sides.

Between the first and second editions, very serious and tragic events took place in our country. The memorandum issued by the Turkish Armed Forces on 12 March 1971 opened a new phase in the life of the nation. Meanwhile, many young people and intellectuals who had drifted towards communism, regionalism and separatism were subjected to harsh persecution. Armed gangs were formed and partisan warfare began. Foreigners visiting our country were attacked, kidnapped or murdered. Some of those responsible were shot dead during clashes with state forces while resisting with weapons.

Many Turkish youths have been arrested and remain in custody. It is clear that the path they have taken is wrong and has been found to be harmful and destructive to our country. However, even if they are wrong, these young people have shown that they are willing to sacrifice everything, including their lives, for the ideal they believe in. What a great sorrow this situation is for our country and what a great loss for the Turkish Nation.

Why have tens of thousands of young people and intellectuals of the Turkish nation been drawn into these destructive currents and movements that are harmful to the homeland...? Why have these unfortunate children of our country succumbed to the treason of dividing Turkey into separate small states according to regions? Why have these people, who studied for years at our universities, made statements such as, 'I am not Turkish, I am not Muslim... I do not recognise the existence of Turkey...'?

These young people, the children of our country, were not steeped in these bad and wrong ideas when they were in their family homes before coming to university. In fact, many of them were genuinely patriotic and nationalistic. The reason for their loss to the nation is the void of ideas and beliefs into which our country has fallen for many years. People live, find happiness, and rise with faith and ideals. A person without faith or ideals finds themselves in a void and is swept along by events under the influence of their instincts alone; their behaviour and life remain dependent on chance.

The age we live in is, above all, an age of ideological and cultural warfare. Nations that fail to pursue the path of developing their own national culture, and societies that fail to define their own national ideals and educate their people in accordance with these ideals, become captives of foreign cultures and ideologies. For many years, our Turkey has been exposed to the assault and invasion of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. In the age we live in, the enemy is attempting to invade our lives and our world of art with its guns and rifles. Once it has succeeded in this, it will be a simple matter for the enemy's armed forces to seize our state and our homeland.

Since 1917, Russian imperialism has taken on a new guise and acquired a brand new, extremely powerful, even formidable weapon. This weapon is the doctrine and ideology of communism. Russian imperialism, the harshest and most terrifying form of imperialism, has skilfully used and continues to use these to exploit and devour the nations and territories it wishes to subjugate.

Turkey is at the centre of the secret and open struggle between states. For this reason, it is the target of the most relentless attacks by foreign cultures and foreign ideologies. It would be a grave mistake to believe that every problem has been solved and come to an end simply because three or five hundred anarchist and communist gang members have been arrested by the martial law authorities.

It would be a grave mistake. Foreign cultural and ideological attacks aimed at destroying the Turkish nation will never cease. They will take on new forms, employ new methods, bring forth new people, and continue their struggle. To protect against these and to swiftly strengthen the Turkish nation and the Turkish state, a national ideology and a national cultural initiative must be put forward. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can never be crushed, prevented or defeated by military force, police power or brute force. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can only be suppressed and defeated by ideas, ideals and beliefs that are more correct, more powerful and superior to them. The strength that will withstand all kinds of foreign ideological and cultural attacks against the Turkish nation is the Turkish ideal and the consciousness of Turkish nationalism, which is the ideology of Turkish nationalism.

When discussing the onslaught of foreign cultures and ideologies, it would be an incomplete approach to consider only communism. It is necessary to take into account all kinds of foreign cultural and ideological influences that hinder the advancement of Turkishness in every field and the development of the Turkish nation as a strong society with an independent identity. It would be very wrong to adopt a reactionary attitude aimed at protecting oneself against destructive currents and divisive and fragmenting propaganda. The best defence is attack. The Turkish ideal and national cultural developments based on Turkish nationalism must be conceived and developed not as a reaction against foreign cultural and ideological attacks, but as an independent, powerful action based on high and noble beliefs that will suppress them.

We foresaw the dire circumstances our country has fallen into in recent years many years ago and tried to warn those concerned. We have long been concerned that Turkey would face very difficult circumstances today due to the vacuum of faith, ideals and thought into which the country has been plunged. However, it was impossible to convey this to the leaders who held the country's administration in their hands. When empty-headed people attain positions of authority, they believe that these positions grant them all kinds of power and competence. In reality, the best leaders are those who respect and value ideas and thoughts. Those who do not know how to do this cause great harm both to themselves and to their country.

For twelve years after Atatürk's death, İsmet İnönü, who ruled Turkey as a complete dictator, was a person incapable of comprehending the facts and ideas we have described above. He was someone who did not understand the factors that guide people's actions and societies.

He is a man who does not understand how to inspire and direct people towards a goal, nor how to uplift them. He has often been a plaything in the hands of those who gather around him and flatter him for their own interests. He has often protected leftists and Marxists. Nepotism, that is, the disease of favouring relatives and close associates, has always been the foundation of his politics. As a result, under their influence, he caused a case to be brought in 1944 under the name of the 'Turancılık Dâvâsı' (Turanism Case). Using this case as a pretext, Turkish nationalism, Turkish idealism and intellectual life came under heavy attack, and our country suffered greatly as a result. The atmosphere of oppression, suppression and intimidation created by this case completely paralysed and destroyed the already weak Turkish intellectual and ideological existence and national cultural movements. Thus, the country was pushed into a complete void of ideas and beliefs. Ideas and movements based on the ideal of Turkishness and drawing strength from Turkish nationalism have become entrenched in people's minds as fearful, harmful and troublesome, while leftist and communist views and movements have been encouraged as profitable and harmless activities. In short, this is why our country was dragged into the eve of 12 March 1971. The recent events have made it abundantly clear what state the Republican People's Party has been reduced to. The events have proven that the person who was presented for years as the 'unique, great man' or 'second man' was someone who could not see even five minutes ahead. The Republican People's Party, founded by Atatürk and one of the fundamental organisations of the Turkish War of Independence, has been destroyed and fragmented, falling into the clutches of a fanatical group that has accepted Marxism as its ultimate goal. Since then, it has fallen into a state of decline that is unworthy of its historical stature.

In the world, for people, in politics, the highest office and position is that of head of state. In no country does a person who has held the office of head of state accept a lower position after leaving office. They retire and live as a respected elder of the nation, in the capacity of a former head of state, acting as an advisor, a kind of high supervisor. The only exception to this in our country was İsmet İnönü. After twelve years as President and dictator, he returned to the party leadership, became the leader of the opposition, then became Prime Minister, and after leaving the Prime Minister's office, returned to the party leadership. This ambition and misguided behaviour proved very harmful both to himself and to the country..." (A. Türkeş, *1944 Milliyetçilik Olayı [The 1944 Nationalism Incident],* Istanbul 1972, pp. 4-9).

* * *

Other party leaders were aware of Türkeş's mission. They always treated him with respect. They met occasionally and exchanged ideas. Naturally, there were those who hated Türkeş... Those who harboured ill will towards Turkey also harboured ill will towards Türkeş. Türkeş was, frankly, a "national leader". When Türkeş passed away, he was not a Member of Parliament, he was not a minister, he was not the Prime Minister, he was only the leader of a party that had received 8 per cent of the vote in the last elections, but the number of people who attended his funeral exceeded the number of people who voted for his party... The sorrow he aroused in Turkey and among Turks worldwide could not be measured by the standards of a party leader. All these signs were evidence of the loss of a "national leader".

's Meeting with the Armenians

In the past, nationalist circles argued that "Armenians had their eyes on our lands," "Jews wanted to extend their borders to the Euphrates," and "Freemasonry was a cover for Zionism," and that it was necessary to fight against these forces. Türkeş engaged in certain behaviours that proved that these arguments were not used appropriately. He met with Armenians, he met with Jews...

Türkeş's meeting with the Armenians caused a great stir. There was a desire to hold an informal meeting with the Armenians to test the waters. To this end, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed that a figure such as Türkeş would be more effective. Journalist Mehmet Ali Birand met with both Foreign Ministry officials and Ter Petrosyan and wrote about Türkeş's role as mediator:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wanted to send a message to the Armenian leadership before this relationship was made official. To this end, Türkeş was asked for help, albeit somewhat hesitantly. It was expected that he would refuse.

On the contrary, Türkeş immediately accepted.

Armenian leader Ter Petrosyan was in Paris. Türkeş was also in Paris attending another meeting. An informal meeting was planned.

The Armenian leader himself told me what happened next:

'... I couldn't believe my eyes. I knew Türkeş's approach to us very well. When he started talking, a completely different Türkeş appeared before me.

He explained the necessity of making peace with the Azeris. He said he could act as a mediator. He repeatedly emphasised that Turkey and Armenia absolutely had to reach an agreement... We also exchanged messages with Türkeş indirectly once. Türkeş used to be known as the leader who spread fear, the leader of the armed and club-wielding actions of the nationalists. Just as in Turkey, I watched with concern among us Armenians how this leader later changed, how he softened, how he understood that nothing could be achieved through weapons or harshness... I saw it with my own eyes and began to respect him...

It takes courage to achieve such a change in attitude. It is not something every brave politician can do.

This is the most typical example of the great change seen in Türkeş over the years.

He knew how to become a symbol of renewal, overcoming the painful events of the 1970s and 1980s and, at times, his own mistakes.

May the same happen to other leaders..." (M. Ali Birand, "Listen to Türkeş from Ter Petrosyan and be amazed", *Sabah*, 7 April 1997).

We must say that we do not find it strange that M. A. Birand shares the same opinion as the President. M. Ali Birand, who conducted the first interview with Öcalan in 1988, thereby taking the lead in the race to portray the PKK leader sympathetically and making a major journalistic splash (twice, no less!), refuses to understand the "historical necessity." He does not want to understand because he has taken sides, perceiving issues like an Armenian leader or the head of the PKK. Had Türkeş followed the path desired by M. A. Birand in the 1970s, perhaps there would be no independent Republic of Turkey today.

M. A. Birand's statement about Türkeş: "He knew how to become a symbol of renewal, overcoming the painful events of the 1970s and 1980s and sometimes his own mistakes," is a grave insult to the deceased. The events of the 1970s and 1980s were a historical necessity.

Türkeş has not changed; others have only just begun to understand him anew.

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Let us outline the stages of the negotiations with the Armenians up to the point described above.

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In Ankara, on Binektaşı Street... The offices of *Yeni* Düşünce and Türkeş were in the same building, one above the other... Mesut Yılmaz had become prime minister just three months earlier. Türkeş called Rıza Müftüoğlu, owner of the weekly newspaper *Yeni Düşünce*:

-Be here early tomorrow. The Armenians are coming.

This was his first meeting with the Armenians. There were two visitors. One was from France, the other from Istanbul. They explained their problems. They said:

-We have various problems. Mr Mesut is not showing any interest in us. We need your help.

Türkeş tells them that historically we have had many similarities with the Armenians, that Armenians are known to be a loyal people, but that unfortunate events have occurred, and that because of these events, things cannot remain as they are; he shows them great warmth.

When Türkeş went to the US in 1992, Rıza Müftüoğlu was again with him. The head of the Armenian lobby and two other people came. Those who came were told who they would be meeting... Türkeş and Müftüoğlu were also informed... Despite this, Türkeş pointed to Müftüoğlu twice and said:

-He is my assistant. Rıza Müftüoğul, Member of Parliament for Erzurum.

Why did Türkeş feel the need to repeatedly introduce them, even though he knew who they were and they knew him and the person next to him?

The head of the Armenian lobby begins to speak. He is accusing Azerbaijan.

Rıza Müftüoğul suddenly interjects:

-What, so it was all the Azeris' fault! You had no part in it at all!

A chill descends. They look at Türkeş. Türkeş shifts the subject as if nothing had happened. The Armenian representatives leave. Türkeş turns to Müftüoğlu:

-Son, what have you done! I specifically mentioned twice that you are the MP for Erzurum.

Türkeş means to say: it's not just me who thinks this way. My assistant, who is the MP for Erzurum, the province that witnessed Armenian oppression, thinks the same way.

Türkeş continues:

-Son, we need to separate these people from the Dashnaks. They are the moderate group. We need to pit these two against each other. I am coordinating this, and you are disrupting it!

Discussions with the Armenians continued afterwards.

Due to Müftüoğlu's emotional behaviour in America, he is no longer invited to meetings with Armenians. He took his son Tuğrul Türkeş to the meeting in Paris. The President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister were aware of this meeting. The ambassador was also present.

's Meeting with Armenians in Paris

The meeting with Armenian President Ter Petrosyan in Paris was arranged by the Armenian lobby in France. According to Türkeş, an Armenian named "Özararat" from Turkey acted as an intermediary in this meeting. Prime Minister Demirel and Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin were aware of Türkeş's meeting. The meeting took place in March 1993 at the Crillon Hotel. The then Ambassador to Paris, Tansu Bleda, also attended the meeting. The Armenians had brought along an interpreter named Artun Şekercioğlu.

During this meeting, Türkeş offered Petrosyan friendship. The price of this friendship was, of course, their withdrawal from Azerbaijani territory. The meeting did not result in an agreement.

When they left the meeting at the Crillon Hotel, Türkeş said the following to journalist Tansu Sarıtaylı, who wanted to obtain exclusive information from him:

- There are some things that cannot be written. For the benefit of the state, some things should not be written.

In April 1994, they met with the Armenian representative to Europe at the Turkish Consulate General in Frankfurt. Ambassador Onur Öymen was also present at the meeting.

At this meeting, the Armenians demanded that Turkey show goodwill. Their demands included the lifting of the economic blockade and the provision of wheat. Türkeş again reminded them that Azerbaijani territories were under occupation; he proposed postponing the Karabakh issue, returning Azerbaijani territories, and exchanging prisoners.

* * *

The then Ambassador to Paris later wrote his memoirs. In his memoirs, he describes Türkeş's meeting with the Armenians and his impressions of Türkeş as follows:

The passenger traffic, reminiscent of the intercity bus terminal in Paris during holiday periods, made the visit of Alparslan Türkeş, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, to Paris in March 1993 one of the most interesting for me. I only learned that he had come on a special mission after he had settled into his accommodation. Indeed, the very next day, he visited the President of Armenia, who was staying at the Crillon Hotel, and conveyed to him our government's views and some proposals it had formulated to end the suffering caused by the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Present at the meeting were Petrosyan's foreign policy advisor Liberyan, Foreign Minister Papazyan, whom I had met while serving as chargé d'affaires in Paris, and myself. The Armenians listened very attentively to what Türkeş had to say and largely agreed with him. The meeting addressed not only issues related to Upper Karabakh but also Turkish-Armenian relations. Turkish businessmen, led by Tuğrul Türkeş, and prominent Armenian businessmen living in France met at the embassy for a working dinner and discussed potential cooperation projects between the two countries. As far as I remember, the initial outline of the bilateral project that emerged during that first meeting amounted to $600 million. However, the positive atmosphere created by this meeting and the process did not last long. Türkeş had barely left Paris when the Dashnak forces, beyond Petrosyan's control, launched an attack on the Lachin Corridor, rendering all decisions null and void. (...) It was on this occasion that I got to know Türkeş so closely for the first time. (...) I can say that I was impressed by his modesty, maturity and statesmanship. (Tansu Bleda, *Maskeli Balo,* Istanbul 2000, pp. 292-294).

The Issue of Change

There has been persistent coverage regarding Alparslan Türkeş's change. Those who would know best whether Türkeş changed or not are his former colleagues. Dr Devlet Bahçeli, who took over the chairmanship of the MHP after Türkeş, responded to my question, "There were comments in the media about the late Alparslan Türkeş having changed. You were by his side for many years... Did you observe such a change?" as follows:

"I say this as someone who, in thirty years of being a nationalist, had the honour of being a colleague of our late leader for ten years. Membership of the presidential council, secretary-general, deputy chairman...

As someone who has done so, I state that there has been no change in the late Türkeş's thoughts, goals, or principles. I am personally very confident about this. However, after 12 September, people understood our late leader much better within this soft, conciliatory, dialogue-oriented political understanding and began to see his true nature. For this reason, some people put forward the claim that Mr Türkeş had changed. In fact, those who had the opportunity to understand and comprehend Mr. Türkeş thought he was different when they saw his true thoughts. Otherwise, there was no change whatsoever." (A. Tekin, *op. cit.,* p. 65).

If I Go Back, Shoot Me 's Case

Türkeş later made a speech that was highly controversial, or rather, one that his opponents interpreted differently. At one point in this speech, he said: "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot anyone who joins the cause and then turns back!"

These words are extremely exciting among Ülkücüler, reinforcing their belief in the cause. But those who oppose them have sought to interpret these words as meaning that the Ülkücüler will kill those who abandon their cause. It is necessary to know the circumstances in which these words were spoken. First, we will take the full text of the speech in which these words appear.

The year is 1967. It is Sunday, 30 July... The Istanbul Provincial Congress of the Republican Peasants' Party is being held at the Sports and Exhibition Hall. At this congress, Türkeş delivers a speech as the party's general chairman:

"Esteemed Friends!

I wish our newly elected comrades success in their important duties and useful service to our party. Dear comrades, our party is an organisation that aims to implement nationalism in the political arena in Turkey. The CKMP itself is the practical application of nationalism.

Esteemed colleagues, serving the country is not easy; there are many difficulties and many injustices on the path of serving the country. Friends, there are principles, methods, and rules that must be observed in order to achieve success in these endeavours. It is necessary to know and adhere to them. One of these, friends, is to know that there is nothing to fear on earth except fear itself.

and to accept it. The only thing to fear on earth is fear itself. Apart from that, it is necessary to cling tightly to ideals and faith, to remain calm, to deal with matters calmly, and to join the path of service to the great Turkish nation, which awaits many services as soon as possible. Losing one's composure, losing one's determination, succumbing to panic and excitement on this path of service is the main cause of failure. Therefore, my request and advice to all my friends, above all else, is to be calm, patient, determined, persevering, and to embrace the cause in this way, carrying it forward without letting anything discourage them. Esteemed friends, we all know each other and are fellow travellers on the same path and for the same cause. I am a friend of yours who has been entrusted with the leadership of our party and our cause until our next grand congress by our esteemed friends at our party's grand congress, in which you were also involved.

Friends, I have embraced the cause entrusted to me, walking forward without hesitation, without looking back, without caring about anything else.

Friends, I am moving forward, striving to accelerate and run; we shall run. As we advance, do not lag behind—follow me!...

In this struggle, if for any reason I fall, grab the flag and go further; if I turn back, strike me down; strike down anyone who joins the cause and then turns back!...

Friends, our cause is to protect, elevate and perpetuate the existence of the Turkish nation. There can be no other idea or cause above this cause.

Esteemed comrades, do not be concerned about the duties and responsibilities that fall to you for this or that reason; do not be discouraged, embrace the service, embrace the service with a determined, well-intentioned heart, and then never doubt that we will be understood and supported by your comrades, by the entire nation!

The CKMP is a great party. From time to time, some of our friends, speaking with good intentions, say things like 'our party is a small party', referring to the number of votes our party received in the elections. I ask all my friends, please do not say this. Our party is a great party. Its greatness lies in the greatness of its cause.

The cause of the CKMP is the greatest cause in this country today. It is a cause that is entirely for the Turkish nation, entirely according to the Turkish nation, and entirely based on faith in the Turkish nation.

Esteemed friends, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, one of the esteemed nationalists raised by the Turkish nation, says: 'I am a man devoted to the ideal of Turkishness, to the Turkish national ideal. Even if I do not see this in my lifetime, I will close my eyes to life with its dreams." For this reason, people and nations live and rise with great ideas, with long-term ideas. To live like an insect or a caterpillar, taking each day as it comes and without thinking about tomorrow, is unworthy of humanity. It has no place in our book. Our cause is based on the ideal and encompasses the next ten, fifty, one hundred, five hundred years. That is why the CKMP is a great party.

The number of citizens in our ranks today may be this many. But this number is increasing every day, and every day our party's organisation is spreading across the country. The children of our country, inspired by the ideas and ideals we spread, are joining our ranks and running shoulder to shoulder with us to serve the country. The CKMP is growing stronger and larger every day.

(...)

Esteemed friends, as the CKMP, we will make this cause our own and lead the Turkish people to victory and success. The Turkish nation is the true owner of this cause. Many attempts made to date have failed to gain the support of the people, the Turkish nation, and have therefore remained confined within the narrow boundaries of a few large cities, failing to produce the expected results. One of the principles we emphasise as the CKMP is to take these important national causes to the Turkish people, explain them to them, make them their own, gather them all into our ranks, and thereby lead them to success.

My dear friends, in these endeavours, Turkish youth represent our greatest hope. Young people have been entrusted with very important duties in the development of the Turkish nation. When we say young people, we mean not only those in higher education, as some young friends who spoke earlier pointed out, but also young people working as artists or in various fields.

Therefore, all Turkish youth should be the target of party activities, and we should embrace them all. Esteemed colleagues, as I mentioned earlier...

There are a few principles I recommend at our meetings, which I will repeat. These are to be patient in our work, to be forgiving and self-sacrificing, and to get things done without causing offence, hurt or resentment. I repeat, to be very careful, to get things done without causing offence, hurt or resentment. We must work and get things done without resentment or offence. These two are interdependent. As a nation, we are often very touchy. This touchiness has cost us dearly in our service to the country, and continues to do so. This is also the case in party activities. We must all pay close attention to this. We must be patient and calm. For our party to succeed, our goal is to gather and win the affection of the large citizenry and become the party that can win the most votes in the elections. Our friends must not forget this. My dear friends, Turkish nationalism is an action today. This action is being carried out and managed by the CKMP. Certain leaders who until yesterday considered nationalism a crime have now reached the point where they claim to be nationalists themselves. Those who until recently would not even consider talking about nationalism have now come forward to establish nationalist parties. These are the successes of the CKMP. It is the joint success of all our old and new comrades who have gathered under this roof and worked hard for many years.

Friends, the cause and the goal are clear, and the Turkish nation understands and embraces the cause.

Bilge Khan proclaimed:

'O Turkish nation, shake yourself awake and return to yourself.'

My friends, my comrades, my fellow idealists; the return has begun. The goal will be achieved.

May God protect the Turks." (*Millî Hareket*, No. 14, September 1967).

We did not include part of Türkeş's speech. Those parts concerned Turkey's progress and economic situation.

If we evaluate the words, "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot everyone who joins the cause and turns back!" within the context of the entire speech...

Türkeş, as always, first speaks of courage. He states that those who embark on an action must be very courageous and not succumb to fear. As a leader, Türkeş is at the forefront. To show the audience that he is confident, that he will never compromise, that he will not turn back

: "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot everyone who joins the cause and then turns back!"

Dündar Taşer was Türkeş's revolutionary comrade. They had been working together from the very beginning. They also joined the CKMP together. Later, Taşer became the party's deputy chairman. Taşer was not only a man of action but also a man of ideas and a man of principle. He never questioned Türkeş's leadership. His words about Türkeş's determination are noteworthy:

When the late Dündar Taşer was asked, 'Why aren't you the leader?', his answer was significant: 'If a wall needs to be knocked down, I'll try once or twice. If it doesn't work, I'll give up, but Türkeş will knock that wall down with his head. That's why he's the leader. Alparslan Türkeş's mistake is ahead of my truth." (Namık Kemal Zeybek, *Ülkü Yolu,* Istanbul, 1995, p. 123).

The cause is not merely a quest for power. Türkeş has set aside day-to-day politics and begun to think on a higher plane. His calculations are long-term. That is why he focuses on young people in his speeches. Indeed, he did what he said he would do and succeeded in gathering hundreds of thousands of young people around an ideal. Such was his success that these young people also provided every kind of support to the Turkish people when the state faltered in protecting the homeland and engaged in a fearless struggle against the internal extensions of the external siege. For this reason, the supporters of the internal extensions of the external siege, who controlled certain media outlets, sought to wear down, crush, and destroy Türkeş and, through him, the Nationalist Movement with unimaginable attacks.

It is extremely important that Türkeş presented Turkish nationalism as an action-oriented movement in his speech.

Until now, nationalism has been seen as a natural, instinctive impulse and has not been considered as a system for the state order.

For the first time, Türkeş sought to establish a state system by turning nationalism into action. For him, abstract issues took precedence over concrete ones. There was greater excitement within the movement. The role of young people, who always made their presence felt, was significant in this regard.

Türkeş's Support for Militant Leaders

Türkeş was recognised worldwide as the leader of Turkish nationalists. The activities of the Idealist Movement in Turkey resonated throughout the Turkish world, becoming a hope for independence in Central Asia, Crimea, the Volga-Ural region, East Turkistan, Kirkuk, and many other Turkish lands. Leaders waging national struggles, from Elçibey to Mustafa Cemiloğlu, from Cihangir Muhammed to Olcas Süleyman, held Türkeş in high esteem. The late Cehar Dudayev, who led the Chechen liberation struggle, was also his friend.

Türkeş was the leader who provided the greatest material and moral support during the Chechen-Russian war that lasted from 1994 to 1996. There was a great similarity between the youth trained by Türkeş and the Chechen youth who believed in Dudayev's struggle. Both sides possessed a structure that did not shy away from danger... Both sides were idealistic and both sides were also reckless... Sometimes they marched forward despite seeing the danger and death.

The leader of the Azerbaijani Turks, Ebulfez Elçibey (1938–22 August 2000), recognised Türkeş as the leader of the global Turkic world. We can say that the person who knew Turkey and Türkeş best was Ebulfez Elçibey, the symbolic figure of Azerbaijani independence. Elçibey was also the originator of the famous Grey Wolf salute. In an interview, Türkeş said that he had learned the Grey Wolf salute from the Azerbaijan Turks.

Apart from Dudayev and Elçibey, Türkeş had no friendship with the heads of state of countries that had suffered Russian occupation. The reason for this was that Dudayev and Elçibey had long held the idea of independence and fought for it. Both Chechnya and Azerbaijan were forced to fight against the Russians. The other Turkish heads of state, however, were at the helm of their countries under the former Soviet regime. When the Soviet Union collapsed, they suddenly found themselves independent. Consequently, they do not have idealised characters. They have not come to the fore with their militant identities. They have simply taken advantage of the situation.

Mustafa Cemiloğlu is the long-suffering leader of the Crimean Turks. He spent 16.5 years of his life in Soviet prisons. Journalist Kemal Çapraz managed to enter Crimea before the Soviet Union collapsed. Cemiloğlu was also fighting for the Crimean Turks to return to their homeland... Cemiloğlu described to Çapraz how he met Türkeş:

"I was in prison. At that time, Soviet newspapers were publishing articles mostly against Alparslan Türkeş. A leader whom the Soviets feared so much must have been a very important person for us. After reading these articles, I became even more curious about Türkeş. I read everything that was published about him. He was a great leader who had dedicated himself to the Turkish world."

Uzbekistan MP, former Director General of Uzbekistan's Radio and Television Agency, and founder of the country's first Turan Association, Cihangir Muhammed, like Cemiloğlu, was aware of the existence of the idealists and communicated with them telepathically. Cihangir Muhammed stated the following:

"In Moscow, writers had a multi-page weekly research publication called Literaturnaya Gazeta (Literary Newspaper). Each issue contained at least one article against Turkey. We would read it, conclude that the opposite was true, and thus obtain information about Turkey. They published the most articles about the Ülkücüler and Bozkurtlar, portraying the Ülkücüler as the most dangerous organisation in the world because they were 'Turancı'. As the Russians portrayed the Ülkücüler in this way, we understood that they were supporters of Turkish interests and unity. And we felt great sympathy for the Ülkücüler and dreamed of such an organisation in our country." (Cihangir Muhammed, *Şehitler Hıyabanı,* interview: Dr. Arslan Tekin, Istanbul, 1996, p.12).

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There is virtually no difference between the Azerbaijanis and the Turks of Turkey. The Azerbaijani language and the Anatolian Turkish are the closest to each other among the other Turkic communities, after the Gagauz Turks. While an interpreter is required during official meetings with other Turkic communities or during literary-philosophical conversations, we can engage in dialogue with the Azerbaijanis immediately. Azerbaijan also acts as a bridge between us and the Turkic communities of Turkistan (Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kazakh). The part of Azerbaijani Turkish that diverges from Anatolian Turkish is closer to the Turkish languages of other Turkic communities.

Azerbaijan achieved its independence during the collapse of the Soviet Union thanks to the strength of nationalist movements. In other Turkic republics, however, independence was essentially handed to them on a plate, which is why the leaders of those Turkic republics at the time remained as heads of state.

, those who were in power in those Turkic republics during the Soviet era remained as heads of state.

While gaining their independence, Azerbaijanis also had to resist Armenian attacks. However, they had no military or political experience. On the one hand, those who opposed Elchibey, who had come to power, and on the other hand, the Russians, who were working with all their might to cause unrest within the country, using their past experience to avoid losing the initiative, had overwhelmed the Azerbaijanis. The Azerbaijanis' only hope was Turkey. Elçibey was a leader who desired Turkish unity and spent his life pursuing this goal. He had followed Alparslan Türkeş's movements from the very beginning and felt sincere devotion and loyalty towards him. Türkeş also supported Elçibey's rise to power and, in addition, did not withhold either his prayers or material assistance in the struggle against the Armenians and internal enemies.

* * *

Türkeş had analysed the Turkish people very well. He acted in accordance with the identity of the army-nation. His charisma came from a personality that was firm when necessary, extremely gentle when necessary, and kind to those around him, big or small, asking after them and winning their hearts. He would harshly reprimand young idealists when he saw their mistakes, even going so far as to slap those he considered to be sincerely devoted to him. Afterwards, he would always find a way to win back their hearts.

In 1944, İsmet İnönü, the president of the era who would have Türkeş imprisoned, would say the following about him:

"Türkeş is not a random or ordinary man. He embodies the passionate and combative staff officer type that we saw in many of the previous generation."

How was this type achieved? Türkeş emerged from a combination of his character and education. (Arslan Tekin, *Alparslan Türkeş and Leadership*, 2011).

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NINE LIGHTS
ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ

FOREWORD 'S WORDS

The happiness of individuals and societies begins with their being healthy and strong. Being self-sufficient and able to live by one's own strength constitutes the primary condition of human dignity. For this reason, thinking and working are the only paths to advancement for individuals and societies. For this reason, from the moment they reach maturity, people must work to determine their place and goals within society. The advancement of a nation requires, above all else, a spiritual conviction based on love for humanity, a desire to be useful to others, and respect for human existence. Being forced to bow down before other people, events, and the forces of nature, to become a servant, is the most degrading situation for humanity. Thinking of greatness, desiring nobility, is an honourable path that will lead individuals and societies to happiness. The foundation of greatness and nobility is spiritual greatness, the nobility of faith and love, and being knowledgeable with respect for the truth. Knowledge is the light that rescues humanity from darkness. Material wealth, the prosperity of societies, and economic excellence derive their source from spiritual greatness and nobility.

The Nationalist Movement advocates that the Turkish nation should quickly overcome its poverty, backwardness and weakness and develop; it presents greatness, grand thinking, lofty ideals and spiritual elevation as the goal, the solution and the method for the Turkish nation. Years upon years of successive disasters, hardships and troubles have caused despondency in weak spirits. In addition, the cultural and ideological attacks and spiritual invasions of enemy nations have led us, under the guise of so-called "realism" or "rationalism," to despise ourselves, accept our smallness, and consider small-mindedness a virtue. Thinking big, aspiring to grow as a nation, and desiring to achieve greatness have come to be seen as dangerous and harmful. This is the hidden method of neo-colonialism. To exploit

1 **Neo-colonialism:** It is a new form of colonialism resulting from imperialism that emerged in the 19th century. It is the act of a state, despite its independence, indirectly

to subjugate the nations it wishes to destroy by convincing them of their inferiority and enslaving them. As Turkish nationalists, we are fighting to liberate and protect the Turkish nation from all forms of slavery and captivity.

The solution for the Turkish nation's salvation and rise lies in embracing its own religious beliefs and the ideal of nationalism. For the Turkish nation, salvation and advancement in a short time and by a short route lie in the national Turkish ideology and national Turkish doctrine ([2)]Dokuz Işık. A Turkey that develops rapidly with its own resources, freed from waiting for help from foreigners and seeking refuge in others, will only be possible with the great Turkish doctrine Dokuz Işık.

Our goal is a great, powerful, mighty, prosperous Turkey. At the end of the march of the invincible and unyielding Turkish nationalists, there is salvation, there is victory, there is honour and greatness. I herald to you the days of victory that will dawn on tomorrow's horizons.

ALPARSLAN TÜRKE$

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exploitation through various methods. According to neo-colonialism, capitalism is a phenomenon that underdevelops the world. National bourgeoisies are being absorbed by foreign capital, and this effectively limits the industrialisation process. Some consider neo-colonialism to be an extension of official colonialism. Others believe that neo-colonialism incorporates the methods employed by monopoly capital to control and limit progress towards industrialisation in underdeveloped countries. Another view is that this new form of colonialism is the control of interests by foreign capital from developed countries through direct intervention after the war, thereby allowing Western capital to first recover from the crisis and then from the war, and to re-establish its global dominance.

2 **Doctrine:** (French: Doctrine, Latin: Doctrina = teaching; docere = to teach) Refers to ideas put forward on a specific subject, based on a scientific view, with the same objectives and principles. There are other definitions of doctrine: 1. The entirety of principles and dogmas that form a coherent view with distinctive characteristics. 2. The name given to the entirety of principles that form a coherent view in science. 3. A series of principles based on a particular understanding or thought.

4. The entirety of the principles and dogmas of a branch of philosophy, literature or science, a party, or a religion; a profession. 5. The entirety of the thoughts of a philosopher or scholar.

1. Philosophy: Doctrine: Knowledge; the sum of learned things; the totality of dogmas or knowledge constituting a religious, philosophical or political teaching (e.g. Christian doctrine, Aristotelian doctrine); dogmas and knowledge relating to a specific subject (e.g. the doctrine of the immortality of the soul); the totality of a philosopher's or scholar's beliefs (e.g. Spinoza's doctrine, Copernicus's astronomical doctrines).

2. Doctrine in Politics: The form in which the directives governing the policies of parties, states, and groups of states are set out in a programme.

OUR GENERAL APPROACH IS LONG AND DIFFICULT

An ideological war is being waged throughout the world. A multitude of doctrines are clashing.

In Turkey, there has recently been an ideological conflict between capitalists [3] and communists [4].

3 **Capitalism:** A regime with an economic structure that permits limited private enterprise and property ownership, based on the principles of profit, competition and rationality, and generally exhibiting very diverse characteristics..
Capitalism in its current sense has been the scene of many different ideas and practices throughout history. Even within the capitalist system, counter-theses or theories have emerged against the theses put forward, and these have appeared in various forms.
In capitalism, the accumulation of wealth, the desire for unlimited profit and exploitation have existed throughout history. Following the great geographical discoveries in Europe, commercial capitalism began. Commercial capitalism was a period of excessive greed for profit, blind ambition, and expansionism. This situation continued until the mid-18th century and, to some extent, into the second half of the century.
In the second half of the eighteenth century, as a result of the opportunities opened up by the technological revolution, capital shifted its focus from trade to industry, thus ushering in the era of industrial capitalism. Industry, with its mining, textile and other branches, was at the forefront of the most profitable avenues for attracting capital. During this period, state intervention was reduced to a minimum and conditions of free competition were implemented to the greatest extent possible, leading to the slogan "Let them do it! Let them pass!" becoming dominant. Those living on wages and the middle class of tradesmen were crushed by hunger and misery. All power remained in the hands of the capitalists. This form of capitalism in Europe led to the disappearance of the tradesmen and the emergence of a wage-earning class subordinate to the capitalists. Socialists, observing the emergence of two classes—the employer (bourgeoisie) and the worker (proletariat)—as a result of capitalism's implementation, argued that communism would arise when the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie through revolution.
The period from the end of the First World War to the present day constitutes the third phase of capitalism. This period has been characterised by a mixed system. Alongside private enterprise, it has witnessed the entry and intervention of a broad public sector into the economy, pressure from trade unions, the replacement of the gold standard's international mobility and fluid operation with various restrictions and specific regulations, the transfer of corporate management authority from capital owners to the managerial class, and consequently the emergence of a bureaucratic system.
Much has been said and written both for and against capitalism. It has been defended on grounds such as the absence of state capitalism, as is generally the case with communism; the existence of parliamentary-based administrations where capitalism exists; the presence of religious and personal freedoms; the provision of opportunities and groundwork for private enterprise, albeit not always fair; and the recognition of property rights.
The fact that it leads to unequal distribution of wealth and income, that this situation creates an imbalance of power in the economic and political spheres, that it operates within a materialist system of thought, its emergence and development as a minority regime, the continued existence of ruling classes as capital owners, usury, unfairly redistributing income from low-income earners to capital owners, a n d the dominance of excessive greed for profit and gain.

4 **Communism:** A political movement based on the common ownership of all property. It must be distinguished from socialism, which is based solely on the common ownership of the means of production.

We saw them entering the fray. Both of these philosophies are imported goods, both are materialistic, and both are foreign to the Turkish nation. We countered this with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, one hundred per cent national, and spiritual. We called it the "Nine Lights". As you know, the number "nine" [5]has always been considered sacred by the Turks.

Communism aims to create a classless society. Since the beginning of the 20th century, modern communism, one of the major forces in world politics, is generally associated with the Communist Manifesto written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. According to this, the capitalist society based on private property is replaced by a communist society where commodity production has ceased. The fundamental reason behind communism is the desire to establish a classless society based on common ownership. In classless societies, the most general meaning of equality for all individuals is attributed to "utopia" by those with opposing views, who believe that attempting to enforce it by force will lead to chaos. The Paris Commune was the first community to experience the communist system. Apart from this, communist communities based on the principle of collective land ownership were also established during the Ukrainian and Spanish civil wars, shaped by the anarcho-communist movement led by the Mahnovist movement, which lasted for about four years.

Among the movements advocating communism, the most widespread is Leninism (Marxism-Leninism). According to Marxism-Leninism, the process leading to communism will begin with the establishment of a proletarian regime that will bring about the demise of the bourgeoisie, followed by a transition to the preparatory stage of communism, socialism. In Marxist theory, the state will cease to exist with the realisation of communism, the final stage.

There are two other communist movements besides Leninism. The first is the movement known as left communism or council communism, which embraces the fundamental views of Marxism but claims that the goal of communism cannot be achieved through the Leninist model.

Another communist movement is anarchist communism. Distinct from the individualist and collectivist movements of anarchism, the idea of anarchist communism rejects the notion that communism can be achieved by seizing state power and criticises Marxism, which advocates this. Peter Kropotkin, Nestor Makhno, Errico Malatesta, and Carlo Cafiero are some of the thinkers and activists who laid the foundations of anarchist communism. Anarchist communism differs from anarchism in that it is based on acting and organising according to the reality of "class". Its advocates agree that communism can be achieved without scientific socialism. Anarchist communism considers the state to be a cover for capitalism and therefore believes that its use in the process of moving towards a classless society will result in "dictatorship", "state capitalism" or "the power of a so-called elite over society".

Communism is a regime that runs counter to human nature and serves as a tool of imperialism. The only communist regime effectively implemented in the world is the North Korean dictatorship. It was implemented in Russia for 70 years, costing millions of lives and trampling on human rights.

5 **The Number Nine Among the Turks:** Among the ancient Turks, nine was a sacred and important number. The Turkish khans had nine banners. In the Manas Epic, as identified by Radloff, when Manas' burial is described, it is recounted that his body was kept for nine days, and his embroidered garments were divided into nine pieces and distributed among the people. The tradition of measuring gifts by the number nine, also seen among the Ottoman Turks, dates back to ancient times. Similarly, Marco Polo states in his book The Book of Marco Polo that gifts given to the great Khan had to be presented in ninefold. The nine-fold çargap mentioned in the Book of Dede Korkut is also the greatest of gifts. Again in the Book of Dede Korkut, Deli Dumrul

When he was born, his father killed nine bulls; his mother carried him in her womb for nine months; At the feasts of the Oğuz chiefs, they serve them nine black-eyed infidel girls (in cups, glasses), nine tables are set up, the Oğuz warrior boasts that he will count nine of the enemy as one, and among the four types of women, the worst is the one who eats nine porridges before even washing her hands in the morning.

The word "nine" in Old Turkic is tokuz. The word nine appears in the names of some of the old Turkic tribes. Examples include Tokuz Oğuz (Nine Oğuz), Tokuz Ogur (Nine Ogur), Tokuz Tatar (Nine Tatar).

In Altai shamanism, the number nine holds an important place. For example, Altai shamans always carry the symbols of nine arrows (Yebe) and a bow (Ya) on their shoulders. According to them, these nine arrows and the bow are things extended from Kuday, that is, from God. According to the Altai Turks, there are nine joints in the human skeleton: the palm, foot bone, head, waist, elbow, knee, wrist, shoulder and heel. Among the Altai Turks, the shaman (kam) ascends to the sky to offer sacrifices to Ülgen (God). This journey takes three days. When the sacrifice reaches the ninth level of the sky, it is offered to Ülgen. There are nine levels in the underworld and nine in the sky; humans live on the earth between them. In Altai shamanism, while Ülgen has nine daughters and nine sons, Erlik Khan (a type of devil), the symbol of evil, also has nine daughters and nine sons. Again, among the Altai Turks, the spring festival called Örüs Sara is celebrated on the ninth of March. Örüs Sara means the festival of taking the herds out to graze. The ceremonies of the Altai people's Sky God Sacrifice and Mountain Sacrifice festivals last nine days; nine innocent girls and nine innocent boys also participate in the spring ritual. The coat worn by shamans, called Manyak, has a total of nine bells, four on the right sleeve and f i v e on the left. According to the Altay Turks' depiction of the apocalypse, there is a nine-pronged black stone at the bottom of the sea which, at the time of the apocalypse, will open in nine places, and nine horsemen riding iron and dark yellow horses will attack the surroundings.

In the Creation Epic of the Altai Turks, when God created the universe, he also created a nine-branched tree. Then God created one person from each of the nine roots and from each person a tribe sprang forth (a total of nine people, nine tribes). Anohin, while providing information about two great monsters named Abra and Yutpa, who live underground and feature in the beliefs of the Altai Turks, says: "A depiction of Abra, made of green fabric and decorated with embroidery, is hung on the shaman's robe. Abra's head is adorned with owl feathers (ülberk). His eyes are made of shiny brass buttons, and his feet are usually made of patches selected from red fabrics. Nine woven tassels are added to these."

The sacred tree (sky tree) of the Altai Turks also has nine branches.

In an epic told by the Minusinsk Tatars living in Southern Siberia, there is a black tree in front of Irle Khan's house. Nine trees rise from the roots of this tree. In a South Siberian fairy tale, evil spirits from underground strike the child, the hero of the tale, with nine chains and imprison him. North Asian fairy tales mention horses with golden manes, silver stirrups, nine-braided tails, and nine-pronged hooves. In the Yakut Turks' Er Sogotoh Epic, the sky has nine layers; again in this epic, Kara Khan has nine daughters. Furthermore, there are nine sky spirits.

As mentioned above, the Turkish khans had nine banners. In the Göktürk era, when a person became khan, he was placed on a shield (or a felt pad) and lifted up to the sky, where he was turned around nine times. Furthermore, the Göktürk Monuments mention a place called Tokuz Ersin (Dokuz Ersin). The name of the wife and closest advisor of the Ilkhanid ruler Hulagu, who was a Christian, was also Dokuz Hatun.

It is a figure. We paid attention to this when we set out our principles and established a wholly national doctrine. In this war of ideas and tactics being waged throughout the world, we could only prevail with an idea that was suited to our own national character, higher and more advanced than the others. The Nine Lights is beyond these materialistic ideas. The world's greatest weapon is the idea. No move without an idea can succeed. I am giving you this weapon. Try to understand the Nine Lights doctrine. Walk towards the great goal as an iron ring around it.

I am not promising you easy success. Those who hope for power in a short time should not join us. Our path is long and arduous. On this path, you will encounter offers of personal gain, threats, and a multitude of obstacles. Only those who can endure this arduous path should come with us. The brave, the strong, and those who truly believe should join our caravan.

We have taken up this cause and are marching towards our goal. I thank those who have given me this honour. We are marching without compromising our convictions, without straying. We are running towards our goal faster than ever, without faltering. We have not succumbed to temporary fortunes or interests. Those who believe are invincible. We are moving forward with this spirit and awareness. Look to the future with faith and confidence. Never doubt that the goal will be achieved.

Those who run will surely arrive, those
who fall will rise. Water drips drop by
drop from black stone. It accumulates,
then becomes a silver lake. Those who
seek will find the Truth in the end.

The number nine also appears frequently in Turkish epics: nine trees, nine tribes, a nine-branched tree, nine giants, nine heavens, Nine Oguz, and so on. According to one legend, the Turks emerged from Ergenekon on the ninth of March, while another legend states it was on the twenty-first of March (the day Nowruz is celebrated). It is likely that the ninth of March marks the day the emergence from Ergenekon began, and the twenty-first of March marks the day it was completed.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NINE LIGHTS

In order to protect the last independent Turkish state, we must unite around a national vision. This vision is the Nine Lights doctrine. Nine Lights is a doctrine based on the Turkish nation, its history and culture, and belief in it. It has no connection whatsoever with National Socialism[6].

6 **National Socialism:** (German: Nationalsozialismus) Combines nationalism with socialism and is based on race.
It emerged simultaneously with the fascist movement established under the leadership of Benito Mussolini in Italy. National Socialism, which originated in Germany and whose fundamental principles were laid down by Adolf Hitler, was implemented as Germany's official ideology during the period from 30 January 1933, when the National Socialist German Workers' Party came to power, until 8 May 1945, when Germany surrendered in the Second World War.
The doctrine of national socialism was first proclaimed in May 1898 by the French theorist Maurice Barrès. Barrès, who defined the fundamental doctrines of socialist nationalism, described socialism, which was spreading from Russia to the whole world at the time, as a poison. He explained that socialism was a "liberal poison", but that national socialism was a means of achieving collective nationalism. According to Barrès, workers should fight not against employers from their own nation, but against foreign employers and Jewish capital. Barrès' ideas inspired Adolf Hitler and contributed to the formation of the National Socialist ideology. Unlike socialism, the National Socialist German Workers' Party, led by Adolf Hitler, who imposed a direct "collective working nationalism system," began to announce Barrès' ideas, adapted to their own ideology, at numerous meetings. Adolf Hitler, while conveying the ideologies of Barrès, the originator of a "nationalist and socialist" doctrine, to the public, argued that German workers should fight not against the domestic employer class, as was traditionally the case, but directly against foreign powers outside the country. Hitler, who said that the German working class should fight against foreign capital of "Jewish" origin rather than employers from their own nation, pointed to Jews as the cause of all economic and socio-cultural problems. National Socialism, which overlapped with fascism, applied socialist attitudes only in the state's economic policies. From 1920, when German National Socialists began their political activities, National Socialism was referred to as Nazism (German: Nazismus) by German social democrats and communists in o r d e r to belittle the National Socialists.
The fundamental tenets of National Socialism (Nazism):
1- It believes in the superiority of the white race.
2- It believes that in order for a person to be considered Turkish, German, French, etc., they must first be of the white race.

The rapid development of our Turkey is possible by leaping over the ages and bringing the Turkish nation into the atomic and space age. This depends, above all, on creating a cadre of world-class scientists and highly skilled technicians.

According to our belief, Turkey cannot be developed by imitating foreign doctrines and administrative systems created under the conditions of foreign countries. Neither capitalism and liberalism[7]nor communism can be beneficial for Turkey. The system and view that will develop Turkey must be a national view that is appropriate to the characteristics of the Turkish nation, takes into account the reality of the Muslim Turkish nation, and accepts modern science and technology as a guide. This

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3- National Socialism is an ideology that aims for the welfare of the whole society without class distinctions. For this reason, National Socialists are as opposed to capitalism and extreme liberalism as they are to communism.
National Socialism (Nazism) is completely different from the Turkish understanding of "nationalism".

7 **Liberalism**: It is an economic and political doctrine that advocates the recognition of the individual's freedom of belief, conscience and thought. In both economic and political philosophy, the rights and freedoms of the individual are emphasised in the relationships between the state, the individual and society. The word liberal is derived from the Latin word liber, meaning 'free'. The word was initially used in a derogatory and accusatory sense to describe non-national policies originating in England. In later years, the Spanish began to use the adjective "liberal" to describe policies originating in England and called members of parliament who defended Lockean constitutional monarchy and parliamentary principles "liberales". According to another view, Adam Smith was the first writer to use the concept of liberalism with the expression "liberal export and import system" in The Wealth of Nations.
This system, which argues that state intervention in the economy should be kept to a minimum, asserts that the ideal situation is for the state to refrain from interfering in any way in the economic relations between classes, individuals and states.
Liberalism argues that state authority should be restricted in every area and in every sense, and that those who hold this authority should not interfere in any way in how individuals direct their lives, citing any justification whatsoever.
Liberalism has been criticised by both 'leftists' and 'rightists'. The most fundamental criticism of liberalism from the 'right' is that it disregards the need for social structures and constraints in increasing individual freedom and is insensitive to established institutions and traditions. The 'left' criticises it for being a 'free market ideology' that offers no defence against the concentration of power in the hands of a few and lacks any analysis of human social and political nature.
The idea of liberalism was championed by thinkers such as Descartes, Milton and Spinoza in the early days of modern Europe (in the 17th century). The term itself takes its name from the political party called 'Liberales' founded in Spain in the early 19th century.

In short, its formula is the rational integration of Turkish labour potential into national production factors, the state taking all measures and providing facilities by opening up production channels to citizens, and playing its essential role in increasing national income.

We are a group that claims to possess such a national doctrine. The name of our national doctrine is the "Nine Lights Doctrine". This doctrine is based on nine fundamental principles. These principles are as follows:

Nationalism

Loyalty, love and devotion to the Turkish nation, and service to the Turkish state, which can be summarised as "everything for the Turkish nation, with the Turkish nation and according to the Turkish nation".

Idealism

It is the ideal of making the Turkish nation the most advanced, most civilised, and most powerful entity.

Moralism

It is based on principles that aim to preserve and develop the high status of the Turkish nation in accordance with its spirit, customs and traditions.

Intellectualism

The principle is to examine events and existence with a scientific mindset, free from prejudice and ulterior motives, and to make science the guiding principle in all activities undertaken.

Socialism

It is the view that all activities should be carried out for the benefit of society. It encompasses two separate sections: social and economic. As an economic view, it accepts ownership as fundamental but opposes the misuse of ownership to the detriment of the nation. It envisages a mixed economy and the state control of key strategic economic activities. As a social perspective, it advocates the establishment of a social justice system, equal opportunities

equality, social security, and the establishment of a social welfare organisation.

Ruralism

It envisages development by merging villages into agricultural towns. It aims to liberate villagers from the clutches of moneylenders and to provide them with the credit and other assistance they need through cooperatives. It particularly aims to bring prosperity to villagers living in forest regions as a matter of priority and with speed.

Liberalism and Individualism

It aims to secure all the freedoms enshrined in the United Nations Charter [8]. It considers the development of individuals as a useful path for the advancement of society.

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8 United Nations Charter: It came into force on 26 June 1945 as a result of the United Nations Conference on International Organisation. Part I of the United Nations Charter lists the 'Purposes and Principles':
Article 1:
The purposes of the United Nations are as follows:
1. To maintain international peace and security, and to this end: to prevent and remove threats to peace, suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and take effective collective measures for the purpose of maintaining peace and security; to settle international disputes or situations likely to lead to a breach of the peace by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of justice and international law;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen world peace;
3. To promote international cooperation in resolving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature and in developing and strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and
4. To serve as a focal point for the coordinated action of nations in achieving these objectives.
Article 2:
1. The United Nations Organisation and its Members shall act in accordance with the following principles in order to achieve the purposes set out in Article 1:
2. The Organisation is founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. All Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under this Charter to ensure that all Members enjoy the rights and benefits arising from their membership.

Progressivism and Populism

People and civilisations always develop by seeking and striving for what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect. It is a conscious effort not to be satisfied with what has been achieved, but to always strive for more and to exert effort to attain it. However, the goal is to rise and progress without severing ties with the history, national identity, and roots of the Turkish nation in these efforts and endeavours. We accept that being true to the people and working together with them in every undertaking is an indispensable principle of progress and advancement.

Industrialism and Technicism

The Turkish nation must industrialise rapidly in order to develop. These are the principles of our Nine Lights doctrine in a nutshell.

Just as **Nine Lights** rejects capitalism and Marxist socialism[9], it also rejects national socialism and fascism[10]. National socialism and

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3. All members shall resolve their international disputes through peaceful means in a manner that does not jeopardise international peace, security, and justice.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall render every assistance to the Organisation in the execution of any action taken by it in accordance with this Charter, and shall refrain from aiding any State against which the United Nations has taken preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organisation shall ensure that non-member states of the United Nations also act in accordance with these principles to the extent required for the maintenance of international peace and security.

9 Marxist socialism: In Marxist theory, socialism refers to a society that will replace capitalism and then, as the socialist structure will naturally wither away, transform into communism. Marxism is the theoretical and philosophical basis of communism, which is the social system that will develop as the continuation of socialism.

The term was first used in England in 1827 to describe the followers of Robert Owen. In France, it was used in 1832 in l'Encyclopédie nouvelle for the followers of the ideas of Saint-Simon, then Pierre Leroux and J. Regnaud.

In Turkey, nationalists rejected Marxism, and consequently socialism and communism, as ideologies with "foreign roots." Furthermore, before the regimes in communist countries changed, they held the view that socialism and communism were being used as tools of imperialism. Because socialism presented a softer image than communism, communists in Turkey introduced themselves as socialists.

10 Fascism: Initially, it was a term used to describe the nationalist, authoritarian and populist regime established in Italy. In a broader sense, it emerged particularly between the two world wars.

Fascism is a degenerate deviation of capitalism, representing reactionary dictatorships that do not believe in human rights and freedoms. Dokuz Işık, on the other hand, is a democratic ideology based on love and respect for humanity, seeking to realise individual and economic freedoms as a whole. We do not believe in deified fascist statism or idolised Nazi racism. It is not part of our political ethics to be fascist during one period of one's political career, capitalist during another, and socialist during yet another, as fossilised celebrities have done. We are Dokuz Işıkçılar who love the Turks and the Turkish homeland. Our aim is to outline and defend the national vision that will ensure the eternal independence of the great Turkish nation on this sacred homeland.

Nationalism, which is at the forefront of the **Nine Lights** principles, is a broader concept than the principle of collectivism found among the other principles. Collectivism is also included within the concept of nationalism. However, in order to clearly express our views on economic and social development, it has been deemed useful to express our thoughts under a separate principle of collectivism. By collectivism, we mean to indicate that the existence of the nation and the interests of society are above those of individuals. At this point, let us reiterate that while National Socialism possesses capitalism, laboratory (anthropological) racism([11]) and an anti-democratic political spirit, **Dokuz Işıkçılık possesses** Turkish communitarianism**, which** is socio-psychological**.**

All political movements with an ultra-nationalist, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist and anti-communist ideology and an authoritarian political structure are defined by the term "fascist".

Later, capitalists and especially communists defined all authoritarian regimes and those who were not like them as "fascist".

Fascism emerged in Italy with the founding of the National Fascist Party by Benito Mussolini. It gained strength with movements such as National Socialism, which developed in Germany in the early 20th century, and Falangism in Spain, which were modelled on Mussolini's system.

Fascists aim to unify their own people through a totalitarian state that encourages mass mobilisation of the national community. Fascist movements, which oppose liberal democracy, socialism and communism, share common characteristics such as respect for the state, allegiance to a strong leader, and an emphasis on extreme nationalism and militarism. After Italian leader Mussolini, who embraced fascism as a worldview, came to power in Italy in 1922, it was implemented as the official ideology during Mussolini's rule.

11 Anthropology: It is the science of humanity. Anthropologists study all societies, cultures, human remains, and their physical and biological structures. Anthropology, which studies the physical structure of humans, such as the skeleton and skull, helps shed light on the earliest periods of human history. Eric Wolf defined anthropology as "the most scientific of the human sciences, and the most human of the sciences".

We believe in (spiritual) tribalism and true democracy. We do not believe in paths to power that do not pass through the hearts and minds, preferences and votes of the Turkish nation. Even after coming to power, we believe in and defend the true functioning of democratic processes. Those who constantly fear Turkish nationalism, internationalists who have never embraced the Turks, have always opposed every nationalist view. We must never forget this, not even for a moment.

Today, not only the destiny of the Turkish nation but that of all humanity is being shaped on the Anatolian plateau. In this regard, nationalism in Turkey, with its deep-rooted moral developments, must be supported both internally and externally. The Turkish nation, which has established sixteen great empires and offers humanity an exemplary morality, possessing superior spiritual values and a rich country with few equals in the world, cannot remain economically backward. To date, no government has identified and addressed this error. The spirit of revolutions has always been confined to the constitution, bound by formality, without delving into substance. The concept of democracy has remained abstract. Democracy is an expression of love for human existence and respect for human will. Imitation and plagiarism have damaged our national character; instead of bringing science and technology from the outside world to our society, Turkish intellectuals have brought the false and rotten beliefs and habits of the West.

Because the spirit of the National Forces, which saved the country, the state and the life of the nation from great calamities, was not transferred from the battlefield to the fields, from the fields to the laboratories and to the areas of balanced economic development, the nation missed a great opportunity and lost a great deal of time.

Turkey must today mobilise all its resources, primarily its human capital and workforce, within a framework of science, morality and justice. This movement must not be based on anxiety and fear of existence or non-existence, but must spring from the determination and resolve to become a great nation. The Turkish nation will undoubtedly achieve this goal and once again fulfil its historical and spiritual duty to call humanity to goodness, prevent evil and command righteousness. History is replete with evidence of this.

We must make these great strides for the rise of the Turkish nation. We know how many great difficulties and dangers we face in serving the nation; but these difficulties increase our determination and fighting spirit tenfold. We are confident that we will succeed.

RIGHT BELONGS NOT TO THE POWERFUL, BUT TO THE RIGHTEOUS.

Human communities have always lived in nations, in separate states. Today, there are many states in the world, and within their administrations, different nations live, differing from one another in terms of social and physical structure, and in terms of history. The harmony of humanity and the civilisations it has created throughout history, the competitions between separate nations influencing each other, giving each other many new ideas and new perspectives, and the exchange of ideas in both the cultural and scientific fields, have resulted in the emergence of various advanced civilisations in human history.

The competitions and struggles undertaken by different nations, drawing strength from their own characteristics, have also caused leaps in human history. They have also led to the dawn of new eras in the history of human civilisation and the emergence of new developments.

Despite many different claims, the reality in the world has remained unchanged. Today, the policies and attitudes adopted by nations and states that have emerged under the banner of internationalism, each with their own distinct regimes, have effectively disproved their own claims. The clearest examples of this can be seen in the relations and attitudes of communist countries towards each other. For example, the disagreement that initially broke out between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and later the disagreement that arose between China and Russia, the two great powers of the communist world, have brought this view to the fore. Despite all these states having adopted Marxist philosophy and claiming to establish a communist regime, despite declaring that they were based on internationalism, despite advancing claims of world proletarian cooperation, they fell into such bloody and bitter disagreement with each other.

Today, it is common knowledge that along the border between the Soviet Union [12]and Communist China, both sides have amassed armies numbering in the millions against each other. Both states are preparing for war against each other, and no one would be surprised if this behaviour one day leads to war. So what is the reason for the disagreement between these nations, these states, which deny nationalism and promote internationalism, promote world proletarian cooperation, have embraced Marxism, and live under the same regime?

This factor has remained unchanged since the dawn of time. That factor is the reality that nations seek to secure their own national interests. The Russian people established a vast empire stretching from the Pacific Ocean to the heart of Europe. Within this empire, many non-Russian peoples exist as slave societies. The eastern and south-eastern parts of this empire are the territories of the former Chinese state. Communist China wants these territories from the Soviets. Since both are communist, since they live under a brotherly regime, and since Mao's Communist China is the former Tsarist Russia's former China

12 Soviet Union: Known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In Russian: Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (SSSR). It was established on the same territory after the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 and continued to exist until 1991. Spanning across Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, the USSR was the world's largest country in its final years, with an area of 22,403,000 km². It also ranked third in terms of population, with 293,047,571 people (June 1991).
Following six years of reforms that began in 1985 during Gorbachev's rule with Glasnost and Perestroika, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics officially dissolved at the end of 1991, and some of the countries belonging to the union declared their independence. Twelve of the fifteen now independent states that formed the Union came together to establish the Commonwealth of Independent States (
). The now independent Turkic states of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were part of the USSR. Nationalists strongly criticised the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union because they considered the peoples living in these countries to be "esik Turks".

13 Mao Zedong (26 December 1893 – 9 September 1976). Founder of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the People's Republic of China. He was born in Hunan province, China. From 1943 onwards, he was Chairman of the CPC Politburo, and from 1945 onwards, he was Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. He was the son of a wealthy peasant family. At the age of 27, in July 1921, he attended the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai. Two years later, at the third congress, he was elected to the Central Committee. During the first Kuomintang-CCP united front, he became the director of the Kuomintang's Peasant Education Institute.
Mao was the organiser and planner of the guerrilla war in China.

He demanded the return of the Chinese territories he had seized by force from the Empire. This demand was rejected by the Soviet Union, and this is the main cause of the tension and disagreement that arose between the two sides. In other words, it is a conflict of national interests. China demanded the return of territories such as Manchuria ([14])and Mongolia ([15]), which had been occupied and seized by Tsarist Russian armies as a result of colonial policy during the Tsarist era.

In 1927, he went to the Jinggang Mountains in Southeast China with his close friends. Here, between 1931 and 1934, he established the Chinese Soviet Republic in a liberated zone and was elected its president. Although he suffered defeat in the leadership struggle within the CPC, he later rose to prominence again.

During Chiang Kai-shek's campaign to eliminate the communists, CCP members began to retreat and walked 9,600 km from southeastern China to the northwest during a retreat known as the "Long March". During this march, Mao's leadership became indisputable.

On 10 December 1949, the Chinese Communist Party forces completely defeated the government forces. Chiang Kai-shek also fled to Taiwan on the same day. With Mao's declaration in Tiananmen Square in Beijing on 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China was established.

Mao remained a dictator until his death and ruled his country ruthlessly. Under the name of the Cultural Revolution, he set about destroying his country's cultural values. With the Cultural Revolution that began in 1966, the party hierarchy was disregarded and power was handed directly to the Red Guards.

Mao announced the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1969. During the Cultural Revolution, a large number of scientists and intellectuals were purged.

After Mao's death on 9 September 1976, a power struggle began in China. One faction, later known as the "Gang of Four" and which included Mao's wife, wanted to continue the policy of revolutionary mass mobilisation. Another group, led by Hua Guofeng, advocated centralised planning based on the Soviet model. Deng Xiaoping, the leader of the reformists, advocated building the Chinese economy on a pragmatic policy basis and rejected the decisive importance of ideology in economic and political developments. Ultimately, Deng Xiaoping won the power struggle and China partially opened up.

14 **Manchuria:** A historical region in East Asia covering the northeastern part of the present-day People's Republic of China and the Primorsky Krai of the Russian Federation. It is bordered by Inner Mongolia to the west, China to the south, Eastern Siberia to the north, and Korea to the southeast. It lies north of the Amur River and south of the Yellow Sea. Its most important part is Southern Manchuria. Southern Manchuria is covered with vast steppes. Manchuria takes its name from the Manchus, the indigenous people of the region.

15 **Mongolia:** It is located in the east of Central Asia. It has no coastline. Russia lies to the north, and the People's Republic of China lies to the south, east and west. Although Mongolia does not share a border with Kazakhstan, the westernmost point of the country is only a few kilometres from the eastern edge of Kazakhstan. Its capital is Ulaanbaatar. The country's political system is a parliamentary republic.

The territory of present-day Mongolia was ruled in the past by empires such as the Huns, the Xianbei, the Rouran, and later the Göktürks. The Mongol Empire was founded in 1206 by Genghis Khan. In the late 17th century, Mongolia's great

is demanding their return. Despite claiming to oppose the Tsarist regime and reject Tsarist Russian policy, Communist Russia is resisting China's demands, asserting that these territories belong to it. To protect its territory, it has deployed over a million Russian soldiers and Russian missiles with nuclear warheads along the Chinese border. Communist China, likewise, has amassed over a million Chinese soldiers and Chinese weapons along the Russian border to protect its own territory and defend itself against any attack. These facts clearly bring to life before our eyes the reality of the world we mentioned at the outset.

What is that reality? In that reality, people on Earth live in national communities, and there is constant competition and constant struggle between nations. The basis of this struggle, this competition, is the national interests of each nation. Every nation strives to advance its own people, to elevate them, to raise them to the highest level in morality and spirituality, and to make them the most prosperous society in the world in terms of economy and welfare. It pursues this endeavour even if it is to the detriment of other nations, even if it is at the expense of other nations. It is impossible for nations to live expecting favours from each other, hoping for mercy and compassion from each other. Like individuals, nations must rely on their own strength and their own efforts. A nation's ability to protect its interests and ensure its people live in prosperity, peace and security depends, above all, on its own efforts and strength. The principle and law that has prevailed in the world since ancient times continues to prevail today. This principle, this law, is the law of "might makes right" in relations between nations. If the righteous party does not have the strength, it is impossible for them to obtain their rights or have their rights respected.

Part of it came under the rule of the Qing Dynasty. In 1911, during the fall of the Qing Dynasty, Mongolia declared its independence. However, it had to struggle to gain de facto recognition of its independence until 1921 and international recognition until 1945. Constantly threatened by powerful Russian and Soviet forces, Mongolia proclaimed the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 and became subject to Soviet policy during the same period. After the collapse of the Communist regime in Russia, a multi-party system began in Mongolia in 1990.

Mongolia has an area of 1,564,116 square kilometres and a population of around 2.9 million, the majority of whom are Mongols. The religion of the people is Tibetan Buddhism. Apart from the Mongols, Kazakhs and Tuva Turks also live mainly in the west of the country.

It was not possible in ancient times. It is not possible in today's world either.

Although people have taken many significant steps to ensure that rights and justice prevail in international relations, in relations between individuals and states, or within their own states. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been proclaimed and the United Nations Organisation has been established. The United Nations strives to guarantee human rights. However, despite all these advances, the principle that "might makes right" still prevails in the world. We can see vivid and painful examples of this in events that have taken place in the last three to five years, without having to look very far. One such example is the war that broke out between Pakistan and India a few years ago ([16]).While it was possible to resolve the disputes between these two states through negotiation and peaceful means, and while this approach was necessary, India relied on its own strength and used its superior armed forces against Pakistan. Pakistan sought help from the United Nations to protect itself, its territory and its rights. It appealed to the United Nations, to other friendly countries, to states with which it had agreements, but received no help from any quarter.

And the United Nations has been unable to prevent Pakistan from being attacked by India. Another example is the wars between Israel and the Arabs. We could give many more examples. There are other wars taking place in other countries. All of these are realities that remain unchanged in the world today, despite the establishment of the United Nations Organisation and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: that rights can only be defended by force, and that the protection of our rights is only possible if we have that force. Having established this fact, I believe it is useful to examine the situation in our country, Turkey.

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16 **Pakistan-India wars:** Since the partition of India and the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, these two countries have fought four wars against each other in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999, and have experienced countless border clashes. With the exception of the 1971 India-Pakistan War, the main source of all wars and conflicts between India and Pakistan, whether direct or indirect, has been the Kashmir issue. The war mentioned in the book is the 1971 Pakistan-India War.

I have stated that the unchanging, immutable truth in relations between nations around the world is the principle that "might is right." Throughout history, the Turkish nation, both as individuals and as a society, has always prioritised justice and fairness. Today, as the Turkish nation, we oppose the view that might is right and that justice should be subject to force. As the Turkish nation, we are people who always believe that justice, rights and the law should be above all else. When our great Atatürk began the War of Independence, he used the words, "Of course there is justice in this world, and justice is above force; it must be above force," in opposition to the principle that "might is right." Our constant adherence to justice as a nation, our stance in favour of justice, and our desire for justice and law to prevail over force; our desire for force to be subject to justice and law, and our belief that this is right, is not enough to change the reality of the world. Our good intentions and correct views are not enough to change this crude, ugly reality that has prevailed for thousands of years and continues to prevail today. Although Atatürk said, "There is justice in this world, and justice is above force; it must be above force," he was forced to create and use force to secure the rights of the oppressed Turkish nation. He could not make anyone accept the rights of the Turkish nation unless he crushed the enemy armed forces with the Turkish Armed Forces he had reorganised and established with the national forces he had formed.

With these words, I also wish to express that we, as a nation, oppose the view that our youth and intellectuals should recognise nothing but power and worship it. Above all, we desire a social order that respects rights and justice, where rights and the rule of law prevail, and we also desire the establishment of a world order where rights, the rule of law, and justice reign unshadowed. We want a system to be established that will treat all nations and all people only on the basis of rights, law and justice, and that will manage relations according to this principle. We wish for such a system to come about. However, our good intentions and wishes are not enough to change the principle of "might makes right" that prevails in the world today. Changing this is only possible if we, as a nation, become stronger and more developed; if we become a powerful entity that can make its voice heard wherever and whenever necessary.

A LOOK AT TURKISH HISTORY

The Turkish nation is one of the oldest nations in the world, and our nation's history is one of great civilisations, marked by many glorious events. Since its appearance on the stage of history, our nation has distinguished itself through its organisational skills, diligence, and inexhaustible energy and dynamism. We can examine the history of our nation in two parts. The first part is our history before we accepted Islam and converted to Islam, which is a period that took place entirely in Central Asia. This period saw the Turks spread to every corner of Asia, excluding the westernmost parts of India and the western regions, establishing great states through great struggles and creating great civilisations ([17]).The period after Islam saw the Turks spread westward and

17 **Turks in India:** In India, the Kushans, who originated from Turkestan, were influential between the 1st and 6th centuries. During this period, statues depict Turkish cavalrymen wearing traditional clothing, and coins bear titles such as Kucula, which means "beautiful" in Turkish. The Turkish name Manas was also given to a tributary of the Brahmaputra River during this period. Later, the Akhun period began. The Akhun, moving from the city of Ghazni, organised raids towards the Punjab region, which was more fertile and received more rainfall than Central Asia. Under the leadership of Toraman and later Mihrakula (515-550), they completely conquered Northern India. In 557, following the alliance between the Western Göktürks and the Sassanids, the Akhun dynasty lost power in Afghanistan and entered a period of decline in India as well. They were eliminated by Indian rulers at the beginning of the 7th century. However, a group of Turkic Shahis maintained their presence in Ohint, on the Afghanistan-India border, until 870. Later, they played an important role in the Indian campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazni. They laid the foundations for Turkish rule in India and also led to the emergence of modern-day Pakistan.

In the 10th-11th centuries, a new era of the Turks began in India. Sebük Tigin, who settled in the Ghazni region of Afghanistan, conquered north-western India. Later, Mahmud of Ghazni accelerated his conquests, spreading Turkish power throughout India with more than 15 campaigns. The Ghaznavids lost their dominance in India after being defeated by the Seljuks in 1040, maintaining control only in the Punjab region until the late 12th century.

After the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids ruled over Afghanistan and India. The first Turkish sultanate in Delhi was established by Aybeg. (North-West India 1206 -1210).

This was the period when they made their presence felt in Western Asia, and later in Europe and Africa.

After embracing Islam, the Turks continued their activities in Asia and produced many works. They also established numerous states and spread throughout Asia. During this time, they entered India, where they created civilisational works that were the product of the Turkish nation and established long-lasting states. However, the greatest states in Turkish history and the most magnificent civilisations they created emerged in the West. These are the Seljuk Empire and the Ottoman Empire, which followed the Seljuk Empire.

The Ottoman Empire emerged as one of the world's greatest empires. Spanning three continents, it added a new great civilisation to human history with its works that still dazzle the eyes today. The Turkish nation spread from the easternmost shores of Asia to the heart of Europe, from the glaciers of northern Siberia to the Indian Ocean and the China Sea on one side, and to the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Great Sahara in the centre of Africa on the other. On the other hand, it reached the Atlantic Ocean in the west and Africa. This presence, which extends to Vienna and Poland in Europe and to the Russian plains in Russia, undeniably demonstrates the great energy, civilisational capacity, and organisational skills possessed by the Turkish nation. At times, our nation has not only been subjected to the malice and slander of foreigners or our enemies; but has also encountered the completely inaccurate accusations and assessments of many unwitting Turkish intellectuals who have fallen prey to deliberately conducted propaganda or to foreign cultures introduced into Turkey with the aim of invading it. From time to time, these states and empires established by our nation have been accused of meaning nothing and of leaving a bloody mark on history by brandishing swords and spilling blood.

After this, the Kipchak Turks established the following dynasties: the Shamsids (1211–66), the Balabanids (1266–1290), the Qalajids (1290–1320), and the Tughluqs (1320–1414).
In 1398, Delhi fell into the hands of Timur. After Timur returned to Turkestan in 1399, Mahmud Shah regained power and ruled until 1413.
After the Tughluqs, the Muslim-origin Sayyids (1414–1451), Lodis (1451–1489), and Suris/Afghans (1540–1555) came to power in Delhi.
In 1526, a new era began in India. Under Babur's leadership, the Turks regained power in Delhi. This dynasty remained in power in North India until 1858.

Behaviours have been observed that go so far as to suggest that these actions were meaningless beyond mere abandonment.

These are views and words that never correspond to reason, science, or reality. No society lacking in science and morality, lacking in faith and ideals, lacking in organisational power, can establish a state, let alone create great civilisations and build great empires. The states and empires established by the Turkish nation are all works based on careful calculations, deep knowledge and science, and brought about by the Turks' great organisational ability, high morality and character, faith and idealism.

Even in this day and age, no state can be established or sustained solely by military force or bloodshed. States are the highest achievements and institutions created by human communities. The establishment of these institutions is only possible if those communities possess a belief system, an ideal, high moral standards, and organisational power. Moreover, in ancient times, when people had not yet advanced as far as they have today in technology, when the motor had not been invented, when there were no means of wired or wireless communication, it was only possible to achieve such a success through the high qualities possessed by our nation: to bring almost the entire known world under their rule, to establish a system of justice without blemish or shadow in this region, and to enable all people within the borders of their state to live in harmony and happiness, without distinction of religion, sect, race or nationality.

Having noted these points, we shall now turn to the emergence of modern Turkey. Modern Turkey is a state that emerged from the Ottoman Empire, the greatest state the Turkish nation has ever established throughout its history and its greatest achievement. The Ottoman Empire aimed to realise three great ideals, both geographically and within its civilisational structure. The first of these was to ensure the happiness of people belonging to the same religion and to pursue the goal of ensuring their unity and togetherness.

The second was to achieve the unity and solidarity of the Turks. The third was to establish a united world and to establish a system of justice and fairness on earth.

This is reflected in the works of Ottoman intellectuals and writers through the expression Nizam-ı âlem. However, after reaching certain limits, the Ottoman state lost its energy. The reason for this loss of energy was that it had forgotten its ideals and goals, or had abandoned them. The Ottoman Empire suffered its first major defeat in 1683, during the Second Vienna Campaign. This great defeat at the gates of Vienna brought many disasters in its wake. Many European states, seeking to capitalise on this defeat, formed an alliance against the Ottoman Empire, known as the Holy League, and attacked the Ottomans. As a result, in 1699, the Ottoman Empire was forced to sign a treaty for the first time as a consequence of defeat. It signed the treaty known as the Treaty of Karlowitz ([18]). After this date, Turkey

18 **Treaty of Karlowitz:** A peace treaty signed on 26 January 1699 between the Ottoman Empire and the other Holy League states (the Archduchy of Austria, Venice and Poland), led by the Holy Roman Empire. It is considered the beginning of the Age of Decline. Karlowitz is a small town located within the borders of present-day Serbia. The treaty was signed as a result of the Ottoman-Holy League Wars between 1683 and 1698.
The main provisions of the Treaty of Karlowitz
1. All of Hungary and Transylvania, except for Temesvár and Banat, were ceded to Austria.
2. Podolia and Ukraine were given to Poland.
3. The coasts of Morea and Dalmatia were ceded to Venice.
4. The treaty was to remain in effect for 25 years. Consequences:
1) With the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottoman Empire suffered its first major territorial loss.
2) The Europeans shifted from defence to offence.
3) The inadequacy of the Ottoman Empire's military power became apparent.
4) This was the first treaty aimed at partitioning the Ottoman Empire's territories.
5) With the loss of Hungary, the Ottoman Empire's dominance in Central Europe came to an end.
6) Sultan Mustafa II, who led the campaign against the Holy League, was the last Ottoman sultan to lead his army into battle.
7) Russia signed a ceasefire with the Treaty of Karlowitz. The peace treaty was signed a year later in Istanbul.
The significance of the Treaty of Istanbul:
-Russia took a step towards the Black Sea.
-By maintaining an ambassador in Istanbul, Russia gained the opportunity to monitor the Ottoman Empire more closely.
-The Ottoman retreat that began after these events continued for many years.
-It ended with the Battle of Sakarya, which we won during the War of Independence.
-After the victory at Sakarya, the Turks abandoned their defensive war and regained their offensive power.

During the two hundred and twenty-four years leading up to the founding of the Republic, the Ottoman Empire, that is to say the Turkish nation, suffered constant attacks, constant defeats and disasters.

Each of the wars we have faced and the defeats we have suffered over these two hundred and twenty-four years has been so great that any nation subjected to even one of them should have opened its eyes wide with the pain of it, awakened, shaken itself off, and been compelled to seek protective measures against future disasters. For the many calamities that followed led to continuous loss of territory and caused the annihilation of the Turks living on those lands. Those who were not annihilated were forced to flee before the enemy, abandoning their homes and hearths, escaping to Turkish lands that had not fallen into the hands of the enemy, destitute and wretched. These migrations also led to many painful events. The migrants perished in their new locations from disease, deprivation, and the myriad calamities they encountered. In short, these two hundred and twenty years were a period of continuous disaster, suffering, and pain for the Turkish nation. However, it must be noted with regret that none of these events fundamentally awakened our nation or led to an effort to rebuild and protect ourselves from future disasters with a new vitality for life.

The reason for this must be sought in the attitude and mindset of the leaders who govern the Turkish nation and guide it, as well as in the attitude and mindset of Turkish intellectuals. After every disaster, the suffering endured was forgotten, or the people and the nation's suffering was ignored and overlooked, and certain major centres pursued a life of luxury, debauchery and entertainment, leading to a path of forgetting reality.

The successive defeats we suffered, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, gave rise to the idea among Turkish statesmen, primarily the sultans, that in order to escape these disasters, they should resemble the West and adopt Western methods. However, neither Turkish statesmen nor Turkish intellectuals ever truly understood or identified the fundamental ideas that constituted the power of the West, nor the main factors that constituted its superiority.

In the early days, it was thought that a European-style army needed to be established, and when a European-style army was established, the Western armies that defeated us

It was thought that this could be countered. To this end, foreign officers and commanders were brought in from foreign armies in an attempt to establish an army based on European models. However, the life of a nation is a whole. The army of a nation cannot be considered a separate entity entirely distinct from the social structure of that nation. A nation's army is its essence and embodies all the characteristics of its own social structure. For this reason, it was necessary to recognise the fundamental ideas, views and factors that constituted the power of the West and, accordingly, to reorganise the Turkish nation and the Turkish state. Initially, efforts were made to establish a new army under the leadership of French officers and generals brought in from France. However, this initiative failed to protect the Ottoman state from successive new defeats.

After the French, German officers and generals were brought in, and the Turkish army was trained according to their methods and views. It cannot be said that these efforts were entirely useless, but it became clear that these attempts were insufficient to revive the Ottoman state and protect the Turkish nation from disaster. For the fundamental issue was the necessity of reawakening Turkish society, giving it a new belief in life, a new ideal, raising it to the highest level in morality and spirituality, rapidly advancing it in science and technology, and transforming it into an economically developed entity. but this was never grasped by the Ottoman rulers or the Ottoman intellectuals.

Later, they turned to imitating the armies of Western countries and the luxurious lifestyle and ostentation of the Western upper class, the aristocracy, at that time.

This imitation has led our nation to despise itself, to see itself as incapable, and to view Europe as superior, to accept Europe as superior, to believe that Europe can do anything and we cannot. In other words, the minds and spirits of our people have been spiritually chained. If a person believes, or is made to believe, that they are inferior, if a person is made to believe that others are superior to them, that person is bound by the most base chains of slavery. This deprives people of their creative power and renders them incapable of working or doing useful things. In addition, the result of imitating the Western way of life and the spread of Western mimicry is increased consumption, the Turkish society becoming consumers like the West, while production remains the same, continuing the same ancient Eastern production system that has existed for thousands of years.

It has been in this form. A production method based on the plough, farming and agriculture, primitive agriculture, has continued. The continuous increase in consumerism; the lack of any development in production, the continuation of inefficient, barren production, has led to our society becoming poorer and our state weaker with each passing day.

Turkish intellectuals and Turkish leaders have never recognised these realities.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to a period of great calamity for our nation. Even Anatolia, the last refuge of the Turkish nation, was invaded by enemy troops from all sides at the end of the First World War. The Turkish nation and the Turkish state were on the verge of being wiped off the face of history and ceasing to exist. It was in this situation that an exceptional figure such as Atatürk found the opportunity to take charge of the Turkish nation. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who knew the capabilities and characteristics of our nation well, secured the support of our nation and, and, making the best use of the resources available under the circumstances at the time, launched the nation's war of liberation. At the end of this four-year war, he succeeded in establishing the Republic of Turkey within its present borders and enabling the Turkish nation to live once again as an independent entity in the world.

Our National Liberation War was a great struggle that our nation achieved through tremendous sacrifice and heroism, fighting tooth and nail. Alongside Atatürk, the Turkish intellectuals and leaders who gathered around him played a major role and rendered great service in the success of this struggle. After four years of arduous struggle, internal rebellions, uprisings and external attacks, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, and the Republic of Turkey emerged on the stage of history as the new creation and new entity of the Turkish nation.

After the Republic was established, efforts began to rid the nation of its old ailments and troubles and to transform the Turkish nation into a strong, developed entity as soon as possible. Fifty-five years have passed since the founding of the Republic. During these fifty-five years, the governments, various leaders, administrations and parties that have governed Turkey have achieved many things on the path to the development of our nation. However, even after fifty-five years, their achievements have not yet brought the Turkish nation to the level of the advanced Western nations. The country...

The various leaders who have governed us, from various parties, have always claimed to have accomplished great things. They have taken the situation prior to their rule as a starting point and claimed to have created new achievements during their time in power compared to previous years, thus attempting to portray their own successful service.

None of these have addressed, nor do they address today, the extent to which they have served to place the Turkish nation in a position to compete with neighbouring nations or other advanced nations by comparing the situation of the Republic of Turkey with theirs. However, the real issue is not so much the claim that a government has added new facilities to those existing during the previous government, but rather determining the extent to which the gap between Turkey and its neighbours and other advanced nations has been closed, and how quickly this gap is being closed. I regret to say that our investigations have revealed very painful results. Far from diminishing or shrinking, Turkey's gap in underdevelopment relative to both its neighbours and advanced nations is growing wider with each passing day. With each passing day, week, month and year, Turkey is falling further behind its neighbours and more advanced nations, slipping into a state of backwardness. This is because those who govern Turkey have failed to take sufficient action to reduce the gap between Turkey and more advanced nations.

There are various reasons for this. The foremost of these reasons is their failure to galvanise the Turkish nation and the Turkish people into action, thereby making them allies and partners in their own endeavours. The rulers have always been distant from the people; they have failed to explain the realities to the people, show them the goals, convince them, and mobilise all their resources and energy to move towards these goals as soon as possible. In addition, they have failed to achieve harmony and cooperation between the intellectuals and the people. Our intellectuals are still distant from the people, living in big cities, in places with abundant entertainment opportunities, in comfortable flats, pursuing and thinking about a comfortable life. Since the days of the Ottoman Empire, there has been a huge gap between the lives of Turkish intellectuals and Turkish rulers and those of the people. Turkish intellectuals and Turkish rulers despise the people, look down on them, consider their backwardness and their way of life based on religious beliefs to be a sign of backwardness, and therefore treat citizens

It does not approve. The people have seen and continue to see their own leaders and intellectuals as people who do not understand their own problems, do not share their beliefs, do not live their religion and worship as they do, do not live alongside them, long for a life other than their own, live a different life, and despise them.

For this reason, they do not believe in or trust those who govern them or their intellectuals. Unless the dichotomy between intellectuals and the people is eliminated, and unless the unity, cooperation, and integration of the Turkish nation's intellectuals and people are achieved, it will not be possible to propel Turkey forward. Another reason why the gap between Turkey and advanced nations and our neighbours is widening rather than narrowing is the failure to understand the main factors that constitute the strength of a nation. These main factors are as follows:

Above all, a nation must possess a high sense of morality and hold strong spiritual beliefs. Along with these, the nation must have a strong sense of nationalism and be driven by the love, desire and determination to uplift and advance its own people. A society must rapidly rise to the highest level in modern science and technology. For a society to rapidly reach the highest level in modern science and technology and catch up with the most advanced nations, it must first and foremost rapidly establish a cadre of capable, knowledgeable, and talented scientists and technicians on a global scale. In addition, it is necessary to establish a modern agricultural industry and modern agriculture in the country. Modernising agriculture, establishing modern industry, achieving modern mass production based on automation, and thus becoming part of the global economy can ensure a nation's advancement. Unless these issues are resolved, it is impossible for a nation to rapidly reach the level of advanced nations by building a few thousand kilometres of roads, a few hundred bridges, and a few hundred schools. Indeed, despite the many achievements of various leaders and governments over the fifty-five years of the Republic, Turkey remains a backward country today, a weak country, and the gap between it and advanced nations has widened rather than narrowed.

A LOOK AT WESTERN HISTORY

As the Turkish nation spread westward from Central Asia, it encountered the Byzantines in the north, who represented the Western world. As a result of this encounter, the Turkish nation, which continued to move westward, initially clashed with these states. The Russians were not yet a powerful force during the period when the Turks spread westward. Faced with Turkish power, the scattered Russian principalities chose to submit to the Turks and to survive by seeking refuge with them and paying them tribute.

The main force and great danger the Turks faced was Byzantium. However, the growing Turkish power and organisation succeeded in destroying Byzantium and erasing its last vestiges from history with the conquest of Istanbul. Even before Byzantium fell, Turkish forces crossing into Thrace had spread widely across Southeast Europe. This westward expansion of the Turks continually provoked counter-attacks from the West.

Until the late 16th and 17th centuries, the strength of both sides in the fields of civilisation, politics and military affairs always favoured the Turks. However, from the 17th century onwards, this superiority changed and the West began to demonstrate a conspicuous superiority over the Turks. Investigating and identifying the reasons for the superiority of the Western world is as important for understanding the history of the Turkish nation as it is for determining and establishing its future. In Western Europe

, a great awakening took place from the 14th century onwards. The Western world, which had suffered many hardships in the darkness of the early ages, showed a great awakening and development from the 14th century onwards. The first movement of this awakening began[with] the Renaissance [19]. With the Renaissance, developments also began in the field of science. Superstitious ideas that shackled human thought,

19 **Renaissance:** In 15th-16th century Italy, the re-establishment of the connection between the West and classical antiquity in art, science, philosophy and architecture, the adoption of the works of ancient Greek philosophers and scientists through translation, the revival of empirical thought,

superstitions, prejudices and preconceived notions were abandoned, developments were made in the modern scientific method, and rapid strides began to be made in the field of science.

Meanwhile, the Western world, recognising that the great trade route passing through the Middle East and Iran, which traversed Asian territories by land, encompassing all of Central Asia from China and India, was in the hands of the Turks and other Muslim peoples, as well as other Asian nations, began to consider ways to secure the materials needed by the West via a new route, bypassing this route under their influence. To this end, they ventured into the seas. Until then, the nature of the world beyond the Atlantic Ocean was unknown. With the hope of discovering a route to India, explorations were undertaken, leading to the discovery of a new continent: the American continent. Once it became clear that America was not India, ways to reach India by sea were sought, and eventually the Cape of Good Hope route which circumnavigates Africa, was discovered, thus opening up the Western world.

It was a period focused on humanism, when the invention of the printing press increased the sharing of knowledge with the masses and radical changes took place. This era heralded the rise of Europe, which had long been in decline, through trade and geographical explorers. The Italian Renaissance marks the beginning of this period, signifying the development of art and science. The term Renaissance originates from French. It was used by the French historian Jules Michelet and developed by the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt in the 1860s. Rebirth has two meanings. The first is the rediscovery of ancient classical texts, their study, and the identification of their applications in art and science. Secondly, it is the strengthening of European culture in general as a result of these intellectual activities. Therefore, when discussing the Renaissance, two distinct but meaningful paths can be mentioned: the rebirth of classical learning and science through the rediscovery of ancient texts, and the rebirth of European culture in general.

The Renaissance movement, which began in Italy, soon spread throughout Europe. The Renaissance developed mainly in the arts in France; in religious paintings and illustrations in Germany; in literature in England; and in painting and literature in Spain.

20 **Cape of Good Hope:** Although it is commonly believed to be the southernmost point of Africa, the continent's true southern tip is Cape Agulhas, located 160 km southeast of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape of Good Hope is located at coordinates 34° 21'26" S, 18°28'25" E. Cape of Good Hope was discovered in 1488 by the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias, who named it Cape of Storms (Cabo das Tormentas). Portuguese explorer Dias set sail on the orders of King John II to find a sea route to the east and the spices found there. At that time, only part of the trade routes passed by sea, so merchants travelling east had to cross the Middle Eastern countries from one end to the other. When Dias reported his discovery of the cape, the King believed that this discovery would soon open up a sea route to the East, and therefore renamed the cape the Cape of Good Hope. However, some sources indicate that the name Cape of Storms was later changed to Cape of Good Hope because it was thought that it could demoralise sailors.

Three continents, or four if we include Australia or Oceania, which were discovered later, began to acquire extensive colonies and gained vast opportunities by obtaining slave labour from the people of these colonies.

For hundreds of years, precious metals such as gold and silver, fabrics, and other valuable goods and materials were continuously transported to the Western world from newly discovered and conquered lands. These newly discovered and colonised lands also provided the West with vast markets. As a result of these new developments, it became possible to accumulate wealth and build up capital on a scale never before seen in any country at any time in history. This accumulation of capital on an unprecedented scale, along with the developments in science and art that began in the 14th century with the Renaissance, led to a great industrial and commercial boom in the Western world.

With the discovery of steam and the subsequent development of steam-powered machines, followed by the creation of more modern machines utilising other forms of power, the Western world gained the ability to produce large quantities of standardised goods using machine power, replacing the production methods that had previously relied solely on human and animal labour. Thus, after comfortably meeting its own internal needs, the West found itself with a surplus of various products far exceeding its own requirements. These products needed to be sold to other countries. To this end, colonies were found that would constitute large markets. While the people of these colonies provided labour for next to nothing, in return they provided large markets for the goods produced by the West.

This situation has suddenly made the Western world very powerful. It has made it economically incomparably richer and more developed than the East, enabling it to obtain machine power that exceeds human or animal power by hundreds of times, and to stand against the East with machine power, as opposed to the East's old existence based entirely on human or animal power. The development of the situation in this way has led to other

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Between 1497 and 1498, another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, circumnavigated Africa and made a sea voyage that reached as far as India. This sea route remained the only sea route between Europe and the Eastern countries until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

This was also detrimental to the East. It was particularly detrimental to Turkey. Until the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, all Asian trade was conducted via Turkey, and the Silk Road passed through Turkey. However, after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route, the West found it possible to conduct its trade with the Far East via the Cape of Good Hope routes.

Thus, Turkey was deprived of this vast trade route, which offered it great opportunities. The trade route passing through Turkey was abandoned and faded away. This constituted a separate reason for the economic weakening and collapse of Turkey and the East. Just as the Western world spread in all directions, it made it a policy to take countermeasures against the Turkish expansion that had threatened it for hundreds of years. As a result, waves of attacks from the West against the East continued. This Western orientation towards the East was not limited to the Ottoman period. These attacks had already begun with the Crusades organised during the Seljuk period. The Crusades were fundamentally religious in nature.

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21 **The Silk Road:** The historic caravan route connecting China to Anatolia and Europe via Asia. It was named the Silk Road because silk was the most commonly traded commodity. The Silk Road came into use before the Common Era. The Silk Road essentially started in Antioch, passed through northern Iran and Afghanistan, and reached the Pamir Plateau. Here, at a place called Taş Kule, goods coming from the west were exchanged for goods from the east. One branch of the Silk Road went to India via the Bactrian route, while another branch passed through southern West Turkistan. Eastern Turkistan was reached either from the south or north of the Taklamakan Desert. After this, the two routes rejoined and extended to the Doyang region.
The Silk Road also played an important role in cultural history. Through this route, philosophies, and more notably art, ethics, customs and traditions were exchanged. With the compass and paper reaching the West, Europe's naval power developed. When Byzantium, the last representative of the Christian world in the East, was conquered by the Turks in 1453, the historic Silk Road lost its importance. European ships began to sail around the Cape of Good Hope to reach India and China in order to continue trade. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent made some attempts to revive the Silk Road, which had fallen into decline. He granted certain rights to the French in order to draw European trade to Anatolia. By granting these rights, he intended to separate France from the other European states, keep a Christian state under his protection, and revive trade.

22 **The Crusades:** These refer to the campaigns organised by Christian Europeans against Muslims, encouraged by the Papacy. The Crusades were initiated by Pope Urban II in his speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095. They continued for centuries, causing the loss of millions of lives and the destruction of states and countries.

The Byzantine Empire (395-1453), representative of Eastern Christianity, opened its doors to the Turks after its defeat in the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 against the Seljuk Empire (1038-1194). Within a few years, Seljuk raiders reached the Aegean, Mediterranean and Marmara coasts and began to threaten Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. In 1075, they established the Seljuk Empire of Rum and made Nicaea their capital, which was seen as a threat to Europe.

It began to shake the Byzantine Empire, the largest Christian state, to its foundations. This situation alarmed the Europeans. Because the fall of Byzantium would lead to the Turks dominating Europe. The second major reason was economic. At this time, the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah had died, and internal turmoil had begun. Pope Urban II encouraged Christians to unite and attack the Muslims. Thus, this priest began his campaign to take the city of Jerusalem from the Turks. A poor French monk named Pierre L'Ermite alone had gathered 50,000 Frenchmen around him. When they arrived in Germany, they were joined by another 50,000 German vagabonds. This bandit army, which grew even larger in Hungary and the Balkans, became the first army of the eight Crusades organised between 1096 and 1270.

The First Crusade (1096-1099): Led by the priest Pierre L'Ermite and the knight Poor Gautier, this group arrived in Constantinople and was immediately sent to Anatolia by the Byzantine Emperor. The Anatolian Seljuk Sultan, Kılıç Arslan I, stopped these first Crusader forces at the gates of Nicaea and slaughtered them. Following them, the Crusader army under the command of Godefroy Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, set out. This army included many famous knights, nobles, counts and dukes. The army consisted of 600,000 people. This Crusader army, which had slaughtered 10,000 Jews on the banks of the Rhine in Germany, was heading towards Constantinople. Fearing that they would pillage and massacre in his country, the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos made an agreement with them. In exchange for supplying their provisions, the Crusaders would give the Byzantines the lands they captured in Anatolia. After the agreement, the Crusaders crossed into Anatolia and besieged Nicaea, the capital of the Seljuk Turks, in May 1097. The bloody battles resulted in heavy losses on both sides. Unable to withstand the losses inflicted by the 600,000-strong Crusader army, Sultan Kılıç Arslan I retreated after fighting. Nicaea fell into Byzantine hands. Sultan First Kılıç Arslan (1092-1107) began a war of attrition against the Crusader army entering Anatolia from the direction of Eskişehir. He caught the Crusaders in the most strategic areas of Anatolia and launched surprise attacks to destroy them, crushing many.

As a result of the First Crusade, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was established in Jerusalem, and Crusader states were founded in Antioch and Edessa. Christians thus became acquainted with the Middle East and settled on the eastern Mediterranean coast. The surrender of Jerusalem, considered by Muslims to be the holiest city after Mecca and Medina, to the Crusaders by the Shiite Fatimids caused great sorrow. Muslims immediately took action to expel the Crusaders from the Middle East. In 1144, Imad ad-Din Zengi, Atabeg of Mosul, recaptured Urfa. This situation led to the Second Crusade.

Second Crusade (1147–1149): Following the recapture of Edessa by the Muslims, the Second Crusade was launched at the instigation of Pope Eugenius and as a result of the propaganda of Saint Bernard. The expedition was commanded by Louis VII and the German Emperor Conrad III. The first contingent of 75,000 men under the command of the German Emperor arrived in the Konya Plain. This army was destroyed by Sultan Mes'ud I of the Seljuk Turks. The German Emperor barely escaped with his life and took refuge in Nicaea with five thousand men. King Louis VII of France set out with 150,000 men. He joined forces with the remnants of the German Emperor's army in Nicaea. Sultan Mes'ud, deeming it inadvisable to engage this large army in open battle, drew the Crusaders towards the Taurus Mountains pass. The remnants of the Crusaders, who suffered heavy losses here, took refuge in Antioch. Although they laid siege to Damascus, they were defeated by the Turks.

Third Crusade (1189–1192): After eliminating the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate and establishing the Ayyubid Caliphate, Saladin took action against the Crusaders. He captured Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Crusaders since 1097, in 1187 after the Battle of Hattin. The expulsion of Christians from the Middle East, with the exception of a few coastal cities, alarmed the Europeans. Encouraged by Pope Clement III, France and England

The kings and the German Emperor participated in the Third Crusade. Although it ended in defeat, this crusade is famous for the participation of Europe's most renowned kings, emperors, and commanders. German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa travelled by land, while French King Philip Augustus and English King Richard the Lionheart travelled by sea. Although the Sultan of the Seljuk Turks of Turkey, Kılıç Arslan II, sent envoys to the German Emperor asking him not to enter Anatolia, he refused. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who did not listen to the Turks, lost a large part of his army to the Seljuk soldiers. Finally, he drowned in the river before reaching the Mediterranean Sea. Left leaderless and suffering heavy losses, the Crusaders reached Palestine in a miserable state. The King of England arrived in Cyprus by sea, expelled the Byzantine governor from the island, and established the Latin Kingdom. Richard the Lionheart, who travelled from Cyprus to Acre, and the French king, who arrived in Acre by sea, captured the castle after a long siege. Although they fought to recapture Jerusalem, they were unsuccessful. Realising they could not take Jerusalem after bitter experiences and heavy losses, the kings of France and England returned to their countries.

Fourth Crusade (1204): At the call of Pope Innocent III and as a result of Foutges de Neville's propaganda, German Emperor Henry VI joined this crusade organised by Boniface. Despite the Pope's objections, the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople on Venetian ships. In 1204, they captured Constantinople from the Orthodox Byzantines. The city's wealth astonished the Catholic Christians. They plundered and destroyed Constantinople. They committed all kinds of cruelty and evil against their fellow Christians. The Byzantine Emperor moved his throne from Constantinople to Nicaea. This was the first time such an event had occurred in Byzantine history. Finally, the "Latin Empire" was established in Istanbul, which lasted until 1261. This time, the Venetian and Genoese states gained great influence and land in the Near East and became wealthy. The Fourth Crusade harmed Orthodox Christians more than Muslims.

Fifth Crusade (1217–1221): Encouraged by Pope Honorius III, King Andrew II of Hungary arrived in Acre in 1217 with Crusaders from Northern Europe. King Andrew was unable to withstand the Muslims and returned home. Those who remained attacked Damietta and captured the city. They then turned towards Cairo but were defeated and scattered by the Ayyubids.

Sixth Crusade (1228-1229): Organised by the German Emperor Frederick III at the instigation of Pope Gregory IX. The German Emperor reached Jerusalem. At a time when Ayyubid Sultan Malik Kamil was overwhelmed by external pressures, the arrival of the Crusaders in Jerusalem led to the conclusion of a treaty. Under the treaty, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders. However, as a result of their defeat by the Turks, the city was returned to the Ayyubids.

The Seventh Crusade (1248–1254): Following the capture of Jerusalem by the Muslims, it was organised by King St. Louis of France. The newly established Mamluks in Egypt defeated the Crusaders in 1250 at the Battle of Mansura and took the French king prisoner. The Crusaders dispersed. St. Louis surrendered Damietta to the Muslims and returned to his country.

The Eighth Crusade (1268-1270): This crusade was organised by King St. Louis of France to avenge the conquest of Antioch by the Muslims and the Seventh Crusade. The target of this crusade was not Jerusalem, but the Muslim sailors on the Mediterranean coast. St. Louis landed in Tunisia but died of an epidemic. The French army returned home. This crusade also ended in failure.

Between 1096 and 1270, a number of Latin states were established as a result of the Crusades organised against the Muslims. These included the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Kingdom of Cyprus, the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Edessa, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the County of Morea.

While it is true that religious factors played a role, it is now scientifically established that economic factors were just as influential and important as religious factors. Seizing the fabulously wealthy East was the primary objective of those who joined the Crusader armies.

Another important reason for the Crusades was to conquer the wealthy Eastern countries, establish political dominance there, and turn them into colonies under Western political control. After the Crusades, the Ottoman Empire was, in a sense, a response to these waves of Crusader attacks against the West, and the Ottoman armies spread as far as Poland on one side, Moscow on the other, Vienna on yet another, Rome on another, and the westernmost edge of Africa. However, these expansions came to a definitive halt with the defeat at the Second Battle of Vienna in 1683[23] and after this date, the West...

The Principality of Athens, the Duchy of Kefalonia, the Duchy of Naxos, and the Knights of Saint John. These Latin states were eliminated by the Turks, leaving no trace of the Crusaders.

23 **1683 Second Siege of Vienna:** The Second Siege of Vienna: The Ottoman army under the command of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha besieged Vienna.
In the mid-17th century, as a result of pressure exerted by the Austrian emperor on the Protestant population of central Hungary, the Hungarian nobleman Imre Tököli sought Ottoman protection. Imre Tököli encouraged Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha to recapture the central Hungarian castles held by Austria. Hasan Pasha, Beylerbey of Varad (Nagy-Varda, Germ. Gros-Wardein), also recaptured the castles belonging to central Hungary and handed them over to Imre Tököli. In response, the Austrian Emperor Leopold, taking advantage of Turkish forces, recaptured these castles. This led to a deterioration in Ottoman-Austrian relations. In April 1683, Sultan Mehmed IV and Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha set out from Edirne with a powerful army. The army arrived in Belgrade on 3 May 1683. On 13 May 1683, Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha was appointed supreme commander, and the Ottoman army marched on Vienna. The Ottoman army was the largest army to have ever been deployed up to that point. It numbered 350,000 men, including timarlı sipahis, kapıkulu soldiers, troops from Egypt and Damascus, forces from Wallachia and Moldavia, the 20,000-strong army of Imre Tököli, King of Hungary, and the 50,000 cavalry of the Khan of Crimea. In addition, there were 150,000 support troops and 50,000 carts carrying supplies. The Ottoman army, which crossed the Sava River near Belgrade, was joined by Imre Tököli's forces in Osijek on 10 June 1683. Moving from Osijek and crossing the Drava River, the Ottoman army arrived at Istolni-Belgrade in Erdel on 26 June. Here, Crimean Khan Murad Giray joined the army with Crimean forces. The Sultan had tasked Kara Mustafa Pasha with capturing Yanık Castle; however, the Grand Vizier considered this a trivial matter. His aim was to capture Vienna, the capital of Austria, and gain great renown. A war council was convened in Istolni-Belgrade. At this council, Kara Mustafa Pasha declared that his real aim was not to capture Yanık or Kommarom Castle, but to besiege the city of Beç (Vienna). The defterdar, the beylerbeys of Anatolia, Rumelia, Damascus and Diyarbakır, the reisülküttap, the agha of the janissaries and the serdar present at the meeting agreed with this decision.

Against the East, against the Turks who represented the East, against the Ottoman Empire, a series of uninterrupted attacks began. After the Second Vienna Campaign of 1683, the East suffered continuous defeats in the face of these attacks from the West.

The West emerged with a new force, a new entity, formed from the powerful influence of Christianity and ancient Greek civilisation, the Renaissance, and the developing modern sciences—a mixture of these three distinct sources. They found these three distinct

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. Only the Crimean Khan opposed this view. Uzun İbrahim Pasha, the governor of Buda and an experienced soldier, also supported the Crimean Khan. They proposed, first, the capture of the lands of the Hungarian lords loyal to the Austrian emperor in Hungary, along with the fortresses of Yanık and Kommarom, and then the siege of Vienna.

The Ottoman army's march on Vienna caused great excitement in Europe, particularly in Germany. Emperor Leopold withdrew to the town of Lenz, 60 hours away from Vienna, leaving a defence force of 20-25,000 in the city. The Ottoman army arrived before Vienna on 14 July 1683. In accordance with tradition, the city was asked to surrender. When the offer was rejected, the siege began. Kara Mustafa Pasha could not besiege the city as he should have because he had sent part of his forces into Moravia, Galicia and Slovakia. As in the First Siege of Vienna in 1529, there were no large cannons in the army this time either. Help began to arrive in Vienna from many parts of Europe. The Ottoman army began to experience food shortages. Due to lack of fodder, the animals in the army were dying. It became clear from captured prisoners that Polish and German forces had come to the aid of Vienna. Seeing that the situation was becoming difficult, Kara Mustafa Pasha launched a powerful attack on 26 August 1683 and captured some of the fortifications. Dysentery had broken out in the city. The castle commander urgently requested help. On 7 September 1683, the allied forces, under the command of Jan Sobieski, crossed the Danube and approached the Ottoman army's left rear. The Crimean Khan Murad Giray, who was tasked with securing the great Danube bridge to prevent reinforcements from reaching Vienna, turned a blind eye to the enemy crossing the Danube because of his hatred for Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. The necessary preparations were made for the enemy, who had fallen behind the Ottoman army; however, due to the defeat of Budin Beylerbeyi Ibrahim Pasha by Jan Sobieski, the dispersal of the forces of Vezir Sarı Hüseyin Pasha, and the failure of the Crimean forces to come to the aid, a general rout began. Upon hearing of the defeat at Vienna, Sultan Mehmed IV returned from Belgrade to Edirne.

The Battle of Vienna was the last campaign of the Turkish army, which had advanced as far as the heart of Europe. The Grand Vizier returned to Belgrade on 16 October. On 29 October, the Fortress of Estergon fell into enemy hands. Deeply distressed by the situation, Sultan Mehmed IV ordered the execution of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. Kara Mustafa Pasha was executed in Belgrade.

24 **Ancient Greek civilisation:** The foundations of Greek civilisation were laid by the Dorians around 1200 BC. The actual history of Greece began in the 8th century BC.

Greek civilisation formed a system of government based on city-states. These city-states were called "polis". The person who ruled these polis was called a tyrant.

These Greek city-states were the first places where democratisation began. The most important of these city-states were places such as Athens and Sparta.

Great philosophers such as Aristophanes, Sophocles, Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, as well as the renowned literary figure Homer, were educated in Athens.

They believed in a polytheistic religion.

It is necessary to thoroughly understand the ideas and principles underlying Western civilisation and Western existence, which arose from the blending of these sources. At the heart of Western civilisation, born from the blending of these three sources, lies the concept of valuing human beings and thinking of doing everything for the sake of humanity. Alongside this view, there is the belief that people should ensure each other's happiness by living and coexisting without harming one another. In addition, there is the principle of seeking the truth, finding the truth, and respecting the truth. Furthermore, it is based on the principle of taking human reason as the basis in both scientific research and other work, evaluating events based on human reasoning, and directing events. In addition, it is based on adopting a moral system based on the principles of spiritual beliefs, in accordance with the spiritual beliefs of the Christian religion.

Along with all this, it is one of the civilisations with the most gods in the world, originating from ancient Greek and Roman civilisation [25]and associated with human development in modern times.

It is one of the civilisations with the most gods in the world. The Olympic Games emerged because of the competitions held for these gods.
The seat of the Greek gods is Mount Olympus.
The most significant period of Greek civilisation began with Alexander the Great's conquest of Greek civilisation. Greek civilisation exerted its influence in many places, including Egypt, but after Alexander the Great's death and with the rise of the Roman Empire, Greek civilisation began to decline. Greek civilisation played the most significant role in the formation of Roman culture. Roman civilisation was most heavily influenced by this civilisation.

25 **Ancient Roman Civilisation:** Roman civilisation emerged in what is now Italy and spread across a vast geographical area. The Etruscans, believed to have migrated from Anatolia, formed Italy's first known political entity. After the Etruscans, who founded the city of Rome, the Latin people arrived in the region and formed the "Roman Civilisation". They were followed by the Phoenicians, who established colonies in North Africa, and the Greeks , who practised colonialism on the western Italian coast . The borders of Rome expanded very rapidly, particularly due to the presence of a very powerful and organised army. Its borders stretched from Britain in the north to present-day Somalia in the south, from the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Basra in the east to Morocco and Portugal in the west. Three different forms of government can be seen in the political history of Roman civilisation: Monarchy (735-510 BC)
Republic (510-27 BC) Empire
(27 BC-395 AD)
During the Kingdom period, the people were divided into three main classes:
1- Patricians: They were the first inhabitants of Rome and formed the aristocratic class. Patricians were organised into family units (clans) called gens. They were bound to each other by blood ties. Patricians formed the Senate. Patricians were organised into gens, curiae and tribes.

In ancient Rome, the Jens united to form a larger community. This was called the Curia. The gathering of the Curiae formed an assembly called the Comitia Curiata (People's Assembly). This assembly came after the Senate.

Patricians were the people who ruled Rome and held positions as officials and soldiers. They possessed all kinds of income.

2. Plebeians: These were people who had come to Rome later and settled there, accepting Roman rule. They had no political rights, could not vote, and could not marry patricians. They were generally engaged in agriculture, trade, and the arts. This increasingly numerous class became a major problem for the patricians. Especially during the Republican period, the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians became Rome's greatest internal problem.

3. Slaves: This class consisted of those taken prisoner in wars and those born into slave families. They worked for the patricians. During this period, kings were nominated by the "Senate," composed of nobles, and elected by the popular assemblies called the "Curia." The king conducted all his affairs in consultation with the Senate. The king was the highest administrator, judge, and high priest. For this reason, the monarchy did not transform into dynastic rule. Especially in the 6th century, the aristocrats, who had become very powerful, completely overthrew the monarchy and initiated the republican system of government.

Assemblies in the Monarchy Period:

A) Senatus (Council of Elders): They were appointed by the king and remained in office until their death. They served as an advisory council to the king. They gained importance during the Republican period. The members of the Senate were the heads of the juntas in Rome.

B) Comitia Curiata (People's Assembly): This assembly was formed by the gathering of the patricians. Plebeians were not permitted to enter this assembly. This assembly functioned as a legislative body. Votes were cast according to the number of curiae . Each curia had one vote . During the Republic, the Senate retained the same powers. The consuls possessed the rights and powers that had previously belonged to kings, as well as the power to command and a shared authority. The Senate elected the 'consul' who would govern the country. The consul was re-elected every year. The consul had all kinds of authority over the state.

Duties of the Consuls: 1. To command the armies, 2. To convene the Senate and the People's Assembly, 3. To impose and collect war taxes, 4. To conduct all state affairs in turn and jointly, to control each other.

This situation led to them becoming increasingly authoritarian, and when "Caesar" was elected consul in 56 BC, he seized power single-handedly but did not touch the republican regime or its laws. He left the assemblies as they were. He assumed the high priesthood. Caesar did not stay long in Rome, constantly engaged in wars. He adopted the Egyptian calendar. He expanded the territories. After Caesar's death (44 BC), great turmoil broke out in Rome. This turmoil continued until Augustus took control. During this period, large temples and theatres were built. Augustus constantly said, "I found a city of brick, I leave a city of marble." Punic Wars: These were wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians over control of the Western Mediterranean. Carthage was a Phoenician colony founded in Tunisia. Rome's increasing power made the Carthaginians suspicious.

The wars that began due to the Carthaginians' interference in the internal affairs of Messina in Italy lasted over 100 years. Three Punic Wars were fought. In these wars, the Carthaginians, who lost their power, became a state subordinate to Rome. Thus, the Romans, who established their dominance in the Western Mediterranean, turned their attention to the Eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the Alexander Empire had fragmented, and kingdoms had been established in its place.

A legal system has been established. This legal system is fundamentally based on the idea that people should be happy and should not harm or harass one another, but rather should protect each other's rights and contribute to each other's happiness. Alongside this, modern science has been the most influential factor in the formation of this civilisation. The view that observing, experimenting, analysing, and investigating events and matter in this way, free from preconceptions and ulterior motives, provides the most accurate information about existence and that this knowledge should be used to enable humanity to live more prosperous and happier lives has been adopted. Scientific research and advances in science have opened up broad horizons for humanity in terms of protecting people from the effects of natural forces and freeing them from the bondage of natural forces. The factors underlying the great developments that took place in the West can thus be summarised as follows.

During the Punic Wars, the Romans also fought against the Macedonians, and Macedonia was brought under Roman rule. Following this, the Kingdom of Syria, one of the Hellenistic kingdoms, was also annexed to Rome.

With the annexation of these two important places, the Eastern Mediterranean came under Roman rule. Next in line was the Kingdom of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, Egypt was also annexed by Rome.

With the annexation of the Hellenistic kingdoms (Macedonia, Syria and Egypt), Rome's borders expanded and its way of life underwent major changes. Greek customs and traditions thus entered Rome. During the Republican period, the legal privileges between the Patricians and the Plebeians were also abolished.

During the imperial period, the borders expanded more rapidly. However, this brought with it a number of new problems. Despite all the resistance from the polytheistic Romans, Christianity was spreading rapidly and undermining state authority. The invasion of the Roman borders by barbarian tribes from the north placed the central government in a very difficult position. In 313, Christianity was officially recognised as a religion with the Edict of Milan, but the negative effects of the Migration Period could not be eliminated. Consequently, in 395, the empire was divided into two parts, known as "Eastern Rome" and "Western Rome." In 476, the Western Roman Empire collapsed, and feudal systems came to dominate Europe. Eastern Rome, known as "Byzantium," continued to exist until 1453.

The "Twelve Tables" established in Ancient Roman civilisation also form the basis of modern European law. These laws were created to end the conflicts between the Patricians and the Plebeians.

The Romans, like the Greeks, believed in polytheism. They accepted that their gods lived on a mountain called the "Capitol". However, in 313, Christianity was accepted as the official religion.

They finalised the alphabet developed by the Phoenicians, Ionians and Greeks, creating the "Latin Alphabet". The solar-based calendar they adopted from Egypt was revised by Caesar and Pope Gregory XIII, resulting in the calendar we use today.

Of course, alongside these factors, a strong wave of nationalism also emerged, particularly in the late 17th century. This wave of nationalism led to many new political developments in Europe. Compared to the East and the Ottoman Empire, Western countries, which were very well organised and powerful under the conditions of the day, sought to take advantage of this new trend against the Ottoman state. They also used the wave of nationalism in their attacks and expansions against the East.

Nationalist sentiments have long been present in the lives of nations and have been one of the main factors shaping political movements. However, this trend has played a particularly significant role in the Western world since the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, leading to the collapse of the great Western empires. Despite the collapse of the empires, there has been no change in the views and attitudes of the newly emerging powers towards the East, the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish nation. Even though we are now in the last quarter of the 20th century, the views of the Western world towards Turkey are still not very different from those of the West in earlier times. Religion has a separate place in these views, economic factors have a separate place, and political factors have a separate place. All three factors are fuelled by an attitude that is hostile to Turkey and the Turkish nation. They are supported by an attitude that is hostile to Turkey and the Turkish nation. In the issues that arise between Turkey and Greece, in the issues that arise between Turkey and other countries, the influence of this long-standing view is always present in the West's stance against Turkey. Every Turk must understand this well and not overlook this reality.

Turkey's Geopolitical Situation

Turkey constitutes the westernmost point of Asia extending into Europe. Stretching between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, Turkey controls the access of all countries living on the Black Sea coast to the Mediterranean Sea and their connection to the rest of the world via the world's oceans. Moreover, for centuries, it has served as the route and focal point for travel, trade, and cultural relations between Asia and Europe. This situation continues today. Furthermore, it is the stronghold and key to the Middle East, which possesses the world's richest oil resources. All routes leading to Middle Eastern oil are under Turkey's control. Whether by air, sea or land, these routes either pass through Turkey or circle around it. Thus, Turkey always has the means to exert influence and maintain control over these routes.

Furthermore, Turkey is very close to various countries where other natural resources are found. Furthermore, due to its proximity to the Soviet Union, one of the world's great powers, it is in a position to exert influence over these regions in every respect. It is because of this characteristic that the famous former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill ([26]), in an article he wrote about Turkey, stated that "Turkey is Russia's soft underbelly."

26 **Winston Churchill**: (1874 - 1965). British statesman. He graduated from the Royal Military Academy in 1895 and joined the army. He was taken prisoner during the Boer War and became a national hero after escaping. Ten months later, he was elected Member of Parliament for the Conservative Party. In 1904, he joined the Liberal Party. In 1911, he became First Lord of the Admiralty. His successful political career declined after the Gallipoli defeat in 1915. His insistence that the Dardanelles could only be crossed by the navy, after which Istanbul could be easily reached, led to the Turkish forces mounting a much more successful defence than expected, resulting in the historic defeat of the Allied forces. Churchill, who was considered the architect of this failure, found himself in a very difficult position with the British public and resigned from his post under pressure from his opponents. However, in 1917, he was appointed Minister of Munitions and Minister of War. In 1924, he rejoined the Conservative Party. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer (1924-1929). In 1939, he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty once more, and in 1940, he succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister. His wartime policies during World War II and the good relations he established with Roosevelt earned him a place among the most important statesmen in British history.

Turkey's geopolitical position has always placed it in a position where it could be attacked," he said. Turkey's geopolitical position has a significant impact on the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea and North Africa. The Straits of Istanbul and Çanakkale constitute the waterway for trade between the countries of the Black Sea region and the rest of the world, and between all the countries in the Mediterranean and beyond and the countries on the Black Sea coast. These straits have always been under Turkey's control. Furthermore, Turkey is the source of the Aras River, which irrigates a large part of the Caucasus, and the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, which make Syria and Iraq fertile lands, as well as the Zap rivers. In other words, Eastern Turkey is the source of the waters that irrigate and nourish neighbouring countries. This is a reality that provides Turkey with enormous opportunities. Furthermore, Turkey is a very large country, both in length and width; it almost resembles a small continent. With this situation, Turkey has very fertile agricultural opportunities, as well as very favourable military deployment opportunities.

Turkey's surface and soil resources provide the country with significant economic and military potential. The Turkish people living in Turkey are, by nature, hardworking, combative, and highly civilised, which also gives the Turkish nation additional capacity. It is precisely these characteristics that mean Turkey's geopolitical situation offers it great opportunities, but also exposes it to great risks. Faced with this situation, the Turkish nation must rapidly pursue the development, strengthening and power-building activities that this situation requires. Otherwise, in such an important geopolitical location,

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He got involved. During this period, he also worked with the Russians on the strategy the Allied Powers were attempting to shift towards the Balkans. However, he was also wary of the USSR gaining dominance there. For this reason, from the outset of the war, he tried to involve Turkey, which was of great strategic importance, in the war. In his meetings with Turkish leaders in Cairo and Adana on this subject, he was unwilling to provide the military assistance Turkey desired. He made great efforts to establish institutions such as NATO and the Eurasian Council, which facilitated the post-war unification of European countries. He returned to power in the 1951 elections. In 1955, he retired from politics, handing over his duties to Anthony Eden, who was also the husband of his niece Clarissa Churchill.

He spent his later years mainly writing and painting. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1953. In 1963, the United States granted him honorary citizenship. He died at the age of 91.

It is impossible for an underdeveloped society in Turkey, which has not yet achieved economic development and lags behind in science and technology, to live in a state of weakness. This is a situation that invites many dangers. The Turkish nation must quickly emerge from this situation and be saved. Otherwise, if this state of disarray, disorganisation and backwardness, this state of poverty and destitution, continues, it is clear that it will give rise to many dangers. Due to this geopolitical situation, we felt the need to equip our nation with a national doctrine in order to make a great leap forward.

We believe that the Turkish nation must make a great leap forward and, leaping across the ages, Turkey must enter the atomic, missile and space age that today's advanced nations have entered as soon as possible. To this end, we have presented the Nine Lights as a national doctrine to our nation in order to bring about a new leap forward. Those who govern Turkey must never lose sight of Turkey's geopolitical situation and its characteristics with regard to its neighbours. All of Turkey's neighbours today, all of the neighbouring lands that surround it, are lands that have lived under Turkish rule for hundreds of years. Due to these characteristics, there are sensitive aspects to the attitudes and policies of the people living in these lands. Therefore, when considering Turkey's geopolitics, it is imperative to take into account the characteristics of its neighbours, which are influenced by history. Managing Turkish policy without considering these factors has always been detrimental to Turkey. The reasons why the Cyprus issue has not yet been definitively resolved lie in the unresolved issues between Greece and Turkey concerning the Aegean Sea, continental shelf, territorial waters, and the demarcation line. These issues stem from the failure of Turkey's leaders to adequately consider the characteristics of Turkey's geopolitics. Considering these characteristics of Turkey's geopolitics, we feel it is imperative to awaken our nation and take decisive action. We must embark on a great leap forward. We must surpass the age of steam and the age of electricity and enter the modern age of atomic nuclear power, the space age, the age of rockets for the Turkish nation, and we must ensure rapid development in science and technology.

1 - NATIONALISM

WHY NATIONALISM?

General overview:

I want to talk about today and tomorrow without dwelling on the past years and months. Because the present is the sum of the past and the seed of the future.

Today, the general outlook for Turkey can be summarised as follows:

Lips are chapped, stomachs are empty, villages are dark, mountains and hills are bare,

the people are poor, the nation is resentful of yesterday, and hopeless about tomorrow.

The simple and ugly weapons of deceit, slander, lies and conspiracy that we have witnessed in politics to date are weakening the political movements of the faithful Turkish people and shaking their faith.

On one side, the well-fed people watching the land; on the other, the hungry people tilling the land...

On one side, foreign technicians tilling the soil of our beautiful homeland, scattering seeds; missionary girls milking cows in our villages; on the other, the children of the country, caught up in the fashions of the day and filling the clubs to capacity...

On one side, the children of the homeland, burdened with responsibility from the age of six, sharing the noise of the engines in the factories and the heat of the sun in the fields, putting social justice into practice; on the other, an unjust, unconscious, soulless community preparing speeches on social justice in the shade of tall buildings and in their warm rooms...

On one side, laughter rising from alcohol expenses exceeding billions a year; on the other, villages parched by thirst, waiting in shifts from morning to night for a single drop of water...

All these lines are not the work of three or five years, or three or five people. They are the burden carried by centuries upon centuries.

We see the failure to fully understand and recognise Turkey's geopolitical power, productive value, and the moral and physical strength of the Turkish people as the main reason for this.

A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF TURKISH INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS

Dominant Intellectual Currents

When we look at the history of Turkish intellectual movements, we see Islamism, the idea of the Ummah, and, especially after the Tanzimat, the concept of Ottomanism as political ideas. Following these, we see the ideas of Turkism, Pan-Turkism, and Turanism. Later, during the National Liberation War and the period that followed, two main intellectual movements emerged. One was Anatolianism, the other was Turkish nationalism.

Islamism

Islamism is a view that aims for the unity of all Muslim countries. One of the important reasons why this view was accepted in the Ottoman Empire was that the Ottoman sultans also held the title and duty of the Caliphate of Islam. However, over time, particularly with the influence of the imperialist activities of the great empires of Western countries, this idea, this view, was undermined and weakened, and although they were Muslim, the peoples of various Muslim countries were driven to wage wars and struggles against each other. Despite having a caliph at its head and despite the caliph having declared jihad, situations arose in which other Muslim nations allied and united with Christian Western countries and engaged in armed struggle against the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the Muslim Turkish nation, working in alliance with Christian states to destroy it.

Ottomanism

The idea of Ottomanism became a more prominent intellectual movement after the proclamation of the Tanzimat. It was the notion of uniting the various nations within the empire's borders at that time

into a single nation under the name "Ottoman," regardless of religion or ethnicity, and to establish it as a unified entity;
—which, due to various events and the many conditions created by the times—proved impossible and ultimately led to the belief that this idea was not viable.

Nationalism

Turkish nationalism is a consciousness and sentiment born of the Turkish nation's desire for legitimate defence, its sense of legitimate defence. The Turkish people, who bore the entire burden of the empire for centuries, were the most oppressed and neglected element within the empire. As I mentioned earlier, Islamic unity, within the ideas of Ottomanism, has done everything in its power to realise all these ideas. However, over time, it saw that Serbia was gaining independence on one side, Bulgaria on another, Romania on yet another, and then the Arabs and other Muslim elements, despite being Muslim, were also saying, "We are not Turks," and were pursuing independence. These trends gave rise to a deep sense of national identity among the Turkish people, an awakening of national consciousness, and the idea and feeling of seeking help only from their own people, their own kind, their own nation, of being together, of uniting. This is a legitimate sense of defence; Turkish nationalism has never been chauvinistic. It has never had any connection with the idea or feeling of looking down on another nation, destroying it, or oppressing it. If that were the case, the nations that remained under our rule and control for 500, 800, or 900 years would have been unable to demonstrate a separate national identity and existence 500 or 900 years later; they would have dissolved within us.

Turkish nationalism, our understanding of nationalism, is based on spiritual awareness. On this basis, anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is Turkish. In defining Turkishness and the Turkish people, we do not believe in distorted criteria, particularly sectarianism, regionalism, or laboratory racism. Anthropological racism, which looks down on other nations and endangers world peace, is outside the scope of the Turkish nationalist ideal. Our understanding of nationalism is spiritual, rational, democratic, and contemporary. We oppose Nazi Hitler racism, communist racism, and all forms of anti-democratic

and imperialist racism that is not based on love for humanity. Imperialist racism does not recognise the idea of the nation state. The Nationalist Movement believes in the idea of the nation state, defends the equality and independence of all states, and respects the territorial and national integrity of every nation state.

Turkish Nationalism has been an expression of legitimate defence, high humanistic sentiments, and the Turkish nation's sense and will to defend and protect its natural rights and consciousness.

The idea of Turkism also arose from this awareness and sentiment. Turkism can be summarised and defined as follows: "The view that all activities should be organised and carried out in a manner consistent with the national interests of the Turkish nation."

Pan-Turkism and Turanism

Before the First World War, the desire for separation among other elements that had emerged in Turkey gave rise to ideas of uniting with other Turks outside the Ottoman borders and creating a single entity with them. These ideas arose not only among Turks within Turkey's borders, but also among Turks outside Turkey's borders, and they found each other. Ismail Gaspıralı in Crimea, in Kazan, Bashkir homeland...

27 **Ismail Gaspıralı:** 1851 – 11 September 1914). Crimean intellectual, journalist. He was born in Avcıköy, near Bahçesaray in Crimea. He took the nickname Gaspirinski (Gaspıralı) in reference to the village where his father was born. At the age of ten, he was sent to the Akmescit High School. After two years there, he was transferred to a military school in the city of Varonej. He later went to the Moscow Military Academy. He left the school due to the Russians' Pan-Slavism policies. He began working as a Russian language teacher at the Zincirli Madrasa. During this assignment, which lasted about a year and a half, he read extensively and acquired substantial knowledge about Russian literature and intellectual movements. In 1869, his salary was increased to 600 roubles and he was appointed to the Dereköy school in Yalta. He remained there for two years. Returning to Bahçesaray, he once again taught Russian at the Zincirli Madrasa ( ) . Gaspıralı attempted to implement the innovative ideas that had formed in his mind up to that point for the first time at the Zincirli Madrasa. He taught Turkish to his students using new methods. One of his greatest ambitions was to go to Istanbul and become an officer. However, he thought that his interrupted education would prevent him from achieving this. For this reason, he went to Paris in 1871 and completed his interrupted education. He remained in Paris until the end of 1874. He went from Paris to Istanbul. Realising that his dream of becoming an officer would not come true, he returned to Crimea in the winter of 1875.
In 1878, he was elected mayor of Bahçesaray. In 1879, he applied to the Russian government to publish a newspaper. His application was rejected. However, he was determined to serve his people through publication. In 1881, under the pseudonym Genç Molla (Young Mullah)

In Tinde, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, and elsewhere... The Turkish communities scattered throughout these regions also sought to free themselves from foreign domination and establish cultural ties with one another, despite being separated into different parts.

As a result, a Pan-Turkism political movement spread throughout our homeland at that time, reaching even the state officials.

The idea of Turanism, however, found a broader scope. The Hungarians, Finns, and the Miszers living in Poland, that is, many nations of Turanian origin, were the first to put forward this idea. The Hungarians' goal in putting forward such an idea was that, especially at that time, they were caught between Slavic and Germanic pressure. Believing that their origins were Turanian, from the Turanian tribe, they put forward such an idea. All

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He wrote his articles entitled 'Muslims of Russia', which would later be published as a book. He published them in the *Tavrida* newspaper in Akmescit.

Despite being unable to obtain permission, he never gave up on the idea of publishing a newspaper. To test the waters, he began publishing small booklets under various titles such as *Tonguç*, *Ay*, *Güneş*, *Yıldız*, and *Mir'at-i Cedid* from 1881 onwards. Russian censors banned the publication of these pamphlets on the grounds that they constituted newspapers. He fought for four years to be able to publish a newspaper. He travelled to Petersburg many times to submit applications. In 1883, he obtained permission to publish *Tercüman-ı Ahval-i Zaman* on the condition that the Turkish section be translated into Russian word for word. He published the first issue on 10 April 1883. *Tercüman* was not the first Turkish newspaper published in Russia, but it was the most important in terms of its circulation and the role it played. It was published weekly until 1903, sometimes twice or three times a week between 1903 and 1912, and daily from September 1912 onwards, surviving for exactly 33 years before closing in 1916. Starting out as a small four-page publication, *Tercüman* soon achieved circulation figures that were remarkably high for the conditions and literacy rates of the time. It was sold in the Caucasus, Kazan, Siberia, Turkestan, China, and even Iran and Egypt. It took a keen interest not only in the affairs of the Turks of Russia but also in those of all Muslims. This also meant that the idea of linguistic unity was being put into practice. After the crisis of 1905, the 'Gaspıralı language' was used in more than 35 newspapers and magazines published in Kazan, the Caucasus, Turkestan and Crimea. Numerous stories and novels were written in this style. Thanks to the *Tercüman* newspaper, Ismail Gaspıralı, who created and popularised the Usûl-i Cedid (new method) school, as well as the idea of linguistic unity, which had been a dream in the past, also played important roles in the three congresses held after the 1905 Revolution with the aim of uniting the Muslims of Russia. At the Third Congress, where the issue of education was the main focus, he officially gained acceptance for his views on 'linguistic unity' among all Russian Muslims (1906).

The success of the Usûl-i Cedid movement and the freedom gained by Muslims after the October Manifesto, coupled with the congresses held for the 'Muslim Alliance', emboldened Gaspıralı. He made great efforts to convene an Islamic Congress in Cairo in 1907. In 1910, he travelled to India and participated in the meetings of the "Encümen-i İslamiye" in Bombay, where he presented his views. After the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy, he came to Istanbul and was greeted with great excitement (1909). On the eve of the First World War, he returned to Istanbul and tried to warn Turkey against entering the war. He passed away on Friday, 11 September 1914, in Bahcesaray. The following day, he was laid to rest near the tomb of Mengligiray Khan in a magnificent funeral ceremony.

The idea of establishing a union among Turanian peoples and tribes—an idea that has not found many supporters in Turkey—has finally found its place in scholarly books.

The Idea of Turkish Unity

However, the idea that found its main supporters in Turkey and became established as a political view even among statesmen was the idea of Turkish Unity. The exemplary figure who sought to put this into action was Enver Pasha. Naturally, due to the circumstances and conditions at the time, this idea could not be realised, and indeed was not realised. At that time, and at the end of the First World War, Turkey suffered great losses and damage, causing the Ottoman Empire to become exhausted and weakened in this war. The reason I mention these is that those who shaped Turkey's foreign policy, the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey, drew lessons from the history of all these past Turkish intellectual movements and endeavoured to guide Turkey's foreign policy accordingly.

Turkishness and Anatolianism

After the National Liberation War, two views known as Turkism and Anatolianism have occasionally been debated among intellectuals in our country. Those who defended the Anatolianism view argued that the Turks came to Turkey from Central Asia after the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071 and settled there, assimilating with the people living in Anatolia by converting them to Islam, thereby creating a new entity, a new body here. Therefore, they held the view that there was a difference between Turkish history before this period and Turkish history after this period, arguing that ethnic history and national history should be separated.

Turkishness, however, can be summarised as the view that one should concern oneself with the existence and destiny of the people within Turkey's borders as established by the Treaty of Lausanne, ensure their protection and advancement, and not concern oneself with Turks outside these borders, wishing that they resolve their own destinies and merely harbouring good wishes for them.

NATIONALIST STRUGGLE

We nationalists are perhaps engaged in an unprecedented struggle for the first time in history. Our struggle is to obtain what is best, most correct, and most beautiful for the great Turkish nation, whatever the cost.

In our struggle, we may initially find very few comrades-in-arms who are well equipped in terms of ideals, cause and courage. But what matters is not quantity, i.e. numbers, but quality, i.e. action, movement. Our supporters are the elderly who remain young in spirit and mind, the young men and women with mature hearts and minds, the invincible vitality of the great Turkish state, and the guarantee and future of the Turkish nation: the youth.

We do not believe that those whose sole purpose in life is to preserve the status quo will join us. Rather than traitors and those with evil intentions, we will encounter more people who are mentally lazy and those who benefit from the preservation of the current order. They are mistaken. The fact that the struggle seems hopeless, on the contrary, increases the magnitude and nobility of the task we have undertaken.

We pledge to our beloved nation a prosperous, strong and great Turkey; we dedicate ourselves to the nation. And we lay our heads on the path of Turkishness.

National Goals

Since the earliest ages of history, there has been constant struggle and competition between nations. Every nation strives relentlessly to elevate its own status and dominate other societies. To be unaware of this struggle between nations is to ignore the harsh realities of life. In our era, which is claimed to be one of great advances in civilisation and technology, the struggle for supremacy, power and prosperity among nations continues with all its intensity, just as it did in the past. The principle that "might makes right" has been the only principle governing international relations since the dawn of the world.

Despite the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, the severe attacks and violations suffered by Pakistan in December 1971 [28] painfully demonstrated this once again. The events that befell Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956 are also vivid evidence of the harsh realities we face. Nations

28 See footnote 16: Pakistan-India Wars.

29 **The 1968 Czechoslovakian Events:** This period began on 5 January 1968 and saw the communist regime in Czechoslovakia attempting to soften its stance. It began with Alexander Dubček coming to power and ended on 20 August of the same year with the invasion of the country by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies (except Romania). The movements of Soviet and Warsaw Pact allied state troops into Czechoslovakia, which began towards the end of June, ended with the invasion of Czechoslovakia on 20-21 August when negotiations in August failed to produce a result. During the invasion, approximately 5,000 to 7,000 tanks and between 200,000 and 600,000 soldiers entered Czechoslovakia. During the clashes, 72 Czechoslovakians were killed and hundreds more were wounded. As a result of the invasion, approximately 300,000 people were forced to flee to Western countries.

30 **1956 Hungarian Uprising:** The popular uprising launched in 1956 against the Stalinist government in Hungary, which was supported by the Soviet Union.
Matyas Rakosi, known for his allegiance to Moscow, who in 1952 assumed the position of secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party as well as prime minister, relinquished his post to Imre Nagy in July 1953, shortly after the death of Soviet leader Stalin. Nagy, who initiated some economic reforms by easing political pressure, was removed from office and expelled from the party in the spring of 1955 after losing Moscow's support. Although Rákosi regained his former position and halted reformist developments, he was removed from all his posts in July 1956. Erno Gero, who replaced Rákosi, immediately declared that there would be no concessions to the reformist line.
On 23 October 1956, a march organised by students in Budapest to present a petition to the authorities received widespread support from the public. Following Gero's harsh statement, the police opened fire on the crowd, and the peaceful demonstrations instantly turned into an uprising. With army units joining the rebels, the people began to arm themselves. Local councils emerged in almost every city in the country. Peasants began occupying nationalised land. The bureaucracy and law enforcement agencies rapidly disintegrated. The successive concessions made by Nagy, who returned to power, led to the revival of former political parties, which almost shared power. The Church also regained its former power.
As Soviet troops withdrew from Hungary, Nagy announced his decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact on 1 November, requesting the protection of the major powers through the United Nations. In response to this development, Soviet troops, reinforced and returned, occupied Budapest; Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest, while most of the reformist leaders were arrested. Meanwhile, János Kádár, who had served in Nagy's government, announced that a new government had been formed with a programme that envisaged reforms after the counter-revolution had been suppressed. Armed resistance against the Soviet troops was crushed overnight. It took several weeks to end the general strike initiated by the workers. After order was restored, widespread arrests began. Meanwhile, around 150,000 Hungarians fled abroad.

Societies that lack the awareness of the struggle between them fall under the yoke of others. Bearing these realities in mind, we are obliged to be strong and to find the path to strength in order to protect the rights of the Turkish nation and to always be able to assert them.

People on Earth live in communities of nations. Each nation has its own characteristics, way of life and world view. As a result of the activities of these diverse communities, various cultures and civilisations have emerged that colour the world. It is very dangerous for one society to blindly imitate other societies. Every nation must have its own spiritual beliefs, customs, national culture and national worldview. If these are absent or are dismissed as outdated and not replaced with new ones, that society will fall into a dangerous void of belief and ideas. Nations are enslaved by their spiritual and intellectual powers before they are destroyed by foreign armies and other material forces. The enslavement and destruction of a society that falls into such a situation becomes inevitable. The main principles that constitute the source of strength of nations and elevate societies can be summarised as follows:

1) Possessing strong spiritual faith and high moral character.

2) Possessing a strong national consciousness and spirit of nationalism.

3) To reach the highest level in science and technology.

4) Being able to produce modern, mass-produced goods in industry and agriculture.

At first glance, these principles may seem simple, yet they point to the only viable path for nations to achieve strength, prosperity, and happiness. For two hundred years, instead of addressing these fundamental issues, the Turkish nation has been caught up in trivial disputes over imitation and formalism, which have nothing to do with genuine progress. For Turkish intellectuals and leaders, becoming a satellite of Western countries has been adopted as an ideal. Nothing could be more disastrous for the Turkish nation. The idea of adopting the developments seen in the West, but creating our own national culture and civilisation and not being anyone's imitator, should have been the path we embraced. Development efforts have been undertaken since the time of Selim III ([31]).

31 **Selim III:** (24 December 1761 – 28 July 1808), the 28th Ottoman sultan and the 107th Islamic caliph.

However, no conclusion has been reached to date. On the contrary, due to sterile disputes that do not address the fundamental social and economic issues of the Turkish nation, we continue to suffer constant disasters and destruction. Our nation needs an unshakeable order based on a sound system of justice and diligent work.

Turkey's rise cannot be achieved with ideas imported from abroad. No foreigner can understand the interests of the Turkish nation as well as the Turkish nation itself.

Selim III was born on 24 December 1761 during the reign of his father, Mustafa III. When his father died in 1774, he was only 13 years old, so his uncle, Abdülhamid I, ascended the throne. Abdulhamid I treated Prince Selim quite well, unlike previous sultans. Although Selim lived a life of confinement (imprisonment in a room), he was allowed to receive a good education. Prince Selim was interested in music and literature. He corresponded with Louis XVI, the last king of France before the French Revolution. Even before ascending the throne, he came to believe that fundamental structural change was necessary in the Ottoman Empire. When Abdulhamid I died on 7 April 1789, Selim III ascended the throne on the eve of the French Revolution, which would shake Europe to its foundations.

When Selim III ascended the throne, the Ottoman Empire was at war with both Austria and Russia. These unsuccessful wars ended with the Treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1792 and the Treaty of Yaş with Russia in 1792. This gave Selim III the opportunity to implement the reforms he had long desired for the Ottoman army. In 1793, he established the Nizam-ı Cedid army. Meanwhile, the French armies under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte had imposed their supremacy on all of Europe and attacked Egypt, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire (1798). The Ottoman army successfully defended Egypt. With the Treaty of El-Arif in 1801, France renounced its ambitions in Egypt.

In 1807, the Janissaries, who wanted the Nizam-ı Cedid army to be disbanded, revolted under the leadership of Kabakçı Mustafa. Selim III was forced to disband the Nizam-ı Cedid army and abdicate on 29 May 1807. Selim III was succeeded by his cousin, Mustafa IV, who sent Selim III back to the cage. On 28 July 1808, as Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Rusçuk, approached the palace with the aim of restoring Selim III to the throne, Selim III was strangled on the orders of Sultan Mustafa IV. It is known that a great struggle took place between Selim III and the janissaries who came to execute him. Selim III's body was buried in the courtyard of the Laleli Mosque, in the tomb of his father, Mustafa III.

Particular emphasis was placed on training officers in the military sphere. Selim III issued a 72-article decree concerning the reform of the Janissaries and the timar sipahis. Main topics:

The recruitment of Janissaries was prohibited.

Training sessions from Hıdırellez to November were increased to three. In 1790, he built a school in Tophane.

In 1792, he established an artillery unit in Halıcıoğlu. One section of this barracks trained engineers, while the other trained artillerymen.

In 1800, the Mühendishane-i Fünun-ı Berr-i Hümayun was established.

A shipbuilding department was added to the Tersane Mühendishanesi in Camialtı. In 1805, this school was divided into two main departments: construction and navigation.

cannot think. Today, communism, fascism, or capitalism, which have been imported into our country, seek to destroy the Turkish nation. Turkish youth must rise up against the destructive currents of thought that come from abroad and are introduced into our country not for the benefit of the Turkish nation, but for the benefit of others.

The solution to our problems lies in turning inward, joining hands in unwavering unity, and embarking on round-the-clock work. As the Turkish nation, we must rise up against the treacherous activities that target the integrity of our land and the indivisibility of our state and nation. For Turkish youth, nationalism and Turkism are the first requirements of national duty. A great new battle awaits our young people. A great battle against defeatism, laziness, immorality, ignorance, and dishonesty... A relentless battle against communism, regionalism, sectarianism, and all other forms of separatism that deny Turkishness and oppose the unity and integrity of the Turkish nation...

That is why we launched the Nationalist Movement.

The Nationalist Movement envisions the Turkish nation taking flight towards new horizons by blending idealism and realism. Our goal is to transform the Turkish nation, through humane and scientific methods, into a strong, prosperous, and happy society that can stand on its own two feet, possessing its rights and honour, and to bring it to the forefront of modern nations.

Our means of achieving this goal is to awaken the Turkish nation, to give it new vitality and momentum, and to inspire it to work and take action by instilling in it a new philosophy of life based on national history and Turkish consciousness, guided by modern science and high moral standards. It is to realise the great leap forward by explaining to our citizens the dangers that surround us internally and externally and by making the cause of our country's liberation and rise a matter for the people. Another way to achieve this goal is to train enlightened individuals who will lead the nation, filling them with love for the people, distancing them from selfishness, enabling them to live alongside the people and work for the people, and thus uniting the people with the enlightened.

For the Turkish nation, one of the most honourable and greatest members of the family of nations living on Earth, to survive, to rise, to become strong and happy, it must embark on a new struggle.

This struggle will be a struggle to establish a system of justice and rights that is completely fair and transparent among our citizens. This war will be a war to eliminate backwardness, ignorance and poverty. This war will be a war to free ourselves from being a market for others, from being exploited by others, from begging for help from others. This war will be a war to break the chains of every kind of economic, social, political and spiritual bondage that surrounds us. It will be a noble uprising based on love for humanity and deep respect for human dignity, free from all kinds of prejudice and preconceptions, which will not bow to injustice under any circumstances.

We will develop a movement to become the bearer of an honourable flag that refuses to be a servant within the human world, nor to use others as servants. We will fight to propel the Turkish nation forward through the ages, raising it to the highest level in science, technology, and high moral values. There are those who do not understand us, who do not want to understand us, and there always will be. Those whose narrow worlds make them slaves to their selfishness and interests will continue to be hostile towards us. It is only natural that those who thrive on envy, malice, deceit, dishonesty, and baseness will engage in all kinds of activities against us, and they will continue to do so. Nationalist Movement Party members, Dokuz Işıkçılar, and Ülkücüler will work to save, improve, and awaken those who are on the wrong path, without disgust, revulsion, fear, or hesitation, maintaining their dignity and faith. We, as Idealists, must overcome every obstacle and move forward without faltering in order to achieve the best, the finest, and the highest for the Turkish nation. We do not have much time to spare in reaching our goal. We must not forget that they will not leave a nation that has established the most powerful states in history and commanded the most glorious armies, on the richest lands in the world, in the most important region, to languish in poverty, backwardness, disorganisation, neglect, misery and fragmentation.

We must act, join hands, and stand shoulder to shoulder. We must not believe those who speak of scarcity. Impossibility and scarcity are enemies that people have always been capable of overcoming.

A new Turkish miracle must be born... It will be born. Perhaps tomorrow, perhaps even sooner.

WE MUST LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES

Our country has fallen into great difficulties and crises in recent years. Many foreign ideologies and provocations originating from outside have disrupted the life of our country. Chief among these are communism, regionalism and sectarian provocation. These are corrupt activities nurtured and developed by foreign powers seeking to control Turkey in the ongoing struggle for world domination. However, the real reason they have spread in Turkey and found supporters is our own mistakes. People's souls, hearts and minds are like vessels; they cannot be left empty. If left empty, they will be filled with whatever comes along, whether harmful or beneficial. For many years, we have neglected to instil in our young people and the people of our country a sense of nationalism, love of country and national ideals. The love of serving society, the sense of loyalty to the Turkish state, and the belief in elevating the nation have been neglected. Thus, our people, left in a spiritual void, have been unwittingly drawn into destructive ideologies. Harmful movements such as communism are an ideology, a doctrine or a philosophy of life. An idea or doctrine cannot be prevented by harsh measures or material pressure. An idea or ideology can only be countered by another ideal or doctrine that is stronger and superior to it.

The sole source of strength for the Turkish nation is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. People raised with this awareness cannot be swayed by foreign influences.

Three main measures must be applied simultaneously in the fight against foreign activities

1) Instilling national ideals and nationalist consciousness, ensuring a solid national education,

2) Swiftly implementing social justice measures and eliminating poverty and injustice,

3) Enacting legal measures and enforcing them without any leniency.

Today, our country lacks a deep-rooted national education system that instils both national ideals and a sense of nationalism. Unless social justice measures are taken against the corrupt elements who skilfully exploit this situation in our country, it will be impossible to be effective. Moreover, as people who love our country and our nation, we are obliged to think about ensuring the happiness and prosperity of all of us.

The Nationalist Movement has ushered in a new era in Turkey with the national doctrine it has brought forth. This era is one of a national doctrine based on infinite respect for human love and human dignity. With each passing day, our cause is better understood and embraced by our citizens. We will continue our work with enthusiasm and determination. We will forge bonds based on mutual love and respect among our citizens, regardless of party, sect, race or region. We will rebuild a great Turkey as a sacred whole that does not accept division.

VICTORY, BELONGS TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THEMSELVES…

It would be appropriate to first state the goal we have in mind and then discuss the ways to achieve this goal. The goal is to make the Turkish nation, through humane methods and by the shortest route, a strong, prosperous, happy nation that can stand on its own feet, possessing its rights and honour, and to bring it to the forefront of modern civilisation.

Just as individuals must first and foremost respect themselves and feel a sense of self-respect, nations must also respect themselves, have confidence in their own existence, and achieve happiness through working with respect and confidence in their own existence.

If a person lacks self-respect, looks down on themselves, or feels incapable, it is impossible for that person to accomplish great things or be useful to their environment. If a person approaches a ditch thinking, "I cannot jump over this ditch, I am not strong enough, I am incapable," feeling hopeless and hesitant, they will not be able to cross or jump over that ditch. If a person approaches with confidence, thinking, "I am strong, I can jump over this ditch without hesitation," they will jump. Victory can never be achieved by those who believe they are doomed. The life of nations is the same. If nations feel the value of their own existence, believe in their own power, hold their own dignity above all else, and respect their own existence, they will make a great contribution to the civilised world, produce great works, and at the same time bring happiness and prosperity to all the people living in their own societies. That is why we place nationalism at the forefront of our principles.

In our view, the Turkish nation is an indivisible, sacred whole. Regardless of which party they belong to or whether they are independent, we consider it our duty as members of this nation to protect and safeguard the welfare,

freedom, and honour as a matter of honour as a member of this nation. The purpose of our speeches is to demonstrate the measures we believe will make the Turkish nation the most powerful and prosperous society on earth in the shortest time and by the shortest route.

THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM TO DIVIDE THE TURKISH HOMELAND!

No other idea or thought can take precedence over the idea of protecting, exalting, and perpetuating the existence of the Turkish nation. Concepts such as democracy and freedom exist only to serve this purpose.

There can be no such thing as the freedom to disrupt the unity of the Turkish nation or to fragment the Turkish homeland. Just like communism, regionalism and sectarianism have taken root and spread, and the government stands by helplessly and passively. Certain ignorant and cowardly individuals believe that by aiding communists and other subversives, they will secure their own miserable existence. As a party, we will crush, destroy and eliminate communism and other subversive movements within Turkey. But we will not only punish them; we will also impose the most severe penalties on the government, which has failed to fulfil its duty against this destructive activity, and on the traitors who aid and abet the subversives.

NATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY

Another of the Turkish nation's sacred sources of strength is the ideal of unity, solidarity and internal peace.

It is an indisputable fact that a nation that fails to preserve its unity and solidarity will soon be brought to its knees. Today, efforts are being made to undermine our internal unity in order to sabotage and destroy our nation. Regionalism, minority racism, sectarianism and communism are extremely dangerous movements that hinder national unity. There are very few non-Turks living within the borders of Turkey in this day and age. Despite this fact, attempts are being made to create divisions and insidious minority racism, using language and dialect differences as an excuse. Turkish nationalism is opposed to all kinds of separatist movements, as well as all forms of minority racism. Opposing minority racism, which is harmful to our national existence, is one of the most important duties.

The Turkish nation has always held a superior position and fulfilled a superior role in human history and civilisational life. The Turkish nation has never embraced a life of isolation, cut off from the unity of the world and humanity, but has sustained a universal life for centuries by establishing "World Empires" across continents.

It has been a dense civilisation builder and bearer, and with its ideas of right, justice and order, and its organisational superiority, it has always given a positive direction to the life of nations and humanity, ensuring happiness.

Today, the Turkish nation is located in the region that forms the backbone of the old world, in the most dynamic sphere of international life and politics.

The disasters suffered and the serious struggles endured over the last century have not broken our nation's great vitality and power of sovereignty.

The virtues bestowed by the creative power inherent in our nation's character enable the Turkish people to overcome every obstacle and conquer every difficulty.

Turkishness has a positive and divine mission for humanity; the awakening of today's youth with national consciousness and their return to themselves will propel the Turkish nation towards a glorious new future.

In this second half of the 20th century, we see the Turkish nation once again in the conditions of Ergenekon[32]. The Nationalist Movement, which has begun to revive

32 **The Legend of the Grey Wolf and the Legend of Ergenekon:** These two legends form a whole. They deal with the era of the Gök Turks. The Legend of Ergenekon is based on the main lines of the Legend of the Grey Wolf and can be said to be a freely expanded version of that legend.

The Legend of the Grey Wolf: The Turkish tribe that identified itself with the Legend of the Grey Wolf also recounted its development and strengthening, its periods of expansion and growth in the Legend of Ergenekon. Where the Legend of the Grey Wolf, also recorded in Chinese histories, ends, the Legend of Ergenekon begins. The Legend of Ergenekon is the continuation of the Legend of the Grey Wolf.

The Legend of Bozkurt is recorded in Chinese sources and has two separate versions. However, there is very little difference between the two.

First version: There was a country called So in the north of the Hun Country. The Gök Turks, who were of the same lineage as the Huns, lived here. One day, the Gök Turks left the country of So. At that time, they were led by a brave man named Kağan Pu. Kağan Pu had sixteen brothers. One of the sixteen brothers had a wolf for a mother. Because his mother was a wolf, known and accepted by the Gök Turks as one of the most sacred creatures, the young man could command the winds and rain, keeping these two forces under his control. However, after leaving their homeland in the country of So, the Gök Turks were attacked by their enemies.

In this raid, the enemies wiped out all the Gök Turks, and only one of the sixteen brothers survived. The young man who survived was the son of a wolf.

This young man had two wives, one of whom was the daughter of the summer god and the other the daughter of the winter god. After the raid, he had two sons from each of them. As the population grew and multiplied over time, they chose the eldest of the children as their khan; his name at that time was not in the Göktürk language. As soon as he was chosen as khan, he abandoned this non-Göktürk name and took the name Türk.

After that, Türk married ten women and had many children. One of them, named Asena, ascended to the throne of the khanate, and the name of the tribe became Aşina.

Second Narrative: The Aşina tribe, a branch of the Huns, had settled on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. They were known as the first ancestors of the Turks. While they were living in peace and tranquillity, one day they were suddenly attacked by enemies. At the end of the attack, no one was left alive.

Somehow, a tiny child had managed to survive the raid and had taken refuge in a corner. The enemies saw him too. However, because he was frail and small, no one feared him or paid him any mind. Some even felt pity for him. But the enemies still considered every possibility and decided it would be better to cut off his arm and leg and leave him there than to kill him; they did as they had planned. They cut off his arm and leg, leaving him half dead, then took him and threw him into a reed bed in the marsh; they left him there and went away. At that moment, a female grey wolf appeared, from nowhere,

came, suckled the child, licked its wounds and healed it. From that day on, she fed and raised the child with the food she hunted, increasing its strength and vigour.
Over time, the child the grey wolf had raised grew strong.
Many days later, the enemy chieftain who had raided and destroyed the Aşina clan learned that the child, whose arms and legs had been cut off and who had been thrown into the reeds, was still alive. He sent men to find out the situation and, if the child was still alive, to have him killed.
When the enemy chieftain's soldier arrived, he saw a female Grey Wolf beside the young man with his arm and leg severed. The female grey wolf sensed danger, grabbed the soldier with her teeth and carried him across to the other side of the sea; she did not stop there, but took him towards the Altai Mountains. There, in a meadow surrounded by high mountains, she settled in a cave, married him, and bore him ten sons!
The plateau where the cave was located was green; it had cool, abundant waters, fruit trees, and game animals. The sons grew up there and married there. A tribe descended from each of them. One of these tribes was called the Asine tribe.
Asine was the most intelligent, boldest, and bravest of his brothers. For this reason, he became the Turkish khan. He did not forget his lineage. He always erected a pole with a wolf's head on top in front o f his tent. Many years passed. Another brave khan named Asençe emerged from the Aşina tribe. During his time, the Aşina tribe left their homeland and settled in more beautiful lands.
The Epic of Ergenekon: There was no place in the Turkish lands where the Turkish arrow did not fly, the Turkish arm did not reach, or the Turk did not rule. This situation aroused the envy of foreign tribes. The foreign tribes united and marched against the Turks. Upon this, the Turks gathered their tents and herds together; they dug a trench around themselves and waited. When the enemy arrived, the battle began. They fought for ten days. In the end, the Turks prevailed. Following this defeat, the khans and lords of the enemy tribes gathered at the hunting ground and discussed. They said, "*If we do not deceive the Turks, we will be in dire straits!*"
At dawn, as if caught in a raid, they abandoned their belongings and fled. The Turks, saying, "Their strength is spent, they are fleeing," pursued them. When the enemy saw the Turks, they suddenly turned back. The battle began. The Turks were defeated. The enemy came to the tents, killing the Turks. They plundered the tents and their possessions so thoroughly that not a single black hair tent remained. They put all the adults to the sword and took the children captive.
At that time, İl Kağan was the leader of the Turks. İl Kağan had many sons. However, in this battle, all his children died except for one. He had married off this son, named Kayı (Kayan), that year. Il Khan also had a nephew named Tokuz Oğuz (Dokuz Oğuz); he had survived. Kayı and Tokuz Oğuz had been taken captive. Ten days later, they both took their wives, mounted their horses, and fled. They returned to the Turkish homeland. Here they found camels, horses, oxen, and sheep that had escaped from the enemy. They sat down and thought: *"The enemy surrounds us on all sides. Let us find a place deep in the mountains where no one can find us and settle there."* They took their herds and migrated towards the mountains. They arrived at a place with no other way out t h a n the road they had come. This single road was so steep that camels and horses could barely walk on it; if they stepped in the wrong place, they would tumble down and be torn to pieces. In the land where the Turks arrived, there were streams, springs, various plants, fruits, and game. Seeing such a place, they gave thanks to the great God. In winter, they ate the meat of their animals; in summer, they drank their milk. They wore their hides. They called this land "Ergenekon."
Time passed, the ages flowed; Kayı and Tokuz Oğuz had many children. Kayı had many children, Tokuz Oğuz had fewer. The children of Kayı were called Kayat. Some of the children of Tokuz were called Tokuzlar, some

the fire that will melt the Ergenekon barrier ahead and the will to overcome difficulties is developing. Beyond this barrier, which will be melted and overcome, broad horizons and happy tomorrows await the Turkish people.

These horizons and those tomorrows will be illuminated by the torch of the NINE LIGHTS carried in hands and hearts.

As we passed through yesterday's Ergenekon barrier, there was a BOZKURT before us. Today, we are marching as thousands of BOZKURT in the struggle to obtain the best and the most beautiful for Turkishness, whatever the cost. Tomorrow, we will run towards free and happy horizons as millions of BOZKURT.

Turkish Nationalism is a sentiment and consciousness drawing strength from the profound love and faith felt for the Turkish nation. Turkish Nationalism, a movement aiming for the Turkish nation to live freely and independently and to rise, was first introduced to the Turkish nation as a political movement by the Nationalist Movement Party.

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de Türülken. For years, the children of these two heroes remained in Ergenekon; they multiplied, multiplied, multiplied. Four hundred years passed.

Four hundred years later, they and their numbers had grown so much that they could no longer fit in Ergenekon. They held a council to find a solution. They said: *"We have heard from our ancestors that there are vast lands and beautiful homelands outside Ergenekon. Our homeland was once in those places. Let us search among the mountains and find a way. Let us migrate and leave Ergenekon. Outside Ergenekon, whoever is our friend, we will be friends with them; whoever is our enemy, we will be enemies with them."*

Upon hearing this decision of the council, the Turks sought a way out of Ergenekon; they could not find one. Then a blacksmith said, "There is an iron mine in this mountain. It resembles pure iron. If we melt the iron, perhaps the mountain will let us pass." They went and saw the iron mine. They laid a layer of wood and a layer of coal on the broad expanse of the mountain. They filled the bottom, top, sides and edges of the mountain with wood and coal. They made seventy large bellows from seventy hides and placed them in seventy locations. They lit the wood and coal and blew the bellows. With God's help, the iron mountain heated up, melted, and flowed. A path opened up, wide enough for a loaded camel to pass. Then a grey wolf with a sky-blue mane appeared; no one knew where it came from. The grey wolf came, stood before the Turks, and stopped. Everyone understood that it would show them the way. The Grey Wolf walked; the Turkish nation followed. And the Turks, led by the Grey Wolf, emerged from Ergenekon on that sacred year, sacred month, sacred day.

The Turks remembered that day and that hour well. This holy day became a festival for the Turks. Every year, grand ceremonies are held on that day. A piece of iron is heated in the fire. First, the Turkish khan grasps this iron with tongs, places it on the anvil, and strikes it with a hammer. Then the other Turkish beys do the same thing to celebrate the festival.

When they emerged from Ergenekon, the khan of the Turks was Börteçine (Grey Wolf), a descendant of Kayı Khan. Börteçine sent envoys to all the provinces, announcing that the Turks had emerged from Ergenekon. This continued until, as before, all the provinces came under the command of the Turks. Some welcomed this, recognising Börteçine as khan; others did not welcome it and resisted. War was waged against those who resisted, and the Turks defeated them all. They established the Turkish State as sovereign in all directions.

Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness. Anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is Turkish.

Turkish nationalism, a conscious movement born out of the Turkish nation's legitimate sense of self-preservation, is the arch-enemy of all foreign ideologies that seek to divide and destroy our nation and our country.

We oppose any system that seeks to divide our national unity.

The Nationalist Movement is based on love for humanity. It believes in

democracy,

and opposes any system or ideology that is hostile to humanity and seeks to divide it.

The aim of our nationalism is to embrace and love all our citizens living within our national borders, without any discrimination, regardless of religion, sect or race, and to provide them with humane living conditions.

Our understanding of nationalism is the relentless enemy of all divisive classist, sectarian and racist systems that threaten the unity of our country and nation. In our understanding of nationalism, there is no place for capitalism, classist socialism, communism, fascism or national socialism. These foreign ideologies, which are the product of the culture and history of other nations, have no place whatsoever in our state philosophy.

Turkish Nationalism is a movement free from all forms of imitation, bound to the values of its own society and dedicated to developing those values. It has no need for imitation. This great potential within our nation has been brought to the political stage by the Nationalist Movement Party, and the foundations and boundaries of Turkish state philosophy have been established through political action.

The Nationalist Movement is a sacred ideology that draws its strength and momentum from the values derived from Turkish history and the millennia-old past of the Turkish nation.

In short, "Turkish consciousness and pride combined with Islamic morality and virtue" has become the broad expression of our understanding of nationalism for the Turkish nation.

TO BE AGAINST NATIONALISM IS TREASON (NO COMPROMISE ON NATIONALISM)

Throughout human history, weapons and tools of war have been in a state of constant development. Examples include swords, arrows, rifles, cannons, tanks, aeroplanes, and atomic weapons. Today, nations are engaged in what we might call a silent war, a cultural war. Cultural warfare is more comprehensive than ideological warfare. One nation strives to assimilate another nation or nations into its own culture. In war, the most vulnerable points of a human being are the heart and the brain. Cultural warfare targets the same points. For this reason, the cultural cause in the life of a nation is not a cause of reading and memorising the alphabet. It is a cause of developing and nurturing the mind, heart and body.

The fate of a leaf that has fallen from its branch is determined by the wind. It is now at the mercy of the wind blowing from any direction. It should not be forgotten that *"Whoever imitates a people is counted among them."*[33]

The most effective weapon against cultural warfare is nationalism. It is possible to protect and develop one's own values and identity through moral strength and national consciousness. Nationalism is also a springboard for intellectual, spiritual and physical leaps in social and economic endeavours. This is because no endeavour that does not rely on a person's intellectual and physical strength can succeed. Taking all this into account, every member of the nation must be equipped with moral values and national consciousness. Considering the difficult conditions Turkey finds itself in, I would like to state and remind you that opposing nationalist movements in their true value and meaning is tantamount to opening the castle gates to the enemy. Because every cell is the mortar and architect of the whole. If all the cells abandon their existence, life in the whole of the cells ceases to exist.

33 Hadith-i Sharif.

The fundamental philosophy of the Nationalist Movement is love for humanity. We do not believe in systems that do not respect human dignity and freedom. Love for humanity and freedom are only possible by valuing human beings. Human beings are a whole, made up of cultural, social, economic, political and moral values. Our world view embraces human beings with all their values and in all their aspects. It seeks to develop and uplift them as a whole.

To be able to love a person, to be able to make them free, is possible by liberating them from all forms of bondage and enabling them to master themselves. For a person to be freed from bondage and become master of their own destiny means to attain freedom. Historical and political experience has shown us that property has enabled the growth of human initiative and has been the greatest factor in the development of personality. However, we are opposed to the use of property as a means of exploiting and oppressing others. We consider it necessary for the state to take all measures to ensure balance in the ownership of property.

True nationalism is loving every person who makes up the nation equally, without any distinction. The understanding of nationalism we believe in absolutely rejects any kind of distinction among the people who make up this nation. Nationalism is not divisive, but unifying; it is not segregating, but inclusive. Every individual who makes up this nation is a member of the same lineage, the same culture and history, and they are all bound by the same common destiny. In our worldview, no individual is considered superior to another. We are vehemently opposed to all kinds of divisive, separatist systems. The nation is a living organism and a living entity. Every individual has a specific place and role within this organism and entity. Every individual is a limb, a cell of this organism. Just as a normal human brain cannot consider some of the limbs and cells that make up the body to be superior to others, nor can it sacrifice them. For they know full well that in such a case, the body would either be incomplete and unable to perform its duties, or it would cease to exist altogether, losing its vitality. In the same way, a good system, a good state administration, cannot sacrifice one of the social classes or individuals that make up the nation for another. It cannot elevate one class or individual above another class or individual.

Systems that favour one social class or individual over other social classes or individuals are CLASS-BASED SYSTEMS. Nationalism opposes all forms of class-based systems. Class-based systems envisage one class oppressing and exploiting another. Class-based systems give rise to class dictatorship. The

9 LIGHT SYSTEM, which we advocate, treats the Turkish nation as a sacred whole without dividing it into classes.

The first of the class-based systems is MARXISM. Marxism, the greatest enemy of the Turkish nation, theoretically takes the working class as its basis. However, in practice, the working class has no place in state administration. All authority is concentrated in the communist party, which is called the vanguard of the working class. All institutions of state administration and social order are left to the monopoly of the communist party. According to communist theory, the working class is like a small child. Just as a child cannot see its own real interests and cannot protect them, and therefore needs a guardian or trustee, the working class also needs a guardian or trustee, that is, a representative, to protect its real interests. This representative is the Communist Party. In this system, everything the Communist Party does is considered to be in the interests of the workers. Since workers are not in a position to appreciate their real interests, just like a small child, they do not have the necessary intellectual and rational abilities and therefore have no right to object. This is the value that the Marxist structure, which claims to be the state of the working class, gives to the working class.

Based on this idea, Marxism ultimately established not a working-class administration, but a communist party administration and dictatorship. It should be noted that in the Marxist state system, the party and the state are similar. In this system, the communist party and the state are integrated and merged. The Communist Party has gained control over all state institutions. Senior state officials, high-ranking officers, judges and police chiefs are members of the Communist Party.

Marxism has nationalised private property. A single boss has become the owner of everything in the country. This is the communist state. However, the state is an abstract concept. For the machinery of the state to function, it needs organs and people. In the Marxist state system, the people who operate this machinery are only members of the Communist Party. Those who are not members of the Communist Party cannot hold positions in the state apparatus. Since property is under the control of the state, and the state is in the hands of members of the Communist Party, the owners of the means of production in the Marxist state are members of the Communist Party. It should be remembered that ownership gives a person the right to use and control something. The communist system has taken the right of use and control away from individuals and given it to the state and, consequently, to members of the Communist Party. Thus, communism is the first absolute

It has created PARTY OWNERSHIP or BUREAUCRATIC OWNERSHIP, a form of monopolistic ownership.

Although communists characterised property as the product of theft, an instrument of exploitation that gave rise to classes, they did not abandon it; on the contrary, by nationalising property and placing it under the control of the communist party, THEY CREATED A NEW CLASS. THIS NEW CLASS, THE MOST EXPLOITATIVE, MONOPOLISTIC AND ABSOLUTE CLASS IN HISTORY, HAS CORRUPTED A STATE AND PARTY BOURGEOISIE UNSEEN EVEN IN CAPITALIST SOCIETIES.

Thus, communism, which sought to establish a classless society, established the most absolute class dictatorship in history. Everyone except a handful of happy minorities who were members of the Communist Party was deprived of property rights and therefore deprived of freedom. The communist regime, while taking property from people's hands, also took their honour and freedom, condemning millions of people to slavery.

The second class-based system is CAPITALISM. Capitalism is a system that protects only CAPITALISTS, that is, EMPLOYERS, within the national community. The capitalist system, by its nature and operation, leaves economic life in the hands of capitalists, so that in this system the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In capitalism, economic activity is under the control of a few bosses. In this system, only bosses dominate industry, domestic and foreign trade, banks, and mines. The ownership of the means of production is in the hands of a handful of bosses. The taxes the state collects from the people and the money individuals deposit in banks for a rainy day end up in the pockets of the bosses.

Capitalism is a worldview. Like any worldview, capitalism has political and legal dimensions alongside its economic dimension. The political dimension of capitalism is called liberal democracy, and its legal dimension is called liberal law. The political institutions of liberal democracy, particularly parliament, government and administration, serve the capitalist class. In liberal democracies, only the bosses and their bureaucratic class participate in the management of the state. Parliament passes laws that protect the bosses, and the government meticulously enforces these laws. The machinery of the state works for the benefit of the capitalists. However, the bosses and the bureaucrats who serve them always talk about democracy and freedom. Liberal democracy and freedom are a false democracy and freedom.

In a liberal system, democracy and freedom are only granted to capitalists. For the vast majority of the people, those who are not bosses, democracy and freedom are nothing more than dictatorship and slavery. We do not believe in capitalism, which enslaves the vast majority of the Turkish people in exchange for making only the capitalist class masters. In this system, the castle of yesterday's feudal lords has been moved to the centre of today's big cities. In the 9 Lights view, the state is neither a guard at the feudal lords' castle nor a corner shopkeeper. THE 9 LIGHTS DOCTRINE IS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP, WHICH IS A SYSTEM OF PATRONS.

It is clear that the capitalist and Marxist systems, which have been defended for years as models for developing our country, are class-based and dictatorial systems.

In both systems, the unity of the nation is divided into capitalist or bureaucratic classes, and the vast majority of the people, except for a handful of individuals, are subjected to the enslavement and exploitation of these classes. The reason for the enslavement of the people in capitalist and Marxist systems is their inability to own property. As we mentioned above, the only guarantee of freedom is property ownership. For this reason, the goal of the 9 LIGHT system we advocate is TO MAKE EVERY MEMBER OF THE TURKISH NATION A PROPERTY OWNER.

As mentioned earlier, due to the nature of capitalist and Marxist systems, it is not possible for every member of our nation to be a property owner in these systems. However, since the Nine Lights system is based on the Turkish nation as a whole, every citizen will be able to become a property owner in this system. It is possible for every individual to become a property owner by participating in the construction of the means of production and, consequently, in the accumulation of capital. The first condition for capital accumulation is saving. In capitalist and Marxist countries, although this saving is imposed on the nation, ownership of the resulting means of production is, by virtue of the system, given to a few bosses or the communist party bureaucracy. In the Dokuz Işıkçı system, however, ownership of the means of production will be given to those who save. In this way, all forms of theft and exploitation will be prevented, and just as Turks will not be allowed to rob Turks, non-Turks will never be allowed to rob them either. Everyone will own the fruits of their labour and sweat. Thus, national development based on our national resources will be achieved in a very short time. National social justice will also be achieved, as everyone will be able to receive their fair share of the national income.

In order to achieve our national development and enable every Turkish citizen to be free, WE MUST REORGANISE THE TURKISH NATION. In this organisation, the socio-economic position of the individual within society will be the basis. The Turkish nation is divided into SIX SOCIAL STRATA in socio-economic terms. These are the WORKERS, PEASANTS, TRADESMEN, CIVIL SERVANTS, SELF-EMPLOYED and EMPLOYERS. These strata

The Turkish nation will be reorganised. A SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT FUND will be established within each district to form the basis of our economic development. The compulsory savings made by our workers, farmers, tradesmen, civil servants and other citizens in the fund to which they belong will be invested in MACHINE-MAKING MACHINES and FACTORY-MAKING FACTORIES. With these machines and factories, our country will become an advanced and independent industrial nation in line with the requirements of the age. Our workers, villagers, tradesmen, civil servants and freelancers will be partners in the factories established and will share their profits. Thus, every Turkish citizen who is a partner and owner of our means of production will be happy and free, with neither capitalist nor communist bosses breathing down their necks.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND NATIONALISM

Human communities around the world live as nations. Each nation strives to preserve and develop its own characteristics and to make its own community more advanced, superior and prosperous than other nations. This competition and mutual rivalry between nations is possible through the unification of the people who make up the nation in shared feelings and their gathering around a common national consciousness, thereby acquiring the awareness to direct their social existence towards specific goals. Nationalism and nationalist sentiment are the main factors influencing the activities of nations, their rise, and their efforts to achieve prosperity and development for their societies. It is impossible for a society devoid of nationalist sentiment to present the image of a nation. It is impossible for a community that lacks nationalist sentiment and national consciousness to live together. We see that communities deprived of such feelings and consciousness cannot protect themselves against even the slightest influence of external events; indeed, even without external influences, they disintegrate and lose their identity as a community with specific characteristics and specific goals.

The rise of the Turkish nation and its protection from dangers depend on each individual who makes up the Turkish nation becoming nationally conscious and having hearts that beat with love for the nation and love for the homeland. For this reason, we have established Nationalism as the first principle of the Nine Lights national doctrine. Undoubtedly, the nationalism referred to here is Turkish Nationalism. What is Turkish Nationalism? Turkish Nationalism is the expression of a deep love and loyalty towards the Turkish nation, a shared history and a shared sense of purpose. Turkish Nationalism is an understanding nourished by human emotions. Turkish Nationalism is a way of thinking based on love, not hatred and malice. Nationalism is loving one's nation, loving one's homeland, and protecting one's nation from dangers.

It is the feeling and thought of making every sacrifice for its protection. Turkish nationalism is a concept that considers all Turks as brothers. It is a concept and view that considers everyone living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey and who considers themselves a member of the Turkish nation as brothers.

Turkish nationalism expresses the mindset of viewing and evaluating events through the eyes of the Turkish nation. It can be said that another expression of Turkish nationalism is the sentiment and awareness of wanting, thinking and working to ensure that every event, whether inside or outside Turkey, does not harm the Turkish nation. In addition, seeking to maximise the benefit of the Turkish nation from events occurring both within and outside Turkey, considering how every event can maximally benefit Turkey, and striving towards this end should also be seen as a requirement of Turkish Nationalism. It is useful to define the nation in order to determine Turkish Nationalism.

What is the reality we refer to as the Turkish nation? Today, the reality we call the Turkish nation can be defined as follows: The Turkish nation consists of a community of people who share a common history and a common historical consciousness, belong to the same religion, are shaped by the same culture, established and sustained the same state, and today are the owners of that same state, living under its flag and within its borders. In other words, the people who live within the borders of the Republic of Turkey, embrace Turkishness, are shaped by the same culture, and belong to the same religion constitute our nation today.

The definition of the Turkish nation extends beyond these drawn lines. Because the Turkish nation is a great nation, it has spread and dispersed across vast areas of the world today. It is estimated that there are approximately 120 million Turkish communities living in the world today who belong to the same religion, share the same history, and speak the same language. Only one-third of these are within the borders of Turkey. Are we not going to consider the Turks outside the current borders of Turkey as part of the Turkish nation? The Turks outside the current borders of the Republic of Turkey are also part of the Turkish nation. They are also included in the term "Turkish nation". However, the Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey are in other lands, under the rule of other nations. Today, the Republic of Turkey is the only independent Turkish state in the world. The Republic of Turkey is the owner and fundamental entity of all issues concerning the Turkish nation. In this respect, the Republic of Turkey is paramount.

Its consideration, protection, and exaltation should constitute the primary concern. To be of the Turkish nation; to love the Turkish nation and to carry within oneself the passion to serve the Turkish state with loyalty, to possess a sense of devotion to the homeland, and to have the feeling and awareness to make every sacrifice and work for the advancement of the Turkish nation. Everyone who possesses this feeling and this awareness is Turkish. Everyone who does not harbour a longing or desire for another nation in their heart, who feels Turkish, who embraces Turkishness, and who carries a passion for serving the Turkish nation and the Turkish state is Turkish.

This is the fundamental view of Turkish nationalism. It is imperative to evaluate events in light of this view. Should we only concern ourselves with Turks within the borders of **the Republic of Turkey**? What should our relations and attitude be towards Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey? The answer to these questions is as follows: Turkish Nationalism is concerned with Turks wherever they may be in the world. It is filled with deep love and concern for them. Wherever there are Turks in the world, it is the unwavering principle of Turkish Nationalism that these Turks should be well, that they should rise, be protected, and be provided with every kind of help and support possible. However, Turkish Nationalism, in its concern for and relations with Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey, is based on the principle that this concern and these relations must be conducted in a manner that does not endanger the Republic of Turkey or harm the Republic of Turkey. In situations that could endanger the Republic of Turkey or cause it harm, the primary concern of Turkish Nationalism is to protect the Republic of Turkey, the only independent Turkish state in the world, from danger and to safeguard it against all kinds of harm.

Today, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, humanity has made great strides across the world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been accepted and signed by almost all states. The United Nations Charter has been accepted and signed by all member states of this organisation. These two important documents uphold a fundamental principle of humanity. This principle is the view that every nation has the right to self-determination. The idea of self-determination is that every society, every nation, should be in control of its own destiny

is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [34]and the United Nations

34 **Universal Declaration of Human Rights:** The United Nations General Assembly met on 10 December 1948 and published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:
ARTICLE 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. ARTICLE 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth herein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as national or social origin, wealth, birth or other status.
ARTICLE 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.
ARTICLE 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade are prohibited in all their forms.
ARTICLE 5: No one shall be subjected to torture; cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment or treatment shall not be applied.
ARTICLE 6: Everyone, wherever they may be, has the right to have their legal rights recognised.
ARTICLE 7: Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination. Everyone has the right to equal protection against discriminatory acts contrary to the rights set forth in this Declaration.
ARTICLE 8: Everyone has the right to appeal to the national courts against any attempt to abolish or impair the fundamental rights granted to them by the constitution or the law.
ARTICLE 9: No one shall be arbitrarily arrested, detained or exiled. ARTICLE 10: Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law, in the determination of his rights and obligations or of any criminal charge against him.
ARTICLE 11: a) Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. b) No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence under national or international law at the time when it was committed. For this purpose, no heavier penalty may be imposed than the one applicable at the time the offence was committed.
ARTICLE 12: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.
ARTICLE 13: a) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. b) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.
ARTICLE 14: a) Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries from persecution. b) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the principles and objectives of the United Nations.
ARTICLE 15: a) Everyone has the right to a nationality. b) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of their nationality or of the right to change their nationality.

ARTICLE 16: a) Every man and woman of marriageable age has the right to marry and found a family without any restrictions based on race, nationality or religion. In matters of marriage, women and men have equal rights in the continuation and dissolution of marriage. b) The marriage contract shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. c) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State. ARTICLE 17: a) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. b) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. ARTICLE 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Accordingly, everyone is free to change their religion or belief. Furthermore, everyone has the freedom to manifest their religion or belief, either individually or in community with others, in public or in private, through teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19: Everyone has the freedom to think and express themselves. Accordingly, no one shall be disturbed on account of their thoughts. Furthermore, everyone has the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. ARTICLE 20: a) Everyone has the right and freedom to assemble peacefully and to form and join associations. b) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21: a) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. b) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in their country. c) The authority of government is based on the will of the people, which is expressed through periodic and genuine elections held by secret ballot or other equal and free voting methods.

ARTICLE 22: Everyone has the right to social security by virtue of being a member of society. They are entitled to the realisation, through national efforts and international co-operation, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for their dignity and the free development of their personality. ARTICLE 23: a) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. b) Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work without any discrimination. c) Everyone who works has the right to fair and adequate remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. d) Everyone has the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, particularly to a reasonable limitation of working hours and to periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25: a) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services. They have the right to social security in cases of unemployment, sickness, widowhood, old age or loss of livelihood through no fault of their own. b) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special protection and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26: a) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Primary education and schooling shall be compulsory. Technical and vocational training shall be available to all. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of full equality. b) The aim of education shall be the full and free development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and freedoms. All

It constitutes a sacred right enshrined in the Constitution[35]. Based on this right, many communities in Africa and Asia are now emerging as new states and new nations, declaring their independence. Many Asian and African communities that had never been states or established states in history have gained independence from colonial powers as new nations and new states and have become members of the United Nations.

Many communities of people who have never even had a recorded civilisation in history have declared their independence based on the principle of self-determination.

Nations should encourage understanding, tolerance and friendship among peoples, races and religions, and should further the work of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. ARTICLE 27: a) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. b) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author. ARTICLE 28: Everyone has the right to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

ARTICLE 29: a) The full and free development of everyone's personality is possible through the fulfilment of their duties towards the society in which they live. b) Everyone is subject to such rules as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare. c) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30: Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein by any State, group or person.

35 See footnote 8: United Nations Charter.

36 **Self-determination:** The concept of nations determining their own future.

The concept of 'self-determination' or 'determining one's own destiny' has been interpreted in various ways and has always been a subject of debate since it began to influence international relations. States have always shown a tendency to interpret this concept in accordance with their political objectives. Self-determination has sometimes been used as an instrument of power politics. However, at the same time, the concepts of national integrity and international stability have been taken into account in all debates on self-determination and have played a limiting role in the application of this right.

One of the most frequently discussed concepts of the 20th century, the right to self-determination, exemplifies the various interpretations of terms such as state, nation, and ethnic group in terms of their diverse applications in today's international system. Self-determination is frequently discussed in relation to the shaping of the political map of today's world and the changes it is likely to undergo in the future. Although its roots can be traced back to Aristotle, the emergence of the concept coincided with the social awakening in Western Europe. This idea, fundamentally based on the principle of "popular sovereignty," developed within the liberal intellectual movement.

While other nations gained their freedom by forming new states, the failure to grant these rights to Turks living outside Turkey's borders is a shameful situation from a humanitarian perspective. Just as it is the sacred right of every nation to be master of its own destiny, it is also the sacred right of Turkish communities living as colonies under the yoke of other nations to exercise their right to "self-determination," as envisaged in the Declaration of Human Rights.

Asserting the rights of the Turks is, above all, a requirement of the high duty of humanity. In this regard, as another duty of Turkish nationalism, we insist that the right to self-determination, enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be recognised for Turkish communities living under the rule of other nations as a duty of humanity. We consider it our duty to say this. Saying this is not an expression of hostility towards other nations. It is to demand the rights of our own nation to live humanely. Demanding the right to live humanely is a human duty. Until now, many Turkish intellectuals have even shied away from expressing this.

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has held an important place. In this respect, it is entirely European in origin and closely related to the idea of liberal democracy. Despite these ancient foundations, the principle only began to rest on solid foundations after the second half of the 18th century, when democracy emerged in its modern form. On the other hand, the concept has also held an important place within Marxist thought. The Bolshevik doctrine was the first to interpret the right to self-determination as a principle of international law. Stalin defended the right of nations to sovereignty and even their right to secede from the state under whose sovereignty they lived. In his 1913 pamphlet *Marxism and* the *National Question*, Stalin argued that the right to self-determination gave a nation the right to complete secession from the parent state or to autonomy. However, Stalin stated that the interests of the Communist Party would take precedence over the rights of nations.

According to an old understanding, in accordance with the right to self-determination, nations should be left alone to "determine their own destiny" regardless of the circumstances. There should be absolutely no external interference in this matter. Assisting the ruling government, the right to revolt and revolution, and assisting those who revolt are contrary to the independence of the state. As required by the right to self-determination, one should not interfere and should leave the parties to their own devices. In other words, self-determination is, in essence and in the final analysis, a matter falling within the national jurisdiction of states.

Contemporary international law has moved far away from this understanding. Today, there is no doubt that self-determination is an issue of international law. Self-determination is among the main objectives of international organisations, particularly the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. These organisations also intervene, when necessary, to ensure the application of this principle in internal conflicts. (Assistant Professor M. Âkif Kütükçü, "The Right to Self-Determination in International Law and the Turkic Republics", *Selçuk University SBED,* No. 12, 2004).

I hereby declare! Every self-aware Turk must express this truth everywhere. They must explain this to everyone. They must also clearly state this to the nations that hold these Turkish communities captive with their colonialist attitudes, and explain to them that abandoning this behaviour, which is contrary to human dignity and humanity, will, above all, elevate themselves. In our homeland, internal political struggles and political interests have trampled on the noble causes of the Turkish nation and caused it harm. False and misleading claims have been made about the idea of Turanism in Turkey, and the concept of Turanism has been presented to the Turkish nation as a bad and harmful idea. What Enosis([37])is to the Greeks, Panslavism([38])is to the Russians.

37 **Enosis:** Within the framework of the Megali Idea objective, it refers to the annexation of Cyprus to Greece. Enosis, which literally means "annexation", has been on the agenda since 1791, when the first Megali Idea map was drawn. Greece's claim to Cyprus was made on 30 December 1918. On 18 October 1828, Greece sent a note to Britain, Russia and France, formally proposing the idea of Enosis for the first time and requesting that the island be annexed to Greece.

Following the First World War, at the Peace Conference held in Paris, Greek Prime Minister Venizelos presented Greece's territorial demands, requesting the following regions, including Cyprus:

1- Western Anatolia (Izmir, Bursa, Çanakkale, İzmit and surrounding areas),

2- Pontus (Trabzon, Sivas, Kastamonu and surrounding areas), 3- Northern Epirus (Southern Albania), 4- Cyprus, Rhodes, Meis, Crete, Bozcaada and Imroz, 5- Western and Eastern Thrace.

On 25 March 1921, in the village of Serhatköy in Güzelyurt, Greek leaders held a plebiscite demanding the annexation of the island of Cyprus to Greece. An appeal was made to the British administration, but this request was immediately rejected. After 1925, the situation escalated and Turkish-Greek clashes began. Inspired by the idea of uniting with Greece, which they considered their motherland, the Greek Cypriots launched their first uprising against the British administration on 21 October 1921, led by Nikodimos Milanos. This uprising resulted in the deaths of six people and caused injuries to many others. The government building in Nicosia was set on fire by demonstrators.

38 **Panslavism:** A doctrine aiming to unite the Slavic peoples. Slavs, who had lived under Ottoman and Austrian rule for many years (after the French Revolution of 1789), began to advocate the idea of uniting after gaining independence from Ottoman rule. The first ideas along these lines were put forward by Safarik Havlicek, the philologist Dobrovsky and Jan Kollar; they resonated widely among the Czechs and Slovaks.

The idea of Pan-Slavism is based on two separate concepts.

1- To liberate Slavic communities living under the rule of a foreign state;

2- To maintain propaganda that would create an environment conducive to the Tsar's foreign policy. The first idea took tangible shape at the Congress of Slavs of the Austrian Monarchy, convened and chaired by Palacký in Prague. However, unity could not be achieved. The Slavic Ethnography Congress convened in Moscow in 1867 also served as a propaganda tool for the Tsar.

Well, just as German Unity is for the Germans, Arab Unity is for the Arabs, Pan-Iranism is for the Iranians, Turanism is for the Turks.

For Russians, it is not a crime or a fault; for Germans, it is a crime and a fault-for the Greeks, not considered a crime or fault, not considered a crime or fault for the Arabs, not considered a crime or fault for many other nations, the idea that people of one's own nation should be freed from slavery and become a single entity within a close cultural union and close cooperation, why is this ideal portrayed as bad for the Turks? Why is it presented to the Turkish public as if it were a crime? Undoubtedly, some of those who do this have exploited and vilified this great ideal of the Turkish nation for their own selfish political interests. Others are enemies of the Turks. They are the heralds of slavery, brought into our midst by foreign slave regimes, with communists at their forefront. They are the chief enemies of the idea of Turanism. Everywhere, they have sought to ridicule this idea, to show that it is dangerous for Turkey, and have endeavoured to destroy the national thought that constitutes the strength of the Turkish nation.

Nationalism is an expression of deep love for the Turkish nation. Anyone who does not harbour pride for another race in their heart, who sincerely feels Turkish and dedicates themselves to Turkishness, is Turkish. Since we belong to the Turkish nation, since we are people who have emerged from this nation, we will, of course, be deeply attached to our own nation and consider it our duty to work for the advancement of this nation and to ensure that the rights of this nation are always kept above all else, free from any kind of influence. For these reasons, our nationalism

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could not advance. The Pan-Slavists' ideas about the Balkans could be put into practice with the arrival of the Russian ambassador Ignatiev in Istanbul.

Ignatiev's idea was to establish a South Slavic state under the rule of Prince Michael III of Serbia. The independent Bulgarian church, established in line with Ignatiev's views, spread Pan-Slavic movements among the Bulgarians. These efforts eventually led to the uprising of the Christian population of Herzegovina (1875). The Serbs and Montenegrins declared war on the Ottomans (1876). They received extensive support from Russia.

After the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, Bulgaria gained independence but did not embrace Pan-Slavism, causing the movement to lose its momentum. Apart from Russia, which wanted to use this idea as a tool in its foreign policy, no one else was interested in Pan-Slavism. Despite the efforts of the Balkan Slavs, who received significant assistance from the Russians during the Balkan War, to revive the Pan-Slavism movement, they were unable to achieve anything significant beyond a few congresses.

39 It is an ideological movement advocating the unification of peoples who speak Persian and its derivatives.

Our nationalism draws its strength from a deep, profound love for the Turkish nation and the desire to ensure that the Turkish nation, currently in a difficult situation, is rescued from it as soon as possible using the most modern, scientific methods and is brought to the forefront of modern civilisation by the shortest route. Our nationalism is not fuelled by feelings of hatred or resentment towards others. In other words, Turkish nationalism is the feeling created by the desire to rescue the Turkish nation from its difficult situation through deep love and loyalty, and to make it strong, free from all kinds of fear and oppression, living with honour, prosperous, happy, and at the forefront of modern civilisation. This is a summary description of our nationalism, our first principle.

In addition, we add the word Turkism: We are nationalists, we are Turkists. Why are we Turkists? Because our nation is the Turkish nation. What does Turkism mean? Turkism means that everything the Turkish nation does in every phase of its life should be in line with the Turkish spirit and Turkish tradition, and that the aim and idea of being beneficial to the Turks should be at the forefront. We will speak Turkish, we will always put Turkish above everything else. In everything we do, we will not lose sight of the requirement that it be beneficial to the Turkish nation, in accordance with the Turkish spirit and the characteristics of the Turks. This, in short, is the definition of Turkishness. Nationalism and Turkishness, which we have adopted as our first principle, are thus presented in this way through this brief explanation and definition.

RACISM ALLEGATIONS AND TURKS ABROAD

We are facing certain accusations. Let me be clear. We are not racist. Let those who haven't heard it hear it: We are not racist. However, we consider it our duty to care for and love every Turk, wherever they may be in the universe, not just the world. We do not believe that the world, with millions of Turks living in captivity, will ever find peace. That is why we care about all Turks. However, we have a principle here. While caring about Turks outside Turkey, there should be no danger whatsoever to Turkey. We say that everything should be conducted in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

OUR FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE

Our cause is to exalt the existence of the Turkish nation and to perpetuate it eternally. No other idea, no other cause can take precedence over this idea, this cause. No behaviour, no action that does not serve the idea of protecting, exalting and perpetuating the existence of the Turkish nation, that is not in accordance with this idea, can be legitimate for the Turkish nation. There is a constant competition, a struggle, between nations. Every nation strives and struggles to make its own nation superior, more prosperous, happier, more civilised, and more advanced.

Nations deprived of this consciousness, this feeling, this sacred passion, are doomed to extinction and decline. Throughout the struggle between nations, recorded by history since the earliest times, the Turkish nation must urgently free itself from its current state of neglect, poverty, backwardness and weakness, to stop begging for help from others and stand on its own two feet, to become a powerful nation that commands respect and honour everywhere, a nation that is most advanced in civilisation and prosperity... This is our cause. The Turkish nation can only achieve such a state of being by first and foremost possessing a sense of nationalism and the ideal and ambition to make the Turkish nation the most prosperous, powerful, and civilised nation on earth.

Today, the purpose and meaning of this movement, which we have launched under the banner of Nationalist Movement, and which is listened to more attentively and gathered under its banner with greater affection by our beloved nation and esteemed citizens, is this.

Today, the gap between Turkey and the advanced and modern countries of the world is widening rather than narrowing. The gap between Turkey a century ago and, for example, the Germany and England of that time and the Germany and England of today has grown rather than shrunk. Our country—

The development programmes implemented are propaganda in nature. According to studies conducted by scholars of the European Economic Community, the current plan and programme in force in Turkey assumes an annual growth rate of seven per cent. Three per cent of this seven per cent is allocated to the needs of the annually increasing population. If the remaining four per cent is achieved, Turkey will only be able to reach the same level as today's advanced European countries in 249 years at this rate. Consciously rebelling against such slow progress, such meagre development that forces the Turkish nation to remain in misery and destitution, to struggle, is the most sacred duty for those who seek to save the Turkish nation as soon as possible. As the Nationalist Movement, this is what we are doing.

For our nation to survive and rise, it is necessary, above all else, to beat as one heart, to be united as one spirit, one voice. Today, despite having suffered many disasters, the Turkish nation is one of the greatest nations on earth. From the Danube River to the Balkan Mountains to China, the Turks still extend, and the land of the Turks is still traversed. The great deeds this great nation has accomplished in history and the great presence it will re-emerge with in the future are causing concern among certain foreign powers and foreign circles that have their eyes on this region and are anxious about the strengthening of the Turkish nation. For this reason, in order to prevent the Turkish nation from growing stronger and developing, attempts are being made to spread and instil within our people and among our nation schemes of corruption and acts of sedition that will first and foremost destroy our national unity and integrity. For the advancement of the Turkish nation, every Turk must always prioritise the preservation of unity and solidarity, and stand united against any scheme that would divide us, alienate us from one another, or pit us against each other. At the forefront of the schemes targeting our unity are communism, regionalism, and sectarianism.

Partisanship is also one of the main factors dividing our national unity. Today, a democratic system is being attempted in our country. There are many parties. However, partisanship, party interests, like a cancerous disease, are trying to shake the nation's body so much that our nation, our country's children, our people, who are afflicted with this disease, are losing their minds, forgetting national unity, the high interests of the country and the state, and are being dragged in a dangerous and painful direction by personal interests and partisan interests.

towards a dangerous and painful direction. Therefore, above all else, every Turk must remember this: any attitude that does not ensure the unity, solidarity, and free and independent existence of the Turkish nation, or that is detrimental to its free and independent existence and advancement, has lost its value for the Turkish nation and must be eliminated. Therefore, when speaking of democracy and partisanship, the interests of the Turkish nation, the unity, integrity, solidarity, and higher interests of the Turkish nation must be the unwavering motto and principle of every Turk. Behaviour contrary to this is detestable to every Turk and must be crushed.

Today, states with interests in the Middle East, due to the great importance carried by Turkey and the great vitality possessed by the Turkish nation, seek to divide the Turkish nation, poison the Turkish nation, corrupt its morals, and lead it astray; to weaken it and reduce it to a society, a nation, where people fight each other, strangle each other, and destroy each other. The Turkish nation is a capable, great nation. It is a nation with the common sense to understand these things. We must all remain vigilant, always mindful of these noble qualities inherited from our ancestors, and find ways to protect our existence against these corrupt activities.

For the advancement of the Turkish nation, it is essential that the Turkish nation first return to its national identity and national existence. The rise of a nation is only possible through the creation of national values. A nation can only preserve its strength and rise by possessing national morality, by adhering to its own religion, faith, morality, customs, history and traditions. A nation that distances itself from its own identity, despises its own identity, does not appreciate itself, considers others superior to itself, and considers copying others a virtue, has lost itself and is already dead. Therefore, in the struggle we have embarked upon to uplift our nation, the foremost point we emphasise is this: We are Turks, we are like ourselves, we are a strong, capable, virtuous, and moral nation. We are in no way inferior to others. It is not possible for us to rise by copying others. We will trust in our own identity, we will rely on ourselves, we will return to our own characteristics, we will return to our own national customs and morals. But we will embrace modern science and modern technology.

We will take it and find ways to rise above it as soon as possible, thereby ensuring the country's development.

All kinds of activities in the country, and especially intellectual activities and the fine arts, must be mobilised to protect and develop the national identity of the Turkish people, to awaken and elevate the Turkish nation. It is unacceptable for artistic activities to be left unchecked, used as a tool and plaything by various hostile ideas and activities to corrupt the morals of the Turkish nation, destroy its culture, kill its intellectual activity, and render it thoughtless, soulless, alienated from its national identity, and devoid of its national spirit. For this reason, the Nine Lights national doctrine, in its efforts to uplift the Turkish nation, particularly emphasises that our cultural and artistic life, our intellectual life, our intellectual movements, and our literary life must be directed towards 100% national goals, and mobilised in the service of national goals and the national ideal, and in a direction that will ensure the advancement of the Turkish nation. We will never tolerate vagrancy, leftism, communism, Marxism, vagueness, baseness, or attacks on Turkish morality in culture, art, or intellectual movements.

I am pointing out a major principle to you: As Turkish nationalists, we only grant freedom in Turkey for activities that will benefit the Turkish nation. We do not grant freedom to any action that will undermine the Turkish nation, cause it harm, or pose a threat to its existence. There can be no such thing as freedom to destroy or annihilate the Turkish nation on this soil.

The planned mobilisation of the fine arts towards national objectives and the activation of the entire Turkish nation's national energy can bring about the development of the Turkish nation in a short time. Because there is no capital accumulation in Turkey. There are many impossibilities in Turkey. Overcoming these is only possible by mobilising the Turkish nation, awakening it, making it the owner of its national causes, and mobilising its national energy, the energy of the Turkish people.

Throughout its thousands of years of history, the Turkish nation has possessed certain national qualities, traditions, beliefs, and character traits that have ensured its invincibility, enabling it to overcome every disaster and trample every danger underfoot. Foremost among these is an unyielding spirit.

To refuse to accept defeat, to never accept being defeated, to refuse to bow down; to resist bowing down and being defeated is the essence of character. Refusing to surrender, refusing to be defeated is the secret of invincibility. No matter how dark the situation may be, no matter how impossible our circumstances may seem, never accepting defeat, never accepting surrender is the eternal motto of Turkishness. Remember: this great idea, this great spirit, is what will make us great in a short time, what will save us. You will always keep this great spirit alive and carry it everywhere. Along with this, it is also necessary to be filled with great enthusiasm, great excitement, great determination and passion in order to rise, to rise as a nation, as a people, to become the most powerful, most just, most advanced in science and technology, and the greatest entity on earth. Personal ambitions diminish people. However, being filled with great love and passion to elevate one's nation is a secret that elevates people.

Above all else, you shall carry the ideal, the passion, the love of safeguarding the national interests of the Turkish nation and establishing a great Turkey. You shall become filled with this love, you shall lose yourselves in this love, you shall become a blaze of this love; you shall ignite every Turk you touch, and thus every obstacle before us shall be destroyed, and the paths shall open before us. As a nation, we shall know how to rise above petty interests and shall take care to nurture a deep love and respect for one another and to embark on this path. We shall hold the sense of justice and fairness above all else. We shall protect the rights of our citizens as if they were our own, indeed as if they were more sacred and more valuable than our own. People can endure hardship, hunger, living in misery, and face all kinds of adversity for their nation, their friends, their family, and their loved ones. But there is one thing they will never tolerate: injustice, unfairness. While thinking about the advancement and development of the Turkish nation, we must establish a sense of justice and fairness above all else, everywhere, and make it prevail everywhere. Without doing this, the advancement of the Turkish nation is unthinkable. The safety of the Turkish homeland is unthinkable. But as individuals, as families, as groups, as parties, we must all make this an indispensable, sacred principle, a rule of conduct. A major reason for the great difficulties our country is experiencing today is the injustices and inequities we face. The hatred, malice, hostility and strife that divide our nation are all the result of injustice and inequity.

While on the subject of justice, it is necessary to briefly mention social justice, social solidarity, and equality of opportunity and means. The banner of nationalism that we have raised, the banner of Dokuz Işıkçılık, has adopted as its guiding principle the establishment of complete social justice and justice in every sphere in our country. Social justice means a system that ensures the burdens, obligations, income, and benefits borne by citizens are distributed fairly according to their work, effort, merit, and ability. Social solidarity means that a nation living under the same state, in the same homeland, is like a household living in the same house. Just as members of a household are responsible for each other, bear each other's burdens, are obliged to keep each other in good condition, extend a helping hand to each other, assist each other, and care about each other's suffering and troubles, so are the people of a nation. We must establish a Social Assistance and Security Organisation that encompasses the Turkish nation, including its villagers, farmers, and workers. In this way, the need or situation of having or not having connections, having or not having money, will disappear in the country, and it will be possible to provide the necessary assistance and protection to all citizens.

I would also like to highlight another important point. This point is as follows: We are unlike anyone else. Nor do we wish to be like anyone else. We are Turks. We are a great nation with honour, dignity, a glorious history, having ruled over three continents and created great civilisations. We have no need to imitate other nations or other countries, or to copy their systems. I say this because the Nine Lights movement we have started, the Turkism and Nationalism movement we have started, is developing rapidly within the Turkish nation. As it develops rapidly, both the campaigns and propaganda launched against us by the communists and the propaganda launched against us by enemy activities accuse us of being "Nazis" and "fascists". We will explain this in the following pages. However, let me say this much here: our movement is neither a Nazi nor a fascist movement; it is a nationalist movement.

Throughout our history, we have had great figures such as the Metes, Ertungas, Cengizs, Timurs, Fatih, Yavuz, Alparslan, Kılıçarslan, and countless others who have accomplished great deeds and produced great works that serve as examples to the world. Yet, we copy the views put forward by another nation as our saviour, and we

We have no need to adopt it. We would consider such a thing a blow to our national pride. We regard imitating others as the greatest dishonour. Our path is the path of Nine Lights. Neither communism nor capitalism! The path of Nine Lights, which is one hundred per cent national, one hundred per cent local, and which has adopted modern science and technology as its leader, is the path that will strengthen Turkey and the Turkish nation once again and raise them to the highest level in science and technology. This is the path to salvation.

THE WOLF SYMBOL AND THE WOLVES

In recent years, a campaign of hostility has been waged against the Grey Wolf [40], which has featured in our national epics and traditions throughout our nation's thousands of years of history. Communists, separatists, and minority racists, aided by external provocations against the Turkish nation, are opportunists who are afraid to openly express their hostility, yet they show fierce hostility towards the Grey Wolf, the national symbol of the Turkish nation. In some schools, students who wear Bozkurt badges are subjected to severe pressure and are even expelled from school.

Every nation has its own national symbol. For example: the kangaroo is the national symbol of the Australians, the dragon is that of the Chinese and Japanese, the lion is that of the Indians, Iranians and British, the wolf is that of the Italians, the eagle is that of the Germans, the rooster is that of the French, the bear is that of the Russians, and the grey wolf is that of the Turks. Throughout history, the Turks have considered the Grey Wolf sacred. They have carried the Grey Wolf on their flags. Khans, Emperors, and Commanders addressed their soldiers as "my Grey Wolves" or "my Wolves". Today, as we bring a new wave of initiative and revival to Turkish youth, we recommend the Grey Wolf.

The last 250 years of our nation's history, dating back to the founding of the Republic, constitute a period filled with great calamities unseen in any other era of our history. The fifty-five years of the Republican era were a period in which lessons should have been learned from these great calamities and major efforts undertaken. These fifty-five years of peace have not been properly appreciated. Today, the Turkish nation is once again in a miserable state, in the grip of backwardness, ignorance, poverty, injustice and unfairness. It is excluded from the race for advancement and progress being pursued among civilised nations. Moreover, it is exposed to slavery, fragmentation and disintegration.

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40 See footnote 31: The Legend of Bozkurt and the Legend of Ergenekon.

Like communism and regionalism, which will lead to destruction, it is under attack from foreign ideologies. Against these, nationalists and nationalist youth must gather under the banner of ideals and wage a more organised, more planned struggle in the light of knowledge. Once again, Bozkurt will show us the way in this struggle. Turkish nationalists, as Grey Wolves, will embark on great endeavours to revive Turkishness in the footsteps of their ancestors. We are Grey Wolves and we are Grey Wolfists. We take pride in this. As long as we live, we will carry and keep the Grey Wolf, the symbol of the Turkish nation's sacred existence for thousands of years, on our chests as a badge, around our necks as a necklace, and in our homes as a painting. We will recognise those who show hostility towards the Grey Wolf as enemies of the Turkish nation and we will respond to their hostility with hostility. Grey Wolfism is not fascism, imperialism, or idolatry, as claimed by the enemies of the Turkish nation, the traitors, and the sell-outs. They are as Muslim as Mount Hira ([41])and as Turkish as Mount Ararat ([42]); they oppose imperialism in all its forms. For this reason, we hold Bozkurtçuluk, which represents free living, truthfulness, and national existence, sacred. No matter what anyone says... We are Bozkurts, we are Bozkurtçular, and we are the army of Bozkurts.

41 **Mount Hira:** One of the holy sites of Muslims. The cave where the Prophet Muhammad withdrew into seclusion. It was in this cave that the Holy Qur'an began to be revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. It is located on Mount Nur, approximately 6 km north of Mecca.

42 **Tian Shan Mountains:** The ancestral homeland of the Turks. They extend across the central parts of East Turkestan, within the borders of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and China. The Tian Shan Mountains are estimated to cover an area of 1,000,000 km².

NINE LIGHTS, ONE ACTION

We are Turkish nationalists. We are people who fight to protect, elevate and perpetuate the existence of the Turkish nation. This is our fundamental principle. For Turks, for everyone who says "I am Turkish", this is the fundamental law. Every idea, every action must comply with this and strive to achieve it.

You will spread nationalist ideas to the entire Turkish nation, to Turkish youth. I am giving you a torch, with which you will show everyone this path. With this torch in your hands, you will evaluate everything. You will look at any action, word, or idea, and if it is in line with our Turkishness, you will accept it; if it is harmful, you will eliminate it. We are engaged in a great struggle. We have started a great movement. Our cause is sacred. We are defending the greatest cause. You are greater and stronger than everyone else. Until now, you, the Grey Wolves, the 9 Lights, have done the greatest service to the Turkish nation. Never forget this.

Capitals have always ruled over countries. To overthrow and seize power, it has been sufficient to influence the institutions that dominate economic and social life and to take control of the centres of state administration. History is full of examples of this. Those who dominate the streets of the capital, for better or worse, can dominate the state administration. This has also been the main idea behind the communists' recent actions: to gain absolute control of universities, to intimidate the capital through student movements, to support this intimidation through professors, and to break the people away from the previous regime and prepare them to accept their own rule.

Furthermore, by appearing very strong and determined, they implanted the belief in people's minds that they were unbearable individuals, thereby paralysing their resistance. This method was employed, and as they progressed towards success, the IDEALISTIC YOUTH, the BOZKURTLAR, who represented the constructive power of Turkish Nationalism, stood in their way.

The Communists caused anarchy in the country, attacked the workers and peasants; but when they failed to achieve anything from this, they turned to the intellectuals and the university. The fact that the left achieved such success and gained popularity among intellectuals and the university in the country was due to the CHP administrators, primarily İnönü. They used every means possible to crush nationalism and committed every kind of evil. They removed the concept of nationalism from the education that shaped Turkish youth, and as a result, the generations that grew up were deprived of a nationalist spirit. Engineers thought, "The less concrete and iron I use, the more profit I make," in order to earn a lot of money. As a result, buildings collapsed. Doctors thought the same, "How can I fleece the patient who comes to me?" If there was no money, he would not examine the patient, even if he was dying. With their empty heads, devoid of beneficial ideas and beliefs for their nation, whatever ideas came their way entered their minds, and they became cosmopolitan and self-serving.

The communists have taken advantage of these intellectuals, who are devoid of ideals and spirit. Therefore, those who trample on nationalism, crush it, and prevent the growth of nationalist generations have betrayed this nation.

The communists have easily exploited the social and economic wounds caused by these faithless intellectuals. The administration is corrupt; bribery, favouritism and usury are rife. There is no one to bring a solution and put a stop to it... They immediately jumped in and put forward communism as the solution. It is true that the country's administration is corrupt, but the cure is deadly. That is why the soulless, faithless, poor children of our country became communists and brought the country to the brink of a great catastrophe.

However, it was the Grey Wolves who thwarted the communists' plan to take over the university and prevented the country from being dragged into even greater disasters. They died, they were victims of slander, but they did not yield. If the university did not become communist, it is largely due to the struggle of the Grey Wolves. Many martyrs were sacrificed for this cause.

İmamoğlu [43]was shot in the carotid artery; 35 kuruş was found in his pocket. When doctors cut open his stomach for the autopsy, they found he had not eaten for 36 hours.

43 **Yusuf İmamoğlu:** (1945-8 June 1970). He was a nationalist student who was killed by communists on 8 June 1970 at Istanbul University Faculty of Literature, where he was studying.

Afterwards, the communists and their supporters launched a smear campaign, saying, "Sir, the commandos are eating money."

Friends, we do not want you to cause trouble today. They may provoke you, they may want to beat you up. Their aim is to make you look like you are against the army, to make you look like anarchists. They want to pit the "right" against the "left". They do not want nationalist cadres to grow up and graduate from university. Therefore, do not clash with them. This does not mean we are withdrawing from the struggle. No!... You will continue the struggle with knowledge, morality, and hard work. That is the essence of it.

Communism is an idea. Ideas cannot be suppressed by brute force. An idea can only be defeated by another idea that is stronger than itself. That is why police measures cannot eliminate communism and separatism. Because they do not put forward a national ideology that is stronger than it. The ideology that must be put forward against these harmful ideas is Dokuz Işık. Its

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He was the child of a Bulgarian immigrant family residing in the İnegöl district of Bursa. At the time of his death, he was studying in his final year at the Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, Istanbul University. At that time, students at the Higher Teacher Training School in Istanbul were also taking their classes at Istanbul University's Faculties of Science and Literature, but the nationalist students attending this school were unable to enter their school at that time because these faculties were dominated by opposing groups. On the day he was killed, Yusuf İmamoğlu had entered the faculty to have the report cards of some Higher Teacher Training School students, who were waiting at the faculty entrance to have their report cards signed but were unable to enter the school, signed by their teachers.

Yusuf İmamoğlu entered the faculty and had his documents signed by the professors. As he was leaving the door of room 339 at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature, known as the "Assistant Room" where the assistants sat, he was shot dead by a group of people. The press and media outlets of the day reported that this group consisted of communist militants led by Vural Yıldırımoğlu, Yusuf Kayabaşı, Ali Menekşe, Feridun Şakar and Vahram Apik.

Yusuf İmamoğlu did not die immediately despite his bullet wounds, succumbing to them 23 minutes later. During this time, no one was allowed near him by the group that committed the murder, and an ambulance that had been called was also not allowed into the faculty courtyard.

The group responsible for the murder left the faculty without encountering any intervention, accompanied by marching songs. The police arrived at the scene 1.5 hours after the incident.

Yusuf İmamoğlu's body was sent to his hometown of Bursa by ferry in a crowded ceremony and buried in the Bursa Emirsultan Cemetery.

44 **Commandos:** A term used for young people who attended training camps during the period when Ülkü Ocakları (ideological youth organisations) were being established. Opponents of the Ülkücüler (ideological youth) constantly used this term. Alparslan Türkeş's comrade Dündar Taşer used the phrase, "Commandos are silk wrapped in steel." After the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, the term "commando" fell out of use.

As nationalist youths, you must understand our ideology very well. The strength of the Nationalist Movement lies here. For the first time, nationalism has become a political action, entering the life of the nation. We have endured material hardships, but we are still progressing, growing a little more each day.

You must understand very well that we are not merely a reaction against communism. We are an action that opposes it with ideas, opens horizons for the Turkish nation, and is stronger than communism, crushing it.

The National Doctrine of Nine Lights is not a reaction. It is a national doctrine, a national action.

As for communism: Communism is an ideology. The main differences between communism and Nine Lights are as follows:

1) We are Turkish Nationalists. We consider the existence of the Turkish nation to be the foundation of everything. Communists do not recognise homeland or nation. They aim to make the world proletariat (the working class) dominant on earth. Their ideal is to eliminate all classes other than the workers through a bloody revolution and establish a proletarian dictatorship. Communists may be able to deceive the world. But the world's workers mean nothing to us. For us, the independence and exaltation of Turkishness is important. We do not accept class struggle like the communists do. We see the nation as a whole. We take as our basis the exaltation of Turkishness and working for Turkishness.

2) Communists regard hatred and resentment as the foundation of their movement. They harbour endless hatred towards those outside the working class. We, on the other hand, base ourselves on endless respect and love for people, without regard for class differences. There is no place for hatred and resentment in our movement.

3) We are in favour of property ownership. However, we have a different view from capitalism. We believe that everyone should be able to own property, provided that it is used for the benefit of the nation and not as a means of exploiting others. Communism, on the other hand, is based on the abolition of property, the denial of property rights, and the state ownership of everything.

4) We are based on nationalism; they are based on statelessness. But depending on the times, they talk about nationalism when it suits them.

5) We have set ourselves the goal of protecting Turkey as a whole. The communists, however, claim that there are separate peoples within Turkey. They have made it their principle to grant independence to these peoples within Turkey and to act according to Moscow's plan.

6) We are opposed to communism not only because it is such a flawed ideology, but also because it is a tool of exploitation in the hands of the Russians, who are the greatest enemies of the Turkish nation.

THE TURKISH NATION IS BEHIND US

We are fighting for the liberation of the Turkish nation. This struggle is against all the calamities that have befallen Turkey.

An idea and a just cause are the greatest forces. There is no force that can defeat a true idea. In people's personal lives, firm beliefs, sound ideas, ideals, knowledge and material power are the real forces. We are pursuing the cause of the Turkish nation, we are pursuing its cause of advancement. We have no foreign power behind us, we have the Turkish nation behind us. In this struggle, we draw our strength from our nation, saying, **"Only Turks can benefit Turks"; "Turks have no friends but Turks"**. All enemies who fear this have targeted us. That is why our path is true and sound. Allah is with us, for He is the helper of the righteous. We are invincible, for our faith is complete. The secret of our invincibility lies in never turning away from our beliefs, our ideals, our great cause, never compromising, and never accepting defeat.

We will definitely win this case. You are part of this. Our enemies seek to identify the source of the threat to themselves, which is why all enemies have targeted us. For this reason, they have done everything, are doing everything, and will continue to do everything. Even if we were in power, this would still be the case. As long as we remain idealistic, moral, and faithful, our enemies' despicable games will not affect us, and we will grow stronger every day.

Our enemies even used "National Socialism" against us. They accused us of "National Socialism". These are lies. We are, above all, Turkish Nationalists. We consider it dishonourable to take foreign ideas and statesmen as examples. We draw our inspiration from our own ancestors, from our own history. Today, those in power are trying to use the country's security forces against us to undermine and divide us. They know that we are the only party, the only force that will save and elevate the Turkish nation

yet they attack us. They are doing everything to divide us and turn us against each other. But they will not succeed.

Since we entered the political arena, we have pursued a clear and honest path towards a specific goal. That goal is the ideal of a strong, prosperous and secure Turkey. We have never compromised on this, never wavered and never hesitated. We have been open and honest. We have explained our ideas and opinions to the nation, tried to convince them, ignored the slanders against us, and did not even confront the slanderers.

Some betrayed us by appearing to be one of us, some grew weary while among us, but instead of admitting their weariness, they blamed us. Some sought to satisfy their lust for power by taking shortcuts and winding paths. Our deep, serious and legitimate path seemed troublesome to them, and they stood against us. Others, while attempting to carry out their betrayal, became our enemies after colliding with the rock of the MHP.

We paid no heed to these hostilities. We continued to walk the path we knew to be right. Events proved that we were not mistaken in the diagnosis we made from day one and the measures we took. We said that communism was the first and greatest danger in Turkey. We constantly reminded the highest authorities and those with the greatest responsibility of this. Those in power described us as paranoid and pessimistic.

The communists and their allies, however, declared us to be whatever negative labels they knew, such as "fascist," "reactionary," "ultra-rightist," "nationalist," and "racist," and tried to pin these labels on us. But they failed. They could not succeed, because these labels have no connection to reality whatsoever.

No one refrained from joining the race to portray the MHP as equally evil as the communists in the eyes of the citizens; despite all this, we continued to point out the evils of the present and the dangers of the future.

Communism had chosen universities as its bases of operation. It had calculated that it could reach its goal by prying young minds and fresh hearts away from the concepts of homeland, nation and state. We warned the youth against this, instilling in them respect for the homeland, the nation, the state, and history. We tried to prevent the nation's children from becoming detached from the nation. Those who opposed us said, "You are dividing the youth." What were we supposed to do? Were we expected to stand by and watch them all fall into the communist net so they wouldn't be divided?

This time, a campaign was launched against nationalist youth, and all the negative labels they knew were pinned on them. They subjected nationalist youth to every kind of state security and law enforcement institution. This oppression continues to this day. Despite everything, nationalist youth resisted for the sake of their homeland, their fellow citizens, and their nation. They were shot and killed, slandered, and accused of crimes committed by others... But despite all this, they persevered, suffering oppression from the administration and punishment from the courts... Yet they did not give up...

Thanks to this, the university was saved from falling under the absolute domination of the left. Thanks to this, those who carried out 12 March found the opportunity to carry out the 12 March movement.

For years we have witnessed the following: Communist gangs, managed, funded and trained from abroad, robbed banks, kidnapped people, blocked roads, killed soldiers, and attacked our allies and foreign guests. They are still continuing these actions. Nevertheless, when state officials talk about them, the communist anarchists, they cannot shake off the habit of labelling and attacking the Idealist Youth and nationalists as "extreme right-wingers".

Did the people these officials vilify as "right-wingers" rob a bank? Did they demand ransom? Did they kill a consul? Did they kidnap the British? Or did they fire bullets at their armies for nine hours? [45]...

It is a shameful lack of foresight that, even after witnessing such blatant events, some officials still cannot shake off their habitual language and, while listing their precautions against the left, lash out at nationalists, even if only with a single word.

45 Bank robbery, consul assassination, kidnapping of British nationals These events took place before and after the 12 March 1971 Memorandum. Communists had launched armed attacks in an attempt to seize control of the state. On 11 January 1971, the Ankara İş Bankası Emek Branch was robbed in the name of the THKO. On 4 March 1971, four American soldiers were kidnapped from the Tuslog Facilities in Belgat and later released. On 26 March 1972, two British and one Canadian technicians working at a NATO radar station in Ünye were kidnapped by THKP-C militants and taken to the village of Kızıldere in Niksar. Communist militants killed the three foreigners in the village headman's house where they were hiding. Soldiers surrounded the headman's house on 30 March 1972. Ten militants were killed in the ensuing clash.

FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES AND TURKISH NATIONALISM

The only alternative to the ruling powers in Turkey is the Nationalist Movement and the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. All other alternatives have been tried to date, and none of them have been able to develop our country. We will build a Turkey that is strong and developed internally and whose voice is heard among the family of nations externally. It is not possible to achieve this with corrupt, foreign systems.

I would like to touch upon a point that we have repeatedly emphasised on every occasion. Today, the basis of international struggle is constituted by national cultures and ideologies. History, which we perceive as a struggle between nations, has shown that every powerful and great nation seeks to establish dominance over others. Any movement that transcends national borders seeks an international ideology for itself. For this reason, international ideologies today serve as a vehicle for imperialism. Since we accept the world order in the form of a family of nations as a natural composition that will make humanity happy, we advocate the establishment of relations based on the principle of always respecting national entities and oppose international ideologies on this grounds.

The ideologies seen in Turkey can be grouped into two main categories. These are foreign-sourced ideologies and indigenous, national ideologies.

Foreign-sourced ideologies have never been favoured by us, nor can they ever be. This is because some of the ideologies in this group are tools of imperialism due to their internationalist character. As for ideologies that are foreign in origin but do not have an internationalist character, these are also extremely dangerous in our national and state life because they make Turkish intellectual life dependent on and guided by external forces and are unrelated to the historical realities and claims of the Turkish nation.

In light of this brief explanation, regardless of whether they are capitalist, Marxist, or Nazi-fascist in origin, all these ideologies are harmful to the Turkish nation because they are foreign in origin. The former serve imperialism, the latter render the Turkish people incapable of thinking for themselves, sever them from their national history and society, and drag them towards a divisive, fragmenting, adventurous direction. The Nationalist Movement draws its strength from the values it has carried forward from Turkish history and the Turkish nation's thousands of years of past; this sacred source is the foundation of its ideology. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement is a local and one hundred percent national view.

The only powerful ideology that can fight foreign ideologies is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. Unless the ideology of Turkish Nationalism is in power, it is impossible to see and solve problems. The antidote to all kinds of foreign ideologies that seek to divide and destroy our nation and our country is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism.

The Nationalist Movement believes in love for humanity and full democracy. We oppose any system or ideology that is hostile to humanity and divisive. Our aim is to embrace and love all our citizens living within our national borders, without discrimination, regardless of religion, sect or race, and to provide them with humane living conditions. We are the relentless enemy of all classist, sectarian, and racist systems that seek to divide our nation and country. We oppose classist socialism, capitalism, and their deviations, communism, fascism, and national socialism. These foreign ideologies, which are the product of other nations' cultures and histories, have no place in the philosophy of the Turkish state.

FASCISM, NAZISM AND OUR NATIONALISM

Turkish Nationalism is a sentiment and a state of consciousness that draws its strength from a deep love and faith in the Turkish nation. It is a movement that aims for the Turkish nation to live freely and independently and to rise up. Turkish Nationalism is the name of the Turkish nation's ideal of liberation from all forms of bondage, a nation with a glorious and honourable history stretching back thousands of years. We have embarked on efforts to transform our national goals into a political movement. Those who hope to perpetuate the Turkish nation's current state of decline and those who wish to erase Turkey, the last bastion of Turkishness, from the stage of history are the mortal enemies of Turkish Nationalism. They attack Turkish Nationalism with various slanders in order to discredit it and undermine the Nationalist Movement, which emerged as the political action of Turkish Nationalism. Every kind of slander and lie has been told against Turkish nationalists to date. Although many of these claims and accusations contradict each other, they have all been persistently used to deceive both the Turkish public and the world public. Communists, who work to make Turkey a slave to red imperialism, are at the forefront of the implacable enemies of Turkish nationalism.

There are two bogeymen they constantly repeat in Turkey. One is "Nazism," the other is "fascism," and they raise a ruckus at every opportunity. They raise a ruckus, shouting "Hand in hand against fascism" or "Racists and skull-measurers are dividing the country." In this way, they appear to be people striving to protect the concepts of humanism, democracy, and equality. The left-wing press, radio and television controlled by the left, and simple-minded intellectuals join the chorus, declaring their opposition to fascism and Nazism. In this way, communism is sought to be legitimised and made acceptable.

Fascism is a corporatist system specific to Italy, a movement founded and led by an old Marxist as a reaction against Marxists.

Nazism, on the other hand, is Hitler's doctrine, in keeping with the Germanic spirit, which turned the principles of "Aryan racial superiority" and "anti-Semitism," with roots stretching far back among European nations, into a political practice.

From a spiritual perspective, fascism is Catholic, while Nazism is anti-clerical. It is opposed to religion. These are the systems of other societies and other nations, with their strengths and weaknesses. Until the 19th century, fascism changed hands through inheritance between Austria, France and Spain, never quite becoming a state structure, but rather principles conceived with the aim of uniting a nation and giving it a conquering character.

Since the day they invaded Europe, the Germans have established dominance over other nations and kept them under their rule. However, they themselves only achieved the status of uniting around a single state and central authority in the late 19th century, thanks to the genius of Bismarck [46]. It is a view put forward to encourage people to become accustomed to living in a single state and to achieve national unity by propagating the idea that there are enemies both outside and inside.

The Nazis claimed that all good things were done by the Germanic race and that races other than the Germanic race or mixed races were bad. They believe that Jews scattered throughout the world have corrupted it, and to fix the world, they plan to exterminate the Jews, whom they consider the source of corruption, and enslave other inferior peoples to the Germans.

Anti-Semitism (Jewish hatred) is widespread throughout Europe and the Christian world. In the spirit of Christianity, which believes that Jesus is "the Son of God and God" and considers Jesus' crucifixion by the Jews to be the greatest sin, the belief in punishing the perpetrators of this sin and taking revenge for Jesus has roots stretching back 2000 years. For this reason, all European states have at times carried out massacres of Jews.

46 **Otto von Bismarck:** (1 April 1815 - 30 July 1898). He played the most important role in transforming 19th-century Germany from a loose confederation into a powerful empire. Otto von Bismarck, whose titles were Count of Bismarck-Schönhausen and Duke of Lauenburg, was given the name "Iron Chancellor" (prime minister) because he said he would build the New Germany according to a policy of "sword" and "blood".

He organised mass deportations. Hitler and the Nazi leadership, despite being anti-clerical themselves, used this sentiment as a lever in their political movements.

It is evident that Nazism has historical roots in German society and fascism in Italian society, and that these are consistent with the social psychology of these peoples. The Turks were the first nation to embrace the idea and practice of a single state. National and ethnic consciousness has always prevailed over issues such as regionalism, tribalism and sectarianism. Even when the Turks established empires in Asia, Europe and Africa, the state was still considered to be one, and the "Karakorum Khan" in the east was considered the great khan of the entire Turkish world. Following Fatih's conquest of Istanbul, the Great Khanate moved westward.

The Iranian campaigns of the 16th century were essentially a great struggle for supremacy between the Uzbek Khan Muhammad Shaybak [47], the Safavid Shah Ismail [48], and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. Contrary to what some claim, these wars were not based on Shiite-Sunni rivalry or Persian-Turkish competition... Shah Ismail's most powerful commander, Ustashli's son Mehmet Khan, Begdili

47 **Muhammet Şaybak Khan:** (1451 - 2 December 1510). Also known as Shaybani Khan or Shibani Khan. He was an Uzbek khan. He was the son of Shah Budak. In 1468, his father Shah Budak, who had succeeded his deceased grandfather Ebülhayr, was assassinated. With only a small force remaining around him, Shaybani Khan engaged in various battles with the Kazakhs in Transoxiana to avenge his father; defeated, he fled first to Bukhara, then to Samarkand. He gathered his forces and marched against the Kazakhs again, but was defeated once more and took refuge in Khwarezm. He entered the service of Mahmud Khan, one of the sons of the deceased Chagatai Khan Yunus who was fighting for the throne (1488). In return for his services, he received the city of Turkistan (Yesi) as his domain. Taking advantage of the internal strife among the Timurids, he became ruler of Transoxiana (1495-1500) and proclaimed his sovereignty in Samarkand. He expelled Babur from Samarkand, which he had captured for a time. He defeated his former protector Mahmud Khan in Fergana and seized control of Tashkent and Shahruye (1502). He then conquered Khwarezm and all of Khorasan. He made the Uzbeks his greatest power. Shah Ismail became his only rival. They faced each other in 1508. Emerging as the leader of the Sunnis in the region, Shaybani Khan accused the Shiite Shah Ismail of straying from Islam. On 2 December 1510, he was ambushed by Shah Ismail at the Battle of Merv. Despite his army's numerical superiority, he was defeated and killed while trying to escape, or died from wounds sustained in battle.

48 **Ismail Shah:** (17 July 1487 – 24 May 1524) Founder of the Safavid Empire. His father was Sheikh Haydar, and his grandfather was Sheikh Cüneyd. Ismail's mother, Alemşah Halime Begüm, was the daughter of Uzun Hasan, ruler of the Akkoyunlu tribe. In 1514, he was defeated by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I at the Battle of Chaldiran. After this defeat, he suffered a mental breakdown, tried to stay away from war, began to pay little attention to matters concerning the country, and delegated state affairs more to his commanders. He died of internal bleeding at the age of 37 and was buried in the Safavid Mausoleum in Ardabil.

He was a Sunni Turkmen by birth. The janissaries in Yavuz's army were also Bektashi. Indeed, there are even rumours that Yavuz Selim was a Bektashi, based on the single earring in his ear. Sultan Ahmet Tembel, who sided with Shah Ismail in the struggle between Shaybak Khan and Shah Ismail, was also a Sunni emir. Moreover, there was not a single (Persian) soldier in Shah's army. In these conflicts, the term "Iran" refers only to a terrain and a geography.

A nation with such a strong and deep-rooted concept of statehood and national consciousness had no need to invent external threats to inspire a sense of unity; therefore, Turkish nationalism is not aggressive either.

The principle of the Turkish state and the ideal of the Turkish nation have manifested themselves on the basis of world peace and the order of the universe.

A nation striving for the ideals of order, justice and peace could not, and did not, behave hostile towards other peoples, religions and races.

Genocide does not exist in Turkish history. Jews expelled from Spain, Poles who lost their country, and Russians persecuted for their religion (Malakan[49]) sought refuge in the Ottoman Turkish state and were granted protection and justice. In a Turkish society shaped by such a history, it is impossible to imagine the implementation of a plan to exterminate people of other religions or races. Therefore, a "Nazi" movement cannot arise from within the Turkish nation; if a handful of people who have lost their minds to imitation do emerge, they will achieve nothing but ridicule.

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49 **The Molokans** are people who oppose the policies of Tsar Peter the Great of Russia and accept Molokanism, a religious movement and way of life, as their philosophy of life. Molokanism is a sect that broke away from the Orthodox Church. This separation began on 28 March 1805 and lasted until 22 March 1809. The Molokans living in the Saratov and Dumbag regions fell into conflict with the Russians during that period. According to Russian belief, there was a tradition of drinking milk only two days a week. The Molokans, however, objected to this belief and argued that milk could be drunk every day of the week. The Russian word Moloko means milk. Molokan is derived from this word. In 1682, these people, who separated from the Orthodox Church for this reason, were first settled in the north of the Caucasus and later in the provinces of Tiflis, Yerevan and Baku along the Ottoman and Iranian borders.
Following the Ottoman-Russian Wars of 1876-1877, these people, who were settled in Kars by the Russians, remained there for many years before moving to other countries, primarily the United States and Australia.

Turkish nationalism is a movement free from all forms of imitation, committed to the values of its own society and dedicated to developing those values. It has no need to imitate others.

An Englishman who travelled among the Turks in the 18th century wrote: "We are actually in constant conflict with the Turks, and our religions are opposed to each other

opposite, but they treated me so well that I was actually embarrassed. Everyone was smiling

. Everyone wanted to show their friendship through their actions, but also by looking down on me a little."

This is the nature of the Turkish nation; it is dignified, and because it is not selfish, mercenary or cowardly, it is not cruel, aggressive or oppressive. For this reason, we cannot see any possibility of fascism and Nazism taking root in our society.

Nevertheless, communists, centre-leftists and admirers of dictatorship continue to proclaim the non-existent as fascism, Nazism and reactionism.

A number of narrow-minded administrators also embrace this clamour and show zeal in creating panic. They should avoid falling for these games.

These accusations have reached such a degree that communists have accused the Army and Force Commanders, former Prime Minister Erim [50], the Chief of General Staff,

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50 **Nihat Erim:** He was born in 1912 in the Kandıra district of Kocaeli. He completed his secondary education at Galatasaray High School. He graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law in 1936. Between 1936 and 1939, he completed his doctorate at the Paris Faculty of Law. In 1939, he began working as an assistant professor at Ankara University Faculty of Law as a lecturer in public law. He was promoted to professor in 1941. In addition to teaching public law at Ankara University Faculty of Law, he also taught international law at the Faculty of Political Sciences. In 1943, he served as Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1945, he was among the Turkish delegates who attended the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. In the 1946 elections, he was elected as an independent member of parliament from Kocaeli. Shortly afterwards, he joined the CHP. Between 1948 and 1950, he served as Minister of Public Works and Deputy Prime Minister. When the CHP went into opposition in 1950, he was appointed as editorial advisor and chief writer for the party's organ, the *Ulus* newspaper. He published the *Yeni Ulus* and *Halkçı* newspapers.

At the request of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, he took part in drafting the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. In 1961, he returned to the Grand National Assembly as a CHP deputy. He later left the CHP and joined Prof. Dr. Turhan Feyzioğlu, who founded the Republican Trust Party, in opposition. Following the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, he was tasked with forming a government on condition that he leave the CHP. On 26 March 1971, he formed the non-partisan First Erim Government, which served from 29 March to 3 December 1971. He was tasked with forming a government again; The 34th Government of the Republic of Turkey (second Erim Government), which he formed, served from 11 December 1971 to 17 April 1972. He served as a quota senator in the Senate of the Republic until 1977.

They attributed the same characteristics to the President. In fact, a prominent member of the centre-left party called another prominent member reactionary. What is surprising is not these accusations, but the fact that those who are accused fail to grasp the reality and continue to level the same accusations at each other.

Thus, the centre of gravity of the forces fighting against the left is shifting, the left is gaining relative breathing space, and this is the main goal pursued for now.

We, as Turkish nationalists, will expose those who seek to maliciously label us with these lies and slanders, revealing their true faces to the Turkish nation. We will resolutely pursue the movement to liberate Turkishness from all forms of bondage and to elevate it. We will realise a Great Turkey that stands at the forefront of the world's nations in science, technology, civilisation and prosperity, as it once did, in the shortest possible time.

Nationalism Against Communism

Turkey today is under the influence of communist imperialism from the east and capitalist imperialism from the west. Of these two systems of materialistic outlook, communism holds a large part of the Turkish nation captive and has seized its lands. While the aims of this system, which has always been contrary to the Turkish people, and its main proponent in the world, Soviet Russia, in Turkey are well known, there are those in our country today who wish to show affinity with this northern enemy and defend its system. The Turkish nation has never been swayed by a materialistic view in history. After embracing Islam, it has always fought against such systems and ideas.

Today, communists are endeavouring to divide our nation into hostile camps. We will not permit these disruptive and divisive elements to turn our people against each other or cause discord among them.

For a long time now, the broad atmosphere of freedom brought about by our constitution has been exploited to the fullest extent possible. Certain individuals, particularly those belonging to the extreme fringe, have adopted a highly erroneous and unrealistic stance. The primary targets of their divisive, destructive propaganda, which spreads hatred and malice, are Turkish youth, Turkish villagers, and Turkish workers. On 19 July 1980, he was assassinated in a armed attack by Dev-Sol militants at a seaside club near his home in Dragos, Istanbul.

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was killed in a gun attack by Dev-Sol militants at a seaside club near his home in Dragos, Istanbul, on 19 July 1980.

The favourable nature of the impoverished and neglected conditions in which they find themselves also bolsters their courage. We know that Turkey is in a difficult economic situation. The people are poor, capital is ruthless and insensitive, and labour suffers. There is a deep chasm of mistrust between those who enforce social justice and those who are subjected to it. As if this were not enough, opportunistic and ambitious politicians are forcibly driving the masses towards two opposing camps.

To escape this situation, we must seek new solutions and new measures to ensure that we live side by side and in harmony as citizens who love and respect each other, even if we belong to different parties and different camps.

The extreme leftists say: "The system is flawed; with this system, it is impossible to reach the level of modern civilisation. The only way out is to establish a government where the labourers will be in control..." However, they do not say what they will solve or how they will solve it. None of those who put forward this claim have ever been manual labourers, nor are they people who have grown up in the poor and destitute neighbourhoods of our workers and peasants, or who have lived in these neighbourhoods and sympathised with the suffering of the people. Most of them are people who have never ventured from the comfortable neighbourhoods of Istanbul and Ankara to the poor neighbourhoods, and whose monthly incomes are in the tens of thousands. Every evening, their meeting places are the famous luxury hotels of Ankara and Istanbul. These people strive to be at the forefront of every popular and prestigious idea and tendency. They always defend extremes. Their aim is to undermine normality and disrupt the status quo. They are fanatical about their beliefs and have no tolerance for criticism. When faced with even the slightest criticism, instead of responding to our ideas with ideas, they resort to slander and fabrication, striving to intimidate and silence thinking minds. They strive to silence educated, cultured, knowledgeable, and thoughtful intellectuals. For them, manual labour is superior to thinking minds. However, we argue that the stratification and class divisions necessitated by civil and professional division of labour and social life do not justify exploitation and a hierarchy of domination. We maintain that the rights of all working people, whether manual labourers or intellectual labourers, are sacred and must be protected. We maintain that in the administration of the life of a nation and a state, and in the organisation of social activities, it is the educated, cultured, nationalist intellectuals who should have the final say and lead. Claiming that 291 of the candidates they put forward for the 450 seats in parliament were manual labourers

We say that the attitudes of those who boast are contrary to the interests of the country. Today, the number of manual labourers in the country is around two million. This means 1/20 of the total population. If it is desired that people from every class be represented in parliament, then there should be around 30 representatives of manual labourers. However, the claims and actions of the extremists show that they want to place the country under the dictatorship of a single class: the manual labourers, who are not prepared to govern the state in terms of education and culture. We are opposed to this. The development of our country depends, first and foremost, on enlightened minds having a say.

In this regard, combating communism within our country is our foremost duty. We will stand against those individuals and attitudes that would drag the country down this path. Their lies and slander cannot intimidate us. We will resolutely overcome every obstacle on the path to raising the Turkish nation to a position of power, prosperity and civilisation.

International Communism and Anarchist Activities

International communism, in collusion with traitors within, seeks to destroy the last independent Turkish state. These treacherous hands, which threaten the unity of our nation and homeland, must be broken. To this end, it is essential that all nationalist forces unite around a national ideal. It is time to put aside petty, inconsistent party interests, abandon Byzantine intrigues, and cling tightly to the ideal of Turkish nationalism. The ideal of Turkishness and the consciousness of nationalism must be an ideology that every institution applies and defends uncompromisingly.

The servants of international communism, traitors, and sold-out anarchists seek to tear apart and divide this country, the eternal homeland of the Turks, and turn it into communist territory. The country is not a simple piece of land, a soulless geographical area. The country is the sacred homeland that our ancestors created with their blood and souls and entrusted to their children and grandchildren for the continuation of the great entity called the nation throughout thousands of years of history. Our duty is to protect and defend this heavenly homeland, and if necessary, to die for it. For, as the poet said**, "The land is the homeland if there are those who die for it."** It must never be forgotten that the Turkish homeland is of geopolitical and geostrategic importance, coveted and sought to be divided by all kinds of external and internal imperialist forces. Considering the importance that the Middle East has gained in international politics in recent years

, the importance of the Turkish homeland within the National Pact can be more easily understood.

The true intention of the communists who created anarchy under the slogan of **"a fully independent Turkey"** was to separate Turkey from NATO and bind it to Russia within the Warsaw Pact. We respect the integrity of every nation and its territory. However, despite our desire to establish good neighbourly relations with Russia at all times, Russia has constantly had its eye on Anatolia, both during the Tsarist era and today under communist ideology. The will known to history as "Tsar Peter's Testament (52)"

51 **Warsaw Pact:** A twenty-year agreement signed on 14 May 1955 between the states known as the Iron Curtain. Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Russia gathered in Warsaw to sign the agreement. The purpose of the pact was that if one of the allies was attacked, the other members would provide all necessary assistance, including the use of military force. Albania withdrew from the pact in 1968. The agreement expired in 1975, but was extended at that time for 10 years, in 1985 and in 20 years and again . During the Second World War, Russia received extensive aid and tolerance from its allies in order to defeat Germany. It was predicted that Russia, which had suffered heavy losses, would not seek world domination but would focus on healing its own wounds. Never abandoning their desire for world domination, the Russians stalled their allies at the Tehran and Yalta Conferences, but made their intentions clear at the Potsdam Conference on 17 July 1945. This revealed deep differences in opinion and understanding in their relations with the West. The successive establishment of communist regimes in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany was seen as the implementation of Russia's ideas. It signed separate non-aggression pacts with these states. Following the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty by Western states in 1949, Russia also began preparations to establish a joint army with its satellite states. Between 1951 and 1952, the Eastern Bloc satellite states were incorporated into the Russian army system. With West Germany joining NATO in 1955, Russia, claiming it was obliged to protect the integrity of Eastern European countries, established the Warsaw Pact. The command and control of this pact, established for military purposes, belonged entirely to Russia. The satellite states were forced to participate in this agreement. The events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, their suppression bloody as this suppression resulted in . The pact's largest body was the political advisory committee. The committee, fully organised, consisted of the General Secretaries of the Communist Parties, Heads of Government, and Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence of the member countries. This committee was based in Moscow. In the event of any war with the West, the armed forces of the pact would be under the operational control of the Soviet High Command. In terms of the balance of power, the Warsaw Pact had one million more soldiers than NATO. After the collapse of communism and the dissolution of the USSR, the Warsaw Pact became history on 1 July 1991.

52 **Tsar Peter's Will:** Tsar Peter I's (1672-1725) will, written in 1725 and announced in 1738: All my children shall, one after another, reign over the countries of Europe, for all the state institutions of Europe are outdated and decrepit.

However, the Russian Empire is developing, and we have achieved this development through our own intellect. I have written my "Will" in the form of the following testament so that it may serve as a "guide" for future generations.

1- The Russian state must always prepare for balanced conditions of war, and efforts must be made to ensure that these preparations lead to Russia's progress.

2- During times of war, it should attract as many military strategists as possible from Europe, and during times of peace, it should attract scholars to Russia.

3- It is necessary to sow discord among European countries, create antagonism between them, and collaborate with one of them in this endeavour. In particular, we should strive to play an active role in the conflicts and unrest among the German people. For they are our neighbours and close to us.

4- We must stir up unrest in Poland, bribe their leaders generously to undermine their power, strike at the heart of the state, and bring soldiers from Moscow to settle there. If other states object to these measures, we should tear off a piece of Poland and give it to them as a "hush money", then take that piece back once the job is done. We should consolidate Russian rule.

5- We must establish as much of a foothold as possible in Sweden and Norway. For if their governors are in our hands, it will be easier to ensure that Sweden and Norway sow the seeds of enmity towards Denmark.

6- Russian nobles must not forget to marry German nobles, influential figures, governors, and high-ranking officials. For such kinship will always be beneficial to us.

7- Join forces with the British government and intensify contacts. This will benefit us in trade and state administration. All necessary materials for shipbuilding will be obtained from them. These contacts are very useful both for arms and for shipping.

8- The borders of the Russian state should extend from northern Europe to the Baltic Sea and south to the Black Sea. It is the duty of my sons to preserve this situation and expand the Russian frontier.

9- In order to make Russia a world power, its capital must be Istanbul, the key to the treasures of Asia and Europe.

It is necessary to work diligently and without delay to gain control of Istanbul's western territories. Undoubtedly, the Shah who possesses Istanbul will be the divine ruler of the world.

To achieve this goal, seeds of discord and strife must always be sown between Turkey and Iran, and conflict and war must be provoked.

The conflicts between the Sunni and Shia sects are the sharpest weapon and the invincible army for this task.

The Sunni-Shia conflicts are the best means to spread Russia's influence in Asia. The balance between Turkey and Iran must be disrupted (through discord and strife) so that they can never agree with each other.

Neither Iran nor Turkey should be allowed to establish contact with the peoples of Europe. If the Muslims of these countries were to open their eyes and understand their rights, it would spell great trouble for us.

It is necessary to win over the religious leaders of both Turkey and Iran and, through them, to stir up Sunni-Shia conflicts.

It is imperative to remove Islamic doctrine from Asia and to seriously propagate and spread Christian doctrine and civilisation there.

Keep this confidential.

The interference of our scholars in state affairs up to now has hindered the progress of the Russian state. Using my own authority and independence, I have removed them from state affairs. I have refused to allow the clergy to interfere in state affairs, and now they are bound hand and foot like ordinary people.

I did this at great risk. I removed the clergy from state and national affairs and limited their authority to performing religious duties in churches.

In addition to this, various measures must be taken so that Iran becomes a little more penniless and trade-less with each passing day. In short, Iran must always be driven into decline and kept in a state of dependence so that the Russian state is able to kill it effortlessly whenever it wants.

But it is not advisable to take Iran's life before the Turkish state is destroyed. The country of Georgia is the lifeline of the Caucasus, that is, Iran's jugular vein. If Russia's scalpel reaches that artery, then weak blood will flow from its heart and it will become so weak that even if a thousand Plato were to rise from the dead, they could not reform it and restore it to health.

Then Iran will be as obedient to the Russian tsars as a camel. And Turkey's last spark will be extinguished.

After finishing off Turkey, a region of material needs, it will be possible to destroy Iran without difficulty and cut off its head.

To this end, you must seize Georgia and the Caucasus without delay and make the influential figures within Iran your servants and subjects.

After that, you must set your sights on India. That country is a very large and extensive trade region. If you seize it, the revenue obtained through England will be much greater than before, and it will be exported from India.

The key to India is , the capital of which is , the capital of Turkey is . Advance as far as you can through the deserts of Kyrgyzstan, Khiva and Bukhara so that your goal draws nearer. Do not waste time, but also refrain from panic and haste.

Austria should be ostensibly friendly. However, measures should be taken so that Germany and Austria gradually lose their power.

Turkey must be separated (removed) from Europe, and Austria must also benefit from this cooperation. There are two ways to achieve this: one is to keep Austria busy elsewhere, and the other is to...

A piece of land should be given to Austria from Turkish territory in such a way that it can be easily taken back from Austria later.

10- Treat the Greeks with peace and friendship; they will help you in times of war, for the Greeks have always suffered harm from Turkey.

11- After invading Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Iran and Poland, form an alliance with Italy and France and establish contact with them. If none of them accept our friendship, then find an opportunity and destroy those places and countries. Once you have seized these places, you will become the ruler of the world.

12- If any of the countries mentioned above refuses to accept the battle, it is necessary to take such measures that discord and strife may arise between these two governments (Italy and France). In this way, over time, one of them will disappear and be destroyed. You will plunder the remaining governments and establish dominion over all of Europe without any trouble. In the end, you will annex all the other countries to your own and rule the entire world.

Articles 9, 11, and 13 clearly reveal Tsarist Russia's ambition.

The sections of the aforementioned articles relating to Turkey are as follows: Article: 9 — “We must expand and advance as far as possible towards Istanbul and India. Whoever seizes these points once will become the true ruler of the world. To this end, we must constantly create disagreements, first with Turkey and then with Iran... Article: 11 — "We must draw Austria's attention to the expulsion of Turkey from Europe and eliminate its jealousy regarding the capture of Istanbul... Article 13 — "When Sweden falls into our hands and Poland comes under our yoke; when Iran disappears and Turkey is occupied, we must separately and secretly make offers to the Palace of Versailles and then to the Palace of Vienna to divide world domination..."

During the Tsarist era, Russia declared war on us 13 times with the aim of eliminating the Turks, who were a major obstacle to its country and nation, in order to establish world domination and gain access to warm seas and climates. The goal of establishing world domination and eliminating Turkey was pursued by Soviet governments even after the communist revolution of 1917. In 1945, they demanded territory from our country (Kars, Ardahan, bases in the Marmara straits) and also wanted a friendly and reliable government in Ankara. It was stated that for the government in Ankara to be "friendly and reliable," it had to be like the governments in Sofia, Prague, and Bucharest. This brief explanation probably reveals the Soviet imperialist ambitions regarding Turkey.

Over the past five or six years, our country has witnessed some very serious and tragic events. The memorandum issued by the Turkish Armed Forces on 12 March 1971 marked the beginning of a new phase in the life of the nation. Meanwhile, many young and educated people who had drifted towards communism, regionalism and separatism were prosecuted. Armed gangs were formed and partisan warfare began. Foreigners visiting our country were attacked, kidnapped and murdered. Some of those responsible were shot dead during clashes with state forces while resisting with weapons.

Many young people were arrested. It is clear that the path they took was wrong and was found to be harmful and destructive to our country. However, even if they were wrong, the young people showed behaviour that showed they would not hesitate to sacrifice everything, including their lives, for an ideal they believed in.

. What a great sorrow this is for our country and what a great loss for the Turkish nation.

Why have hundreds of young people and some educated members of the Turkish nation been drawn into these destructive currents and movements that are harmful to the homeland... Why have these unfortunate children of the country committed the treason of dividing Turkey into separate small states according to regions? Why have these people, who studied for years at our universities, made statements such as, "I am not Turkish, I am not Muslim, I do not recognise the existence of Turkey"?!

These young people, the children of our country, were not steeped in these bad and wrong ideas when they were in their family homes before coming to university. Indeed, many of them were genuinely patriotic and nationalistic. The reason for their loss to the nation is the void of ideas and beliefs into which our country has fallen for many years. People live, find happiness, and rise with faith and ideals. A person without faith or ideals finds themselves in a void and is swept along by events under the influence of their instincts alone; their behaviour and life remain dependent on chance.

The age we live in is, above all, an age of ideological and cultural warfare. Nations that do not pursue the path of developing their own national culture, and societies that do not define their own national ideals and educate their people in accordance with these ideals, become prisoners of foreign cultures and ideologies.

For many years, our Turkey has been exposed to the assault and invasion of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. In the age we live in, before the enemy arrives with guns and cannons, they attempt to invade our cultural and ideological life, our thoughts and beliefs, and our artistic world. Once they have succeeded in this, it becomes a simple matter for the enemy's armed forces to seize our state and our homeland.

Since 1917, Russian imperialism has taken on a new guise and acquired a brand new, extremely powerful, even formidable weapon: the ideology of communism. Russian imperialism has skilfully used and continues to use this ideology to devour the nations and territories it wishes to exploit. Turkey is at the centre of the secret and open struggle between states. For this reason, it is the target of the most relentless attacks by foreign cultures and ideologies. Attacks by foreign cultures and ideologies aimed at destroying the Turkish nation have never

It will not stop. It will take on new forms, apply new methods, bring forth new people, and continue its struggle. To counter this and rapidly strengthen the Turkish nation and the Turkish state, a national ideology and a national cultural movement must be put forward. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can never be crushed, prevented or defeated by military force, police power or brute force. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can only be defeated by ideas, ideals and beliefs that are more correct, more powerful and superior to them. The Turkish nation's strength against all kinds of foreign ideological and cultural attacks **is the Turkish ideal and the ideology of Turkish nationalism, based on the consciousness of Turkish nationalism.**

When discussing attacks from foreign cultures and ideologies, alone

It would be an incomplete approach to consider communism. It is necessary to take into account any foreign cultural and ideological influences that hinder the advancement of Turkishness in all areas and the development of the Turkish nation as a strong society with an independent identity. It would be highly misguided to adopt a reactionary stance aimed at protecting against destructive currents and divisive, fragmenting propaganda. The best defence is attack. National cultural developments based on the Turkish ideal and Turkish nationalism must be conceived and developed not as a reaction against foreign cultural and ideological attacks, but as an independent, powerful and dynamic force based on high and noble beliefs that will suppress them.

The Struggle of Nations and the National Doctrine

History is a history of the struggle of nations. To achieve victory in this struggle, it is necessary to be a strong nation, powerful in every respect. Nations that fail to adapt their social, political, and economic structures to their national conditions are doomed to defeat in this struggle. For centuries, our great nation has been subjected to attempts to govern it with regimes and ideologies originating from outside. All national values are being targeted for destruction. The aim is to erase this nation, which is organisational and a founder of great states, from the stage of history.

Our Turkey, our great nation, has become a breeding ground for destructive ideologies. On the one hand, the imperialist servants of Western capitalism and, on the other, those of Eastern communism have entered into a race to destroy this great nation. We will not give them the opportunity. We will not tolerate these hotbeds of corruption and treason. The foundation of a nationalist Turkey has been laid.

have joined the front. Turkey's most powerful minds are on our side. The most powerful goals, the most dynamic ideology, and the most nationalist views have been outlined.

The fundamental goals that will lead us to a nationalist Turkey have been outlined in the Nine Lights ideology. The system that will realise these goals is nationalist socialism. Our ideology is the most dynamic ideology of the age: Turkish Nationalism.

The Turkish nation can only be victorious in the struggle of nations through the reorganisation of our state and nation. In this reorganisation, the state will have a new structure.

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

The fundamental ideology of our age is the ideal of nationalism. The ideology that today encompasses Africa, South America, Asia, and even Europe is nationalism. Our constitution, in its preamble and in many of its articles, has declared the ideal of Turkish nationalism to be the fundamental philosophy of the state. The ideal of nationalism is to unite with the Turkish nation and to establish the great, powerful rule of the Turkish nation. The nationalism we defend is democratic nationalism based on love for humanity. **We oppose any system that rejects democratic nationalism. We vehemently reject foreign ideologies that divide the Turkish nation into classes or sects, peoples or regions, and seek to fragment the Turkish nation under the slogan of "the peoples of Turkey."** We are the relentless enemies of totalitarian socialism, communism, exploitative capitalism, and all forms of fascist systems. Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness. Anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness within our national borders and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is TURKISH. We do not believe in elements of nationalism and the definition of the Turk, anthropological racism, sectarianism, or regionalism. We oppose Nazi racism, communist populism, sectarianism, and imperialist geography. Our nationalism believes in the idea of the nation state, respects the equality and independence of every nation state, the unity of country and nation, and opposes all aggressive ideologies, socialist and capitalist imperialism.

National Integration

The Nationalist Movement bases all its actions, movements and thoughts on a single truth, a single social value. This value is the Turkish nation. In this sense, our party is always opposed to the absolute individualistic and class-based system.

The realisation of our fundamental philosophy of national sovereignty requires the integration of the individuals and social strata that constitute the nation.

and their participation in decisions that concern them. To summarise in one sentence, our ideal is national integration. National integration is the political, economic and cultural unification and amalgamation of the people living in a country within the consciousness of belonging to the same nation. In the movement for national integration, the idea of unity rather than division, and integration rather than differentiation, prevails. Atatürk sought to explain national integration with the phrase, "We are a classless, privileged, integrated nation." National integration occurs with the emergence of national consciousness, the belief in belonging to a particular nation. In societies where the individuals and social strata that make up the nation are largely differentiated politically, economically and culturally, there can be no talk of national integration.

NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY

The happiest ideal for a nation is to live as an independent, free, strong and prosperous state. Although it is true that civilisation has advanced greatly in the world today and that the United Nations Organisation exists, the life of every nation depends on the defence and security measures it takes. The attacks and events that our friend and brother country Pakistan has suffered in recent years have shown that every nation must be strong and ensure its own security in order to protect its national rights and interests. Otherwise, neither the United Nations Organisation nor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can sufficiently protect a state's independence and territorial integrity. As the Republic of Turkey, we too are obliged to maintain our own security and national defence. Today, modern weapons, equipment and tools have advanced considerably. They require industrial power and advanced scientific and technical capabilities. As our nation has not yet advanced sufficiently in science, technology and industry, we cannot produce the equipment and tools necessary for our national defence ourselves. We are forced to obtain them either through the assistance of our allies or by purchasing them with money. Today's advanced modern weapons and equipment are very expensive. However, a nation's independence and freedom are above all else. The protection of our state and the security of our homeland's integrity are matters worthy of any sacrifice. For this reason, Turkey must be superior to all its neighbours in the region, except for the Soviet Union, in terms of national defence capabilities and must maintain this superiority. In doing so, it is the duty of the administrators to find a way to achieve this without hindering economic and social development.

It is impossible to live in security by trusting in the good intentions of others. Those who have governed Turkey in recent years have made serious mistakes and neglected Turkey's national security. Above all, we must rely on our own armed forces.

Union, must be an unchanging national policy for Turkey. The characteristics of the Turkish nation and the peaceful stance pursued since the founding of the Republic are useful factors in enabling Turkey to explain itself to other nations.

The Middle East and Far East are pregnant with surprising and momentous events. We must transcend domestic political concerns by prioritising national unity and solidarity above all else, and we must be self-sacrificing, patient, loyal, proactive, and take bold steps to protect our national existence and integrity.

2 - IDEALISM

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Idealism denotes the same meaning as the word idealist, which has entered our language from Western languages. Idealism or idealism means designing the most perfect, most beautiful goals that will make oneself happy, which can be achieved and attained within the human mind, and showing desire and working towards the realisation of these goals. If there were no idealists among people, humanity would not have been able to achieve the progress it has made in many areas that illuminate the world today. Every truth, every idea is first born as an imagination in people's minds. People imagine. They dream. These dreams express a set of desires, a set of longings that are good for them, that they yearn for, that will make them happy to achieve. People become human to a large extent through their dreams. People distinguish themselves from other living beings through their dreams and truly acquire the quality of humanity. Idealism is the conception and shaping of a dream in the human mind, a dream that will bring happiness to individuals and human communities, and whose realisation will bring about the most advanced and elevated state.

Every society has idealists and idealists, and the presence of idealists and idealists is a blessing for societies; it is a great fortune! What is the ideal we envision for the Turkish nation? What is the ideal we have designed for the Turkish nation? First and foremost, it is for the Turkish nation to be and live at a high level in terms of morality, spirituality and human feelings, to become the most advanced entity in the world in terms of science and technology, and to become a prosperous society that has developed its agriculture according to modern technology, established modern industry, and become a prosperous society. These constitute a significant part of the fundamentals of the ideal that a Turkish nationalist would envision for Turkish society. Are these the only things within the boundaries of Turkish nationalism and idealism? No, there are other thoughts and other goals as well. These goals are that the Turkish nation will not beg for mercy,

It is the idea of becoming a being that does not beg for favours, that stands on its own two feet, that can protect its existence by its own power, and that can make its voice heard throughout the world.

In addition, it is the idea that the Turkish nation should always be able to assert its rights to the world and make them known to the world. Furthermore, it is the idea that all Turks should be freed from slavery and from living under the rule of foreigners and that, in accordance with the sacred principle of **self-determination, i.e. being masters of their own destiny**, and for all of them to become independent, to be independent, is another view, another idea of Turkish Idealism. For this reason, we have adopted Idealism as an important principle of the national doctrine.

We have only generally indicated the views and ideas of Turkish nationalists that fall within the limited definition of Ülkücülük. The ideas embraced by Turkish Ülkücülük are not limited to the principles outlined above. Within our Ülkücülük, Turkish nationalists from all professions will also hold the view that they should strive to achieve the most advanced, highest, and most beneficial results for both our nation and humanity in their respective fields. A Turkish nationalist will always keep idealism in mind for his own society and his own nation. Along with these general principles of idealism, he will also identify and pursue his own brand of Idealism within his own field and profession, in a manner consistent with and integrated into the fundamental and general principles of Idealism. Ideals are distant goals, long-term goals. It may not be possible for an ideal to be realised tomorrow. Ideals may encompass the coming years, the coming centuries. But an ideal is a light that illuminates the human heart. An ideal is a guide that enables people to determine their direction. For nations, the national ideal is the nation's guide, the sun that illuminates the nation's path. A person without ideals is like a being made of mud. A person without ideals is like a ship without a rudder or a compass. For this reason, every Turkish nationalist, every Dokuz Işıkçı (Nine Lights adherent) must be an idealist, must have ideals. They will possess both a national ideal and a human ideal, and they will also possess an idealistic personality related to their own profession, so that they may develop as successful and useful individuals in their own profession, render useful services to the community and nation to which they belong, and engage in activities beneficial to humanity. For this reason, we attach great importance to the idealism that is one of the most important principles of the Nine Lights doctrine.

We are idealists! The human family consists of all people living on earth, brought together by separate members called nations. If a person wants to be human, if they want to serve humanity, they must first serve their own nation, strive to elevate their own nation, and strive to make their own nation happy. By doing so, they will also be serving humanity. Because if a person thinks of their own family and remains loyal to them, their feelings of humanity will reach the highest level, and they will be helpful and loyal to people outside their own family as well. If a person cannot be useful to their own nation and does not feel loyalty towards their own nation, then their talk of humanity ultimately becomes a fantasy. A person must ensure the prosperity, goodness, happiness and honour of the land where they grew up and the nation where they grew up. If they do so, they will have served humanity as well, because that nation is part of humanity.

What is our idealism? Our idealism is to elevate the Turkish nation to the highest level of modern civilisation in the shortest time and by the shortest route; to make it happy and prosperous, and to secure for it an independent, free life in which it enjoys its own rights.

Freedom for individuals and independence for nations are among our foremost principles. People are born free and equal in rights. People should be fully entitled to their rights, beyond their abilities and duties.

Within society, people should be assigned duties and ranked according to their personal merit and abilities. Along with all this, equal opportunity should be provided to everyone without distinction. By equal opportunity, we do not mean equality in the abstract sense.

Does anything pertaining to Turks outside our current borders fit into our Idealism?

Everyone bearing the Turkish name is within the scope of our love and concern. We cannot abandon this. Just as it is the natural right of every nation, it is also the natural right of the Turkish nation. Today's United Nations Charter proclaims the principle of "self-determination" as a sacred principle for every nation living on earth. Today, even the Black people living in Africa, who have never been able to establish an independent state until now, are recognised as having the sacred right to self-determination. As each of them gains independence, freeing themselves from foreign domination and the hands of the colonisers, those who remain captive under the domination of others

To desire and wish for the liberation of the Turks from captivity, and to harbour good intentions for this purpose, is the most natural and sacred right of every Turk.

However, in our idealism, we always strive to be realistic and to pursue a path that will never expose Turkey to dangers, risks, or adventures in the activities we undertake. Our idealism is not an idea of adventure. Our idealism is the aspiration to elevate the Turkish nation to the highest level of modern civilisation in the shortest time and by the shortest route, to bring it to a prosperous and happy life, to make it capable of standing on its own feet, and to enable it to live freely and independently, free from all kinds of fear and oppression. This ideal also encompasses an idealism that involves showing interest and affection towards all Turks, wishing for their happiness, and striving to ensure their happiness without exposing Turkey to risks and dangers, without compromising, and on condition that it does not compromise.

IDEALISTIC GOAL

Ultranationalism means "idealism". The goal of our idealism is to bring the Turkish nation to the forefront of contemporary civilisation in the shortest possible time and by the shortest possible route, without begging others, to make it the strongest nation on earth in science, technology and civilisation, and to exalt Turkishness. Our ideal is for all Turks to be freed from captivity and become free and independent. Ideals are realised step by step. There are certain goals on the path to realising ideals. These goals have always existed in Turkish history and have been expressed with the phrase "RED APPLE(53)". "Kızıl elma" indicates the distance that must be covered on the path to the ideal, the goal that must be achieved. Ideals may not be realised within a person's lifetime. However, these goals can be achieved within the life of the nation. Do not forget that a person without ideals is no different from mud.

The Ideal of the National State

The Nationalist Movement believes in the ideal of a national state. The National State embraces every Turkish citizen living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey,

53 Red **Apple:** In Turkish mythology, it represents ideals that seem to recede the more one thinks about them, yet their allure increases in proportion to their distance. It symbolises a goal and purpose for Turkish states.

It is a form of state that embraces all. In our view, the Turkish nation is a sacred whole that does not accept division based on region, sect or party. The national state views its citizens as sacred trusts of Allah, regardless of region or sect. The National State is opposed to all forms of social, economic and political privilege. In the National State, there is no separatism, only unity and integrity. The Nationalist Movement will unite our forty-five million citizens within the ideal of the national state and mould them with the ideal of Turkishness.

Lack of Ideology

Lack of ideals... One should not say, "What does it matter to me? I'll leave here, finish this faculty, set up a business here or become a civil servant there, take charge of that department, get my money, enjoy myself; I have nothing else to think about." That is not how it should be! The children of this nation will have ideals for their own nation. They will devote their entire lives to the progress and advancement of their nation and adjust their lives accordingly. They will always pursue their ideals... A person without ideals is like a corpse without a soul. A person without ideals is no different from mud. What makes people human are their ideas, ideals, aspirations, and passions, their noble feelings, and their noble beliefs!

THE CURRENT STATE OF TURKISH NATIONALISM AFTER EXPERIMENTS

As Turkish Nationalists, when considering the future of our nation and our country, we always regard drawing on past experiences as a necessity of positive thinking. Just as laboratories are for positive sciences such as physics and chemistry, past experiences are the same for social issues. Insisting on attitudes that have been tried and have not yielded results is not a rational approach.

Following the Tanzimat reforms, Turkish nationalism emerged as an intellectual movement among the enlightened segments of Turkish society and developed rapidly. Numerous intellectuals, foremost among them Ziya Gökalp, devoted their efforts to the ideal of Turkish nationalism. Although it had certain shortcomings by today's standards, it became the dominant ideology within Turkish society. Thus, the era of the Republic began. Turkish nationalism, which the Great Liberator sought to establish as state policy, lacked the necessary personnel and time.

Due to its nature, it could not be implemented as desired. For the ideological system owned by the Turkish nation to become the basis of a consistent policy that dominates state and national life, there was a need for strong, idealistic cadres who had fully grasped its essence and objectives. The most perfect idea, in the hands of inadequate teams, not only yields harmful results but also falls prey to exploitation by various hostile circles; it becomes a tool for insidious ambitions.

The Significance of 1944

After Atatürk's death, changes occurred in the administration of the state. During the period from 1938 to 1950, while communist movements were gaining strength and audacity on the one hand, Turkish nationalism was being dealt heavy blows on the other. In these years, which could be described as a period of satellite politics dependent on foreign powers, the consequences of the Second World War fundamentally affected our domestic political life. With the successes of the Russians, Turkish nationalism, which had been established as state policy during the Atatürk era, was opposed in order to appear favourable to them. The infamous "1944 Nationalism Incident," which those governing our state perpetuated as a black mark on history, is a typical example of the dangerous, wrong, unlawful, and arbitrary administration of this period. At that time, there were no leftist youths in universities as there are today. All young people in higher education were committed to the ideal of Turkish Nationalism. The problem stemmed from the reckless activities of a handful of Marxist faculty members who had infiltrated the university. The communist "actions" that launched an armed insurrection to destroy the Turkish state and still refuse to abandon their claims are the result of those who governed the state in the 1940s siding with a handful of Marxist faculty members and launching "Crusades" against Turkish Nationalism. As is well known, prominent Turkish nationalists were imprisoned and almost tried for "treason" because they wanted measures to be taken against the spread of communism in the country. Even before the trials began, the National Leader ([54]) in a speech delivered on 19 May 1944, accused the Turkish nationalists of treason and declared that they would all be held accountable. This mentality, which is completely incompatible with statesmanship and an understanding of law and justice, has always been the enemy of Turkish nationalism to this day. During their time in power, they used the resources of the state; when the Turkish nation took this trust from their hands, they used everything they could find.

54 **National Leader:** İsmet İnönü, President of the Republic at the time.

They used their resources to engage in activities against Turkish nationalism. The Turkish nationalists, whom the National Leader declared "traitors to the homeland," were acquitted by a military court during his administration, despite all kinds of pressure. However, the anti-Turkish nationalist mentality manifested itself in state radio broadcasts, school textbooks, and speeches delivered at all kinds of official and private ceremonies. It was as if the state itself wanted to erase the founding philosophy of the state.

Attempts and Results

The blow dealt to Turkish Nationalism in 1944 was repeated in 1953 with the closure of the 83 branches of the Turkish Nationalists Association spread across the country as a result of arbitrary and personal concerns. Those who came to power by stepping on the shoulders of Turkish Nationalists turned their backs on them once their work was done, even joining forces with their relentless rival İnönü to extinguish the hearth where the National Ideal burned brightly.

These two events in our recent history alone have reminded us of the necessity to re-examine our stance and take precautions against the calamities that befall us. Until this point in history, Turkish nationalists have stated, "We have no interest in politics. We wish to pass on the national ideal to future generations. Our concern is one of culture and ideas. Once this ideal has been embraced by society, and since all state administrators come from this society, Turkish nationalism will be implemented by the state." As a result, associations were established and magazines were published. During this period, filled with great sacrifice, the idea of Turkish nationalism, with its own organisation, came to power.

This was not considered. This policy was almost perpetuated by the circles that determined Turkey's destiny. The inclusion of one or more nationally-minded individuals in party governments was neglected. Looking back at previous periods, during the CHP and DP administrations, a few nationalists were always included in the party's high command and administrative bodies. Thus, the participation of Turkish nationalists in politics was intended to be confined to individual events, and the emergence of the National Ideal as an organised state policy before the Turkish nation was prevented.

The two coup attempts carried out by the state in 1944 and 1953 demonstrated that it was impossible for them to gain strength without targeting the government and to make the National Ideal state policy. Ideological movements that did not engage in political organisation were closely monitored by the powers that held the government, and the moment any development

, a coup is carried out using any means necessary. Therefore, Turkish Nationalism had to pursue a new path that targeted power.

Today, the fundamental issue for Turkish Nationalism is to attain power. No idea that does not attain power can achieve its goal. It remains a fantasy discussed in salons. The avoidance of power by systems of thought that claim to shape the destiny of the nation is nothing more than an expression of an internal contradiction. With this view and thought, we have given Turkish nationalism a political organisation. Since the Tanzimat, Turkish nationalism has matured into a perfect system of ideas. It is more developed and refined than the nationalisms of other nations that have attained power. Our national ideal provides consistent explanations for world and domestic issues. It possesses strong, scientific and enlightened views on every political, social, economic and cultural issue. Therefore, the era of chasing new discoveries is over. Turkish nationalism has been turned into an ideology. What follows is the need to spread the powerful idea system of Turkism throughout the country and to introduce this idea, which belongs to the Turkish nation, to the Turkish people. To this end, we need to organise ourselves and unite in a spirit of solidarity for the sake of our sacred responsibility. This is the path to power for Turkish Nationalism, which has been developed into a mature, refined, and perfect system of ideas. In Turkey in 1978, the main issue is gaining power. The solution to gaining power is to organise, coordinate, and mobilise our material and spiritual forces towards the same goal. Idealists, who bear more responsibility than anyone else, must see these realities above all else and organise their struggle accordingly.

Halfway along the road lies far behind. The heralds of victory rising from the horizon are near.

TURKISH NATIONALISM AND TURKISH UNITY

A- Turkish Nationalism

It is high time to examine the concept of Turkish nationalism and Turkish unity, which has become a bad habit, especially since 1944, with arguments full of slander, lies and falsehoods.

It is high time to examine the ideals of Turkish nationalism and Turkish unity.

After Turkish nationalism and the ideal of Turkish Unity were deemed a crime and subjected to massive propaganda campaigns, being Turkish and even talking about Turkish nationalism in Turkey had become a frightening prospect. Thank God that on 14 May 1950[55] with a glorious decision made by the Turkish nation, the sinister single-party mentality was destroyed and the horizon of Turkish nationalism was illuminated once again.

When we ask the question, "What does Turkish nationalism mean?", the things that should come to mind vary from person to person today. It is very likely that, faced with such a question, some people, under the influence of propaganda created by deep ignorance and base self-interest, will think of fascism, while others will appear completely unaware of the meaning it conveys. The fact that most young people know nothing substantial about this is a matter that must be taken seriously. I cannot refrain from mentioning a painful example of this here. In 1948, while in America, a young friend of mine was one day browsing through the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA in the school library and read the explanation opposite the word "Turk". There he found written that "Turkish nationalism, a form of chauvinism, has made the Turks enemies of the non-Turkish elements that have lived in their homeland since ancient times, and that this had caused nationalist sentiments to awaken and develop among these foreign elements." This young Turkish boy, who had no knowledge of this matter, could not help but believe the statements mentioned above. "How can that be?" he said. "Can the things written by an encyclopaedia with scientific authority and recognised worldwide be wrong?" For this reason, he engaged in quite a few arguments with me. However, in the end, he changed his mind, understanding that Turkism arose from the Turks' concern to protect their own existence due to the systematic and ungrateful hostility and treachery shown towards them by all foreign elements, Christian and Jewish.

For the reasons outlined above, I believe it would be useful to briefly explain what Turkish nationalism signifies and its origins.

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55 In the general elections held on 14 May 1950, the CHP was defeated at the polls, and the Democratic Party came to power.

A cursory glance at Ottoman history reveals that nationalism bordering on chauvinism never dominated state policy or Turkish social life. People from all walks of life were appointed not only to minor civil service positions but even to the highest offices, such as the Grand Vizierate. Until the Tanzimat, a tolerance towards other religions and nationalities prevailed within the country that was unheard of in any other country at the time and could be considered excessive. This went so far with Muslim Arabs and Persians that millions of Turks in Syria and Iraq, and even in Palestine and Egypt, gradually assimilated into Arab culture and slowly disappeared. Turkish was neglected everywhere, and the use of Arabic and Persian words became a sacred fashion and pleasure. After the Tanzimat, alongside Islamism, the idea of Ottomanism officially emerged. This idea was the fantasy of creating an Ottoman nation from the amalgamation of elements of various religions and nationalities.

In light of these truths, to speak of the Turkish nation's chauvinism is nothing more than turning one's back on the impartiality required by science and becoming a prisoner of base prejudice.

The Turks were forced to react only after the systematic hostility and betrayal they encountered, despite the infinite tolerance and generosity they had shown. Turkish nationalism and Turkism arose as a means of self-preservation under the influence of the nationalism and separatist sentiments of the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Armenians, Albanians, Arabs and other elements, and has never been unjust or aggressive.

Turkish nationalism is an ideal that aims to develop the Turkish nation in science, art, agriculture, economics, culture and all other fields in a manner consistent with national traditions and the national character, and to preserve it as free and independent, protected from all kinds of aggression both internally and externally. Such an ideal is a sacred right for every nation, and it is also the most sacred and natural right for the Turkish nation and every individual who constitutes it.

Attempting to slander or accuse Turkish nationalism, for whatever reason, in any way whatsoever, requires one to doubt, to put it mildly, the good intentions and love for the Turkish nation of those who do so. Having summarised our thoughts on Turkish nationalism here, we must now say a few words about the ideal of "Turkish unity".

B- Turkish Unity

The ideal of Turkish unity is the ideal of all Turks on earth coming together as one nation and one state, under one flag. At first glance, this may seem impossible to some. Many may even describe it as a harmful fantasy (utopia). But we must not forget that every truth begins with a dream. It should also be remembered that in 1919, the decision to wage war in Anatolia against the victors of the world in order to establish a free and independent Turkey was also described as madness and a fantasy. However, those who believed and devoted themselves to an ideal succeeded in saving their homeland and establishing an independent Turkey.

Turkish unity will also one day become a reality through systematic work, seizing opportunities and, above all, striving to protect and elevate Turkey.

From time to time, certain individuals, enslaved by selfish and insidious ambitions, have attempted to portray this as an adventurous idea that would immediately drag Turkey into war and conflict with Russia and other countries where Turks reside. They accused those who pursued the idea of Turkish unity of plunging Turkey into disaster by involving it in matters beyond its power and of having found "the perfect solution for destroying the country," subjecting them to all kinds of **slander,** insults and torture. However, those who carried the ideal of Turkish unity were people of faith who were well aware of the power and capabilities possessed by the Turkish nation. Their national consciousness, ideas, and intellectual abilities enabled them to understand the necessity of protecting the Turkish nation from all kinds of adventures. None of them even considered, let alone desired, dragging the country into war and exerting efforts outside the current borders at an inopportune time. The ideal of those who pursued the idea of Turkish unity was:

1) First, to protect the rights of Turkish prisoners, who have been deprived of all human rights and subjected to torture and attempts at extermination, through publications and propaganda.

2) To endeavour to provide them with all kinds of assistance through diplomatic channels.

3) In the meantime, strive to establish cultural unity to the extent possible and strengthen it.

4) To strive to ensure that the captive Turkish homelands gain their independence separately and take their rightful place within the community of free nations.

5) It consisted of welcoming those who came as refugees and migrants from the countries where they were held captive with warm interest and striving to achieve all kinds of feasible immediate goals. Furthermore, as a distant goal, it was hoped that the Turkish countries, having gained their independence, would establish a strong cultural unity among themselves and then, by a joint decision, create a great Turkish union.

Now, in these thoughts, could there be any harm for the Turkish nation? In our opinion, there is no harm whatsoever. On the contrary, there are enormous benefits. Such an ideal would be a source of excitement and momentum for the people, especially the youth, and would encourage greater efforts towards Turkey's development. Then the Russians have "Panslavism" (Slavic unity), the Germans have "Pan-Germanism" (German unity), the Arabs have Arab unity, the Jews have Greeks pursue "Enosis," seeking Cyprus and pursuing a Greek union, Bulgarians make empty claims over Macedonia and Thrace in the name of a Bulgarian union, why is it considered a sin for Turks to want to establish unity among their 150 million brothers? When establishing national unity is considered a sacred right for every nation, why should this not be recognised for the Turks? Why, moreover, is this sacred right and desire treated as a crime and offence in Turkey? And why were the proponents of this idea subjected to the most severe insults and torture in 1944? Why is it considered a crime to wish for millions of Turks, deprived of all kinds of human rights by those notorious enemies of Turkism who have attempted to present themselves as champions of humanitarianism and respect for human rights, to be granted the right to live like human beings?

How can those whose hearts beat for Turkishness in these lands where Turks live and the Turkish flag flies proudly, be accused of plotting mischief by certain wretched individuals who spread all manner of slander and insults and report them to Moscowand portray themselves as opponents of this, claiming to be those who wish for the benefit of the Russians. How can they possibly stir up trouble with such accusations?

But all this effort is in vain, gentlemen! All in vain! It is impossible to curry favour with the Russians. It was impossible to curry favour with the Russians by attempting to crush the Turkish nationalists or by killing hundreds of Turkish refugees in violation of the principles of humanity and international law

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We carry the ideal of Turkish unity high in the skies like a glorious flag. This ideal is understood today by the Turkish nation with greater importance than ever before. Our clash with the Russians is an inevitable destiny. Their insatiable greed will be their undoing. We will definitely defeat them in the war we are about to wage. Because we will defend justice and humanity. Because we will fight for the eternal and everlasting rights of the Turks. Because we will fight with the slogan "INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH"...(*)

DI$ TURKS

What shall we do about the Turks outside today's Turkish borders? Until now, those who have governed the nation have always considered engaging with the Turks abroad to be detrimental. This is a mistaken view. Wherever there are Turks in the world, they are within the sphere of interest of Turkish Nationalists. We consider it the duty of Turkish Nationalists to do whatever we can for the Turks abroad.

Seeking to liberate the Turks abroad is not imperialism, as some claim. Imperialism is the occupation of foreign states. It is our legitimate right to seek the liberation and freedom of the Turks abroad. And this right is protected by the United Nations Organisation.

In our era, cultural dissemination and friendship initiatives are widely practised in international relations. Every state strives to spread its culture as widely as possible. This makes it easier to secure significant economic, strategic, and political benefits. We, too, should focus on this issue to the extent of our capabilities. The first step is to support and strengthen Turkish cultural communities and maintain close relations with them. In return, we must be cautious and strategic in preventing the spread of foreign cultures in our country.

In this regard, we would like to emphasise the importance of equipping TRT with more powerful and newer facilities. In its current state, TRT broadcasts are difficult to receive in many regions of our country.

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* First broadcast: 10 November 1950.

and our broadcasts are being replaced by foreign broadcasts with malicious intent. Our broadcast programmes also need to be organised more comprehensively. Special and continuous broadcasts should be made for communities outside our borders that are connected to Turkish culture.

Whether within Turkey, outside Turkey, or anywhere in the universe, wherever they may be, Turkish nationalists are filled with interest and respect for the Turks there. Since they are part of our nation, who else but us will care for them? We must care for them. This is one of the principles of our understanding of nationalism. However, the implementation of this principle is subject to one condition: we will care for them, but showing them affection must in no way harm the Turkish state and nation. We will care for them on condition that this condition is met. If harm is to be caused, we will immediately abandon these relations. Why?

Because Turkey is the only independent state of the Turks on earth. Not putting it in any danger is the greatest service to the great idea of Turkishness.

FACTS AND FALSE ACCUSATIONS

Three of the eight great empires in history were founded by the Turks. These are the "Genghis Khan Empire", the "Great Seljuk Empire" and the "Ottoman Empire". The Turks, one of the five nations that established eight empires, established three empires on their own, while the other four nations could only establish five empires. As a result, there is a lingering fear and resentment in the hearts of these nations. Today, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Russians, British and French are all against us, because we crushed them all in the past. There is a fear within Western states. It is the fear that we will rise again as we did before and, in accordance with historical tradition, do great things and crush them.

Today in Iran, [a country] with a population of 28 million, there are 15 million Turks. Bulgaria is the same. All Turks abroad are held captive in other countries. Due to poor education, foreign states' hostility towards the Turkish nation has not been explained to our generation; they have been portrayed as "innocent" and "friendly states".

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56 According to the 2013 census, Iran's population is 77 million 177 thousand. According to information provided by the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 40% of this population speaks Turkish.

In times when we were victorious in history, we treated the people of the defeated nations with great honesty and humanity. We did not oppress them. But when we were defeated, they brutally destroyed our people, sparing neither women nor children, committing every kind of immorality. At such times, the **"civilised"** world remained silent. When an action was taken against us, against our national security, and we suppressed it, taking the necessary measures, they said, "Oh! The Turks are committing barbaric acts!" The civilised world remained silent in the face of the massacres committed against us. There are many examples of this.

There was a city called Constanța in Romania. Turks lived there. When the Russians occupied this place, they destroyed it by burning and hanging everyone, including women and children.

Finally, in 1963, this type of atrocity occurred in Cyprus. The unarmed wife and child of a Major Doctor were riddled with bullets from a machine gun in the bathroom. The world powers did not react to this. Various factors played a role in this:

1. They favour Christian nations over us.

2. There is also their hatred towards Turks and their desire to eliminate them.

As Turkish nationalists, we will be aware of these factors, prepare ourselves accordingly, educate ourselves, use every means at our disposal, and strive to restore the Turkish nation to its former strength.

THE LAST PIECE OF THE HOMELAND

Reading Turkish history, as I approach the twentieth century from the eighteenth, my heart is filled with great sorrow and anguish. My soul is gripped by an irrepressible fury and a need for action.

Every day, armies retreating before attacking enemies... Every day, flags falling to the ground atop toppled castle towers... Countries abandoned... and migrations that have continued unabated for two centuries... Migrants perishing from hunger, cold, and neglect... After each defeat, a period of mourning and the stirrings it awakens... But soon enough, a deep slumber and indifference once more...

The era has changed, and we are finally entering the twentieth century. There is tremendous movement and competition in the West. Here, we are still stagnant...

The 1911 Western Tripoli War... Our ambassador in Rome sends reports to the government about Turkish-Italian friendship, like a reassuring door... The Italians, however, are busy, busy, preparing! It's clear, it's clear, along with the great state and the great nation, the ambassadors are also asleep.

While we're talking about Western Tripolitania, the Twelve Islands were also occupied. At that very moment, the Balkan War broke out. While the Balkan nations were preparing for war, ours demobilised the army. As we said... Both the state and the ambassadors are asleep.

The disgraceful Balkan War wiped out the whole of Rumelia. It was as if our connection to Europe had been completely severed... Then came a revival and a counterattack... Anyway, we regained the beautiful Turkish city of Edirne. Thank God, after losing millions of square kilometres of land in Europe, we were able to hold on to at least a small piece of land.

As a result of the excitement and movement created by this disaster, while work was being done, the First World War also began.

A struggle lasting more than four years, fought with heroism and honour... Such a struggle that heroism and sacrifice became the grave of poverty and backwardness.

Such was the struggle that ignorance and treachery became the executioners of victories and miracles. And in the end, a great state collapsed. Syria, Palestine, Iraq—Anatolia too fell under the threat of disintegration. Finally, a tremendous surge and the War of Independence... After miracles that those who had lost their faith could not comprehend, came the Great Victory and Liberation. After that, a free and independent Turkey.

Anatolia and Thrace, separated from Eastern Rumelia, with its edges and corners cut off and trimmed, consisting of a handful of homeland consisting of Thrace, with Mytilene, Chios, the Twelve Islands, Cyprus, Hatay and Northern Syria, Mosul, Azerbaijan and Batum... And millions of tearful Turks beyond the borders...

After the years of liberation, there was renewed national enthusiasm and a wave of development. Then, after a while, stagnation, forgetfulness and slumber returned... Great dangers and calamities loom around us and at our doorstep. Demons and monsters whistle and sigh...

Act, O son of Turkey! Act now... There is no Rumelia, no Hungarian lands, no Syria, Iraq, Palestine, or Egypt, no Tripoli, no Tunisia

or Algeria, nor Crimea and the Caucasus. What remains is a fragment of the homeland!... The last fragment of the homeland...

Act like a Grey Wolf. Get motivated... Get to work. Let the old days be reborn... Let the flags of victory and glory rise again towards the horizon... Above all, **Great Turkey**... Let our **Happy Turkey** rise!... *

TUNA

This is not a name, not a river, but a history flowing in our hearts.

Without the Turks, the Danube is orphaned; without the Danube, the Turks are bereaved.

Thousands of years ago, this water flowed desolate and strange. Lifeless, uncivilised people crawled along its banks. On both sides, savagery and ruin embraced each other. In its sky. In its sky, there was no sun. Its stars were dull, its moonlight dim. Its birds were songless, its flowers faded.

In this stagnant air, in the midst of this frozen existence, the Danube raged and clawed at the heart of the earth with its fury. It split the mountains before it, melted and scattered the rocks. It swept people away and drowned them.

One day, suddenly, the Danube's endless nights gave way to dawn. The earth began to shake. A cloud of dust and smoke rose into the air.

From within the approaching cloud, mountain heroes appeared on horseback like mountains themselves. Their faces radiated light and movement. Their eyes were full of light and energy. Their names were harmonious, sonorous syllables embodying bravery and strength:

Turk!

They flowed from their parched homelands to other lands. In this flow, they had tied the sun to their horses' tails, dragging it behind them. And so, the sun rose over the Danube from the moment they appeared there... The raging Danube calmed.

The earth was turned upside down. The plains became green. The waters were tamed. Monuments, palaces and settlements rose up everywhere. Joy began on the Danube, celebrations began on the Danube.

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* First published: 17 November 1950.

Ignorant, hesitant locals attempted to attack these civilised people, these brave men. But what can those born as donkeys and bears do to wolves? Can dwarves bring heroes to their knees? No! Never!

The Turk, whose mission was to conquer civilisation, justice and nature, trampled, crushed, overcame and passed not only the hybrid herds and sluggish human caravans that emerged, but even the mountains and rivers. He placed a bridle on their heads, made of justice, civilisation and strength. For centuries, he fought and fought as the protector and propagator of civilisation.

The war seemed endless. But that was precisely what the Turks sought. They fought and fought... They emerged victorious in every battle, dominating everywhere they went.

They gave colour to the horizons of the Danube with their red blood, harmony to its sounds. Thus the Danube rejoiced, filled with life and movement. Once the Danube was dead. It came to life when it met them. Before the Turks came, the Danube did not exist... The Turks created the Danube...

Many of our battles took place along the Danube. The Danube's raiders flowed towards the Danube. Turkish blood joined the Danube like a waterfall. For this reason, the Danube is the most passionate of hearts and the most powerful of waters.

In those ancient times, we were celebrating Tuna's wedding. Tuna arrived. And we had married Tuna.

How quickly those long centuries filled with joy and triumph passed! How did it end?

Who tore Tuna from my arms? Who took her?

My Danube! My beloved, whom I carried in my bosom for centuries

and could never get enough of! You are not roaring today, you are

not weeping...

You are not a river, but a burning longing within me...

My Danube! You quench the thirst of the lion lying in my heart.

Won't you give me water, my Danube?*

THE MOBILISATION OF THE HEART

According to Dokuz Işık, first and foremost, one must observe thrift, avoid waste, and, in addition, mobilise labour and value human effort. There is abundant human labour in our country. However, human labour has a certain characteristic: if it is not valued in time, it becomes a reserve.

* First broadcast: 19 March 1939.

It cannot be stored or saved. It is not possible to say, "Let's fill these places, these warehouses with human labour, and then take it out and use it when we need it in five years' time." Human labour is also lost over time. Human labour must be mobilised rationally and used to counter the capital crisis. To this end, the foremost solution envisaged by DOKUZ IŞIK is, first and foremost, to awaken our people, our nation; to instil national ideals and national consciousness, to mobilise the HEART. Without this MOBILISATION OF THE HEART, it is impossible to make the great strides necessary to resolve all of Turkey's problems. It is impossible to make great sacrifices. It will not be possible to generate great dynamism. We must absolutely ignite and excite our people with national culture, show them national goals, and first mobilise their hearts. And only by moving from this mobilisation of hearts to a mobilisation of labour, by making strides, can we shake off the situation Turkey finds itself in. This is one of the important principles of the NINE LIGHTS! We have accepted as another principle of the NINE LIGHTS the use of art, the fine arts, as a tool to mobilise the HEART. Theatre, cinema, literature... All of these, that is, all fine arts, will be mobilised to spread the NATIONAL IDEAL, to stir national enthusiasm, to organise our people, and to drive them towards great breakthroughs. The mobilisation of labour, the evaluation of idle labour, the pooling of small savings to take action, sacrifice and hard work, giving priority and focus to initiatives that increase production and income, avoiding dead investments, and avoiding dead investments will be at the forefront.

I Want You to Present Yourself Well

I know that you are young Anatolian children who act with deep conviction, that you are young intellectuals, that you are true Idealists. I consider it very beneficial for you to know yourselves well, to know our country well, and to know the world well. The world is in a state of struggle. Every nation is engaged in the activity of imposing its own views, exploiting and using other countries to the greatest extent possible for its own purposes and interests. Every nation that knows itself must protect itself against this activity and assert its own will. The Turkish nation asserts its own will, as it has done throughout its centuries-long history.

As it is, it will inevitably prevail and establish itself as the dominant force. It is a will that aims not only to preserve and elevate the Turkish nation with human dignity, but also to establish world order, alleviate the suffering of others, provide assistance to others, and create flawless, unshadowed justice throughout the world. The direction of Turkish Idealism will continue to be in this direction. No matter what the slanders may be, no matter how they try to portray it, the power and energy of the Turkish nation has always manifested itself in this way and will continue to develop in this way. I am certain that such action will undoubtedly find great respect and support in the hearts of nations. Moreover, I am certain that God Almighty will always support us.

The Most Just Cause is Ours

We are the strongest in terms of ideas, ideals and causes; noble ideas are our ideas. The most legitimate, most just cause is our cause. We are the champions of the cause of a noble, honourable and oppressed nation, the cause of not trampling on its rights, the cause of not placing chains of slavery around its neck. No other cause can be imagined with such lofty, such noble goals. The power of a movement, the power of an idea, lies in its reliance on such noble goals. Therefore, our cause, our ideal, is the strongest idea, the strongest cause, both in Turkey and throughout the world. With this certainty, filled with this excitement, we must strive to fulfil the duties it imposes upon us. We must be conscious of it. We must be courageous about it. I consider it useful to reiterate a point I have always made. As Turks, our nation is courageous; it is courageous enough to sacrifice its life when necessary for the nation, for the homeland, for high causes, for ideals. But that is not enough. In the times we live in, that is not enough. Is it possible to show even greater courage? It is possible!

We Must Also Be Courageous Against Rumours

You will also be brave against the slanders, plots, and assassinations fabricated against your honour**,** your integrity**,** and your dignity. You will be brave against gossip. Because those who seek to enslave the Turkish nation, to tear it apart and erase it from the stage of history,

We are confronted with malicious and destructive actions. Those who seek to destroy are merciless and cruel towards those who wish to preserve the Turkish nation. They resort to every kind of slander and every kind of baseness. You must be strong-willed, patient, and cool-headed in the face of these forces. You must walk your path intelligently, using your intellect, making your ideal the sun in your heart and your scientific leadership your guide. As always, we need and must act intelligently in this struggle. We are certain that you understand this better than anyone. However, I believe it is useful to repeat it. Explain your cause everywhere, teach it. The Turkish nation's ability to escape the dangers it faces depends, first and foremost, on each and every citizen learning about these dangers and knowing how to act against them, what they must do. None of us should tire of this. We must explain this to every citizen in the villages, in the cities, on the streets, at home. The salvation of the Turkish nation depends on this. It depends on the citizens living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey, the only independent state of the 150 million Turks living on Earth today, learning about these dangers and understanding what to do about them. Your duty, our duty, is to educate, to teach. You may call it propaganda if you wish. You may call it telling the truth. But it is the most important duty. They want to divide Turkey. Today, in the eastern region where our own brothers and sisters, our own kin, live, there are provocations to establish a separate state. We are all aware of this. Never before in our history have we faced such movements to divide our nation. And never before has there been such a weak administration, such an indifferent group of intellectuals, in the face of these destructive, divisive acts of treason. For our service to be successful against these, the most effective measure, as I have just brought to your attention, is to educate our citizens, to inform them and to explain the solution to them.

The Idealist is the Idealist's Own Brother

For all of this to be effective and successful, we must cling tightly to one another within ourselves, unite completely, and bond with one another in a state of deep love and respect. The Idealist is the true brother of the Idealist, and we will act under the motto, "We are all one, and we are all for one."

They want to destroy and fragment this unity. To this end, they try to sow discord among us, spread rumours, divide us into a thousand pieces and pit us against each other, and scatter our dust. With a high level of understanding and our Idealism, we have not given them this opportunity, and I am certain we will not do so in the future.

We must understand our goal well and grasp the cause thoroughly. The goal is to preserve the unity of the Turkish nation, protect the integrity of the land, safeguard the Republic of Turkey, and at the same time reach the highest level in science and technology. It is to reach the highest level in morality and spirituality. It is to industrialise, to achieve high production, and to create a strong, Great Turkey that stands on its own feet and whose word is respected all over the world... The intermediate goal that must be achieved in order to reach this goal is for the Idealists to come to power. Therefore, recognising the mechanism that will achieve this, the machinery that will achieve this, the organisation, supporting it, and developing it is a matter that must not be overlooked.

The MHP is the Ideological Movement of the Nationalists

Gather in the Nationalist Movement Party, the strongest and most powerful party against communists, fake socialists, regionalists and minority racists who want to destroy the last independent Turkish state!

The Nationalist Movement Party is the party of true nationalists, of the hard-working Ülkücüler. Nationalism is not just words! Nationalism is faith and action, it is movement. Nationalism means protecting the integrity of the homeland and the nation everywhere, at all times, against everyone, fighting for it, even giving one's life for it if necessary. Those who practice nationalism with words in halls, clubs or on the campaign trail, who only talk about nationalism within four walls or on paper, cannot be nationalists! They are exploiters who abuse nationalism. Nationalism is the BELIEF MOVEMENT OF IDEALISTS who always and everywhere oppose the false left, communism, and separatism, who work for the unity, togetherness, brotherhood, and happiness of the entire Turkish nation, and who, if necessary, put their lives at risk for this cause!

The Nationalist Movement Party stands against communism, the fake left, and separatists everywhere. I call upon all nationalists to unite under the Nationalist Movement Party.

3 - MORALITY

Indeed, you have a fine example in Allah's Messenger (Prophet Muhammad).

The Holy Qur'an/Surah Ahzab: 21

I was sent to perfect good morals.

Prophet Muhammad

THE BLESSED SOURCES OF POWER OF THE TURKISH NATION

The idea of protecting, exalting, and immortalising the Turkish nation must take precedence over all other causes and precede all other actions.

Every event that occurs, both in Turkey and abroad,

should be examined and evaluated in the light of this idea mentioned above. The most sacred source of power that will ensure the rise of the Turkish nation is nationalism and Turkism.

Nationalism

Nationalism means loving the Turkish nation, the Turkish homeland and the Turkish state, and possessing a deep passion and awareness for their welfare and advancement. Idealism, on the other hand, means desiring and ensuring that everything in culture, science and technology, politics, economics and trade is unique to and suitable for the Turks.

It is a view expressed by the phrase **"Everything for Turkishness and according to the Turk."**

It is a sacred duty of Turkish nationalism to care for Turks living outside Turkey's current borders and to do everything possible for their welfare, liberation and safety. However, no Turk should ever forget that there is a prerequisite for fulfilling this duty. This is the condition that any aid and services provided to Turks outside Turkey must be done without causing any harm to the Republic of Turkey. Protecting the Republic of Turkey, the sole independent state of the Turks and the foundation of the Turkish ideal, from all kinds of harm and danger is a fundamental principle of Turkish nationalism. At the same time, we must always keep the Turks of Eastern and Western Turkistan, Azerbaijan, Crimea, Kirkuk, Cyprus, Western Thrace and many other places in our hearts and maintain close ties with those who come to Turkey from these places by keeping our arms open to them.

Islam

Another sacred source of strength for the Turkish nation is the Islamic religion, which has been embraced and adopted by almost all Turks for over a thousand years.

The genuine face of Islam and its lofty principles, which guide the philosophy of life and moral views of the individuals who make up our nation, will give Turkishness new strength and momentum. Viewing Turkishness and Islam as separate entities, or even as two opposing or hostile forces, is detrimental to Turkish nationalism and Islam. Our nation has embraced Islam and integrated Turkish-Islamic institutions, creating a Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Today, some people in our country who oppose Turkishness or attempt to deny it claim that everything is solely about religion. Such individuals are either prisoners of ignorance and negligence or servants of evil intentions seeking to destroy the Turkish nation.

Unity and Togetherness

Another of the Turkish nation's sacred sources of strength is the ideal of unity, solidarity and internal peace.

It is an indisputable fact that a nation unable to preserve its unity and solidarity will soon collapse. Today, the minority racism, sectarianism and communism undermining our nation are extremely dangerous movements obstructing national unity.

movements that obstruct national unity. There are very few non-Turkish people within the borders of Turkey. Despite this fact, attempts are being made to create divisions and insidious minority racism, using language and dialect differences as an excuse. Turkish nationalism is opposed to all kinds of separatist movements, as well as all forms of minority racism. Opposing minority racism, which is harmful to our national existence, is one of the most important duties.

The Turkish nation has had a superior place and duty in human history and civilised life.

The Turkish nation has never embraced a life of isolation, cut off from the unity of the world and humanity, but has sustained a universal way of life for centuries by establishing "World Empires" across continents.

It has been a founder and bearer of intense civilisation, and the ideas of right, justice and order, with their organisational superiority, have always given a positive direction to humanity and the lives of nations and people, ensuring happiness.

Today, the Turkish nation is located in the region that formed the backbone of the ancient world, in the most dynamic sphere of international life and politics.

The disasters suffered and the serious struggles endured over the last century have not broken the great vitality and power of our nation.

NATIONAL

The Turkish nation must embark upon a new path and become the master of a new destiny. This path would be the path of those who wish to make Turkey the most advanced country on earth in science, morality, technology and industry. For at least two centuries, actions such as degeneration, detachment from national identity, becoming subservient to others, imitating foreigners, aspiring to the debauchery and crude outward appearance of the West, and attempting to copy systems born of the realities of other lands have continued. These will be crushed and eradicated so that they never rise again.

We consider the shameless intellectual type, who scrambles for the scraps of the old, who attempts to lord it over others by wearing clothes taken from their backs, to be the Turkish nation's chief enemy. By working day and night, by sweating and toiling, they will produce their own intellectual works and, without uprooting the Turkish nation, will give it wings in science and art, across the ages.

We are in need of true enlightened individuals who will lift us up. Throughout history, the Turkish nation has had a powerful and magnificent existence. It is necessary to pull it out of its current state of decline and steer it rapidly towards the good. To do this, there is no need to copy sadistic Slavic Marxism or cling to cold [Anglo-Saxon]capitalism. We need another path, a third way. This third way must be a national ideal that aims to strengthen the Turkish nation as a whole, rejecting the utopia of establishing a dictatorship of the world proletariat. It must be a wholly indigenous, wholly national doctrine that will destroy materialistic, exploitative capitalism **and** ensure social justice **and** the rapid development of the Turkish nation as a society. The spirit of this doctrine must be the principles of **"Everything for the Turkish nation, for the Turks and according to** the Turks**"**.

Today, the great difficulty encountered in moving the nation forward is the self-interest and corruption seen in the majority of the so-called enlightened class. However, the fact that brave, faithful people who can tear through the darkness of society can be found everywhere gives us hope for our future.

The New Path of the New

I am opening the third path. I am pointing to the new path that will save Turkey. I have raised the Nine Lights flag against all kinds of storms, waving it...

57 **Anglo-Saxon:** After the Roman soldiers left England in the 5th and 6th centuries, the Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons and Jutes settled on the island and were collectively known as Anglo-Saxons. These three tribes formed the core of the modern English nation. The Jutes were the first to arrive in England. The Jute tribe came from the Jutland peninsula in Denmark. After helping the Britons, the island's original inhabitants, defeat their main enemies, the Scots, the Jutes then waged war against the Britons themselves, seizing the regions of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire. Seeing the Jutes' success, their northern neighbours, the Saxons, also came to the island and took southern England. The Angles settled in central and northern England and southern Scotland. After settling in England, the Anglo-Saxons established small kingdoms. In 830, King Egbert of Wessex sought to unite these kingdoms. He forcibly subjugated the other kingdoms. Alfred the Great also stopped the attacks from Denmark in 878. He also made great efforts to unite England. The kings who came after him bore the title of King of Great Britain. The Germanic tribes known as the Anglo-Saxons worshipped idols when they first settled on the island of Britain. However,
Towards the end of the 6th century, they adopted Christianity. The Anglo-Saxons used a language known as Anglo-Saxon until 1154. This language was used in the lower part of the western branch of the Germanic languages. The Anglo-Saxons also established their own legal system. According to this system, fines were more common than imprisonment. The death penalty was also applied for serious crimes. This system was based on the principles applied by the kings who lived between the 5th and 8th centuries.

I am calling upon you. I am calling upon the Idealists who will work tirelessly and sweat profusely under this flag for the Turkish nation, without considering any personal gain. I am calling upon the virtuous warriors who, for the sake of their nation, their state, and their ideals, will never think of taking, but will always be prepared to give and sacrifice everything. I call upon warriors who will fight with self-sacrifice, without being enslaved by the desire for fame and glory, and without fearing anything. I call upon you to rise up and carry the Turkish nation towards new horizons under the leadership of science.

Our religion, our history, and are our path.

At the time when the Turkish-Islamic Seljuk civilisation was emerging, while European churches were striving to parcel out and sell heaven, the winds of change forming over the Anatolian plateau and the rain-laden clouds they carried towards the West cooled the barren lands of Europe, which had a low atmosphere at that time, and breathed life into the seeds in the soil. This Renaissance is the foundation of today's European civilisation. The contribution of the Turkish nation to this is an undeniable historical fact.

As in the Seljuk civilisation, the philosophy of the founding and expansion of the Ottoman Empire was based on the virtues of the Turkish nation and the virtues of Islam.

Alongside examples from past centuries, the spirit and movement of the National Forces, which began with the War of Independence, has demonstrated once again that movements originating from the Turkish nation affect the entire world and humanity. Today, Turkey possesses the same potential power and character in terms of its land and people.

Our meeting place is neither east nor west, neither north nor south. Our meeting place is Great Turkey. Our meeting point is the mind of the Turk, the heart of the Turk, the faith of the Turk, the essence of the Turk. At this place and point, we will unite as a nation, not on the minimum common ground, but on the maximum common ground, and we will definitely unite. Because this is the general character of this meeting place and point. Those who do not know the Turkish nation and are unaware of this character are in a state of helplessness, insecurity and ignorance, accepting to unite on the minimum common ground.

Turkey's plan for salvation must be drawn up by taking into account its own realities, based on material and spiritual calculations. No matter where it comes from, ordering a model from other countries is not considered appropriate or accurate for our nation.

We are in the process of building ourselves. It should not be forgotten that every nation builds itself. Today, the Turkish nation, which is compelled to transcend the ages, possesses this power and capability. We have no doubt about this. The Turkish nation suffers not from impossibilities, but rather from its inability to utilise its existing power and capabilities.

Today, while a new continent of social, economic and political character is emerging on one side of the world, on the other side, people steeped in culture are killing each other, and countries are burning and blazing. It should not be forgotten that those who incite and encourage these actions will one day suffer the same fate.

In our view, the concept and sentiment of mutual benefit should prevail in international relations, rather than the notion of exploitation and being exploited. For mankind today, the distance between where the sun rises and where it sets is no longer as great as it once was.

Whatever the circumstances, the Turkish nation has always been the representative of justice and truth in every field, with behaviour befitting its honourable history and dignity. It cannot be praised enough for this character. The Turkish people are beings raised within a philosophy of humility. They are modest, but never feel inferior. Those who misunderstand and misjudge them on this point should take note.

's War of Ideas

A battle of ideas is being waged across the world. Numerous doctrines are clashing. In Turkey, we have recently witnessed capitalists and communists engaging in an ideological conflict. Both of these philosophies are imported goods, both are foreign to the Turkish nation. We have responded to this with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, one hundred per cent nationalist. We call this the "Nine Lights". As you know, the number "nine" has always been considered a sacred number by the Turks. We paid attention to this when setting out our principles and presented a 100% national view. In this global war of ideas and tactics, we could only prevail with an idea that was suitable for our own national structure, higher and more advanced than the others. Nine Lights is beyond these materialistic ideas. The world's greatest weapon is the idea. No movement without an idea can succeed. I am giving you this weapon. Try to understand the Nine Lights perspective. March towards the great goal, united around it like an iron ring.

I am not promising you easy success. Those who hope for power in a short time should not join us. Our path is long and arduous. On this path, you will encounter offers of benefits, threats and a host of other obstacles. Those who can endure this arduous path should come with us and join our caravan.

We are not racists.

We are facing certain accusations. We are not racist. However, we consider it our duty to care for and love every Turk, wherever they may be in the universe, not just in the world. We do not believe that the world, with millions of Turks living in captivity, will ever find peace. That is why we care about all Turks. However, we have a principle here. While caring about Turks outside Turkey, there must not be the slightest danger to Turkey. We say that everything must be done in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

We have taken up this cause and are marching towards our goal. We are marching without compromising our ideas, without deviating. We are running towards our goal faster than ever before, without faltering. We have not succumbed to temporary fortunes or interests. Those who believe are invincible. We are moving forward with this spirit and awareness. Look to the future with faith and confidence. Never doubt that the goal will be achieved.

The Great Goal: THE PATH OF ALLAH

I condemn the Turkish nation,

to a democracy sold on the streets for the price of spinach, to legal systems trampled upon and violated by bribery and fraud,

To a freedom devoid of morality, to usury, to an economic structure that accommodates the black market.

I call upon the consciousness and pride of Turkishness, Islamic morality and virtue, the fight against poverty, the pursuit of justice, unity, brotherhood, in short, the path of righteousness, the path of truth, the PATH OF ALLAH. I call upon you to leap across the ages to take your place at the forefront of modern civilisation. To those who ask for the name of the movement, I declare it openly:

A return to spirituality... Our goal is not to make Turkey a country of hungry free men and well-fed slaves. Those who accuse us of being compromising politicians on this path are those who do not understand the sublime nature of the Turk. Remember

that when a farmer sows seeds in the soil, it does not mean he is compromising the field. It means he is valuing the soil and making it fertile. This is the meaning and spirit of our movement. It should also be remembered that civilisations and states are built on faith, not money; they collapse not because of poverty, but because of lack of faith.

Turkish intellectuals, Turkish youth, our meeting place is **Greater** Turkey. Our meeting point is the mind, heart and true essence of the faithful Turkish individual. As has been the case until now, do not call upon the Turkish nation to read only the book you have written, to listen only to what you have said. You too must rush to listen to what they say, to read the books they read, to get to know them, to understand them.

Then, at the meeting place and point, we will unite not on the minimum common ground, but on the maximum common ground.

The view that sees the Turkish nation as a stepping stone to power and democracy as merely a voting system is not our view.

Our ranks are formed by nationalists and patriots who think about the eternal life of the Turkish nation and state.

We invite the farmers and workers of Anatolia, who labour with the patience of the Prophet Eyyub in its mountains and plains, enduring hardship and suffering, to join our spiritual cause.

Our duty is not to mock or ridicule the beliefs of these people who work and walk in the belief that **"Allah does not burden any soul beyond its capacity."** It is to shoulder their burden. It is to fight those who steal their rights; those who lay their hands on their sustenance and their labour.

This struggle of ours will continue relentlessly, both internally and externally, and with Allah's permission, we will surely succeed on this path. For our path is the path of justice and truth. **In this country, the laboratories of technical universities and science faculties must be united with the corridors of high theological academies.** Today, the philosophy of "matter" and "meaning" is dragging humanity towards a dead end. However, matter and meaning are neither the same nor different from each other. The only path that will lead humanity and nations to true happiness must pass through the steps of science and reason.

The Turkish nation has set many examples on this path and has led humanity. Today, the seeds of happiness for our nation and, at the same time, for humanity are hidden in the soil.

The character of Turkey and the Turkish nation must be thoroughly appreciated both internally and externally. A storm that breaks out on the Korean plateau only returns to its own shores. A storm that breaks out in Vietnam can only wash over its own shores. Even a storm that breaks out in the Himalayas can be broken in the Indian Ocean; but a storm that breaks out on the Anatolian plateau can affect the whole world. This must be understood and appreciated.

NATIONAL CULTURE

NATIONAL E AND ETHICS

Civilisations are built not with money, but with science, wisdom, faith, and morality; civilisations collapse not from poverty, but from ignorance, lack of wisdom, lack of faith, and immorality.

Today, one can speak of the greatest enemy in the life of nations. But not of the greatest friend. Remember that the greatest friend of the Turkish nation is the Turkish nation itself, and the greatest helper of the Turkish nation is its own work and effort.

In the near future, all doctrines and practices built without fully and correctly valuing human existence will be in need of reform or doomed to collapse.

The Moral Crisis of the Nation

One of the reasons for the crisis our country is experiencing is the moral crisis and the spiritual void that surrounds society.

The peace of societies is only possible if people are moral and honest. If the people of a society are extremely degenerate, there can be no peace in that society.

The strongest foundation of a society is morality. In a country where morality is corrupt, respect for rights is absent, and injustice prevails, there can be no peace, order, or prosperity. Such a country is doomed to collapse. As Turkish nationalists, we view justice as an indivisible ideal in all its political, economic, social and legal aspects. We accept it as an unwavering, constant will to give everyone their due rights.

Loving and respecting one another, helping one another, working solely for the benefit of the country and society in the economic development struggle of our nation within the framework of national unity and solidarity will only be possible in this way. In materialistic societies, the realisation of the points we have indicated above is impossible. In both capitalist and communist systems, the prevailing mindset is material gain, making it virtually impossible for individuals to work for the benefit of society. We therefore assert that individuals can only be beneficial to society through the instilling of high ideals, the development of spiritual values, and the establishment of high moral standards within society. We will always be on the path of serving the Turkish nation. And we will always walk the path of honesty and justice. No power or danger can prevent us from walking towards this noble goal; despite everything, we will not stray from the path of serving the nation.

To benefit from humanity's creation in harmony with the universe, to erect a wall against envy and greed. This is the character of our path.

In our view, property is a divine trust given to people. Disposal of this trust aims, on a spiritual level, to please God, and on a material level, to benefit the individual's family, the national economy, and the increase in national income. It cannot deviate from the path shown by science and morality. Otherwise, the state intervenes in property.

Property cannot be denied, but unlimited control over property is also unthinkable. Our goal is not Western civilisation, but Turkish-Islamic civilisation and universal technology. We will go and get knowledge, even if it is on the moon. But we will never depart from Turkish-Islamic civilisation. Do not forget that we carry the noble destiny of the Turkish nation on our shoulders, and the Turkish nation carries the destiny of humanity in its heart. For this reason, our ancestors devoted their hearts, minds and blood to the ideal of world order for centuries.

The Struggle for Morality and Virtue

Our struggle is not a struggle for political gain at any cost, but a struggle for morality and virtue. The nature of this struggle is not destructive, but constructive, and as it has been throughout history, it will lead to victory in the hands of the Turkish people today. I invite the great Turkish nation to join this honourable struggle.

It is our firm belief that Turkey's development movement must begin with the construction of morality. This is the fundamental philosophy of our liberation movement. The science and technology we place great importance on are also linked to this. It should not be forgotten that participation in morality within a society eliminates all contradictions. As a great thinker said, science and wisdom also arise from morality.

It is with regret that we must say that today, bribery, favouritism and profiteering have spread throughout the country like cancer. Social discipline is broken, and state authority is weak. Our citizens complain about the simplest traffic procedures, customs, credit institutions, hospitals, and the lack of value for their products; they are distressed at not receiving a return for their sweat and labour. Loan sharks roam freely, blessings are in the hands of the powerful, and services and burdens are on the backs of the weak.

The noble Turkish nation today feels the necessity and reality of self-renewal and awakening. As a result, broad masses who believe and understand that the only way out of the crisis our homeland is in and for our nation to reach the level of the most advanced nations is through the Nationalist Movement have begun to show great favour towards our party. Thus, the idea of nationalism has been freed from its romanticism and has become a movement at the service of the nation. This movement is a path to serve our beloved nation within the framework of a democratic system and constitution. Respectful of human rights and dignity, uncompromising on freedoms, imbued with Turkish pride and consciousness, Islamic morality and virtue, the Nine Lights ideology is also the light of our nation.

Those who believe in the Nationalist Movement do not seek the establishment of social justice by relying on the generosity of others. The justice of the order we will establish will be possible only through the sacrifice and compliance of those who bring about that order. For if those who govern the state are moral, virtuous, and self-sacrificing, and do not compromise on these values, morality, virtue, and self-sacrifice will gradually permeate down to the lowest-ranking official.

One of the tenets of the Nine Lights doctrine is moralism. The principles of our understanding of moralism are determined by Turkish customs and the standards of Islam. We define our moral perception according to our own customs and traditions, not according to the perceptions of foreigners. Since the values of the Nationalist Movement are the same as the intrinsic values of our beloved nation, in the future

the Nationalist Movement's rule will be our nation's own rule and its rise, and no one will be able to prevent this happy outcome.

MORALITY

The sum of rules that enable people in a society to organise their actions in such a way that they do not hurt or harm one another, protect their health, and make the best use of the forces of nature constitutes morality. Morality consists of rules that regulate and limit a person's behaviour, ensuring that this behaviour is beneficial to the person themselves, organised in a way that brings them happiness, and that they live in harmony with their surroundings without disturbing or harming them; they are principles of relationship, principles of life. Morality arises from and draws its source from people's beliefs and worldviews. For this reason, the beliefs, worldviews, and philosophies of life of both society and the individuals who make up that society constitute the source and foundation of morality. In this respect, the worldview, philosophy of life, and beliefs held by individuals and society are very important.

We see that the Turkish society's worldview and philosophy of life are rooted in its religious beliefs, Islam, and national history. In addition to these, the experiences of our nation and the conditions prevailing in our country are also influential factors in the thoughts and beliefs of our society. Under the influence of these sources and factors, we are faced with the necessity of attaching importance to Turkish national morality, which will ensure the happiness of the Turkish nation. An immoral person or an immoral society cannot be happy. Such a society cannot develop; such a society cannot show sacrifice and renunciation for the sake of high ideals and sacred beliefs. The great works that have honoured human history are the sublime services created by people enduring hardships with long years of patience, perseverance and sacrifice; they are the assets that faith has bestowed upon humanity. For this reason, we have adopted morality as an important principle of the National Doctrine of Nine Lights. What we mean by morality is, first and foremost, the principle of raising individuals and society in accordance with national moral rules and living in accordance with national moral rules. Unless this is achieved, the development of our society and the prevention of injustice and suffering within society, the happiness of individuals and society, cannot be ensured.

It is impossible to ensure this. **When we speak of morality, we take the principles of Islam, the religion of our nation, and Islamic beliefs as the primary source.** In addition, we take into account our own national traditions, our national history, the various experiences we have undergone, and the rules they have given us.

Our moral code is based primarily on the principles of Islam and Islamic beliefs, but it also incorporates the Turkish traditions that have been shaped by these principles and stem from our history. The foremost moral rule commanded by both our religion and our national customs is that the existence of the nation takes precedence over the existence of the individual and society. The interests of society, the nation, the homeland, and the state always come before the interests of individuals and must be prioritised. In addition, another of the main rules shown to us by our sources is the principle of acting honestly in all circumstances, acting together, being respectful and obedient to elders, being compassionate towards younger people and showing them love. Furthermore, living a disciplined life and acting as a disciplined society are also among the main principles on which our customs are based. What do we mean when we say discipline? When we say discipline, we mean adhering to moral rules; being respectful and obedient to the law, being respectful to elders, always being fair and compassionate towards the young, and meaning that everyone, young and old, should be respectful of each other's rights and laws. In addition to these, another principle recommended by our customs is to have a strong sense of duty, to carry a high sense of responsibility, and to consider one's duty as a matter of honour. Duty means the work that a person is obliged to do for themselves, their country, and their nation. It is required by our customs to be serious about this and to perform one's duties without neglect.

Our morality is based on our religious, national and spiritual values, but it also includes the condition that it must not contradict the laws of nature. The organisation and implementation of moral rules in accordance with the laws of nature is necessary for its effectiveness. Morality is the basis of everything. A society without morality cannot succeed in anything, and nothing in that society can be in a good state. However, there are certain foundations on which morality is based. The foundations on which our morality will be based are as follows: Turkish morality will be in accordance with Turkish traditions, the Turkish spirit, and the beliefs of the Turkish nation (Islam). Turkish morality will never be contrary to the human spirit; it will be a morality based on certain principles that are also compatible with our beliefs. What we will observe in moralism is

One of the things we will investigate is that Turkish morality should be based on principles that will ensure the advancement, survival and protection of the Turkish nation. In other words, rules that are detrimental to the survival of the Turkish nation cannot be part of Turkish morality. Thus, the principles we accept as the basis of morality will be based on being in accordance with the spirit of the Turkish nation, being in accordance with the traditions, customs and beliefs of the Turkish nation, being in accordance with the laws of nature, and being beneficial to the Turkish nation.

There is no need to elaborate on the principle of morality. Many states have risen throughout history. They rose not through wealth, but through morality; they fell not through poverty, but through immorality.

The tradition of Turkish morality consists of Turkish morality and Muslim customs and traditions. **The basis of morality is that it should be in accordance with Turkish traditions, Turkish customs, Islamic principles, and life itself**.

The foremost issue facing our country today is the spiritual crisis engulfing our nation. No nation can stand without spirituality. Many states have been established throughout history, many civilisations have been built, and many rises have occurred. However, none of these were possible through the power of money or numbers, but only and only through the pure faith, spirituality, and ideals in people's hearts. In history, states and civilisations have collapsed and fallen. However, none of them collapsed due to lack of money, poverty or destitution, but solely and exclusively due to spiritual crisis, moral crisis and immorality. Today, the primary issues facing our country are the spiritual crisis, the moral crisis, and the crisis of faith into which our nation has been dragged and plunged. It is worthwhile to dwell on this subject a little longer. A spiritual crisis is a crisis of faith for a nation, for a people. In other words, it is the weakening of their spirituality, the crisis of their religious beliefs.

A spiritual crisis is the crisis experienced by moral principles and moral beliefs that draw strength from religious beliefs. From time to time, various views have been deliberately put forward in our country. From time to time, absurd ideas such as "What is nationalism? Nationalism is now an outdated, obsolete idea. Islam is not the reason for the backwardness of the Turkish nation. Wherever Islam has gone throughout history, it has brought light to those places and opened the paths of civilisation.

and opened the paths of civilisation wherever it has gone. Today, there are such truths and such issues that we have learned from Europe that I find it useful to explain them to you.

Today, a scientific company established in the Netherlands has documented with evidence and works that European civilisation, contrary to what was previously believed, did not originate from Greek and Roman civilisation, but rather emerged as a model drawing its strength from Islamic civilisation. It has commenced activities to write and prepare books and works presenting these findings. Its research is appreciated and followed by scholars around the world. Therefore, statements such as "the reason for the backwardness of the Turkish nation is its Muslim identity, its religion" are incorrect and have no basis in truth; more accurately, they are views put forward to undermine the Turkish nation, its integrity and its spirituality.

For the advancement of the Turkish nation, it is essential that the Turkish nation first return to its national identity and national existence. The rise of a nation is only possible through the creation of national values. A nation can only preserve its power and strength and rise up by possessing national morality, by adhering to its own religion, faith, morals, customs, history and traditions. A nation that despises itself, does not appreciate itself, considers others superior to itself, and considers copying others to be a virtue has lost itself and is already dead. Therefore, in the struggle we have embarked upon to uplift our nation, the foremost point we emphasise is this: **We are Turks, we are like ourselves; we are a strong, capable, virtuous, moral nation. We are not inferior to others, we are not lacking in any way. If we copy others, our advancement is impossible.** We will trust in our own identity; we will rely on ourselves, we will return to our own characteristics; we will return to our own national customs and morals, we will take modern science and modern technology, and we will ensure the development of our country by finding ways to rise above them as soon as possible.

Today, the foremost threats facing Turkey, both internally and externally, are communism and regionalism.

There are sectarian provocations by our enemies, who know how devoted Turks are to their religion, who use Islam as a tool in their campaign to destroy Turkishness. They say, "There is no Turkishness, there is only Islam." They say, "Why are you mixing Turkishness with Islam? There is Islam,"

they reveal that they do not know that all Turks in the world are Muslim, that Turks served Islam with sword and head in spreading and preserving Islam, and their ulterior motives come to the surface. They do not know that Islam came not to destroy nations, but to revive them. The reality of nations is a truth revealed in the Holy Qur'an. The phrase "We have divided you into nations and tribes" (Surah Hujurat, 13) reveals this.

While every nation holds its own people in high esteem, who are these people who deny Turkishness? There is no need for extensive research. Foreigners are behind them; they are traitors. These people know that the stronger the Turks become, the stronger the Muslims become. History is proof of this.

Moreover, we have accepted the greatness of our religion in our doctrine. While no other party has ever put forward "Turkish pride and consciousness, Islamic morality and virtue," we have embraced it. We have put forward the Turkish-Islamic ideal. We have seen the solution to Islam's current situation and its progress in the advancement and independence of the Muslim Turkish world. Under these circumstances, the intentions of those who still attack us are clear. They are traitors, fed from outside.

Another issue facing the Turkish nation is the lack of a distinguished administrative cadre, one that is not yet fully developed. This has caused our nation much suffering to date. This is also a major reason for the difficulties we face today. In addition, another issue facing the Turkish nation is the neglect of the national character of education. Our national education system fails to raise our children as people who are attached to the national values of the Turkish nation, imbued with national culture, possessing national consciousness, and endowed with a nationalist spirit and nationalist passion. Instead, it turns them into people who are merely loaded with knowledge and filled with selfishness and greed. However, the foremost requirement of national education is to ensure that the children of the nation-leket children to be people who are first and foremost attached to the spiritual values of the Muslim Turk, imbued with national culture and attached to it, not detached from it, and who tremble with the passion and feeling of ensuring the interests of the Turkish nation at all times and in all places.

TURKISH TRADITION

Turkish Tradition: "Turkish law" means "Turkish order". In Turkish Tradition, the place, rank and duties of every Turk within society are determined by specific rules. The organisation of the Turkish nation, the organisation of Turkish states and armies have all been based on these traditional principles. The great Turkish civilisation we encounter in history arose from Turkish Tradition, Turkish intelligence and ability.

Turkish custom: First and foremost, it means loving the Turkish nation and believing in its strength and greatness.

Turkish custom means a high sense of duty. Custom takes as its basis service to the nation and respect for people in state service and in human relations.

Turkish Tradition means respect for elders and compassion and love for the young.

The Turkish nation is dignified, solemn, serious, not very talkative, speaking little but to the point when necessary, cool-headed, not quick to anger, courageous, moral, determined, and faithful to its word and duty.

In Europe, individuals say **"Is it a Turkish word?"** in their mutual relations. They know that the Turkish word can be trusted. Obeying one's elders, showing love and compassion to one's juniors, keeping them under one's authority, and respecting rights are the fundamental elements of Turkish custom. The Turks established all their states based on custom, and when they broke with custom, they collapsed.

In ancient Turkish society, crime was divided into two categories: "honourable crime" and "dishonourable crime".

When members of the royal family were sentenced to death, they were strangled with the bowstring of their own bow. This was the case even during the Ottoman period. The punishment for dishonour and immorality was death. They were killed dishonourably with an arrow. These customs gave the Turks great strength and ensured discipline among them.

Strength comes from unity and solidarity. All the disasters that have befallen our nation stem from our failure to live in unity. They stem from our failure to love one another, from our failure to respect customs and traditions. Public service does not tolerate disobedience, negligence, or frivolity. First, we must examine ourselves. As Bozkurts, as Ülkücüler, we must cultivate ourselves spiritually and characteristically. Selfishness, "egoism," is the greatest danger in public service. Selfishness is very harmful to the Turkish nation and Turkishness.

We have seen it. As the Turkish nation, we must cast aside this sense of self; you must cast it aside. Each of you must be one for all, and all for one.

The liberation and rise of our nation, the implementation of our ideas, depend on our being in power. Therefore, we must bind the people to ourselves. We must make them love us. Loyalty, gratitude, compassion and the spirit of helping others, love and respect are the highest feelings you must develop among yourselves. Without these feelings, there can be no perfect humanity. In order to unite with one another, to win over other young people and citizens, we must first learn not to underestimate people, not to look down on them, but to see everyone as a human being.

A Grey Wolf, a Nationalist, is a propagandist for Turkish Nationalism and the Nine Lights through every movement, behaviour, sitting, standing, and speaking. We must not make people hate us with our bad, wrong actions. If we do not act in a manner befitting a Nationalist, we will all harm our cause in our own person. Let the Turkish nation not say of us, "Look at them; look at those who claim to be nationalists." Let us not give them cause to say this by our good deeds. I want to see Ülkücü youth as the example of a true Turk. You must maintain your seriousness and not be frivolous.

In the Muslim Turkish tradition, there is respect for women. In Turkish society, a woman's place is beside her husband. Turkish women are an active element of our society, a respected entity.

The Turk is dignified. As an individual, as a Grey Wolf, if you do not attain this maturity, if you do not adorn your existence with human qualities, you cannot bring the expected benefit to the country. You will become like doctors who do not examine patients without payment, or engineers who steal cement and iron. Never interfere in other people's business and keep secrets. Always engage in words and actions that will bring goodness, and make this a habit. Even our religion permits lying in certain circumstances. It says that if telling the truth will cause discord and chaos, then lie. You must be very disciplined. Discipline means adhering to Turkish customs, morals, laws, and regulations, and being respectful.

RELIGION

"Today, I have perfected your religion for you. I have completed My favour upon you. I have chosen Islam as your religion."

The Holy Qur'an / Surah Al-Ma'idah: 3.

Whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him. In the Hereafter, he will be among those who have lost.

The Holy Qur'an / Surah Al-Imran: 85.

OUR RELIGION IS ISLAM

People need to have faith; they need to believe. A person without faith is like an empty shell. A person without faith is like a ship without a compass or rudder. Since the earliest times, human communities have organised their relationships and their lives according to certain beliefs about the universe and their way of life.

Every society has a religion. Religion is a set of beliefs that shows people how they should behave, how they can best relate to one another, and ways to bring happiness to people. Every society has always had a religious institution. Religion is a social institution. We now recognise that no society has ever been without religion, nor could it survive without it. The Marxist view that religion is the opiate of the people has now been abandoned, even in countries governed by communism. Today, in Soviet Russia, one of the major communist countries, the church and the Christian religion in particular are being given a place and prestige similar to what they had in the past. Indeed, when we look at the history of various societies, we see that the institution of religion has provided useful services as an institution that organises people's lives, enables them to live happier lives, and encourages brotherhood and kindness among people.

Although hostilities, conflicts and provocations have occasionally arisen between people of different faiths and between different societies. However, the benefits that religion has brought to human communities are incomparably greater than the harm caused by these conflicts. Religion has played a significant role in the social life of the Turkish nation. Before embracing Islam, the Turks lived according to various religions. Shamanism, a religious institution formed by the Turks themselves since ancient times, shaped their lives; however, the Turks also adopted Buddhism. Some of them also embraced Confucianism as a result of their relations with China. Furthermore, it has been established that some Turks became Christians under the influence of missionaries who reached Central Asia in the pre-Islamic era. As you know, the great Seljuk family that founded the Seljuk Empire had become Christian and taken Christian names before converting to Islam.

However, the Turks came into contact with Islam over a thousand years ago and saw it as a religion that was very well suited to their own nature and historical development, embracing it with great religious fervour. The high level of faith that Islam gave them, combined with great enthusiasm, gave them a new drive and energy, and with this energy they created great civilisations and established new great states. Indeed, the Seljuk Empire and the Ottoman Empire, which emerged from it and became the world's largest empire, are great achievements created by the Turks after their acceptance of Islam. Since religion is a social institution within society, it is essential that leaders who seek to ensure the welfare, advancement, and continued happiness of society give this social institution the importance it deserves.

Throughout the history of the Republic, during the final period of the Ottoman Empire, superstitions and false beliefs that obscured the true principles of Islam caused stagnation and considerable harm, leading to reactions against religion and Islam in particular. These reactions were excessive. With a mindset that seemed to suggest religion was unnecessary in society, some administrators looked down on the people and pressured them because of their religious beliefs, subjecting them to great hardship. For this reason, many initiatives undertaken to develop the country were met with resistance or, at the very least, were not properly embraced or supported by the people

. The existence of this great institution has been neglected in securing the cooperation of the people and in ensuring their support and enthusiasm. Having stated this, we must also express our views on Islam, which our nation has had the honour of embracing for over twelve hundred years.

Islam is the most advanced and best-developed religion sent to the earth. Islam is a divine religion whose high principles envisage brotherhood among people, love for one another, and observance of justice and fairness in human relations. Islam has given strength to our nation.

It has ensured that our nation's great energy is used in a disciplined manner. With this great spirit and this great faith, the Turkish nation has brought a new order to the world and illuminated the corners of the known world in ancient times with the light of its civilisation, creating hope in the lives of all humanity with its immaculate justice system. Indeed, even Luther ([58]), the founder of Protestantism in Europe, considered the Turks a

58 **Martin Luther:** (1483 - 1546) was a German religious reformer. He studied at the University of Erfurt. On his way back from visiting his family, he encountered the danger of being struck by lightning on the road to Erfurt and decided to become a monk. At the age of 21, he entered a monastery affiliated with the Order of Saint Augustine and began his theological studies, becoming a priest that same year. The following year, he completed his doctorate at the University of Wittenberg and began teaching. At that time, Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk appointed by Rome, was selling indulgences in the vicinity of Wittenberg. Luther wrote a critique of this practice, which he had questioned since his days in the monastery. With the intention of starting a debate on the practice of indulgences, on 31 October 1517, he posted his 95 Theses on the door of Wittenberg Castle Church, which served as the university's bulletin board at the time. As a result, there was a decline in the sale of indulgences.
In 1518, a papal case was opened in Rome against Luther's ideas. Luther was tried in absentia in this inquisition case. Emperor Maximilian declared him a heretic; Luther was summoned to Rome to respond to the charges. However, instead of going to Rome, he chose to give his statement to Cardinal Cajetan in Augsburg. When Cajetan asked him to renounce his ideas and his attacks on the Church, Luther returned to Wittenberg. There, Frederick III, Duke of Saxony, who had the authority to elect the Holy Roman Emperor, took him under his protection. Although Pope Leo X demanded that Frederick III send Luther into exile, the duke did not obey this order. Meanwhile, Luther, who had renounced some of his views and even sent a letter of apology to the Pope, participated in a debate on indulgences with Johann Eck, the rector of the University of Ingolstadt. Eck won the debate, but Luther drew the wrath of Rome upon himself.
On 15 June 1520, Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther in a papal bull. In October, the papal bull reached Luther, but students at the University of Erfurt tore it up and threw it into the water. University officials did not intervene in this incident. Luther then saw himself as a

viewed himself as a harbinger and expressed his hope that the Turks would invade Germany, establish freedom of conscience there, and bring about a system of justice without blemish.

He published his most famous book, *Von der Freiheit des Christenmenschen* (On the Freedom of a Christian), together with an open letter to Pope Leo X.

In 1521, Luther was summoned once again by Emperor Charles V to appear before the Diet of Worms. On his way, he preached in Erfurt, Eisenach, Gotha and Frankfurt, and entered Worms accompanied by a large crowd, like a victorious commander. Here he was asked to renounce the heretical ideas he had written about in his books. Luther responded as follows: *"I cannot accept the authority of popes and councils unless I am convinced by the Holy Scriptures and reason. For these contradict each other, and my conscience is bound only to God's word. For this reason, I do not recant any of my views, because it is neither right nor trustworthy for a person to deny what he has written against his conscience. May God be my witness."*

The Worms Diet was dissolved without reaching a conclusion. Luther settled in Wartburg Castle and began translating the Bible into German. While Luther was in Wartburg, significant changes were also taking place in Wittenberg: monks who refused to perform private masses left the Augustinian order. The priest of the Castle Church married; students destroyed the altar in the Franciscan monastery; services began to be conducted in German, and the chalice was offered for the first time to the congregation attending church. The bans on Luther were lifted, and he returned to Wittenberg, where he began preaching in the church. Although the Council of Nuremberg asked Luther to stop publishing books and banned sermons that deviated from Catholic doctrine, Luther continued to write; he even asked poets and musicians to contribute to the local language to be used in services. 1524 was a year of turmoil in Germany. Peasants rose up in accordance with Luther's teachings to demand improved economic conditions. Among their leaders was Thomas Müntzer, a theologian educated in Wittenberg. Luther wrote a book against the peasants' attacks, and the uprising ended with the massacre of some 50,000 peasants in a battle at Frankenhausen. Some Protestant priests were executed by Catholic princes, and the peasants believed Luther had deceived them.

Having married a former nun, Luther began his liturgical services in 1526, which he published under the title Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottsdienstes (German Mass and Order of Divine Service). In 1529, after publishing a short work stating that it was the duty of every Christian to fight against the Turks in order to protect Western civilisation from the threat of Islam, he published the Small and Large Catechisms, which taught the basic beliefs and doctrines of Christianity in a question-and-answer format. Three years later, the Nuremberg Religious Peace Committee granted freedom to German Protestants. Luther was appointed dean of the Wittenberg Faculty of Theology. Despite his health problems, he continued to write. He wrote against the Anabaptists (a Protestant sect that claimed baptism could only be performed in adulthood) and then against the Jews, and, drawing on the Holy Scriptures, delivered a harsh criticism of the papacy in his work *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom vom Teufel Gestiftet (*Against the Papacy in Rome, Founded by the Devil). He died on 17 February 1546 in Eisleben, his birthplace, from heart and kidney failure.

Islam is a religion based on freedom of conscience. It rejects oppression and coercion against those of other faiths or religions. The tolerance of this religion, together with the values it has brought to our nation from its ancient history, has been a great source of strength. Being deprived of faith leads people to succumb to their passions. Restricting and controlling completely selfish human passions that harm others is only possible through a strong sense of religion and the moral views that feed on it. It is not possible to uphold moral rules with the police or the gendarmerie. Every person must have a source of faith that will control them to stay on the right path, live without harming others, and even regulate their activities in a way that benefits others and alleviates their troubles. Religion is what instils this source of faith within people. For over twelve hundred years, the religion of the Turkish nation has been Islam, and Islam is a source of faith sufficient to ensure the happiness of our society. This source is sacred. It is a source that has proven its productivity and power throughout history. Today, this source must once again take its place and be reinstated for the organisation of our society and the happiness of our people. Having stated this, it is also useful to express our views on the principle of secularism.

Secularism

Secularism [59] It is with regret that we must state that this principle is misinterpreted by the administrators and intellectuals of our country under today's conditions. When a Nationalist Turkey is established tomorrow, every institution of our state will be shaped within the framework of this view.

59 **Secularism:** Derived from the French word Laïcisme, it entered the Turkish language. It is the principle advocating that no religion should be referenced in state administration and that the state should remain neutral towards religions. The word secular comes from the Latin word "laicus," meaning "a person who is not a clergyman; the people outside the clergy." During the Roman period, clergy were called "Clerici" and non-clergy were called "Laici". The English equivalent of the same term is "Secularity", which means the separation of religion and state affairs. It comes from the Latin word "saeculum", meaning "age". Secularism can be translated into Turkish in three different ways: "lâiklik" (secularism), "çağdaşlaşma" (modernisation) or "dünyevîleşme" (worldliness). In France, the terms "Laïcité" (Laicisme) are used for secularism. In both forms, the concepts express the idea that the physical and scientific should not be confused with the abstract and religious.

The relationship between religion and the state will also be properly established. Secularism is essentially enshrined in our constitution. The principle of secularism requires the separation of state affairs from religious affairs. Secularism cannot be interpreted as interfering with the religious activities of people and citizens or imposing pressure on their religious practices. For a long time, this principle has been used to exert pressure on religion in our country. It is beneficial for our country to accept secularism as the separation of state affairs from religious affairs and to preserve this principle today. This does not mean that the institution of religion is unnecessary for our society. People are free in their beliefs; they are free to organise and carry out religious activities according to their beliefs in their own lives. No one can disturb them for doing so, nor can anyone interfere with them or disturb them for not doing so. That being said, it is absolutely necessary to teach our children the basic principles of Islam from primary school onwards, as the Turkish nation is a Muslim society. It is necessary to teach our children the religious education and principles of our society, both at home and at school. Once a child reaches a certain age, they take charge of their own life; at that point, they may or may not engage in the activities they desire. However, as members of the Turkish society, which is a Muslim society, they must receive religious education and be raised with a broad knowledge of the principles of their society's religion. Today, all management and education in every society is geared towards this.

When we consider the most advanced Western societies, we see that their situation is the same. In those societies, too, the religious institution is very influential and engaged in very important activities, and these activities are beneficial to society. Religious institutions often organise society. In some of our neighbouring countries, religious institutions are organisations that regulate everything. Greece is an example of this. In Greece, we see the church in every phase of society's life. We see the Greek church as the largest, most influential, and most powerful institution that directs political activities, directs education, and directs economic activities. When we consider these realities in relation to our own country, as mentioned earlier, while upholding the principle of secularism, the religious needs of Turkish society, 98 per cent of which is Muslim, must be fully taken into account, and our children must receive a sound religious education from the time they start primary school so that they become knowledgeable about religion and our society's religious

Their upbringing is important for the development of our country and the happiness of our nation.

The Foundation of Our Cause

The success of our cause depends first and foremost on our own unity,, loving one another sincerely, staying away from all kinds of jealousy and competitiveness, rising above them, striving to earn Allah's pleasure, embracing one another with the sole desire to earn the pleasure of Allah, and joining hands for our cause, acting as a united front. For every organisation, for every community, danger and destruction have always come from division, discord, separation, strife and corruption. Look at the Turkish world, look at the Islamic world, look at Turkish history, look at Islamic history: the beginning of all the disasters we have suffered has arisen from division, discord and strife.

The foundation of our doctrine, our faith, our cause, our programme, and our ideal is Islamic faith, Islamic morality and virtue, and Turkish consciousness and sentiment.

God is one, unique, and loves unity. Where there is unity, there is abundance and sanctity. I always want sincere brotherhood and unity of purpose, unity of hearts, and cooperation among our colleagues throughout our organisation. I can never accept or approve of behaviour that disrupts unity, harms unity, or leads to division.

Our party opposes Western capitalism, which aims to exploit Muslim countries and Turkish nations, turning non-Christian countries outside Europe into Europe's market and enslaving them. Those who came from there, from here and there, even from a village in Anatolia with nothing but a lantern, who worked hard with their own sweat and toil, became factory owners, become a businessman, a merchant, and who saw the salvation of the country in the MHP and rushed to help us in every way, as "capitalists" or representatives of capitalism and to start a campaign against them is something we cannot accept. Our party aspires to govern the Turkish nation with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, one hundred per cent national, guided by reason. Today, no political party in Turkey has emerged with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, based on its spiritual values and drawing strength from its national history, like the MHP. They all stem from Europe's

These are principles transferred from their homeland, from this homeland. Some of them do not even hide it and declare at their congresses: "We will become members of the Third Socialist International."

Islam Does Not Command Backwardness, But Progress

There is no connection between backwardness and religion. If there is any, it is due to the misguided teachings of certain ignorant religious figures. Islam is the most perfect religion. It values knowledge and has ensured the advancement of science and technology. Civilisation in the Middle Ages was established thanks to the Muslims in the East. That civilisation was Islamic civilisation. Today's European civilisation originated from Islamic civilisation in the Middle Ages. As many Western scholars have scientifically determined and accepted, the foundation of Western civilisation is not ancient Greek, ancient Roman civilisation, or Christianity, but Turkish-Islamic civilisation. How did this happen? During the heyday of the Turkish-Islamic civilisation, the Crusader armies entered Muslim lands; Europe was amazed when it saw this great civilisation, and as the armies returned, they drew inspiration from that civilisation. The Crusades lasted for centuries. Many European scholars studied science in Andalusia during the reign of the Umayyads of Andalusia ([60]). They acquired knowledge from Muslims. They acquired the science of mathematics and its branch, algebra.

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60 **The Umayyads of Al-Andalus:** Al-Andalus is the name given by Muslims to Spain. Today, it is the name of a province in southern Spain.
As a natural extension of the early Islamic conquests, Andalusia came under Muslim rule between 711 and 714. Although its geographical borders gradually narrowed over time, it remained an Islamic country for eight centuries. The Islamic army, commanded by Tariq ibn Ziyad, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and set foot in Spain. After crossing the strait, Tariq had all the ships burned to eliminate any possibility of retreat. Here, he won the "Battle of Cadiz" against the Visigoths and ended the Visigothic Kingdom (711). During this battle, when Tariq ibn Ziyad saw signs of disorder in his army, he stepped forward and addressed them, saying, *"O warriors! Where are you fleeing to in your ignorance? The enemy is before you, the sea is behind you. Would you rather drown in the sea or become martyrs?"* After this speech, the Visigoths suffered a heavy defeat. Toledo was then taken, and all of Spain was conquered as far as the Pyrenees. The history of Al-Andalus is divided into six distinct periods.
1 - The Governors' Period (715-756)
2 - The Umayyad Period (756–1031)
3 - The Era of the Small Sultanates (1031–1090)
4 - The Almoravid and Almohad Period (1090–1228)
5 - The Emirate of Granada (1231–1492)
6 - The Moriscos (1492–1609)

They learned from Andalusia. They learned astronomy from the Muslims. It is a fact that after the fall of the Andalusian Empire, the books of science there were taken by Europeans and are now found in European libraries. There are many more great discoveries by Muslim Turkish scholars. Finally, with Fatih's conquest of Istanbul, science went to Europe. The scholars who left Istanbul preached Islamic ideas in Italy, explained its greatness, and inspired the Renaissance. It is clear that the reason for the progress of Europeans is not Christianity, nor is the reason for the backwardness of Turks Islam.

Nations cannot exist without religion. Every nation has its religion. Religion is a social institution within society. No society has ever been able to eradicate this institution from its life. Communists are enemies of religion and say, "Religion is an opiate that numbs nations." Yet even they have been unable to eradicate it. Today, the church thrives in Russia in every way. Enlightened individuals who seek to make society happy and elevate it must take this into consideration. I am telling you this scientifically. There is also another side to this matter. We accept that religion has principles that turn people away from evil and lead them to happiness. Ignorant individuals who have sold themselves out and deliberately exploit this are denigrating Islam.

Thus, this is the fundamental source of the Nine Lights: Turkish pride and consciousness; Islamic morality and virtue. That is, the Turkish-Islamic ideal.

Nationalism, Faith and Morality

I would also like to touch upon the spiritual foundations of our development. **The spiritual foundations of development** are **nationalism, faith and** morality. We are sincerely committed to Turkish pride and consciousness and Islamic morality and virtue, above the concerns of vote gathering and political hypocrisy. Turkish pride and consciousness and Islamic morality and virtue are the perfect harmony of the spiritual elements that make up our nation. Our material development only has meaning and value if it is built on such a noble foundation. There is no possibility of development without nationalism or morality, and even if it were possible, it would have no value. At this point, I would like to point out a matter that I consider very important. Although they are few in number, we see some people trying to pit nationalism against Islam. Such an attitude is wrong. It is absurd. It is ignorance; if done consciously, it is treason, it is hypocrisy. The struggle is different, even

It occurs between conflicting ideals. However, Turkishness and Islam have been fused together in the same sacred crucible for a thousand years, becoming inseparable like flesh and nail.

The Turkish nation, by embracing Islam, has attained the highest values of social order and religious life, and Islam has found in the Turkish nation a warrior of unparalleled bravery and devotion. Millions of Turkish sons rushed to the battlefields "as if entering a rose garden" and drank the cup of martyrdom. Questions such as "Are you Turkish? Are you Muslim?" are foolish if they stem from ignorance. Otherwise, they are treasonous. **A religious understanding that rejects nationalism and a nationalist understanding that is hostile to Islam are foreign to us, outside of us.** Even if those who defend these flawed views claim to belong to us, they have no connection to us, they are not one of us. If we want to live as a nation, if we want to protect both our Muslim identity and our Turkishness, we must love one another, we must not quarrel over fabricated divisions that are essentially meaningless, and not be deceived by the words of hypocrites. At a time when we are calling for a powerful jihad to elevate the Turkish nation spiritually and materially and to ensure its continued existence as a free and independent entity in a world surrounded by enemies, we must not become pawns of the forces of evil. We must not be deceived by appearances. We must not forget that the descendants of Abdullah ibn Saba ([61]), who started strife and corruption in the Islamic world, are still alive today and are trying to turn us against each other.

BIGOTRY

One of the things that has often been discussed in our intellectual life is undoubtedly the word "bigotry" and the meaning it conveys. In recent years of our history, nothing has been subjected to such bigoted exploitation as bigotry.

To avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to define the concept before delving into the subject. So, if one were to ask what bigotry means, and if one were to consult the dictionary, bigotry is defined as the refusal of individuals and communities to abandon their ideas, beliefs, and customs.

61 **Abdullah ibn Saba:** Formerly known as Ibn Sevda, Ibn Saba was a Jewish convert who claimed to have become a Muslim during the reign of Uthman. He was also the founder of the Seb'iyya sect, one of the Shiite sects that attributed divinity to Ali. Ibn Saba is considered the instigator of strife in Islamic history.

It is seen as a movement of desire and stubbornly defending these ideas to the end,

In many cases, this is accompanied by traits such as becoming hostile to other ideas and opinions and being aggressive towards them by denying them the right to exist.

Until recently, when we spoke of bigotry, religious bigotry generally came to mind. Even today, when we speak of bigotry, religious bigotry still comes to mind. This is only natural. Because religion has been presented as an obstacle to all the reform movements undertaken by the Turkish nation over the last two hundred and fifty years in the name of development. Moreover, for the past fifty years, the focus has always been on religious fanaticism, with no mention of fanaticism in other areas. Many self-styled intellectuals have used this issue as a weapon to intimidate everyone and everything for their own specific interests and purposes. In order to suppress free thought in the country, hostility towards religious fanaticism was turned into an even more dangerous form of fanaticism. However, blind bigotry, in whatever field, is dangerous and harmful. There is inevitably darkness in minds and souls that harbour such bigotry. It is an indisputable truth that the main characteristics of an enlightened mindset are idealism and rationality.

From time to time, certain individuals who call themselves intellectuals and writers have emerged among us; far from tolerating and showing forbearance towards those who think differently from themselves, they have resorted to all manner of slander and intrigue to destroy such people. Instead of using the official and private means at their disposal to serve the nation, they have used them for their own benefit, against the interests of the nation. Due to their negligence and lack of awareness, they have created a fanaticism that has led to moral terror in the country. Instead of the old clerics, who were far from true piety, chanting "Religion is lost. The Sharia is slipping away." Instead, people with the same spirit but in different shapes and colours emerged in the hands of such individuals.

If nationalist articles are written or nationalist movements are carried out, and if this exposes their flaws, their bigotry immediately kicks in, and attacks begin against the authors of the articles and leaders of the movements, using the exact language of Moscow: "Guardsmen... Fascists..." Considering that this was during the single-party era, when radio and press were forced to use their language, the magnitude of the disaster is quite easy to understand.

If anyone were to write that nations can only survive by living with their past, traditions and history, and that without these they would be doomed to death like rootless trees, the same bigots would immediately spew their venom, calling them "backward-minded, traitors to the revolution." In this situation, those who wished to express their opinions and convictions were not allowed to appear before the public. Citizens were forced to bear the burden of preconceived notions and false ideas and convictions attributed to them against their will. They had no opportunity to defend themselves or make their voices heard.

Humanity, and especially the Turkish nation, has suffered immense disasters and hardships due to blind fanaticism. However, it is a mistake to believe that these stem solely from religious fanaticism. The calamities suffered have resulted from the blind fanaticism in every field, created by the ignorant and the treacherous, who exploit ignorance for their own gain. For this reason, it is the primary duty of every prudent and moderate Turkish intellectual to warn the Turkish nation and keep it immune against the blind fanaticism that all kinds of sects, ideologies, and parties strive to create and incite in every sphere.

COMMUNALISM

Pan-Islamism, in a political sense, is the gathering of all Muslims under the sovereignty of a single state, under a single flag. Throughout history, no one but the Turks has sincerely embraced this idea, this ideal. The Turks shed their blood for this idea for centuries. They sacrificed themselves for this cause without considering their own interests. Other nations, however, abandoned this ideal for their own petty interests and placed their interests above the ideal of pan-Islamism. They even made deals with the Christians and stabbed us in the back. This has happened throughout history. Let me give you an example from the time of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. During the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, Charles V ([62]) Emperor of Germany, one of the powerful states of the time, invaded Europe...

62 **Charles V:** (24 February 1500 – 21 September 1558). V. Karl. Holy Roman Emperor. When his grandfather Emperor Max died in 1516, Charles V's father Archduke Philip the Handsome had already passed away, leaving him a vast inheritance. That same year, the death of his maternal grandfather Ferdinand II saw the crowns of Castile, Aragon, Naples and Sicily united in his person. When Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, he became the ruler of the largest empire in Europe. As Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1556) and King of Spain

, he sought to strike a blow against the Ottoman Empire, which was advancing steadily and threatening Germany. For this purpose, he chose Tunisia.

Here there were Arab sheikhs and emirs. Charles V drew these sheikhs and emirs to his side by various means. The Arabs made an agreement with Charles V. When Charles V's army landed in Tunisia, these Arabs attacked the Ottoman army, which was fighting Charles V's army, from behind. What does this mean? At that time, when religious beliefs were at their peak, faith was at its strongest, and the ideal of pan-Islamism was at its highest level, it was known that fighting the infidel was obligatory, yet the Arabs did this. Finally, in the First World War, the Ottoman Sultan, the Caliph, declared a total war, a "jihad," against the Christians. But no nation other than the Turks actually participated in this jihad. The British forced Indian Muslims and Hindus to fight against us in the ranks of the British army at Gallipoli. The Arabs joined forces with the British and the Jews and stabbed the Turks in the back. When the British commander in the Middle East at the time, Field Marshal Allenby, captured Jerusalem from the Turks, he entered the Holy City accompanied by the Arab sheikhs and emirs of the time, climbed onto the sacred stone there, and addressed the British soldiers. Among the Arab dignitaries beside him were King Abdullah and other relatives. Together, they went to the Al-Aqsa Mosque ([64]), and standing on that sacred stone, the Marshal addressed them as follows:

(1516–1556), he reigned as King of the Netherlands and Belgium from 1516 to 1556. The borders of the empire included Spain and its colonies, as well as all of Austria and Germany.
He was the most famous and powerful Christian ruler in Europe, who suffered the most defeats against the Ottoman Empire and was forced to submit to it the most. His title of Emperor was never recognised.
Charles V sought to establish a Catholic empire under his rule in Europe. To this end, he fought the Protestants and the Ottomans for many years. However, he failed to unite the kingdoms, which were spread over a vast area and had different economic, religious and cultural structures, around Catholicism.

63 **Allenby:** (23 April 1861 – 14 May 1936) British field marshal. He commanded British operations in Palestine and Syria during the First World War. On 9 December 1917, he captured Jerusalem, earning him the title "Conqueror of Jerusalem". The rapid infantry and cavalry tactics he employed in the Battle of Megiddo (19–21 September 1918), which resulted in the complete destruction of two Ottoman armies, are considered the precursor to the *Blitzkrieg* tactics developed by the Germans in the Second World War.

64 **Al-Aqsa Mosque:** One of the holy sites of Islam. It is located in the city of Jerusalem. The first person to build Al-Aqsa Mosque was Prophet Solomon. It is also known as the Mosque of Solomon.
The information provided regarding the interpretation of the 14th verse of Surah Sebe in the Holy Qur'an also points to this: "*When We decreed his death, We replaced him with one like him.*

"O People of the Cross[65]! We have taken this holy city, which we have long sought, for which we have organised crusades, but which we could never capture, from the Turks." And again, that same Marshal Allenby goes to the tomb of the great ruler Saladin ([66])in Damascus, kicks his grave and says to the British soldiers there: "This is the grave of the man who stopped the Crusader armies, prevented Jerusalem from being taken, protected it for years, and spilled the blood of thousands of Christians!" Turning to the tomb, he addressed it: "The soldiers you once defeated and refused to give Jerusalem to would not give you a handful of grave soil now if they wanted to." And as he said these things, he was again accompanied by those Arab visitors, the British servants.

This ideological movement has now lost its political influence. Yet this idea had lived and continued to live among the Turks for hundreds of years.

No one showed them anything other than the tree worm eating its staff. So when it fell to the ground, it became clear that if the jinn knew the unseen, they would not remain in humiliating torment.

One reason for the exceptional status of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Islam is that it is the site of the Prophet Muhammad's Isra and Mi'raj. Allah mentions Al-Aqsa Mosque by name in the first verse of Surah Al-Isra, saying: *"Glory be to Him who took His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him some of Our signs. Surely He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing."* Here, the Al-Aqsa Mosque is referred to as *"the surroundings of which We have blessed."* The surroundings of the Al-Aqsa Mosque are, first and foremost, Jerusalem and then the other Palestinian territories. At the time of Prophet Muhammad's ascension, there was no mosque in Jerusalem in its present form. However, there were the remains of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, built by Solomon and later destroyed and rebuilt, and this place was also called Bayt al-Maqdis. This is the place visited by the Prophet Muhammad. The wall known to Jews as the "Wailing Wall" and to Muslims as the "Buraq Wall" is a remnant of the old temple. After Jerusalem was conquered in 638 AD during the reign of Omar, the Al-Aqsa Mosque was built on the site of the Bayt al-Maqdis. Omar's decision to designate this place as a mosque stemmed from its sanctity and importance. The Al-Aqsa Mosque was later expanded during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. The octagonal Dome of the Rock, located right next to the Al-Aqsa Mosque and mistakenly believed by Turkish Muslims to be the Al-Aqsa Mosque, was also built by Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.

65 **Ehl-i Salîb:** Refers to the Crusaders.

66 **Saladin:** He was the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. He was born in Tikrit in 1138. His father, Najm al-Din Ayyub, was in the service of the Seljuk emir Imad al-Din Zengi. His mother was the sister of the Seljuk emir of Harim, Shihab al-Din Mahmud ibn Tokush al-Harimi. He captured Jerusalem from the Crusaders on 2 October 1187 with the Battle of Hattin. He ended 88 years of Christian rule in Jerusalem. He stopped the massacres taking place in the region. He neutralised the Third Crusade organised by the Christians. At the height of his power, he brought Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the Hejaz and Yemen under his control. The city of Saladin in Iraq and the Saladin Eagle are named after him. He died in Damascus on 4 March 1193. His tomb is in the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque.

No one helped during the War of Independence. We sent delegations everywhere. To all Islamic countries, but nothing changed.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that we are the ummah of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He is, of course, the last prophet of Islam, and we are his ummah. We hold this idea in our hearts as a religious belief. Those who wish to portray us differently bear the responsibility for their actions.

QUR'AN LESSONS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Today's world is divided into two economic groups that are becoming increasingly distinct from one another. Economically developed countries form the first group. Countries referred to as underdeveloped, less developed or developing countries constitute the second group. Politically, too, the nations of the world, which have been divided into communist and free countries since the very beginning of our era, appear to be forming a third bloc in the manner of developing countries. This third bloc, known as the non-aligned nations, is entering between these two blocs, which have numerous and multifaceted relations and consequently many points of disagreement and friction, thus emerging as a balancing factor. Both countries at the two ends of the political bloc are essentially developed nations. The neutral third world nations, subject to the heavy pressure of the political and economic hegemonic ambitions of these nations and the cultural and other imperialist extensions of these ambitions, are making great efforts to catch up with the developed nations, become stronger, and progress while preserving their existence.

The Turkish nation is also among the developing countries. We are obliged to rescue our country from this situation as soon as possible and bring it forward. Today, large segments of our population are deprived of social assistance and social security.

Our nation is in a state of moral and spiritual crisis. Economic imbalances are causing hardship for our people, while political, social, cultural, executive, legal and individual difficulties continue to exist in all their severity.

All these adverse conditions have been exploited by a group of traitors and murderers who, incited and supported by foreign sources, engage in divisive, communist and anarchist activities aimed at destroying the country and undermining it from within, and who commit murders incessantly for this purpose. These murderers and their legally disguised accomplices accuse the communities to which the children of the country they have killed belong of murder after committing their crimes. Unfortunately, some teachers are members of TÖB-DER([67]), which is among those carrying out these destructive activities. This organisation is a great misfortune for the nation, the country and the teaching profession.

We must rise above backwardness, poverty, deprivation, all forms of injustice and dispossession, social and cultural issues, and moral and spiritual crises to achieve prosperity and progress. The path to overcoming many of these challenges lies in the heart and mind of the teacher, and in their ever-giving hands. ÜLKÜ-BİR([68]), the organisation formed by the true representatives of this noble profession, has served with distinction since its inception. The most important of these services is laying the foundations of an education imbued with our national values for our children, who will build the future of our country. Perhaps another service that is at least as important is to uproot the non-national education system, which has been described as unshakeable and immovable. What has been done in this regard is only the beginning. What really needs to be done now, and again with your help, is to clean up the remnants of the past and establish a truly national new education system. With over seventy thousand members, ÜLKÜ-BİR is the greatest support in this endeavour and in resolving the country's issues today. It is the most conscious source of strength in national causes and in the face of subversive movements originating from foreign sources.

The place of teachers in society, who will fulfil these lofty duties expected of them and raise new generations full of faith, should also be at a level commensurate with this, inspiring respect in social terms and being

67 **TÖB-DER:** This is the abbreviation for the Association of All Teachers for Unity and Solidarity. It was established after the coup d'état of 12 March 1971. It was an organisation of socialist-communist teachers. TÖB-DER was closed down in 1981 based on Articles 141 and 142, which were in force at the time.

68 **ÜLKÜ-BİR:** The Nationalist Teachers' Union. An association that brought together nationalist teachers. It was closed down after the coup d'état of 12 September 1980.

This should be brought to an end. The social rights that will be secured to achieve this are of great importance.

Teachers determine not only national education but also the future of the nation. No reform in national education can achieve the desired result without taking into account the element of the "teacher". This is the most important truth that education officials have failed to grasp until now. If the prestige of teachers and teaching has declined today, it is primarily because no importance has been attached to training teachers and, secondly, because teachers have been left at the lowest level in terms of material resources.

The laudatory words spoken are true, but they are incomplete. Teachers perform a sacred duty, one that was also performed by the prophets. Their duty is to give personality to "human beings," to "construct" human beings, who are "the noblest of creatures" according to the sacred word. There is no other profession that carries out this duty. In this respect, teachers are the spiritual soldiers of a nation. Therefore, the characteristics of the nation to which they belong must be evident in teachers. It is an absolute and indispensable truth that teachers must be Turkish nationalists under the conditions in Turkey.

The material and moral resources that have been withheld from teachers to date have also been withheld from Turkish children. Approaching fifty years, Turkish National Education has failed to achieve the desired national content. The failure of the "reform" efforts of opportunistic politicians has left newcomers bewildered and unable to escape the pursuit of new "reforms". The reason for this misfortune is "aimlessness". It is a lack of worldview, it is imitation. A system that cannot conceive of giving the people it wants to raise a common characteristic is raising generations destined to be alienated, open to the influences of non-national cultures, with its own hands. Neither good people nor good citizens can be raised solely on the basis of worldly incentives. For centuries, the most important institution has been the one that restrains the human ego and develops moral, orderly, and charitable sentiments. While all the world's states, especially Christian states, prioritise religion in the education of their citizens, **a "fear of religion" has prevailed in Turkey for years, and even the rights granted to Christian citizens are considered excessive for Turkish children.**

Within our current education system, the Qur'an course should be included among the elective courses in secondary education, as practised in Imam-Hatip schools, and religious knowledge should be compulsory for three hours.

It must be removed. Turkish citizens expect the state to provide religious education for their children. The state's duty is to raise "good people" and "good citizens".

WHY IS THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT THE GREATEST MOVEMENT?

Now we shall discuss the dangers that seek to divide Turkey from within and without. Any action that undermines the unity of the Turkish nation and fragments the integrity of the homeland is linked to external forces. It is connected to the malicious and ill-intentioned actions of foreign states. Foreign policy and domestic policy are interrelated. If one is flawed, so is the other. Foreign policy is always dependent on domestic policy, and internal disagreements always give rise to external troubles. Today, the threat of communism, which endangers the existence of the Turkish state and nation, is present in all its force. The measures taken are insufficient. Measures taken solely through legal means and police force are temporary and deceptive. Before this, the Turkish intellectuals and youth must be given a National Ideal and National Faith. The void created by the spiritual crisis in the country has been filled by harmful foreign ideologies. Turkey has been subjected to the onslaught of foreign beliefs and cultures. To prevent this, it is necessary to emerge with ideas and beliefs that are stronger and rooted in the values and beliefs that lie in the soul and heart of our nation. This belief is Turkish Nationalism. The second measure is the cause of rescuing Turkey from the economic and social misery it has fallen into. The swamp must be drained, exploitation and excuses must be eliminated, and the Turkish people must be rescued from their miserable and wretched condition. To this end, we propose the 9 Lights Doctrine, which draws its strength from Turkish Nationalism. For the first time, we present to the Turkish nation a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous and one hundred per cent national. Along with national ideals and national development based on national culture, legal measures must also be taken without fail. Those who bear responsibility in the administration of the nation must now understand that these three measures, applied together, can overcome communism and other destructive, divisive currents.

Communist activities are increasingly spreading everywhere. We believe that the Marxist doctrine, which has long since lost its scientific value, is unsuitable and destructive for Turkey. For 50 years, we have known the disruptive, divisive, and destructive provocations of international communism in various countries through bloody examples.

divisive, and calculating provocations in various countries for over 50 years, with bloody examples. I would like to emphasise that today, by exploiting the backward, impoverished, disorganised, and injustice-ridden state of our nation, they have succeeded in deceiving innocent young people and well-intentioned intellectuals. This is evident everywhere from the words that come out of their mouths and their behaviour. For them, the nation, the homeland, religion, faith, the flag, honour, and family are not important things. It is clear from their own writings that their moral perceptions are completely immoral according to our national understanding of morality. They are reckless individuals who have made it their goal to do anything for the world proletariat. For us, however, the starting point for everything is the existence of the Turkish Nation. We do not accept any idea or opinion above the idea of protecting, exalting, and perpetuating this existence.

We are engaged in a relentless struggle against subversive movements that threaten the existence, unity and integrity of the Turkish nation. In particular, within our universities, a faithful nationalist youth front is rising up against communist agitators. These young people stand firm against all kinds of harmful ideas that mimic foreign influences, guided by the Nine Lights National Doctrine.

We are aware of the immense difficulties and dangers we face in serving the nation; however, these difficulties only strengthen our resolve and fighting spirit. We believe we will succeed.

Human beings, the most valuable entity in the universe, have been neglected, and cosmopolitanism has been instilled in national education instead of the Turkish-Islamic perspective. A portion of the people in our country have begun to doubt their own beliefs and have become prisoners of foreign ideas and beliefs. To put it simply, the outcome of 100 years of Turkey is this: the country is impoverished, backwardness is rampant, industrialisation has failed, and our people have lost themselves due to neglect, becoming unaware of where they are going or what they are doing.

Our noble nation has tried every party, hoped for help from every political cadre, but ultimately suffered disappointment. Seeing these historical mistakes, our party has instilled the spirit of Turkish Nationalism in our youth and intellectuals in order to achieve a social structure that has rediscovered its national identity and is oriented towards moral, noble and lofty goals.

Today, we are fighting to bring about a new resurgence. With Allah's help, we will succeed in this struggle. For our path is the path of virtue, our cause is the cause of Truth. We are determined and resolved to overcome every obstacle that stands in our way. We will build a great Turkey. We will build such a great Turkey that it will be industrialised, advanced in science and technology, at the forefront of civilisation, and the most elevated entity in the world in terms of morality, spirituality, prosperity, and happiness. No obstacle will break our determination. Our march will crush every enemy, every force of evil.

Our nation has recognised the Nationalist Movement and sees it as the representative of its own values, rights and laws. The Nationalist Movement Party has taken on the most sacred cause as the party representing the Turkish nation's will to live. For this reason, it is the greatest party.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE AND THE CRUSADER MENTALITY

Following the death of Athenagoras [69], Dimitrios Papadopoulos [70], Metropolitan of Gökçeada and Bozcaada, was elected to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. No serious measures have been taken regarding the stance of the Greek Orthodox Church, which has been working against the Turkish state since the conquest of Istanbul by the great Turkish sultan, Fatih Sultan Mehmet. Governments that have failed to find a solution in line with our national interests against the treasonous actions of the Patriarchate have used the existence of the Christian world as an excuse. Although the Treaty of Lausanne states that the rights of both communities are guaranteed, as has always been the case, only the Turkish government complies with the treaty, while the Greeks do not even recognise the basic human rights and freedoms of the Turks. This situation has been going on for years. However, in response to the blatant violation of Turkish rights, the utmost attention being paid to all the rights of the Greeks in Turkey, as established by the treaty, creates a situation that is difficult to explain. In contrast to the meticulous restoration of historical artefacts of Greek origin in various cities, particularly along the Aegean coast, Turkish artefacts are being left to the destruction of nature and mindless people. The restoration of Greek monuments is explained by tourism, but in reality, Anatolia is being handed over to the Greeks.

Although members of the Orthodox denomination are not exclusively Greeks, the word "Greek" appears at the beginning of the patriarchate.

Our country must be freed from this outdated institution;

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69 **Athenagoras:** (1886-1972). He served as Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate from 1948 to 1972. as the 268th Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.

70 **Dimitrios Papadopoulos:** (1914-1991). The Greek Patriarch was born in Istanbul and was elected Patriarch by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate on 16 July 1972. He remained in this position until his death.

The Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul has for centuries intertwined its religious activities with political games. The Patriarchate of Fener has made it a habit to adopt an attitude hostile towards the Turkish state and the Turkish nation. The Turkish nation is one that has provided countless examples of respect for human rights and freedoms for thousands of years. Even in the darkest ages, Turks have shown great respect and adherence to freedom of conscience. If the Greek Patriarchate of Fener were to concern itself solely with religious matters, it would be an activity we would always respect. However, the reality is quite different. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople operates as a hotbed of activity hostile to the Turkish nation and seeking to destroy the Turkish state, under the influence of foreigners. Whereas we expect all kinds of religious institutions and clergy to work to help people develop in peace, tranquillity and brotherhood. The Fener Patriarchate has always been far removed from such an understanding and has been an organisation harbouring ambitions against the Turkish State. For example, today in Konya, Bursa and many other Turkish cities, where there are no people of any other religion, this organisation has relevant organisations and religious officials in Konya and other regions who hold these titles. Furthermore, there is an old door that has been built into the Patriarchate for many years. At this door, a patriarch who had once prepared a bloody revolution to destroy the Turkish state was executed. The Patriarchate had this door walled up to turn it into a source of hatred and resentment. It is said that when the Turkish state is destroyed and the Byzantine Empire is revived, they will open this door.

Greece has violated many articles of the Lausanne treaties for 55 years. The situation of the Turks in Western Thrace, the demilitarisation of the Aegean islands near our shores, and many other activities are evident. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is an internal matter for the Turkish State. Foreigners should not interfere in this from outside. It is the most sacred and natural right of the Turkish Government to control the election of the new Patriarch and not to allow an undesirable person to be elected Patriarch. It should not be forgotten how Greece appointed a mufti, trampling on the wishes of the Turks of Western Thrace. In fact, the death of the former Patriarch Athenagoras has created a new situation for Turkey. There is not a single church in Istanbul sufficient to meet the religious needs of our Orthodox citizens.

It is necessary to establish an organisation and abolish the patriarchate. If necessary, Pope Eftim [71]should be appointed as the religious leader of the Turkish Orthodox and our country should be freed from this corrupt institution that is hostile to our nation.

Why Are the Crusaders Attacking the Turks?

When I went to Germany, I met with workers there. I sat down and talked with young people too. They had formed an organisation called "Akıncı Obaları" there. They had gone to a meeting. The conference was being given by the Bishop of Haydil. At the conference, the bishop had been hurling insults at Muslim Turks. One of our friends who attended the conference was upset by this. Sensing this, our German friends wanted to take him away from there. But our friend said, "No, we're staying here," and listened to the conference until the end. At the end of the conference, our friend asked a question, saying, "There are many Muslim countries in the world, yet you don't attack any of them. So, what you are attacking and angry about is not Islam itself, but rather your hatred is directed at Muslim Turks. What is the reason for this?" The Archbishop replied, "The Turks spread Islam all over the world. Without the Turks, Islam could not have spread so widely. If it weren't for the Turks, who stopped the Crusader armies and conquered the Christian world as far as Western Europe, we would have dominated everywhere..."

This example shows that when foreigners hear the word "Islam," they think of Turks, and they direct all their attacks against Islam towards the Turks. They know that as long as the Turks remain weak, Islamic countries will also remain weak. For this reason, knowing full well the role of the Turkic movement in restoring the Turkish nation to its former strength, they seek to undermine the Turkish Liberation Movement by exploiting the weakness of the people and portraying nationalism as a movement against Islam.

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71 **Papa Eftim:** He is the founder of the Independent Turkish Orthodox Patriarchate of the Turkish Orthodox Church. His real name was Pavlos Karahisarithis. He was born in 1884 in the town of Akdağmadeni, which was part of the Yozgat Sancağı in the Ankara Vilayet. After his early education, Karahisarithis began working as a draper in Ankara. He became a deacon in 1912 and a priest in 1915, and was assigned to Akdağmadeni, where he took the name "Eftim". While in Yozgat to suppress the Çapanoğlu Rebellion, he met Mustafa Kemal through his neighbour, Çerkez Ethem. On 23 April 1920, Pope Eftim was among the clergy who read the opening prayer at the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. They participated in the War of Independence as the "General Community of Anatolian Orthodox Turks". He later changed his name to Zeki Erenerol.

While every nation considers its own people superior, who are these people who deny Turkishness? There is no need for extensive research. Foreigners are behind them; they are traitors. These people know that the stronger the Turks become, the stronger Islam becomes. History proves this.

Those who cannot see this truth today, those who deny it, have become enemies of the Nationalist Movement. Lawyer Bekir Berk [72] *"The Islamic Movement and Türkeş"* [73]

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72 **Bekir Berk:** (1926-1992). Born in Ordu. Graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law (1951). Practised law for 20 years (1953-1973). His first article, titled "Know Your Place, Kemalist," was published in *Altın Işık* magazine. He served as a member of the Administrative Board of the Istanbul University Faculty of Law Student Association of the National Turkish Student Union and was elected to the Anti-Communism Commission at a meeting of associations affiliated with the MTTB. He served two terms as president of the Turkish Cultural Centre association. He also served as president of the Nationalists Federation. He also served as President of the Istanbul Branch of the Nationalists Association for one year. After performing the Hajj pilgrimage in 1973, he settled in Saudi Arabia. He began working in the Turkish broadcasting section of the Jeddah Radio Station in September 1974. He retired in March 1989 due to reaching the age limit. He died in Istanbul. Bekir Berk, who was involved in the cases of the Risale-i Nur students, has many works to his name.

73 Abdullah Yeğin, one of Said Nursi's students, stated that he did not approve of the writing of Bekir Berk's book *"Islamic Movement and Türkeş"*. The relevant section of the interview with Abdullah Yeğin:

"Then a pamphlet was published against Türkeş, and Bekir Berk wrote an article against them. We said, 'It is absolutely inappropriate for Bekir Berk to publish this; we are getting involved in politics.' We did not sell that thing in Adana either; we did not distribute that pamphlet.

This happened in 1969, didn't it?

It was a pamphlet titled Islamic Movement and Türkeş. We simply did not approve of Mr. Bekir doing this; we did not accept it because it was against all the elders.

But then it was published. So, what was your brothers' reaction after it was published?

I don't know, I've forgotten, I didn't bother with it.

I don't think it was distributed in Adana.

I don't think so, it wasn't distributed in other places either, but it wasn't distributed in Adana.

PUBLISHING A BOOK AGAINST A POLITICAL LEADER IS CONTRARY TO RISALE-I NUR

It was distributed in Turkey, but you were in Adana, so it probably wasn't distributed there.

Adana o zaman derli topluydu. **To avoid misunderstanding, we need to elaborate on this issue a little. What exactly was the reason for not distributing this book? Some people may think wrong things, say wrong things, we want to hear it again from you?**

So, publishing a book by the Nurcu movement against a political leader is contrary to the Risale-i Nur. With that conviction, we prevented it. As far as I recall, that was the reason.

So you're entering politics, is that right?

Yes, you're entering politics. And you're turning Türkeş's community against the Nurcu movement; they'll become our opponents.

Alparslan Türkeş was also a parliamentary candidate from Adana, and you were in Adana at the time. Did any trouble arise?

He wrote a book and accused us of being infidels. They distributed that book everywhere for free. Of course, it is clear who paid for it. Some of you may have heard of the book; it is full of nonsense that does not make sense. Do those who accuse us of heresy know what they themselves are? If these men are Muslims and if they are enemies of harmful activities against Islam, why do they attack nationalism instead of attacking communism or the Greek Megalo Idea ([74]), which are the primary enemies that deny religion? With so many evils around, is Nationalism the only danger to Islam, is Alparslan Türkeş the only danger? ... Moreover, we have accepted the greatness of our religion in our doctrine. While no other party has put forward "Turkish pride and consciousness, Islamic morality and virtue", we have embraced it. We have put forward the Turkish-Islamic ideal. We have seen the solution to Islam's current situation and its progress in the advancement and independence of Muslim Turkey and the Muslim Turkish world. Under these circumstances, the intentions of those who still attack us are clear. They are traitors who are fed from outside.

WE DO NOT ACCEPT OUR PEOPLE BEING FAITHFUL POVERTY-STRICKEN PEOPLE OR WEALTHY PEOPLE WHO WORSHIP MATERIAL THINGS

The MHP believes that material development alone is insufficient. Spiritual development is essential for a nation to rise and win its struggle for existence. A faithless, immoral nation, alienated from its customs and traditions, cannot ultimately escape destruction, no matter how wealthy it may be. Spiritual development is the driving force behind material development. A morally sound, poor nation can achieve prosperity. However, spiritual and moral

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I have never seen that man either, nor do I know that he was elected from Adana. I did not like him anyway." **(Abdullah Yeğin,** "Why did I oppose the Türkeş brochure? Part 10 of our interview with Abdullah Yeğin, a student of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi" (Interview: Abdurrahman Iraz, Mehmet Ali Bulut, İhsan Atasoy, Nurettin Huyut), www. Risalehaber.com, 18 November 2009.)

74 **Megalo Idea:** Means "Great Idea." It is the grand ideal of the Greeks, which has been alive since the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. Greek nationalists, who regard the Byzantine Empire as a Hellenic Empire, dream of re-establishing a great Hellenic Empire with Constantinople (Istanbul) as its capital, incorporating all the territories that once belonged to Byzantium, under the banner of their grand ideal, the Megali Idea.

A wealthy nation that has lost its values will inevitably collapse, as history has shown. This is why the principle of "moralism" has been added to our party's doctrine of the Nine Lights. We believe that material and spiritual power must live in harmony, strengthening each other. Our doctrine is based on "Islamic morality and virtue, Turkish pride and consciousness." There is no doubt that one of the main mistakes hindering our development is the habit of producing like the East and consuming like the West, which can only be prevented by a strong faith. Parties that imitate socialist and liberalist development models regard our people as mere material beings and seem unaware of the value of spiritual wealth. The MHP does not accept that our beloved nation should consist of either devout paupers or materialistic rich people.

4 - SOCIALISM

Nationalism and Socialism in the Light of Our Recent History

History is the history of the struggle between nations. To achieve victory in this struggle, it is necessary to be a strong nation, powerful in every respect. Nations that cannot adapt **their social, political and economic structures** to their national conditions are doomed to defeat in this struggle. Our great nation has been governed for centuries by regimes and ideologies with foreign roots. All national values are being targeted for destruction. The aim is to erase this nation, which is organisational and a builder of great states, from the stage of history.

We shall not be defeated in this struggle. For God created the Turks not to be defeated, but to conquer. Our historical mission and destiny have entrusted us with a great task. This task is to establish the Great Turkish State, Nationalist Turkey. I call upon all Turks who understand their ideal with their noble blood and who are faithful to establish the Great Turkey. This front is the front of a developed, Nationalist Turkey of one hundred million people. There is no place in this front for networks of self-interest that think only of their own selfish gains. There is no place in this front for cowards and traitors.

The history of nations must be well understood and properly evaluated. History shows that every two hundred years, the Turkish nation has made new and great moves that have shaped the world. The Huns, Uighurs, Göktürks, Seljuks and Ottoman Empires are examples of this. However, when the Turkic-nationalist understanding ceased to be the dominant element in state administration, these states collapsed.

At the end of the 1700s and the beginning of the 1800s, the dominant element in Ottoman state administration was contrary to the realities of the Turkish nation, and that is why this universal state collapsed and fell. It should not be forgotten that the real collapse and fall of the Ottoman Empire occurred at the end of the 1700s.

It is the beginning of the 1800s. The period that the Empire went through after this was one of ruin, a living death. Now history, now destiny is about to give us a new task. Because a new 200 years is about to pass in the history of nations. This historical task is the task of establishing Great Turkey, Nationalist Turkey.

Our Turkey, our great nation, has become a breeding ground for destructive ideologies. The imperialist ambitions of Eastern communism have laid in wait to destroy our great nation. We will not give them the opportunity. We will not tolerate these hotbeds of corruption and treason. The foundations of Nationalist Turkey have been laid. Minds that are one hundred per cent Turkish in thought and ideology have joined the front. Turkey's most powerful minds are on our side. The most powerful goals, the most dynamic ideology, the most national doctrine have been outlined.

The Turkish nation can only achieve victory in the struggle of nations through the reorganisation of our state and nation. In this reorganisation, the state will have a new structure. This structure has three main elements: social, political and economic.

As a nation, we are experiencing difficult and challenging times. The reason we are experiencing these difficult and challenging times is the neglect of the Turkish nation's causes and the realities of our homeland. Today, the vast majority of our nation is poor; its economic opportunities and resources are limited, and our homeland lacks the large industrial facilities that would accelerate its development drive. Foreign powers and ideologies with roots outside the country either prevent the Turkish nation from seeing its own realities or try to impose foreign methods and regimes on those who do see them. None of these can be a path to salvation or a solution for development.

Today, I said, communism is the greatest enemy of the Turkish homeland and the Turkish nation. And communism is also the main enemy of the Nationalist Movement. Knowing that any foreign and deliberate ideology with its roots outside Turkey will not provide a solution to Turkey's main issues, and believing in this view, we defend a doctrine that is one hundred per cent national and one hundred per cent indigenous. The path that will find a solution to the backwardness and poverty of the Turkish nation and the Turkish homeland and quickly rescue our nation from the dire situation it finds itself in today is the Nationalist principles that we defend and foresee.

I said that communism is the greatest enemy of the Turkish nation and the Turkish homeland. The most vivid examples of this are the events that have been initiated in our country in recent years

The boycotts, occupations, fights, bank robberies in the streets, shootings at Turkish soldiers and police, and kidnappings initiated in our universities have been understood by the nation to be carried out in the service of the great enemy. For this reason, we have declared communism to be the greatest danger and enemy.

Communists have chosen to target our universities, aiming to leave them in darkness, in order to prepare an assassination attempt against the Turkish nation and to undermine its future.

Today, certain individuals and circles view and portray the extreme left and the extreme right as equally dangerous. This is a mistaken and harmful attitude. I repeat. The danger in Turkey lies with the extreme left. Because it is the extreme left that is organised and armed. Those who hope to divide the nation's anger and hostility are not doing our nation any favours.

Unprecedented events are unfolding in the history of our state, and citizens are concerned about their safety and property.

Those who join the Nationalist Movement and carry its banner are tasked with both understanding the needs of the Turkish nation and seeing and demonstrating the realities of the country. For the Nationalist Movement is the struggle to rescue the Turkish nation from backwardness and poverty and bring it to the forefront of civilised nations, and it is the name of this struggle. The primary goal of the Nationalist Movement is to bring prosperity and peace to the Turkish nation and, equally importantly, to make it strong in technology and science.

The Nationalist Movement is a sacred war launched against the fragmentation of Turkishness and the subjugation of the Turkish homeland to any other state. This war of ours will continue. And the Turkish Nation will attain enlightenment. At the end of this sacred war, all forces of evil and corruption will be crushed.

I repeat, Turkey cannot rise by imitating foreign countries. The Turkish Nation cannot be saved by foreign ideologies.

I am showing you the goal: the path that will develop, save, empower and bring prosperity to Turkey and the Turkish Nation is the path of Nine Lights. One of the main principles of the Nine Lights doctrine we have put forward is SOCIALISM.

A POLITICAL STRUCTURE

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

The political structure of nationalist Turkey is based on the spirit of the national state. In the national state, every Turk participates directly in the two most important organs that constitute the state: the executive and legislative branches. In Turkish history, the state is a symbol of power and authority. Every Turk should have trust and affection for their state. A strong, powerful state is sustained by strong-willed, resolute heads of state. The Assembly will be the assembly of national democracy. A national parliament can only be national when it represents all members of the Turkish nation and all social strata. To this end, we will establish a parliament composed of members of parliament from six social strata, in accordance with the social structure of our nation. This parliament will have a similar number of representatives from workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, members of the liberal professions and employers. Thus, unlike in Marxist democracies, it will not be a class-based assembly consisting solely of bureaucratic communist party members who are merely nominal representatives of the working class, nor will it be like today's assembly, composed of representatives of the wealthy classes who have gained legitimacy in the liberal-capitalist system. A complete and robust national assembly will be established. This assembly will be single-chambered. The Senate, a remnant of Europe's monarchical regimes, will be abolished. The single-chamber National Assembly will not only be national, but also an assembly of experts. An assembly will emerge in which no social stratum will dominate the others. The members of the National Assembly will be elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

Our nationalism means loving all members of the Turkish nation equally, involving them equally in the administration of the state, and uniting them. This can only be achieved through the implementation of the principles of NATIONAL STATE and NATIONAL DEMOCRACY. The Turkish people's style of governance is neither the bourgeois dictatorship of the West nor the proletarian dictatorship of the East. The Turkish people's style of governance is the democratic governance of all members of the nation, of all social strata. It should not be forgotten that liberal democracy, which has its roots in the West, is not the democracy of the whole nation, but only of a few bosses, a class of capital owners.

The Marxist democracy of the East, on the other hand, is the democracy of a handful of members of the Communist Party who have replaced the bourgeoisie of the West. Both of these democracies are class democracies.

Political democracy is proportional to economic democracy. A person's ability to benefit from political democracy and political rights and freedoms depends on their economic means. For a person who lacks economic means, the enjoyment of rights and freedoms remains only in the texts of the constitution and laws. For a person to have, for example, the freedom to travel, the freedom to acquire property, or the freedom to receive an education, it is necessary to provide them with the material means to achieve these things.

Political democracy is the democracy of those who are economically powerful and dominant. If a liberal capitalist system is in force in a country, the democracy of that country is a democracy that serves the interests of capital owners. In this type of democracy, state organs, especially the executive and legislative organs, are at the service of capitalists. The situation is no different in Marxist countries. In a Marxist state, economic power and values are nationalised. The state has become a kind of capitalist, and a monopolistic capitalist at that. Since a handful of Communist Party leaders who hold state power are in a kind of ownership position, state organs operate in favour of these individuals and serve them.

The national state will not be a class state, but rather the state of all individuals and segments that constitute the Turkish nation. In this system, every individual will have economic opportunities, as economic values will be nationalised and distributed among all members of the Turkish nation. No individual (capitalist) or class (the so-called working class, but in reality communist bureaucrats) will be able to own the economy. Since the state and its organs will be at the service of those who possess economic power, a Turk who possesses this power will unite political democracy with economic democracy within National Democracy.

THE IDEAL OF THE NATIONAL STATE

The Nationalist Movement Party believes in the ideal of the National State. The NATIONAL STATE is a form of government that embraces and cherishes every Turkish citizen living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey. In our view, the Turkish nation is a sacred whole that cannot be divided, regardless of region, sect, race or party. The NATIONAL STATE regards its citizens as a sacred trust from Allah, without distinction of region,

sect, or ethnicity, as a sacred trust from Allah. The NATIONAL STATE opposes all forms of social, political, and economic privilege. There is no separatism in the National State, only unity and integrity. The Nationalist Movement Party will unite our forty million citizens within the ideal of the National State and mould them with the ideal of Turkishness.

The Nationalist Movement Party will establish a strong, developed and happy Turkey. In a strong, great Turkey, there will be no citizens who are half-starved and half-fed, as there are today. In a country with many poor and destitute people, there can be no national solidarity or national unity. Today, large sections of our people are struggling to make ends meet and cannot look to the future with confidence. In particular, our middle and lower-level civil servants, small tradespeople, farmers and villagers are writhing in the grip of high prices and misery. The Nationalist Movement Party **will put an end to THIS RAG-TAG ECONOMIC SYSTEM** that makes the poor poorer and the rich richer**.**

THE MEASURE OF DEVELOPMENT

Our nation is impoverished, underdeveloped and deprived of the means to live a humane existence. Moreover, it cannot confide its troubles to anyone and, throughout history, has failed to receive the attention it expects from the State, which it has grown accustomed to viewing as a benevolent father. It cannot get the return it deserves for what it produces and is forced to give most of its earnings to middlemen and moneylenders. It finds it difficult to get things done without bribery and favouritism. Our foreign trade deficit is growing. While our exports are stagnant, our imports are increasing. Although we are considered an agricultural country, we even have to buy our bread wheat from others. Why is this so? Because the parties that have come to power so far have pinned their hopes on either capitalist or socialist models. They have not taken the structure of our country into account at all. Most importantly, they have forgotten that economic development depends on a positive scientific mindset and skilled human resources rather than blind adherence to rigid doctrines within narrow frameworks.

The Justice Party and the Republican People's Party claim that we prospered during their periods in power. They have their reasons ready. They say that we have surpassed the values produced ten years ago, provided electricity to more villages, built more schools, and increased the per capita national income from four thousand to five thousand lira. Such calculations have no value other than deceiving the people. Because whether a country has developed or not is determined not by comparing itself with itself, but by comparing itself with other countries and advanced nations.

will become apparent. For example, if we take countries that were equal to us in terms of per capita income a certain period ago and then look at the current situation, if we have surpassed those countries, we can say that we are developing. From this perspective, our situation is shameful. I will give just one example: in 1960, we were equal to our neighbour Greece in terms of average national income. In 1974, the national income per capita in Greece was three times that of Turkey!

DEVELOPMENT IS ONLY POSSIBLE WITH NINE LIGHTS

The Nationalist Movement Party emerged with the Nine Lights doctrine, a doctrine suited to the conditions of our country and the structure of our nation, and found the path to rapid development. When we say, "We are against both socialism and capitalism!", some are astonished... We declare once again that the Nationalist Movement Party has determined, with a mindset consistent with positive science, that our development is impossible with foreign doctrines that do not resemble us, with their different human nature, geography, and traditions. It has argued that **everything** must be done **according to the Turks, for the Turks, and by the Turks**. I will list the main conditions for our economic development: We must industrialise as soon as possible. However, by industrialisation, we do not mean assembly or consumer industries such as Coca-Cola or Dandy chewing gum, but heavy industry, i.e. manufacturing. We mean the establishment of factories that make machines. There is no connection between industrialisation and buying basic parts from foreigners and assembling them. The impossibility of development without industrialisation also stems from this scientific fact. Every agricultural country is doomed to be exploited by industrialised countries. Another condition for economic development depends on the number of settlement areas.

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Organised Nation

The Turkish nation has two great characteristics. These are the characteristics of an "organising nation" and a "military nation". To say that the Turkish nation is an organising nation means that the Turkish nation possesses the ability and superiority to establish a state. Indeed, there is no other nation in the world that possesses such a great and superior ability to establish a state as the Turkish nation.

The 16 great empires we have established throughout history are the most definitive proof of our nation's exceptional ability to build superior states. In light of this indisputable historical evidence, we should have no doubt whatsoever that our nation will make the Republic of Turkey one of the most superior and great states of tomorrow. For our nation possesses every element of creativity in its organisational nature. Among these, we must especially mention our characteristic of creating culture and civilisation. We must absolutely believe that tomorrow's powerful and nationalist Turkey will be one of the contemporary civilised nations. The second characteristic of the Turkish nation is that it is a nation of soldiers. The aim of being a nation of soldiers is to be a disciplined, courageous and heroic nation. History is full of countless examples of this characteristic of our nation. Essentially, our character as a military nation, a brave and heroic nation, is the greatest guarantee of our aspiration to grow and become a world power. The day we achieve spiritual and economic development, we will undoubtedly take our rightful place in world politics. We believe this with all our hearts. Essentially, this is our natural right, our historical mission.

Unorganised Turkey

Turkish society is in a state of disorganisation. In the past, our people were socially organised through foundations, guilds and brotherhoods. As no new organisations have been established to replace those that have collapsed, a state of disorder persists.

Unless Turkey is organised socially, the validity of the system that is claimed to have been established will always be a matter of debate. In order to rescue Turkey from the hands of communists and exploiters, to bring the Turkish people the comfort they deserve, and to secure their future, it is essential to establish a social organisation that encompasses the entire Turkish people. We do not believe that localised social activities and mutual aid will be of much benefit.

Due to our people being deprived of social and economic organisations, we encounter very painful situations every day. Our people are in a state of utter destitution, abandoned to their fate, deprived of protection, support and assistance.

This situation must be brought to an end. A Social Security Organisation encompassing the entire Turkish people must be established. In order to rescue our people from the hands of usurers and, in particular, to increase production in the agricultural sector, production and

consumption cooperatives must be established to increase production, especially in the agricultural sector. Small civil servants, tradesmen and artisans must be rescued from hardship and debt and directed towards productive service. Measures must be taken to ensure their welfare, and facilities must be provided for the groups that are the solid foundations of society.

It is necessary to organise young people and involve them in the development of the country. In particular, consideration should be given to encouraging them to engage in voluntary service during the holiday months.

National Administration System

The Turkish people are being forced into the confines of ideological movements. Many individuals have emerged, defended the systems of foreign nations, and worked towards this end. Some have risen to power and caused harmful events. For example, during their time, enlightened figures such as Ziya Pasha and Namık Kemal worked to implement the constitutional monarchy system in France in our country. This happened, but because this system was copied without taking into account our history, traditions, beliefs, and the conditions of the day, it hastened the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Everything must be suitable for us, suitable for our national structure. Anything outside of this mindset, any other thought, is something that must be discarded, something that must be trampled upon.

It must be remembered that nations are like human beings. Just as a human being cannot live without a heart, brain, and blood, nations cannot live without a heart, brain, and blood. The heart of a nation is its culture; its brain is its order; its blood is its economy. According to medical science, a human heart and brain can be transplanted into another person, but they cannot survive for long; the body rejects them. If the simplest of living beings, the individual, cannot survive with the organs of another individual, how can one nation survive with the culture, economy and politics of another nation? Unfortunately, this simple truth has not been understood for years. Turkish culture, Turkish economic and political systems have been discarded, replaced by the culture, economic and political systems of others. Meanwhile, it has somehow failed to be realised that it is a nation's own system that develops it. Nations cannot develop with foreign systems.

The Nationalist Movement arose from the necessity of establishing a great, faithful and prosperous Turkey. The foundation of this great state is a nationalist doctrine based on Turkish culture and the Turkish understanding of economics and politics.

The foundation of the state we are establishing will be our national culture. National culture is a nation's way of life. National culture is the sum of values that have emerged over centuries from the interactions between the members of a nation. When we speak of national culture, we think of a nation's religion, morality, law, customs, language, and art. It is with regret that we must note that today, many of these institutions have lost their national character. This is because they have been replaced by the cultural institutions of European nations. These institutions are based on the religious, moral, legal and political ideas of European nations. The religion of European nations is Christianity; their morality is materialism; their legal and political systems are individualism. However, the religion of the Turks is Islam, the most perfect of religions; their morality is Islamic morality and virtue. The law applied today is also far from being Turkish law. Likewise, our education system has been completely invaded by foreign cultures, and as a result, our intellectuals and our people, our parents and our children, our imams and our teachers have been turned into defenders of opposing cultures. To save ourselves from extinction, we must embrace our national culture once more, we must clothe ourselves in it. This culture is the great Turkish culture, adorned by Islamic philosophy and shaped by Turkish history. For this reason, our government will implement a national cultural system and will Turkify cultural institutions from top to bottom.

The second fundamental principle upon which the Nationalist Movement Party is based is political nationalism. Political nationalism means a Turkey that is largely independent from external influences, and internally, it means national democracy.

Today, liberal democracy brought about by liberal capitalism is practised in Turkey. In contrast, Marxist socialists seek to establish class democracy. The roots of both liberal democracy and Marxist democracy lie outside Turkey. Liberal democracy is a political regime born of European industrial capitalism. Its purpose is to protect a handful of bosses. Liberal democracy is a class democracy because it protects only the bosses among the groups that make up the nation. Social democracy, defended by those who claim to be on the left of centre, is also a democracy with its roots in Europe. It is based on industrial capitalism and aims to appease workers with inadequate social policy measures. In fact, social democracy is a democracy of the capitalist class. Marxist democracy, the political system of communist regimes, is also a class democracy. It seeks to create a fictitious working class and protect its interests. However, in reality, it protects not the working class, but a handful of members of the communist party.

The Nationalist Movement's understanding of democracy is national democracy. The states we have established have never been "class states". The nation is not just employers or workers. Within the nation, there are other groups besides employers and workers, such as farmers, peasants, civil servants, tradesmen and others. In national democracy, all these groups that make up the nation, namely employers, workers, peasants, civil servants, tradesmen and members of the liberal professions, are protected together. For in national democracy, sovereignty belongs not only to the employer or worker class, but to the nation as a whole.

The Nationalist Movement will completely overhaul the current constitution, which is incompatible with our national structure and conditions and is based on European liberal and social democracy, and will establish national democracy with all its institutions. To this end, we will replace the parliamentary system of government with a presidential system. Under this system, the powers of the President and the Prime Minister will be concentrated in a single person, and a government based on authority, trust and discipline will emerge. We will reform and rebuild the other institutions of national democracy, especially TRT, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the University, and the High Council of Judges, in accordance with our national interests and security. We will completely abolish not only the Natural Senate but also the institution of the Senate itself. ([75]) In this way, we will put an end to class democracies that divide this great nation into classes and interest groups, and we will Turkify and nationalise the state, democracy and the constitution.

Alienation and Turkish State Philosophy

The Turkish nation is an honourable member of the family of nations. The Turkish nation possesses a great and rich history and state philosophy worthy of pride. The Turkish nation possesses high civilisational qualities and cultural superiority. Throughout history, the Turkish nation has established global states spanning three continents. In establishing these states, the Turkish nation has always drawn inspiration from its own state philosophy and indigenous culture. However, for two hundred years, our nation and our state philosophy have suffered from certain weaknesses. The reason for this is that we have distanced ourselves from our own national culture and state philosophy and have been invaded by foreign cultures and movements. This alienation in state philosophy and culture has distanced institutions from the national ideal; the Turkish nation,

75 Following the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, the Senate and the office of senator were abolished.

Today, it has become an underdeveloped country within its national borders. It is natural for a nation that has strayed from its national ideals and become alienated from its national culture to be underdeveloped and backward. The reasons for the sabotage, arson and attempts to destroy the national wealth by anarchist communism, separatism, sectarianism and minority racism seen in our country in recent years are the emergence of generations alienated from the national ideal and culture. The mentality that seeks to destroy the unity of the homeland and the nation, to dismantle the last independent Turkish state, and to bind it to communist materialism is the result of a rootless, soulless philosophy that has been cultivated for two hundred years.

The development and shaping of human personality is possible in free and democratic regimes. Regimes that are not free and democratic are contrary to human personality. In these regimes, people are not respected. There is no love for humanity. The Nationalist Movement loves and respects the Turkish people and desires their elevation. For this reason, we oppose all regimes that are contrary to a free democratic order; we do not believe in them.

The Nationalist Movement sees the path of governance and destiny of the Turkish nation and the Turkish people in a democratic system. We do not believe in systems that deny rights to the whole of the people. Our national doctrine, Dokuz Işık (Nine Lights), points to a new path based on infinite respect for our nation, love for humanity, and human dignity. The fundamental source of this path is the Islamic faith and Turkish consciousness and pride. The torch of the Great Turkey, which will rise like a new sun on the horizon of the world, has been lit.

NATIONAL UNITY — NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

The Turkish nation's ability to rebuild its great, powerful and developed state depends on its return to its own culture and state philosophy. The day the Turkish nation frees itself from the influence of foreign currents and returns to its own state philosophy, it will regain its status as a great state and take its rightful place among the nations of the world. The only political organisation that defends Turkish national culture and state philosophy and makes it the basis of its own understanding and programme is the Nationalist Movement Party. With the Nationalist Movement Party, the Turkish Nationalist movement has, for the first time in history, become a political party programme and world view.

The cultural and state philosophy of the Turkish nation, within the worldview of Turkish Nationalism, is the ideal of national integration and national democracy. There is no division, fragmentation, or separation into groups or classes in the history and traditions of the Turkish nation.

The head of state has shared the same fate as the nation he has led in times of peace and war, sorrow and joy. Systems and ideologies that divide the nation into classes and groups, oppress one class by another, separate the rulers from the people and teach them to look down on the people are foreign and divisive ideologies. Turkish state philosophy is based on the ideals of **national integration and national democracy** within the national ideology. Democracy, in its narrowest sense, means the sovereignty of the nation. Democracy is the participation of the nation in political, cultural and economic administration, and the political, cultural and economic sovereignty belonging to the nation.

It should be emphasised here that the concept of nation is not an abstract one. The nation is not, as capitalists claim, merely the sum of individuals, nor is it, as in communism, comprised solely of members of the Communist Party. The nation is an entity. The current composition of the nation consists of six social strata: **peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and the self-employed**. In this respect, a country and system where sovereignty belongs only to employers or workers is not democratic. For a country to be truly democratic, the entire nation—peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers, and freelancers—must participate in political, cultural, and economic decision-making.

Political (Democratic) Structure

There is a very close relationship between democracy and the concept of freedom. Democracy, in a general sense, means freedom. Freedom is the ability of an individual to make decisions and act according to their own will, without taking orders from others. A person who is under the pressure and influence of others is not free.

Political democracy is a regime of political freedoms. Political democracy is the equal participation of all members of the nation in political administration and in the making of political decisions. Citizens participate in the making of political decisions by electing and being elected to political bodies. Parliament is at the head of these political bodies. Since parliament is the organ of political representation, for us to be able to speak of true political democracy, all social segments that make up the nation must be represented in parliament: peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and freelancers.

The Political Organisation of the Nation

According to Marxist and capitalist political theory, the society known as the nation is divided into two antagonistic classes. These are the so-called working class and the capitalist class. In capitalist political theory, only or mostly the capitalist class participates in political decision-making. In this theory, the nation is represented in parliament by the capitalist class and its bureaucrats. According to capitalism, the nation consists solely of the bourgeoisie. However, as explained above, the nation encompasses five social strata beyond the bourgeoisie (capitalist) class. Therefore, according to capitalist political theory, political democracy is not national democracy but solely the democracy of the capitalist class. Marxist political theory is also based solely on a so-called working class, so in this system too, parliament consists only of members of the Communist Party. Consequently, here too, instead of national democracy, we have the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Nationalist political theory views the nation as a whole composed of six social strata. Accordingly, it envisages the representation of these six social strata in the national assembly. Here, the parliament is neither solely the organ of the capitalist class nor solely that of the so-called working class. The parliament is the organ of the entire nation. For this reason**,** in order to achieve political democracy and integration**, the Nationalist Movement** advocates for a certain number of **peasant** MPs, **workers, tradesmen, civil servants**, **employers** and **freelancers** to enter parliament. When members of the six social strata enter parliament, **the Turkish nation as a whole participates in political decision-making and political democracy is achieved.**

Democratic Nationalist State

A democratic nationalist state **envisages that** people belonging to the same nation should organise themselves politically and legally **to govern themselves internally (national democracy), take control of their own economic resources (national economy), and enjoy equal rights with other nations externally (national independence).** The term 'national state' gives nationalism a legal character. In a democratic nationalist state, the individuals and social groups that make up the nation determine their own destiny; they participate effectively in the administration of the state. This internal process is called the democratic element of the state (national democracy). Every individual contributes to the formation of political power, particularly the legislature and the executive. Nations have the right to be independent in their governance and to freely determine their own future.

It possesses sovereignty. This is the internal form of national sovereignty. In a national state, the external form of sovereignty is that the state is equal to other states and is not subject to their pressure or influence. This is called national independence. External sovereignty is based on the principle of equality among states in the international community. No state may interfere with another state that is equal and independent.

A democratic nationalist state is based not only on the right to determine the political destiny of nations, but also their economic destiny. In this sense, a national state is one based on a national economy, one that has nationalised its economy. To be a democratic nationalist state, the state must rely on the national community's own resources and strengths. National independence and national democracy can only be achieved through the development and consolidation of national power, economic national strength. The "national power" referred to in the phrase "a state relying on its own national power" is the national economy and national defence power. A national state is a form of state that has united and mobilised its national forces in order to protect and maintain its existence against external threats. The most essential condition for a national state is its ability to preserve and maintain its existence with its own economic resources and forces. A state based on national power requires, in principle, an economy that is self-sufficient and capable of protecting its own existence. A state that is dependent on foreign economies cannot be national. For this reason, in order not to be exploited by foreign powers, the national state must complete its development with its own internal resources and develop its economy.

A democratic nationalist state aims to elevate all members and social strata of the nation and to achieve economic and moral progress. The state must pursue this objective in all its activities. A state that prioritises the interests of a handful of individuals or a particular class, based on individual or class dictatorship, cannot be a national state. The national state is a service and welfare state based on the nation; it must serve all members of the nation and ensure their welfare.

STRONG GOVERNMENT — STRONG ADMINISTRATION

Single President-Single Parliament System

The Nationalist Movement advocates a single president, single parliament system. Our era is one of strong, fair and swift execution; the Turkish nation implemented a strong, fair and swift execution system during the era when it established world empires.

Strong and swift execution is only possible when executive power is concentrated in a single hand. For this reason, in accordance with our history and traditions, we advocate a presidential system. We cannot divide the executive branch into the Presidency and the Prime Ministry. Since we are integrative in every respect, we must also be integrative at the head of the executive branch. In Turkish historical philosophy and history, the executive branch has never been divided; that is, it has always been run by a single president. In nationalist Turkey, within the principle of a democratic national republic, the president will be the sole head of the Turkish nation's executive branch.

In line with the single-president system, we also advocate a single-chamber system for the legislative body. We want the Senate, a legacy of European monarchies or federal state regimes, to be abolished because it delays legislative work alongside the National Assembly.

Strong Administration

In addition to the economic, social and moral crises prevailing in our country, there is also a crisis of authority that is becoming increasingly apparent with each passing day. It is a fact that before 12 March, there was no such thing as authority in our country. The occasional lack of authority and discipline has led to some irreparable losses. A national state must have a strong government. In a country without a national state, there can be no talk of a strong government. A national state is a state that is independent in its internal and external relations. The state's sovereignty internally means that it has supreme authority over the country and can give orders without taking orders from anyone. Today, it is a fact that there are certain circumstances that limit our state's internal sovereignty and national independence. The fundamental condition of nationalism is to work for the independence of one's nation. Anyone who does not fight for the independence of their nation is not and cannot be a nationalist.

The division of the executive power of the national state into two parts is highly detrimental in terms of weakening authority. In light of these realities, we are determined and resolved to unite the president and the prime minister under the title of head of state and to make the executive organ the responsibility of a single person. If our view, which we call the "presidential system", is realised, the Head of State will be elected by the people themselves through a referendum, thus enabling the people to participate in the administration and to be directly involved in decisions taken on matters that concern them.

National democracy will be established. It is widely acknowledged that we are in an era of strong executive power, and that this is of great importance for underdeveloped countries such as Turkey. Development requires swift and bold decisions. A head of state elected directly by the people in a democratic manner will be able to take such decisions with ease.

As Nationalist Movement Party members, we have repeatedly stated that a "single chamber system" should be introduced in place of the current parliament, that the Senate should be abolished and the National Assembly should consist of 300 members, and that this would be beneficial for our country. Only in this way can the legislative power be freed from its conservative and delaying tendencies and be organised according to the needs and conditions of the national community. Underdeveloped countries, being in a state of multifaceted development, have a pressing need for a legislative body that can pass laws swiftly and efficiently. In Turkey, too, the establishment of a single president and single parliament system and the establishment of a referendum institution to determine the will of the people on issues of concern to the broad masses is an absolute necessity. It is unreasonable for a poor nation to support more than 600 representatives in two parliaments with their sweat and toil. The Nationalist Movement's government will, as a first step, establish a single 300-member parliament composed of workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and professionals, putting an end to the crisis of authority in our country and enabling rapid progress in the economic sphere. In this way, the Nationalist Movement, which will realise the theory of a national state and strong government, will also be the guarantor of the establishment and strengthening of national democracy.

Constitutional Amendment

Three main issues must be taken into consideration in the constitutional amendments to be made.

The first issue is that the principle of nationalism should be clearly stated in the law. As is well known, the 1924 Constitution adopted "nationalism," the founding philosophy of our state, as a fundamental principle. This principle was included in the Constitution at Atatürk's behest.

Those who constantly claim to respect Atatürk's reforms have, for some reason, forgotten the principle of **"nationalism,"** which constitutes the essence of Atatürk's ideas. During the drafting of the 1961 Constitution, under the influence of circles hostile to our state, the word "national" was used instead of the principle of nationalism

was used instead of the principle of nationalism, which expresses the source of power of the Turkish nation, was removed from the Constitution.

In our era, where modernisation has accelerated the competition between nations, our world is experiencing an era of nationalism.

As the Nationalist Movement, based on these realities, we consider it vitally important for our future that the principle of "nationalism" be incorporated into the new Constitution in a manner that leaves no room for doubt.

The principle of preservation, development and elevation is the fundamental source of Turkish Nationalism. The Turkish Constitution must be based on the principle of Turkish Nationalism. Our nation is immortal as long as it remains nationalistic.

The second issue is that the institution of referendum should be included in the Constitution. It is necessary to directly appeal to the people's vote and draw strength from the people on matters of vital importance.

The third issue is the return to the unicameral system we explained earlier, the abolition of the Senate, and the reduction in the number of MPs. There is no need for a second chamber consisting of senators for the Turks. Furthermore, a parliament consisting of 450 ([76])members is too large. Therefore, the Senate should be abolished and a parliament consisting of 300 members should be established.

Nationalist Movement

The Nationalist Movement, with the philosophy outlined above, will ensure national unity in every field, particularly in law, economics, politics and social policy, and will establish national democracy, the greatest model of democracy of our time. As a result, the Turkish nation, with all its members and social strata, will truly be sovereign, free and in control. The Nationalist Movement wholeheartedly believes in a multi-party political system. In a country where different political and economic ideas are not defended, a totalitarian regime, especially a communist or fascist, Nazi regime, is in place. In our view, both capitalist and socialist systems are contrary to the essence of our Constitution. For these systems are based, politically and economically, on the domination of one class over another. Our Constitution categorically rejects class domination.

76 In 1987, during the ANAP period, the constitutional amendment increased the number of members of parliament to 450, and in 1995, during the DYP period, it was increased to 550.

Given that the inspiration and driving force behind our state, which is essentially a democratic national republic, is the ideal of Turkish nationalism, capitalist and socialist systems that leave the exercise of political and economic power solely to a nominal working class or a handful of employers are unconstitutional and undemocratic systems.

Political powers in Turkey have never embraced all segments of society, remaining under the influence of a limited minority. To date, the parties that have held power in our country and their political philosophies have been capitalist-oriented, preventing Turkey from developing and leaving it as an underdeveloped country. As long as these parties remain in power, the development of our country will not be possible. Capitalist-leaning parties are weak and powerless in government, particularly because they are deficient and inadequate in economic and social terms and cannot meet the needs of the masses.

Consequently, the people are deprived of support and assistance. As a result, extra-parliamentary opposition emerges, and the streets and educational institutions become sources of anarchy. In such situations, these parties make frivolous statements such as "There is a bit of anarchy in every democracy" and "Walking does not wear out the streets" to cover up their weaknesses. However, the real reason is that they are not nationalist and do not represent the nation as a whole.

Our goal is to establish a democratic, nationalist Turkey. This path is arduous, this cause is sacred, this ideal is the great ideal of Turkishness. The flag of our ideal has been raised, its torch has been lit.

II - SOCIAL STRUCTURE

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

The fundamental ideology of our age is the ideal of nationalism. Today, the ideology that encompasses Africa, South America, Asia and even Europe is nationalism. Our constitution also considers the Turkish nationalist ideal as the fundamental philosophy of the state in its preamble and in many of its articles. The nationalist ideal is to unite with the Turkish nation and to establish the great, powerful authority of the Turkish nation. The nationalism we defend is democratic nationalism based on love for humanity. We oppose any system that rejects democratic nationalism. We vehemently reject foreign ideologies that divide the Turkish nation into classes or sects, peoples or regions, seeking to fragment the Turkish nation under the slogan of "the peoples of Turkey". We are the relentless enemies of totalitarian socialism, communism, exploitative capitalism, and all kinds of fascist systems. Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness. Anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness within our national borders and sincerely says, "I am Turkish" is TURKISH... We do not believe in divisive elements, anthropological racism, sectarianism, or regionalism in the definition of nationalism and the Turkish people. We oppose Nazi racism, communist populism, sectarianism, and imperialist geography. Our nationalism respects the national state, equality and independence, and the unity of the country and the nation, and opposes all aggressive ideologies, socialist and capitalist imperialism.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM

Democratic nationalism is the ideal of national integration. This ideal embraces the nation as a whole. In this ideal, society is not divided into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, based on individuals' relationship to the means of production, as Marxist-socialists do. In democratic nationalism,

there is no socialist class theory that is outdated and contrary to modern social sciences. We will destroy the mentality that seeks to establish a dictatorship over Turkish workers, that seeks to turn Turkish workers into a means of exploitation for party members, hiding behind slogans such as "the state of the working class", "the rule of the working class" and "the party of the working class". We will never forget the existence of states that, while proclaiming "working-class democracy," establish "dictatorship over the working class" and exploit the labour of the working class.

Like socialist and communist systems, fascist and capitalist systems are also systems that exploit workers' rights and restrict their political and democratic freedoms. In fascist and capitalist systems, too, the interests of a handful of bosses are protected. A large section of the nation is oppressed and humiliated for the sake of a handful of bosses. We will defend the sweat, rights and interests of Turkish workers to the end**. We will not allow Turkish workers to be robbed by** a handful of socialist-communist party members and **a handful of bosses.** The sacred labour and sweat of Turkish workers will not be enslaved by socialist or capitalist property.

Democratic nationalism **defends the idea of the nation itself instead of a class society, and national ownership instead of** class ownership**.** When class ownership is abolished, the nation will replace class societies. Therefore, the task at hand is to replace class ownership with national ownership. When the nation owns property, it gains the opportunity to participate equally in economic decision-making.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROPERTY AND DEMOCRACY

When we speak of property, we primarily mean the ownership of the means of production. In the simplest sense, the means of production refer to factories, machinery, land, and workplaces. Looking at societies around the world today, we see that the ownership of the means of production is in the hands of certain classes. Thus, we encounter a new type of property known as **class property**. In a capitalist class society, a handful of bosses own the factories. Individuals and social groups outside of the bosses have no connection to the ownership of the means of production. Opposite the capitalist class society stands the communist class society. In a socialist society, the working class is theoretically the owner of property. However, this remains merely theoretical. According to the constitutions of socialist countries themselves, the state is the owner of property. The worker has no connection whatsoever with the ownership of the means of production. The worker labours, and the socialist state exploits him. To illustrate the situation with a simple example, today in Soviet Russia the average worker's wage is 1000 roubles. Every worker's eco-

The average monthly contribution to production is 7,000 lira. The Communist Party gives only 1,000 lira of this 7,000 lira to the worker, seizing the remaining 6,000 lira. This example provides us with the most typical example of socialist exploitation.

Our democratic nationalism is based on the ideal of national democracy. Democracy, in its narrowest sense, means the sovereignty of the nation. Democracy is the participation of the nation in political and economic administration, and the political and economic sovereignty belonging to the nation. In the broadest sense, we can define democracy as the nation governing itself politically and economically, and being able to participate equally in political and economic decision-making. Our understanding of national democracy is divided into two parts: political democracy and economic democracy.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE NATION

Today, our people are helpless and unorganised in every respect, rolling around in a thousand troubles caused by social injustice and imbalance.

It is necessary to take swift measures to ensure equality of opportunity, social justice and security in the country. Foremost among these measures is the establishment of a mutual aid organisation covering the entire Turkish population, ensuring that no fellow citizen is left without assistance or support.

The social organisation of the Turkish nation will be achieved by uniting the six social strata within the Social Security Institution. Today, some of our workers and some of our tradesmen are insured against certain social risks. However, this organisation is incomplete and inadequate. For this reason, in the nationalist order, the insurance and security of the six social strata will be guaranteed, and thus, alongside Workers' Insurance, Farmers' Insurance, Tradesmen's Insurance, Civil Servants' Insurance, Employers' Insurance, and Freelance Professionals' Insurance will be established. These insurances will cover social and occupational risks, and every citizen will have health insurance, sickness insurance, old-age insurance, maternity insurance, unemployment insurance, and disability insurance. This system will ensure that every Turkish citizen can face the future with confidence, united and supportive of one another in times of hardship. With the establishment of social insurance and security organisations for the six social strata, new social savings institutions will also emerge in our country. The premiums that insured persons will pay to this organisation will amount to billions each year.

will be found. These savings will also make new investments possible. However, the premiums to be paid to these organisations will require a different source from the current one, requiring the state to make a significant financial contribution in addition to the premiums paid by insured members. As social security is the most important social policy measure, the state's failure to assist in this area would be contrary to its nature as a national social state. This organisation, which will have strong financial resources, will establish large hospitals and health facilities in every corner of the country, where all our citizens will receive treatment free of charge. This will result in the nationalisation of health services, and every Turkish citizen, from seven to seventy, male, female, and child, will be insured.

THE NINE LIGHT-BEARERS REGIME IS BASED ON THE PEOPLE

The systems existing in the world are based on one of the following three principles as a social value: the individual, the class, and the nation. The foundation of states with a capitalist liberal structure is the individual. However, this does not refer to all individuals, but only a few employers and capital-owning individuals. Since these are employers and capital-owning individuals, and since this system is based on them, a false individualism has been put forward solely for the purpose of protecting them.

The communist system is based on class. This class is supposedly a working class. However, in practice, it is not the working class that is dominant, but a handful of members of the communist party. Workers are oppressed and despised at least as much as in the capitalist system. In the nationalist, socialist system of the Nine Lights doctrine, the fundamental value is the Turkish nation. Here, there are neither a few bosses nor a so-called working class. Because the nation is a unity of history, culture and lineage. It cannot be divided into classes or left to the domination of certain individuals.

We take all members of the Turkish nation as our basis. However, these members are divided into six socio-economic strata. This is a reality of the Turkish nation. It is not the product or copy of ideologies originating from outside. The six socio-economic strata in question are: workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, self-employed professionals, and employers. The social structure of the Turkish nation is made up of these strata. For this reason, we must adapt our moral, political, and economic development to these national realities. Otherwise, we will remain stagnant, as we have been for two hundred years.

NATIONAL UNITY

The Nationalist Movement bases all its actions, movements and thoughts on a single truth, a single social value. This value is the Turkish nation. In this sense, our party is always opposed to the absolute individualistic and class-based system.

The realisation of our fundamental philosophy of national sovereignty depends on the integration of the individuals and social strata that constitute the nation and their participation in decisions that concern them. To summarise in one sentence, our ideal is the ideal of national integration. National integration is the political, economic and cultural unification and amalgamation of the people living in a country with a sense of belonging to the same nation. The idea of unification rather than division, and amalgamation rather than differentiation, prevails in the movement for national integration. Atatürk sought to explain national integration with the phrase, "We are a classless, privileged, integrated nation." National integration is achieved through the emergence of national consciousness, the belief in belonging to a particular nation. In societies where the individuals and social strata that make up the nation are largely differentiated politically, economically, and culturally, national integration cannot be achieved.

THE REALITY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The nation is not an abstract concept, but a sociological whole. From this perspective, there are various social strata that make up the nation. These strata can be divided socio-economically into workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and the self-employed. The realisation of national integration and national sovereignty depends on all these social strata being able to participate in political, economic and cultural decisions that affect their own destiny and having a say in these matters. In a system where each social stratum does not have the opportunity to participate in decisions that concern it, there can be no national integration or national sovereignty. In such a system, only a certain class or stratum dominates. Capitalist and Marxist systems are class-based systems. In these systems, either a handful of employers or communist party dictators participate in political, economic and cultural decision-making.

Integration can only be achieved through participation in decision-making. Participation means that social groups establish their own independent organisations.

It requires that each social stratum be able to participate effectively in decisions taken within and through its own organisation. Social strata without organisations cannot defend their own interests. This results in them not participating in decisions that concern them and, consequently, being subject to the dictates of another class or stratum. Here, it is no longer possible to speak of integration, but only of division.

THE NATION CONCEPT IN THE NINE-LIGHT ORDER

First and foremost, I would like to begin by stating our understanding of the nation. In our view, the Turkish Nation is a community of people who have attained a consciousness of living together, independently, possessing distinctive characteristics such as a common language, lineage, ideals, culture and history. It is evident that our understanding of the nation is based on natural and spiritual factors.

The foremost natural factors are linguistic and ethnic unity. The language that constitutes our nation is Turkish. There are no non-Turks among those who speak Turkish. Our Turkish language is one of the most important reasons for our continued existence and presence on the stage of history for centuries.

Bloodline unity is the most compelling and important factor for the Turkish nation. Our bloodline is Turkish. Since bloodline is a natural and organic element, people's intellectual and physical characteristics and abilities differ from one another. It is accepted by great scholars that the Turkish bloodline is a valuable one. The Turkish race has essentially proven its value by establishing great world empires throughout history. The great commander and statesman, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, revealed this truth when he said, "The power you need is in the noble blood running through your veins."

Our understanding of ethnicity bears no resemblance to anthropological racism, an aggressive racist ideology that looks down upon other nations. The Nine Lights system views ethnicity not as an anthropological (laboratory) concept, but as a spiritual principle, a psychological phenomenon. What matters is the belief in being descended from the same lineage and belonging to the same nation. Anyone who does not harbour pride for another race in their heart, who sincerely feels Turkish and dedicates themselves to Turkishness, is Turkish. They belong to the Turkish race and nation. The concept of racialism underlying our understanding of nationhood is precisely this kind of racialism.

The foremost spiritual factors that constitute the Turkish nation are the unity of ideals, culture and history, and the desire to live together independently.

Ideals, cultural and historical unity establish common bonds and relationships among people who believe they come from the same lineage and speak the same language. This brings people closer together and unites them. Art, epics and memories play a major role in the birth of nations. The Oğuz epic, the Bozkurt and Ergenekon myths are of great value to the Turkish nation.

Another important spiritual factor that shapes the Turkish nation is the desire to live together independently; the desire to remain united in fate, sorrow and joy, and to continue as a whole. I must regretfully point out that today in our country there is an extreme minority movement of racism and regionalism that aims to destroy our national unity. We will not give these traitors, who want to establish a separate state and divide the Turkish nation and its country, any opportunity. These sacred lands, watered with the precious blood of our ancestors, will remain the homeland of the Turkish nation for as long as humanity exists. To this end, we will resort to any means necessary, we will not be defeated, we will prevail, and we will crush the heads of the traitors.

Independence is the most important, indispensable element of the Turkish nation and its understanding of nationalism. Recognise well those false independence advocates who say "no to American imperialism" but in return say "yes to Russian or Chinese imperialism". The Turkish nation cannot live in dependence. Dependence is incompatible with the Turkish race, its mission and destiny.

A nation that has shaped history and changed eras will live independently forever. No to all forms of imperialism, including communist Russian imperialism.

Long live the independence of the great Turkish nation, the great Turkish race. Long live the Turkish nationalists, our brave and valiant Grey Wolves, who fight for this cause.

SOCIAL REFORMS

The origins of the difficulties and turmoil Turkey finds itself in today date back two hundred years. Since the day when the changing and evolving new conditions in our world made it impossible for the Ottoman Empire to maintain its power and strength, a period of rapid decline began. The cadres in control of the country's administration have, with few exceptions, failed to prevent this decline and descent into crisis. In our view, the main reasons for Turkey's current miserable, powerless and fragmented state are as follows.

The responsible parties are the political cadres who have come to power. At the end of the National Liberation War, the campaign of revitalisation and empowerment that began with the "spirit of the National Forces" failed to achieve its goal. Many of the states that entered both world wars, whose lands were trampled under enemy boots and whose homelands were turned into ruins, have now left Turkey, which did not enter the war, far behind. The advanced nations of the world are constantly striving and making efforts to reach greater heights. Since ancient times, there has been an endless race and struggle among nations to be superior, more powerful and more prosperous. Those who fall behind in this race face many disasters. Nations that are unaware of such a race and struggle are painfully destroyed. As a party, our goal is to awaken the Turkish nation and swiftly prepare and protect it for this race in order to make it rise again like a sun on the horizon of the civilised world. To this end, we are determined to overcome every obstacle that stands in our way and do whatever is necessary. The greatest obstacle to the Turkish nation's progress and participation in the race of civilisation to date has been the impotent attitude and servile mentality of successive governments. This servile mentality, which lacks national consciousness and is even hostile to nationalism and nationalists, must be abandoned.

The gap between our country and advanced modern states is widening and growing every day. The programmes implemented by those in power are inadequate and misguided. Our nation must be propelled forward through the ages to join the civilised nations in the age of the atom and space.

Turkey is a country with vast potential and wealth. To benefit from these, opportunities and labour must be mobilised. Potential and public energy must be mobilised for the country's development. To this end, intellectuals and young people with higher education must be organised and sent to the villages, to the people. Only by uniting the intellectuals with the people can Turkey be quickly rescued from its backward state. The fine arts must be rescued from their current state of neglect, lack of patronage and abandonment, organised and put at the service of the people. Only then will it be possible to awaken and mobilise the people. We must train knowledgeable, alert religious figures who possess national ideals and are aware of world affairs, and we must get them to work hand in hand with teachers to uplift the people.

As a party, we are determined to implement six major reforms simultaneously to develop Turkey and transform it into a powerful, prosperous entity that does not beg from foreigners. Reform means the reorganisation and restructuring of state affairs. We believe that these six fundamental reforms will rapidly strengthen our nation:

1— **Administrative Reform**: State administration today operates very slowly and oppresses and overwhelms citizens. Bribery, favouritism and partisanship are devastating the people. Red tape, the "come back tomorrow" attitude, is suffocating the nation. The malfunctioning of the state machinery also oppresses and wears down the civil servants who operate it.

The aim of administrative reform is to restructure state enterprises that have been rendered inoperable by bureaucracy, to abandon red tape, and to bring services to the people.

2— The other reform is what we call **social reform**. This is a movement that aims to establish social justice and equal opportunities, and to create a social welfare and security organisation that will encompass the entire Turkish people. There is no one to look after those who have no connections, no backing and no money. There can be no peace and harmony in a society plagued by such injustice, indifference, and abandonment. That is why we are determined to implement social reform in our country without delay. A system of complete social justice and equal opportunity will be established, and a social welfare and security organisation encompassing all citizens will be created.

3— The other movement that will save Turkey is the **Industrial** Reform. It is the establishment of Heavy Industry and the Atomic Industry in the country, and the Turkish nation becoming capable of manufacturing modern tools and equipment in their own factories through the labour of their own children. Nations can only advance and become superior if they possess the power and ability to manufacture the necessary modern tools and equipment. Today, national industry in Turkey is being crushed and undermined. National industry is being crushed due to a lack of credit and expensive credit.

We will overcome every obstacle, crush and destroy the activities of the fifth column, and industrialise Turkey in the shortest possible time. By providing state guarantees, mobilising the small savings of the people, and utilising the hundreds of millions of lira that are being squandered, we will industrialise the country by establishing factories throughout Anatolia, putting an end to profiteering, usury, and the happiness of the minority.

minority, we will Turkify imports and exports, establish factories throughout Anatolia, and industrialise the country.

4 — The other reform movement is the **Cultural** and **National Education** Reform. National education must be planned according to the spiritual values of the Turkish nation and the social and economic needs of the country. Technical education should be prioritised. A cadre of thirty world-class scholars must be trained. Fine arts and cultural activities must be mobilised for the benefit of society and placed at the service of the people. As a party, we are determined to establish the **Ideology and Culture Union** Organisation.

It is impossible for a society whose generations have not benefited from national culture, which has been left empty in terms of faith and spirituality, and which does not have strong morals, to live in peace.

5—Another necessary reform is the **Agricultural Land** Reform.

As a result of erosion, Turkey loses its most fertile land every year. Agriculture is not practised according to scientific principles, and no food and fuel policy has been established for the peasants. The solution to these problems lies in agricultural reform. Furthermore, reorganising land distribution according to the realities of the country is a matter for land reform. However, this issue is related to the distribution of our population across sectors.

In short, Agricultural and Land Reform aims to shift the surplus population from agriculture to industry, prepare conditions conducive to modern agricultural management, adjust land distribution, and, in short, resolve this issue within the framework of the "Agricultural Towns" project.

6 — Furthermore, financial and economic reform must also be undertaken. Today, tax evasion and tax injustice are crippling the state and its citizens. It is necessary to collect more tax from those who earn more and less from those who earn less, and to eliminate financial formalities.

The purpose of financial and economic reform is to prevent tax evasion, which amounts to large sums in domestic and foreign trade, to put an end to black market activities, usury and all kinds of speculative activities, and to regulate business life within the framework of service, security, stability and business ethics.

REFORM EFFORTS

Administrators have fallen into a sterile environment of conflict. To see how Turkey has found itself in such a sterile environment of conflict and strife, one need only recall the topics of debate over the last 15-20 years. Those who have no opinion or idea about the main issues facing the country have focused their attention on a set of "myths" they have created; all kinds of conflicts and debates have centred around these "myths". The series of reforms is a characteristic example of these myths. Reforms gain meaning and importance from the political cadres at the top. In a period when political cadres, whose failure, narrow-mindedness, and sterile daily squabbles have proven them to be unaware of what is happening in the country and the world, are in charge, "reform" has turned into destructiveness. Indeed, the Civil Servants Law has been amended and reforms have been made to the personnel regime. Injustice and arbitrariness have prevailed, and the civil service has suffered heavy blows. The situation is the same with regard to land. Today, the basis of Turkey's land problem is: 1— Our arable land is insufficient for our agricultural population, 2— Low productivity in the agricultural sector. The only solution to this problem is to adopt a consistent, long-term policy of transferring the rural population to industry and implementing fundamental measures to increase land productivity, such as irrigation, fertilisation and mechanisation. However, governments are pursuing temporary, delaying and artificial solutions. The Land and Agricultural Reform Law will be gradually implemented over 5-6 years. As a result, around 500,000 landless people will acquire land. The financial cost of this implementation is estimated to reach 90 billion Turkish Lira. This law, which will only provide land worth 90 billion TL to 500,000 of the 22 million people working the land, will ultimately lose its effect due to population growth and fragmentation through inheritance during the year. Not only is it materially impossible to implement a reform of this kind, but it is also far from fundamentally resolving the land issue. Other reform issues are as follows: Under the name of National Education Reform, certain changes are made every year. Various governments have come and gone over the years, but none have made any effort to reform education in line with **"national values, national needs and national goals"**. In the field of national education, the curriculum must be reorganised first and foremost. The armed communist uprisings in recent years have revealed the inaccuracy and inadequacy of education in schools beyond any doubt.

has established. But where are the political cadres who have learned from this and are trying to resolve the issue at its root?

The inadequacy of the political leadership governing Turkey, their narrow horizons, and their tendency to mistake trivial, artificial issues for major problems have ultimately failed to halt the decline that began two centuries ago and have also given rise to new problems. Turkey is in a backward state economically. The lack of ways out of the crisis has led to political explosions and instability. Our national fabric has been fragmented as a result of insidious propaganda that has continued for years. Citizens no longer trust each other or the future. Citizens have reached a point where they cannot determine which political cadres to align themselves with. Everyone is searching. Our culture and spiritual existence are characterised by defeat, exhaustion and hopelessness. Those who bear political responsibility are foremost among those who have brought citizens to this state of mind. None of the topics of debate in the assemblies, which lead to petty and destructive disputes, are of any substance. In an environment where party interests and personal struggles take precedence, it has become impossible to take sound decisions for the good of the country.

REFORMS AND NATIONAL UNITY

The fundamental spirit of Turkish state philosophy and constitutional principles is national integration.

Previously, government programmes did not define **the "national ideal"** mentioned in the preamble to the Constitution, nor did they outline the principles and strategies for achieving this ideal. The moral and sociological elements of national integration are the **"national ideal"** and **"national** consciousness". The dynamic essence of the national ideal and national consciousness is national culture, in other words, **cultural integration.**

Education has a very important role to play in terms of cultural integration. Educational reforms are important in this regard. Education at every level is the natural school of national consciousness and economic development. The Nationalist Movement advocates "vertical" and "horizontal education" in its education policy. Vertical education cultivates the elite. This elite is the nationalist-idealist, research-oriented and scientific cadre of the state. It is impossible for a nation that has not cultivated its own national elite, its scientific and idealist intellectual cadre, and its technicians to develop and continue its existence. European countries, America and even Russia cultivated their national elites first while developing, and they continue to do so today.

continues. One of the most important reasons for our country's underdevelopment and lack of progress is the failure of those in power to adopt a "national elite" policy. The Nationalist Movement attaches importance to "horizontal education" as well as "vertical education". With this education, our entire nation, our villagers, our workers, and our tradesmen will be united with the national ideal.

The reforms aimed at our economic development are insufficient. The foundation of economic development is industrial development.

A state that has failed to accumulate capital cannot possess the characteristics of a democratic national social state. From this perspective, the reforms have not given sufficient attention to the issues of savings and investment, which are two fundamental elements of development. In a society where capital dominates labour in the production process, class division arises rather than integration. Economic democracy is essential for establishing national peace and balance between labour and capital. Granting political participation rights to those who do not participate in economic decisions is nothing more than a formal democracy. To prevent labour from being exploited by capital and capital from being exploited by labour, reforms are needed to ensure that workers participate in the ownership and management of the workplace and in its profits and losses.

Conclusion

One of the things that has been memorised is the word "reform". A reform is needed. Regulations must be made in administration, the judiciary, agriculture, society, trade and industry, but the fundamental condition, the main principle and the sole objective of this must be: **for the Turk, according to the Turk, by the Turk...** If it is based on principles such as "Europe should be pleased, activists should rejoice, merchants should be crushed," feelings of inferiority, fear of compromise, and class hatred, the result will only be anarchy, suffering, and collapse.

We are at an important juncture in Turkish history. The treacherous thoughts and actions of anarchist communists who seek to fragment our national unity cannot be considered over. For anarchist and communist movements to be completely eradicated in our country, a nationalist administration is necessary. The only administration that will achieve victory in the struggle against anarchist communists is a nationalist administration. In this struggle, the nationalist administration will, on the one hand, establish the rule of law and prosecution, and on the other hand, take the social and economic measures that will ensure the country's recovery in the shortest possible time.

Our nation has made its choice and reached its decision. This decision is to become an independent industrial nation in a very short time and to establish a Great Nationalist Turkey. Our nation's greatest aspiration is to become an economically strong, developed, and prosperous Turkey. A nationalist administration is one that understands economic development and is able to make choices in this regard. It is not possible for our nation to develop with a few minor reform measures. Development is a movement based on industry and industrialisation. Today, we are witnessing a reform and programme movement that will industrialise our country in a short time. In this day and age, it is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to survive and maintain its independence. While the world's major economies are establishing the latest technology and the newest industrial facilities, our standing still poses a threat to our future. Our nation, having been a great nation throughout history, rightly aspires to grow today. Realising our nation's desire for economic growth is an inevitable national duty.

III - ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

NATIONALISATION OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Our country possesses all the means necessary to achieve national development. Our underground and surface resources, as well as our human resources, are abundant. However, these resources have been left untapped and neglected.

Administrations should make their decisions according to the preferences of the people. Our nation has a preference for growth and desires the completion of economic development. We must abandon inadequate and misguided economic policies and choose a national economic policy that suits the needs of our country. This economic policy must be one that ensures our economic independence and enables us to sell industrial products abroad. To this end, priority must be given to industrial investments. In order to realise industrial investments, priority must be given to all kinds of savings, and the citizens' desire to save must be encouraged. A country whose savings and development are not based on national resources cannot claim independence. The first condition necessary for the establishment of an independent industry is the establishment of a machine manufacturing industry. Indeed, a country's ability to achieve or maintain economic independence depends on the establishment of this industry. In addition to the machine manufacturing industry, importance must also be given to the metallurgical industry, the petrochemical industry and the energy production industry. It is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to reach the level of contemporary civilisation. However, the great Turkish nation has left its mark on every era and has earned the right to be civilised and cultured in this era. This is evident in its rich history, great culture and lineage.

Our economic structure will be nationalised. In a capitalist economy, economic values are owned by a handful of capitalists. The vast majority of the national community is propertyless and landless. In a Marxist-socialist (communist)

system, the entire nation is enslaved and exploited, and the economy is left to the whims and interests of the communist party. In a Nationalist Turkey where the Nine Lights Doctrine will be implemented, the economy will be nationalised. Economic values and opportunities will be made available to all members of the Turkish nation.

In the struggle of nations, we must develop rapidly and become a heavy industrial society in order to avoid being erased from the stage of history. With today's unrestrained and predatory capitalist system, it will take us 250 years to reach Germany's level. The communist system would also require a similar amount of time. However, with our system, we will be able to reach Germany's economic status in 20 years.

Development consists of two movements. The first is saving, the second is investment. Therefore, we will first save, then invest these savings in the capital goods industry, in factories that build factories. To achieve this movement, our model is the Nationalist and Socialist economic model. In this model, we will organise the six social segments that make up our nation. The first organisation will be legal. We will establish six national organisations. These are the Workers', Peasants', Tradesmen's, Civil Servants', Liberal Professionals' and Employers' Unions. Every individual in these segments will join their respective union. The second organisation is economic organisation. Here, compulsory Savings and Investment Funds will be established. For example, the Labour, Peasant, Tradesmen, Civil Servants Savings and Investment Fund. To explain briefly, let us take the labour organisation. Today, there are three million workers in industry, trade and services in Turkey. Each worker earns an average of 3,300 lira per month. If we pass a law requiring every worker to save 10 per cent of their monthly income, we will have an average of 330 lira per worker per month, approximately one billion lira from three million workers, and twelve billion lira per year. This is a huge amount. For years, feeble and capitalist governments have been begging developed nations for this amount. We will provide it through the savings we will generate. Let us not forget that development requires national sacrifice. The nations that exploit us do not want us to develop. Moreover, you cannot run a mill with carried water. Therefore, we must turn to our own resources and capabilities. Now, we must first establish a basic industry, a factory that builds factories, at a cost of nine billion lira per year. Thus, to give a simple example, we will bring not the egg, but the hen to our country. This hen can lay as many eggs as we want. The same organisation for Farmers, Tradesmen, Civil Servants, Employers

and we will establish them for the self-employed as well. As a result, our country will be filled with national factories and machinery.

Factories and machinery are referred to as means of production in economics. In the capitalist system, the means of production are in the hands of a few capitalists. The vast majority of the people are deprived of this. The capitalist system is a system that works in favour of the capitalists. Every resource and asset originating from the nation is allocated to a few bosses to make them richer. The savings made by the people, through the intermediary of banks and large companies in the capital market, and a large portion of the tax revenues collected by the state, pass into the hands of capital owners through various incentives and premiums.

In the communist system, however, these values are in the hands of the state, and neither the workers nor the people can possess them. Since state administration and power are in the hands of members of the communist party, state capitalism, which has been artificially created, makes these individuals new property owners. This type of ownership is called "bureaucratic ownership". The Marxist socialist system has not actually abolished the concept of ownership. In practice, the relationship between ownership and people has only changed in form. While capitalists own the means of production in the capitalist system, in the Marxist system, the so-called state, but in reality a handful of communist bureaucrats, owns them. For this reason, in political science today, these new property-owning bureaucrats are called the "New Class". Surplus value, which is taken as profit by the capitalist in the capitalist system, is taken as salary by the members of the communist party in the communist system. Today, in Soviet Russia, a general manager, a professor or a general receives a monthly salary of 15,000 roubles (75,000 lira), while a worker receives a monthly wage of 150-200 roubles (750-1,000 lira). The result is this: in the capitalist system, the capitalist exploits the worker; in the communist (Marxist) system, the state, that is, the members of the Communist Party, exploit the worker. The worker cannot obtain the value of his labour, the surplus product (surplus value).

In the Nine Lights system, since these means of production are built with the savings of the workers, peasants, tradespeople, and civil servants, the workers, peasants, tradespeople, and civil servants will own these factories and machines in proportion to their savings. In this way, our wealth and economy will belong to all members of the Turkish nation. Everyone will live happily and freely. Workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, etc. will own the factories and gain ownership of them. In such a system, there can be no exploitation, no profiteering, no usury.

The six national organisations briefly described above are, in essence, production unions. Thus, six production unions will be established in our country once again. These will be named the Workers' Production Union, the Peasants' Production Union, the Tradesmen's Production Union, the Civil Servants' Production Union, the Liberal Professionals' Production Union and the Employers' Production Union. Each of these unions will produce new goods and services and contribute to our development. Thus, a new sector, the NATIONAL SECTOR, will be established in our economy. The position of this newly established National Sector between the other two sectors of our economy, the public and private sectors, will be clarified in the future.

The National Organisations mentioned above will, on the one hand, serve to nationalise the economy and, on the other hand, play a role as a source of internal financing for our development. The source of internal financing for development is not limited to the savings made by these organisations. In addition to these sources, the Social Security Institution, the Pension Fund and Bağ-Kur, which are currently social security institutions, will be reorganised and take the form of a Social Security Institution. After the Social Insurance Institution, Bağ-Kur and the Pension Fund are merged into the Social Security Institution, the social security of all our citizens will be ensured, and all kinds of social and occupational risks will be nationalised. On the other hand, the premiums collected from the members of this institution will constitute a significant source of savings, and the large sums of money collected in this way will be used to finance our development.

Tax revenue, as a source of savings due to internal financing, will also play a major role in our development. Tax evasion, which causes tax revenue loss, will be combated effectively. To this end, Sales Offices will be established for each Production Unit, and tax evasion will be prevented as goods produced in our country will be sold to these offices.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE NATION

The economic organisation of the Turkish Nation shall be carried out in accordance with the principles of economic democracy and economic integration. Capitalist and Marxist economic systems divide society into two classes, the capitalist and the working class, based on economic income sources. These systems are not only scientifically flawed today, but also outdated, harmful and divisive. Modern sociology, law and economics analyse societies according to the social status of individuals. According to this analysis, the society known as the nation, in its broadest sense,

is composed of peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers, and members of the liberal professions. In modern social science, the two classes have given way to six social strata.

Economic democracy is the participation of the social strata that make up the nation in economic decisions. If the six social strata in a country cannot participate in production and income distribution, then there is no economic democracy in that country. The participation of these six social strata in production and income distribution depends on their joint ownership of the means of production. Today, in our country, these six social strata that make up the Turkish nation do not own the means of production, and therefore there is no economic democracy in Turkey. In order to establish national and economic integration, we will make our six social strata, our peasants, our workers, our tradesmen, our civil servants, our employers and our members of the liberal professions, the owners and partners of the means of production. To this end, the principles of the economic policy we will follow are as follows:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

There is a close relationship between economic democracy, development and social justice. Thousands of production facilities and factories will be built in a developing Turkey. The products manufactured by these factories will be sold, and the resulting income will be distributed fairly among the people. Development consists of two elements: "savings and investment". Savings is the increase in income that is not consumed. If this increased income is invested in factories, capital accumulation and development will be realised. The Nationalist Movement's savings and investment policy will be achieved with the participation of six social groups. To this end, a portion of the income of legally organised farmers, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and members of the liberal professions will be set aside for savings. Let us illustrate this with an example: For example, if each of the two million workers organised in our labour unions saves 50 lira per month, each worker's annual savings will amount to 600 lira. The savings from these two million workers will total one billion two hundred million lira per year. This is the savings side of development. The basis of investment policy, however, is to establish factories that build factories. A factory that builds factories produces factories for us. This is what our Turkey needs today. However, there are no factories that build factories in our country yet. With the economic policies implemented by various governments, it is unlikely that this will be possible for many years to come.

The cost of building a factory is at least six billion lira, and it takes at least five years to complete. Now, given that we save one billion two million lira per year from our workers, this amounts to six billion lira over five years. This means that with our workers' savings, we can build a factory in five years. If we implement the same savings and investment practices among our farmers, tradespeople, civil servants, employers, and freelancers, our country will acquire major industrial establishments and achieve economic development.

Who will own these factories? In both capitalist and Marxist economies, the same savings are made by the workers, but the owners of the factories are a handful of bosses or the communist state. This is the most typical example of human exploitation by humans or the state, and of social injustice. In Turkish national democracy, since the state, the individual or the class exploiter will be eliminated, **the owners of these factories will be all members of the Turkish nation, peasants, workers, tradesmen, civil servants, employers and freelancers.** For example, in the above example, since each of our workers will save an average of three thousand liras in five years, each worker will be a partner in the ownership of the factory in proportion to this amount, thus nationalising the Turkish economy. In a nationalist order, everyone will be given their rights under the rule of law.

The Realisation of Social Justice

When our six social strata become owners of the factories, they will also participate in and become partners in the ownership of the vehicles, the profits, and the management of the workplace. Ultimately, this will ensure and realise true social justice. Returning to the example above, each of our workers will receive income proportional to their share of the factory's profits at the end of each year. Thus, every worker will be both the owner and the worker of the workplace, earning additional income by receiving their share of the factory's profits in addition to their monthly salary. In such an economic order, income distribution will also be fair. The six social strata that make up the Turkish nation will participate equally in the management as well as in the ownership and profits of the factories.

This system will ensure the economic integration of the Turkish nation. Our workers and peasants in Edirne will become partners in factories in Hakkari or Kars, and our peasants or tradesmen in Hakkari will become partners in factories in Edirne. In this way, all our citizens will look upon every corner of our homeland with economic interest, and the national wealth will be protected by all our citizens

. Any traitor who attempts to destroy the national wealth will find the entire Turkish nation against them.

New Sector: The People's Sector

With the six social strata owning the means of production, a new sector will emerge in our economy. This is the national sector. Under the nationalist order, the Turkish economy will be a new mixed economy based on a tripartite sector. These sectors are the state sector, the private sector and the national sector. On this occasion, let us emphasise that the nationalist order is not hostile to the private sector. However, the private sector will be removed from its current state of disorder and made more efficient in terms of national interests and planning objectives.

The public sector will also be reorganised. Instead of outdated, obsolete statism that burdens the economy and national development, a contemporary, modern public sector oriented towards national strategic objectives will be established. Under this system, the state will perform economic services such as heavy defence industry, infrastructure services and mining industry.

Banking, insurance, domestic and foreign trade services, the tripartite sector, namely the public sector, the national sector and the private sector, will be re-examined and reorganised in a coordinated manner.

In our doctrine, since the means of production are built with the savings of the worker, the peasant, the artisan, and the civil servant, these factories and machines will belong to the worker, the peasant, the artisan, and the civil servant in proportion to their savings. In this way, Turkish wealth and economy will belong to all members of the Turkish nation. Everyone will live happily and freely. Workers, peasants, and tradesmen will own factories and gain ownership of them. In such a system, there can be no exploitation, no profiteering, no usury.

We will place banks, foreign trade, and national production cooperatives under our control. We will nationalise our underground wealth and our mines, which are the apple of our nation's and national defence's eye.

Nationalism is based on a strong and developed economy. For two hundred years, capitalism has failed to develop Turkey. It cannot develop it in the future either. Communism, on the other hand, is our main enemy, our national enemy. It cannot develop our Turkey either. Therefore, let us all embrace the Nine Lights ideology. Otherwise, we are in danger of losing our existence.

, we face the danger of ceasing to exist, of losing our very existence. The basis of nationalism is the independence of our nation and state. Nationalist movements are based on the spirit of an independent and sovereign state. Achieving this can only be done through a national ideal.

NATIONAL LABOUR AND CAPITAL POLICY LABOUR IS SACRED

Sweat and human labour are sacred. The sweat and labour of a nation's children constitute the primary source of its rise, survival and protection. At the same time, freedom is the first condition for human happiness. It is not beneficial to imitate foreign doctrines in order to free our nation from its current difficulties. For two hundred years, those who have governed Turkey have been prisoners of imitation, which destroys creative thought. Just as every nation has its own characteristics, it also has its own specific conditions. Instead of imitating others, it is necessary to create a national system, a national method of administration, which takes these specific conditions into account and makes modern science and technology the leader.

In order to protect the last independent Turkish state, we must unite around a national doctrine. This doctrine is the doctrine of NINE LIGHTS. NINE LIGHTS is a doctrine based on the Turkish nation, its history and culture, and belief in it. It has nothing to do with "national socialism".

NINE LIGHTS rejects capitalism and Marxist socialism just as it rejects national socialism and fascism. National socialism and fascism are degenerate forms of capitalism, reactionary dictatorships that do not believe in human rights and freedoms. NINE LIGHTS, on the other hand, is a democratic doctrine based on love and respect for humanity, seeking to realise individual and economic freedoms as a whole. We do not believe in deified fascist statism or idolised Nazi racism. It is not in our political ethics to be fascist during a certain period of one's political career, capitalist during another, and socialist during yet another, as fossilised celebrities have done. We are NINE LIGHTS, in love with the Turks, in love with the Turkish homeland, in love with Turkishness.

Our aim is to establish and defend the National Doctrine that will ensure the eternal independence of the great Turkish nation on this sacred homeland.

The principle of "Nationalism," which occupies the foremost position among the Nine Lights principles, is a broader concept than the principle of "Socialism" found among the other principles. The concept of "Nationalism" also encompasses "Socialism." However, in order to clearly express our views on economic and social development, it has been deemed useful to express our ideas under a separate principle of "Socialism". By "Socialism", we wish to indicate that the existence of the nation and the interests of society are above those of individuals. Meanwhile, let us reiterate that NATIONAL SOCIALISM has nothing in common with NATIONAL SOCIALISM. While National Socialism embraces capitalism, laboratory (anthropological) racism, and an anti-democratic political spirit, DOKUZ IŞIKÇILIK believes in socio-psychological (spiritual) nobility and true democracy within Turkish society. We do not believe in paths to power that do not pass through the hearts and approval, preferences and votes of the Turkish nation. Even after coming to power, we believe in and defend the genuine functioning of democratic processes and paths. Those who constantly fear Turkish nationalism, internationalists who have never embraced the Turks, have always opposed every national doctrine. We must never forget this, not even for a moment.

Contemporary economies are mixed economies. A mixed economy is an economic system in the classical sense where the private sector and the public sector coexist. In this economy, the means of production are owned by individuals and public institutions (the state). For this reason, individuals engage in economic activity within the private sector, while the state engages in economic activity within the public sector.

A mixed economy is temporary in nature. Depending on the political and economic preferences of the ruling elite, economic activities are eventually transferred either entirely to the private sector or to the public sector. If the political power's preference is towards the capitalist system, the public sector is transformed into the private sector; if it is towards the socialist system, the private sector is transformed into the public sector. Thus, ownership of the means of production is concentrated in a single entity, either private or public ownership.

Capitalist and Marxist Systems and Their Flaws

The private sector is the application of the capitalist economic system, while the public sector is the application of the socialist system. Like any system, both capitalist and socialist systems are fundamentally based on human freedom. However, it is impossible to claim that capitalist and socialist systems have achieved this goal. Today, in one form or another, the capitalist and Marxist systems have been implemented in various

countries in one form or another, humanity has not attained freedom. The reason for this is that in both systems, ownership of the means of production cannot be spread to the national base, to all members of society, that is, to the nation. In the capitalist system, ownership of the means of production belongs to a very small part of the national community, to a few capitalists, while in the socialist system it belongs only to public institutions, to the state.

There is a very close connection between the concept of property and the concept of freedom. Social and economic justice, freedom and equality, liberation from exploitation, distancing oneself from alienation, and the development of people's material and spiritual personalities are all dependent on property relations. The fundamental cause of differentiation between people and societies, exploitation and alienation, is that some are property owners while others are not.

The Marxist system argued that private property should be abolished and replaced with public and state ownership, on the grounds that capitalism could not regulate the distribution of property. Indeed, according to socialism, the capitalist social structure has granted ownership of the means of production only to capitalists, leaving the masses of workers deprived of this ownership. Because some classes in society owned the means of production while others did not, differentiation and, consequently, exploitation arose. The minority who owned the means of production began to exploit the majority who did not. Therefore, to eliminate exploitation, private ownership of the means of production must be abolished. If private ownership is abolished and the means of production are nationalised or state-owned, no one will be able to own property, and differentiation and exploitation will also be eliminated. The mistake socialism made, as mentioned above, was failing to see the relationship between property and freedom. Since property is the guarantee of freedom and the desired goal is human freedom, the path to follow is not the abolition of property, but its dissemination to the national base, to the people, so that everyone can become a property owner. A society deprived of property, and especially of ownership of the means of production, cannot be free. This is the main reason why socialist societies cannot be free. Moreover, socialism is riddled with contradictions. The relationship of ownership has not been abolished in socialist countries. Only the subjects (owners) have changed.

The ownership of the means of production, which used to belong to individuals, now belongs to the state and public institutions. If, according to socialism, the source of exploitation and differentiation is the relationship of ownership over the means of production, then

This exploitation and differentiation continues today. For yesterday's exploiters were individuals, while today they are the state and public institutions. However, in Marxist-socialist countries, the state and the Communist Party are one and the same. The Communist Party is the state, and the state is the Communist Party. Thus, the Communist Party, which has taken over the state, constitutes the ruling class. In fact, the nationalisation of the means of production means that they are placed at the disposal of the Communist Party. In other words, property has not been nationalised, it has been party-ised. The Communist Party, in turn, is run by Communist members. Therefore, as a result, ownership is given to the monopoly and domination of the members of the Communist Party. Today, there is talk of a new class in Marxist-socialist countries. This class is a class formed by the members of the Communist Party. This class is another form of the class called the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. In communist countries, this class, called the **new class** or **the bureaucratic class**, is a more exploitative, oppressive and crushing class than the capitalist bourgeoisie. While socialists wanted a classless society, class differences have grown even greater, resulting in a dictatorial and exploitative class society. The Marxist state, which claims to be a workers' state, has become a despotic state that oppresses and exploits the workers. Communism is a system that feeds off the backs of the workers and peasants, sucking their blood. The Marxist-socialist system implemented in various countries today is nothing more than a cruel form of state capitalism, a transformation of the savage, inhuman and completely unjust liberal-capitalist system of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. In Soviet Russia, the difference in income between individuals is more than 30-fold. This privileged bureaucratic new class, members of the Communist Party, consists of only two million people. The other 240 million Soviet citizens are barely surviving on meagre rations. History has never witnessed such a cruel form of class exploitation and oppression in any other era.

NATIONAL ECONOMY SECTOR

Our Constitution is closed to socialist and capitalist dictatorships. The system accepted by our Constitution is a national economic system based on the conditions of our country. The national economic system is actually based on a mixed economy. However, this is not a classical mixed economy, but a modern mixed economy. The characteristic of the modern mixed economy is the dual sector, namely the private sector, the national sector

and the public sector. Here, a new sector, the national sector, is situated between the two classical sectors.

The execution of vital strategic and economic activities by the state should be considered essential for the rapid development of our nation and in light of Turkey's realities. Economic activities such as heavy industry, blast furnaces, refineries, oil operations, and transportation must be carried out by the state or under state control.

Apart from these, material production and light industry may be areas in which private enterprise can operate. In private enterprise activities, the state should control and ensure that business always develops in a manner beneficial to society.

Economic life should be guided by the principle of generating profits that benefit society, rather than by blind greed for profit. The principle of benefiting the nation should prevail over speculative gains and profiteering.

The aim should be to continuously increase production and improve quality. In industry and trade, innovation and creativity should be the foremost principles, not imitation.

The right to property is an indispensable requirement of human nature. Respecting property and enabling every citizen to own property is a matter we consider important on the path to prosperity. However, the misuse of property and its use as a means to subjugate other citizens must be opposed.

Property owners are responsible for managing their property well and operating it in a way that benefits society. For those who fail to do so, it should be necessary for the state to take over the operation of their property and pay them a fair rent.

The State and Private Enterprise

Within the framework of the concept of the "social state," we support private enterprise, legitimate competition, and the division of labour in the economic sphere.

In economic areas where private enterprise meets the needs of the people and the country, it is essential that the public sector does not engage in capital investment. We cannot remain indifferent to fraudulent trade, capital exploitation and excessive profits obtained through injustice. Preventive measures will be taken against these. We believe in the necessity of protecting, developing and encouraging the spirit of enterprise and creative ideas.

We believe in the necessity of protecting, developing and supporting the spirit of entrepreneurship and creative ideas. The state has a duty to remedy the individual's lack of initiative and knowledge through education and by removing traditional and legal barriers.

It is the duty of the state to make wealth that does not serve production productive, to encourage and organise the people, to pool the small savings of individuals, to make the masses capitalists, and to make national production beneficial to the welfare of the people.

In our country, which is striving for development, the strategy for investments has not been clearly defined.

The spheres of the state and the private sector must be clearly defined, and opportunities for undertaking long-term projects in these sectors must be created.

In order to master the main strategy of development, heavy industry, energy sources and railways should remain under state control, while light industry should be transferred to the private sector. These facilities, currently owned by the state, should be divided into publicly available shares and offered to the nation, making citizens property owners in their homeland. The capital raised in this way can form the basis for new investments, and the nation can turn to willing savings instead of being crushed under price increases. State enterprise in light industry should only play a pioneering role in underdeveloped regions; we must rid ourselves of state capitalism. Today, our state has fallen victim to a policy of attributing everything to the state and turning citizens into labourers, the result of a difficult-to-understand mindset.

The sad truth is that the Republican People's Party, which drafted the 1924 and 1961 constitutions and twice established the state order itself, is now at the forefront of the organisations claiming that the order it created is flawed.

In Turkey, where 85 per cent of industry is state-owned, increasing the pace of statism will reduce the country to a situation where the state is the boss and the people are the labourers. The task at hand is to remove the state from its role as hotelier, shoemaker, clothier, butcher and tavern keeper, and to free the regulatory sector of industry from the domination of privileged friends who operate it with a profit-seeking, opportunistic mentality. The Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory should be transferred to the state, and the Nazilli Cloth Factory to the people. This should be the measure.

The national sector is a sector that will ensure the nationalisation of our economic structure, accelerate our economic development, and enable our people to be free by spreading the ownership of the means of production fairly and evenly across the national base (the nation). The national sector is a sector of national integration and economic

It is a fundamental condition of democracy. True modern democracy is a regime of integration. Here, class conflict and social struggle, which threaten the state order, have given way to class integration and social peace. The success of modern democracy depends on the condition of combining political democracy with economic democracy. Political democracy, in short, is the participation of individuals in the administration of the country through free elections every four years, expressing their preferences and electing their leaders, while economic democracy is the ability to participate in economic decisions that affect one's own future. The individual's participation in economic decisions is only possible if they own or share ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, the individual's ability to truly make political and economic choices and decisions depends on their being free from external influences, strong and organised.

Modern democracy is a democracy of organisations. Here, individuals are organised according to their socio-economic ties. Within their own organisation, individuals become stronger. The social group to which they belong protects them against other social groups and the state. The legal aspect of the organisation of the Turkish nation, which we propose should be organised into six social strata, will be as follows:

The Legal Organisation of the Nation

Marxist and capitalist legal theory divides society into two classes: the capitalist class and the working class. Capitalist legal theory, based on capital, envisages a single, compulsory organisation for members of the capitalist class and a pluralistic, voluntary organisation for the working class. Indeed, in this system, employers are obliged to be members of the trade association established in their locality. This membership is based on the principle of singularity and compulsion. Thus, just as it is impossible for capitalists to establish a second trade association in the same place, those who are not members of the existing association cannot practise their trade or profession. The single and compulsory organisation is based on the principle that unity creates strength. This is essentially what capitalism wants. In contrast, the capitalist system does not accept the principle of a single organisation for workers. This is because workers united in a single organisation will be strong, and the possibility of exploitation will diminish and may disappear. This is not in line with the philosophy of capitalism.

Marxist legal theory, however, eliminates classes other than the working class, so only the working class is organised in this system. However, the organisation of the working

is not organised according to the principle of freedom. It is organised to be kept under the command, pressure, and therefore exploitation of the communist party.

Both of these theories are foreign theories that run counter to Turkish national interests, dividing the nation into classes and pitting them against each other. Moreover, these theories do not correspond to science and social reality.

As a result of the legal organisation of our six social strata**, the Turkish Peasants' Organisation, the Turkish Workers' Organisation (Trade Union), the Turkish Tradesmen's Organisation, the Turkish Civil Servants' Organisation, the Turkish Employers' Organisation and the Turkish Liberal Professions Organisation** will be established. Thus, each social stratum will be organised within its legal organisation.

Our six national social strata are: the workers' union, the peasants' union, the tradesmen's union, the civil servants' union, the self-employed workers' union, and the employers' union... The establishment and operation of these unions will take place entirely within democratic procedures. Each union will be independent of political power and will have its own legal personality under private law. The management and supervisory boards of the union will be elected by the union's general assembly.

These associations, which are democratic and autonomous from a legal standpoint, will play a dynamic role in our economic development from an economic perspective. An economic savings and investment fund will be established within each association, and the resources accumulated through the compulsory savings of each member will be invested in heavy industry and factory-building industries. As a result of these investments, our economy will acquire new means of production, and the factories and workplaces established will give rise to a new sector. We will call this new sector emerging in our economy the national sector. In this new order to be established, the ownership of the means of production will belong to the members of the union that established it. Each means of production, i.e. factories and workplaces, will be given to the members of the union who have saved in the form of various shares. Thus, alongside the private sector and the public sector, a third sector, the national sector, which owns the means of production, will be born.

FISCAL AND TRADE POLICY

Tax injustice in Turkey is of such a nature that it will eliminate the middle class. While high taxes are levied on civil servants, small farmers and workers, the necessary taxes are not collected from investments that do not encourage production and are not directed towards production.

The amount of tax evaded by those engaged in foreign trade may even exceed the total tax revenue collected by the Turkish Treasury.

The main principle of our trade policy is to regulate the flow of goods and services from producers to our people in the most beneficial way for all parties. The service that ensures this flow must be fast and inexpensive. This service must be carried out without creating artificial difficulties. The service must be provided in a secure and stable manner. The utmost attention must be paid to business ethics, and all forms of speculation and stock market games must be stopped. Deterrent measures must be taken against usury, black market activities, profiteering and fraud, which rob the people.

Regarding our views on foreign trade:

The Issue of Foreign Trade

Foreign trade will be rescued from its current state of disorder and conflict with our national interests. A new institution called the National Foreign Trade Organisation will be established. This organisation will be composed of individuals selected from six national organisations and appointed from the State Administration.

Foreign trade is a very important sector in terms of the national economy and especially development. On the one hand, this sector will generate foreign exchange earnings by selling the goods we produce to foreign countries, and on the other hand, it will ensure the import of investment goods necessary for our development. Under a liberal-capitalist foreign trade regime, it is very difficult to control those who sell our products to foreign countries. As a result, we suffer from massive capital flight and foreign exchange losses. However, we need capital and foreign exchange for the development of our country. Development is industrialisation and capital accumulation. In order for industrialisation and, consequently, capital accumulation to take place, we need foreign exchange, foreign currency, to purchase the development materials and goods that will be imported from abroad. The more foreign exchange we have, the more capital goods we can import. For this reason, our foreign trade, which is our source of foreign exchange, must be transformed from a hotbed of theft and smuggling into an institution that contributes to our development.

Let us illustrate the situation with an example under the current regime: A trader who exports goods may only receive an invoice for 5 dollars from a foreign trader, even though he has sold goods worth 10 dollars. He can deposit the remaining 5 dollars in a foreign bank or business (enterprise). In this case,

, while the foreign exchange constituting the external financing of development enters the country insufficiently, and on the other hand, if the state is to collect a dollar in tax from these missing 5 dollars, this tax is also not collected.

Waste and Begging for Charity

There is also waste in our country... There is a tremendous amount of waste in every area. An economy of waste prevails in our country. On top of that, begging for mercy from foreigners does not disgust us! America should give us... Germany should give us... Russia should give us... Why should they? Why don't you have any? Just as in relationships between individuals, if one man becomes dependent on another, constantly asking him for money, asking for help, receiving help, his self-respect is wounded and he remains indebted to the one who helps him... For a person to be human, first and foremost, he must live by his own sweat, his own strength, his own labour. Nations must be the same!

National Foreign Trade Policy

Urgent measures must be taken to reach a level where we can compete with the global economy. Instead of importing luxury goods from abroad, we should import semi-finished and finished goods that will develop our industry, and we must pay the utmost attention to ensuring that our national economy is not undermined in our relations with developed industrial countries. Efforts to drain money abroad must be stopped at all costs. In our view, the smuggling abroad of profits earned through the labour and sweat of the Turkish people in Turkey and the tolerance shown towards such practices constitute treason. We want imports and exports to be in the hands of Turks, and we want those who hold this opportunity to be people who are truly loyal to their country and nation and who do not harbour a longing for another foreign nation in their hearts.

Imports should be planned in line with our development objectives. The fact that our exports are limited to a few items is also a cause for concern. It is imperative to ensure that their numbers are increased in accordance with the development plan. The continuing balance of payments deficit in foreign trade should compel us to take urgent measures. Domestic production must be standardised for domestic and foreign markets, maintained at specific levels, and quality control must be ensured. The transformation of our exports from raw materials and agricultural

products to processed materials and industrial goods must be rapidly achieved, and our commercial relations with the Middle East, in particular, must be rapidly developed in this direction.

Foreign capital comes to every country to make money. To this end, the conditions it seeks are the security of the capital it invests, the amortisation of its capital in a short time, and the ability to take more money out of the country. No nation helps another nation out of kindness. Every nation establishes and maintains or severs relations with another nation based on its own interests. Foreign capital must be viewed through this lens, and measures must be taken accordingly.

The first point to consider is preventing political influence from entering along with foreign capital. The capital to be invested must increase production. Provided these conditions are fully met, it is not harmful to benefit from foreign capital for a period of time.

Today, international mutual interests also bring with them opportunities for mutual assistance. Developing countries can benefit from this assistance without compromising their freedom and independence in the slightest. Turkey, of course, will and must follow the same path. However, there are issues that require particular attention to ensure that these enormous debts do not become a heavy burden inherited by future generations of Turks. These can be summarised as follows:

1— The interest rates, instalments, and grace periods of the loans must be determined in a manner most suitable to our country's economic conditions.

2— A portion of the loans provided is granted in net foreign currency, and Turkey may use this loan for imports from any country and in any manner it chooses. Another portion is provided subject to conditions and can only be used to finance imports from the country that granted the loan, which is a type of in-kind loan. Another form is project loans.

When utilising all three types of credit, Turkey must adhere to the principles of the lowest price and superior quality. Otherwise, the credit obtained will cost Turkey twice as much, and thus, it will never be possible for us to free ourselves from external debt.

3— Loans taken out are used to cover the adverse difference, i.e. the deficit, between the annual import programme figure and our export earnings.

Therefore, when preparing a programme for imports that will result in a deficit, the country's needs must be accurately determined. For example, in 1965, imports amounted to 665 million dollars. Of this,
The portion corresponding to 44.2 per cent, amounting to 294 million dollars, was allocated to investment goods, and the portion corresponding to 43.8 per cent, amounting to 291 million dollars, was allocated to raw material imports. Thus, 88 per cent of the annual programme was allocated to the import of investment goods and raw materials. For example, how was the need for the $291 million worth of raw material imports determined? Is this figure excessive or insufficient? Because since 1958, imports have remained more or less the same under 16 quotas. We believe that import programmes are not based on a serious inventory of the country's needs. The approximate needs of the country are always calculated based on the quantities given in the previous quota. If these needs can be accurately determined and the quantities of raw materials and spare parts imported for use in the Turkish economy are closely examined, it will be seen that unnecessary stocks are being built up every year and imports exceed actual needs.

If these three points listed above are not taken into consideration, it will be impossible for Turkey to free itself from its creditors. In that case, future generations of Turks will hold us responsible for implementing such a development plan for them. In light of these realities, the way forward for Turkey is to establish its balance of payments as soon as possible, to enable investments that increase production, to import goods, and to establish and maintain such facilities. Turkey must rapidly increase investments that will enable it to process the raw materials it produces into finished goods and export them to foreign countries. After these fundamental measures, we wish to point out an important measure that must be taken, as the measures listed above can only be effective through this. Opportunities should be sought to defer the current external debt, which has reached a considerable level, at least for a very favourable period. If such an opportunity is found and the points we have mentioned are taken into account in subsequent debts and import accounts, it will be possible to relieve the Turkish economy from the pressure of external debt instalments. We recommend and hope that the government will take the initiative with the relevant countries to subject the existing external debts to a long-term deferral and that the Consortium will at least put this issue on the agenda now.

It is essential to benefit from advanced modern countries for our development. It is necessary to utilise foreign capital and foreign technology in establishing facilities that will ensure our rapid development and produce the necessary goods. However, in such cases, it is essential to employ Turkish personnel to the maximum extent possible and under conditions that cause the least harm. The ratio of currency transfers should be no more than 10 per cent of the foreign exchange value of the production provided by the established facility.

It is not possible to achieve economic development solely through foreign aid and manual labour. First and foremost, it is necessary to determine the national goals of that nation and to secure foreign aid within the framework of the plans to be implemented to achieve these goals, and to apply this aid with a scientific approach. Mutual exchanges of benefits and cooperation between nations have been common throughout history. Indeed, such cooperation has even occurred and continues to occur between countries governed by regimes that are bitter enemies. The crucial point is that the statesmen of the countries receiving aid must use it appropriately and judiciously, ensuring that such institutions do not undermine national independence and national identity.

Foreign Economic Relations

1— The measure in foreign economic relations is the national interest. 2— We are not opposed to foreign capital.

3— Foreign capital can be used as a tool for realising national ideals in the hands of a national government capable of defending national interests.

4— Foreign relations are prone to producing results that are detrimental to weaker units. In this respect, it is essential that relations be adjusted in a manner that overcomes this tendency and with particular care.

5— We are opposed to purely regional economic organisations.

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6— We consider it a national duty to take a clear stance against the use of regional economic organisations as a means of social, cultural and political integration, as the only alternative that does not conflict with national ideals lacks the capacity for implementation in the short term. Our entry into the Common Market will constitute a serious obstacle to our industrialisation. Factors such as establishment costs and

and the time required to gain experience make it impossible for our country, which is striving to industrialise, to compete with the advanced industrial countries of the Common Market.

7— We are clearly and unequivocally opposed to the Common Market because it will lead to the indirect implementation of the Treaty of Sèvres by allowing foreigners to acquire land and resources wherever and to whatever extent they desire in the country, causing cultural and social deformation and hindering the development of national industry.

8 — We see merit in developing and expanding the Regional Cooperation Agreement for Development in terms of national interests.

9 — We believe that developing trade relations with Continental China will bring significant benefits to Third World countries, particularly Muslim countries in the Middle East and Africa.

Banking Issues

I would also like to briefly touch upon banking, which occupies an important place in terms of internal financing. Today, our banking system operates as commercial banking in nature. These types of banks provide short-term loans. They earn high interest and profits in return for these loans. However, we need savings, development and industrial banks more. Today, development and industrial banks that provide long-term loans are virtually non-existent in our country. Therefore, we must reform our banking system and establish savings, development and industrial banks.

Our commercial banks, which are currently in operation, despite their national resources, serve as intermediaries and moneylenders, operating billions of pounds collected from our citizens' small savings and deposits at high interest rates. We will change this exploitative situation, which is contrary to national interests. Banks will be nationalised and placed at the service of the national and public sectors. The savings banks to be re-established will hold state revenues and the savings and revenues of national organisations. Large resources will finance the new means of production to be established by the state and the nation through development and industrial banks. The current interest rate system will be completely changed in terms of its nature and a new system will be introduced.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AND LABOUR ORDER

LABOUR AS PART OF HUMAN DIGNITY

The Nationalist Movement holds the utmost respect for human dignity. Labour is an integral part of human dignity, a constructive element. A view that does not respect labour, that does not protect labour, cannot respect human beings either. Labour is the sole entity that creates value.

Some systems currently in place around the world view labour as a commodity, an object. The value these systems assign to labour is no different from the value assigned to a commodity or an object. Systems that view labour as a commodity or an object are primarily capitalist and Marxist (communist) systems.

Since labour is part of human personality, to describe labour as an object is to objectify human beings. In capitalist and communist systems, the worker who owns labour is seen not as a thinking, creative human being who produces new values, but as an object, a machine. As with any commodity or machine, what is sought from the worker is to work more and produce more. Just as a useless commodity is discarded and cast aside, in these systems, a worker who can no longer work or produce is discarded and left to their fate. The worker is a human being; labour is not accepted as part of human personality, so respect for the human being is impossible.

Labour is the most sacred element of production; together with capital, labour brings about production. However, despite this being the reality**, in practice, capital always exploits labour**. Whether the system applied is the capitalist system, where private property prevails, or the communist system, where state property prevails, labour is treated as a stepchild and exploited. Yet, capital without labour cannot produce anything.

The Nationalist Movement opposes all forms of exploitation. The Nationalist Movement advocates a system in which capital does not exploit labour, but rather balances capital and labour within the framework of national interests. In the Nationalist Movement, labour and capital are not treated as two hostile elements that destroy each other and fight each other, but as two complementary brothers. We do not believe in false, classist, divisive systems that exploit labour for capital and capital for labour. Our belief and view is that of labour-capital peace. Our national development and economic progress can only be rapid, balanced and fair through the INTEGRATION OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

Labour-Capital Integration

The fundamental philosophy of the Nationalist Movement is NATIONAL UNITY. National unity is the most modern meaning of nationalism. Within our national borders, 40 million Turkish people must be united in every respect, in culture, education and the economy; they must be one body. There is no possibility for a Turkey divided into camps and interest groups to preserve its existence as a state and a nation. The last few years we have experienced have been years in which treacherous views and systems that are divisive, fragmentary, and seek to erase the name of the Turks and Turkishness from the stage of history have run rampant, undermining our national unity and the integrity of our state and country. It is gratifying to note that the only group that has paid the least attention to these treacherous views and systems, and has refused to believe in their falsehoods, has been the Nationalist-Patriotic Turkish Workers.

To protect our nation and our country from these treacherous views, we must find stronger national views that are more in line with the realities of the age. History has never seen an idea defeated solely by the stick and police measures. Just as the antidote to poison is the antidote, the antidote to an idea is a stronger idea. We must oppose communist and separatist ideas that seek to divide our country, enslave our nation, and subjugate Turkish workers with a nationalist ideology.

The foundation of Turkish nationalism is integration. The aim of national integration is for all individuals and social groups that make up the Turkish nation to share common concerns, destinies and joys. In accordance with this general principle, the Nationalist Movement invites labour and capital owners to national integration, common ideals and beliefs. Labour and capital cannot operate outside the framework of national unity and interests. Therefore,

both labour and capital must be protected and supported to the extent that they serve national interests.

The Issue of Unemployment

National Education is pursuing an ambiguous and cosmopolitan direction instead of raising Turkish children with a nationalist consciousness. It is being conducted with an attitude that disregards Turkey's social and economic objectives. Today, Turkey has fallen into a debate over economic systems that have been criticised worldwide, whose weaknesses are apparent, and which have been replaced by new ones. On the one hand, the socialism promoted and encouraged by the CHP, and on the other, the capitalism that the AP has latched onto, are two expressions of a materialist philosophy. At a time when the inadequacies of socialism in Czechoslovakia and capitalism in Britain were being realised, and both systems were being rejected by their own practitioners, Turkey found itself in the position of having to fight for the choice between these systems.

While this conflict rages on, the number of unemployed in the country has reached 8 million. The strongest members of our nation, who should be at the height of their productivity, are queuing at the gates of Western countries in search of work. We have come to seek employment as street sweepers in countries we once conquered.

The damage caused by a government that does not consider the plight of these 8 million unemployed is staggering enough to open our eyes. Let us consider the situation of our workers who have gone to Europe, for example, to Germany: a Turkish worker who cannot read, write, or even speak German earns three marks, or 40 lira, per hour. Working eight hours a day, he is paid 320 lira.

For the factory to be able to pay the worker 320 lira, it must generate at least 640 lira per worker. Otherwise, the factory will go bankrupt. After all, it must cover expenses such as interest, depreciation, insurance, administration, and taxes, and then make a profit. Therefore, every worker employed in the West adds 320 lira worth of value to the country where they work every day. In Turkey, however, 8 million people who could produce 320 lira worth of value per day are idle. If we calculate that 200 liras worth of production power is being wasted for every 120 liras of this amount, we realise that 8 million unemployed people are being deprived of producing 16,000,000,000 worth of value every day. These people

If we consider that they work 300 days a year, we see that the annual loss amounts to 480 billion.

Labour Mobilisation

We must make use of the mass of open and hidden unemployed in our development. Today, there are around 8 million open and hidden unemployed in our country. The labour force, which is the most important element of production and development, is in an inefficient state. This kind of idle labour force is of great importance in the development movement. In some areas, labour can take the place of machinery. As a less developed country with limited machinery and development tools, some tasks that machines can perform can also be done through labour substitution. In particular, infrastructure investments, public works, i.e. roads, water, dams, schools, and other construction works, can be realised to a certain extent through intensive labour use. The tasks listed above can be carried out in our country cheaply and easily with shovels and pickaxes, instead of importing machinery at great expense. In this way, savings from the capital to be used for development become a resource. Utilising idle labour in this way is a matter of discipline and organisation. To this end, a National Development Army will be established to mobilise labour. The individuals working in this organisation will be selected democratically and will receive a fixed wage. They will undergo brief training beforehand, thereby creating a skilled workforce and accelerating our development. Furthermore, there will be no unemployed individuals in our country.

Our Labour Issue

In labour and capital relations, it is necessary to establish a sensible approach that takes into account human rights and justice principles. It is the primary duty of every Turkish citizen to act with the interests of the Turkish nation above all else. Establishing a social security system that covers all Turkish citizens from Edirne to Kars is a primary need of our society. Urgent needs such as protection against unemployment, job security and equal opportunities must be met without delay.

The transfer of our farming population to other areas of employment is one of the most urgent tasks at hand.

To this end, broad employment opportunities must be created. In Turkey, there are many untapped riches to be exploited, as well as many tasks that cannot be accomplished in a single generation. There is no such thing as **"scarcity"** for our nation. The whole issue is to join hands, guided by science and knowledge, and take action. The way to save our people from going to foreign countries as workers is to open up our own job opportunities. To this end, it is necessary to bring in organised and competent managers.

Workers' rights should be considered the foundation of social order.

Fully securing and protecting the rights of our workers is our primary goal for the development and peace of society. It is absolutely necessary to adjust the daily wages of our workers in line with the earnings of our fellow citizens working in other professions and with the living conditions of the country.

We find class struggle and the idea of a single class to be contrary to the concept of nationhood and to our understanding of science and humanity. For us, what matters most is the securing and protection of the rights of all working people and their harmonious complementarity. Our starting point for viewing national and global realities is the high status and interests of Turkey and the Turkish nation. We see the claim that, by viewing issues through the lens of class struggle, a single class, the manual labourers, should be the owners and rulers (!) of everything as the shortest route to communism. Given that today's world is one of science, technology and culture, we believe that the people who will manage social life must be enlightened individuals, educated and knowledgeable. The stratification and class division created by the civil and professional division of labour, which is a necessity of social life, should never and cannot lead to the establishment of a hierarchy of domination in favour of one class. We oppose such a view. We will always fight against such behaviour, which will lead social life to unhappiness, disorder and a thousand troubles.

We must establish an adequate organisation for our workers who go abroad to work and take measures to protect and support them in foreign lands. Today, hundreds of thousands of our workers are in a miserable, scattered and helpless situation in foreign countries. These citizens are constantly under attack from various negative propaganda. Urgent measures need to be taken for them.

Social security

In the current environment in our country, workers and peasants are among the citizens most burdened by heavy loads. It is clear that our citizens living in villages sell their produce, obtained with great difficulty, for next to nothing and do not receive the fruits of their labour. It is an undeniable fact that our peasants have been at the mercy of middlemen, moneylenders, profiteers and black marketeers for many years. The crisis faced by our workers is at least as deep and significant as that faced by our peasant citizens. It is a sad fact that many workers, who labour in the unhealthy, stifling atmosphere of factories or seven stories underground, are often unable to receive the wages they deserve in return for their sweat and toil.

It is widely known that the number of workers affiliated with the Social Security Institution in Turkey has exceeded 2.5 million and that these workers mostly live in large cities and shanty towns. It is clear that between 57 and 78 per cent of workers in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana are forced to live in single-room dwellings, which is extremely difficult with eight or nine people. It is a fact that 44 per cent of homes with poor living conditions are occupied by our working citizens, that workers are left waiting miserably at hospital doors, and that working people can never be sure of their tomorrows. It is absolutely essential to provide all workers with social security and to make this social security system available to all members of our nation.

Human labour is the most sacred value in the life of a nation. Given that the average age in Turkey is 54 for men and 56 for women, it is never appropriate to expect workers to retire at 60 or older. Solutions must be sought to continually improve workers' rights and the social security of all citizens. The opinions of foreign experts who are unfamiliar with Turkey's circumstances cannot always be considered accurate. Establishing social welfare and ensuring social justice in the country is only possible with the rule of a committed cadre. Who can deny the existence of profiteers, middlemen, and usurers in our country? In our country, apart from a certain segment of society, which citizen can say, "I am confident about my future," and who can claim that "workers receive their wages in full, commensurate with their labour"? Seeing these realities and placing ourselves under the light of these realities for the country

We must mobilise to resolve these issues. Turkey yearns for an order in which exploitation has been eliminated, middlemen and usurers have been overthrown, the fear of unemployment has disappeared, and human beings are valued. The Nationalist Movement's rule will bring about an order in which all forms of exploitation have been eliminated and all citizens can be confident about their future. Under the Nationalist Movement's rule, there will be no middlemen, usurers or profiteers. Under the Nationalist Movement's rule, all citizens will be embraced with the same love, without discrimination, and the mistreatment and belittling of people by other people will be prevented. Under the Nationalist Movement's rule, the principles of justice replacing power and the rule of law replacing anarchy will prevail, and all citizens, from Edirne to Kars, will stand shoulder to shoulder around national ideals and embark on an economic war of liberation. It is impossible for an economically underdeveloped country to be independent. Securing our political independence requires achieving economic independence. It is imperative that Turkey break the chains of backwardness and escape the situation of becoming a market for others as soon as possible. We are fighting this battle, waging this war. In this war, we are shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand, heart to heart with our workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants and freelancers, and we have sworn to emerge victorious from this sacred economic development war, launched in national unity and solidarity. The establishment of a classless, privilege-free, advanced, civilised and steel-like Turkey is only possible with the rise to power of nationalist cadres. The Nationalist Movement will establish a nationalist order, and the work of the nationalist cadres will surely achieve its goal!

Trade Unionism and Nationalism

The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions and the Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions are the largest labour organisations formed by Turkey's numerous, dynamic and nationalist Turkish workers. Turkish workers have always been seen as the main propaganda target of those with nefarious intentions who threaten our nation and state, and great efforts have been made to exploit them for this purpose. Turk-İş and MİSK([77])have fought against all these foreign ideologies.

77 **MİSK:** Nationalist Workers' Trade Unions Confederation. Founded on 23 June 1970. When its activities were suspended on 12 September 1980, the number of workers affiliated to its member unions was around 22,000. It was permitted to resume activities in 1984. In 1987

They deserve the highest praise for their struggle and their efforts to protect the masses they represent from danger.

However, recently, some parties dominated by extreme ideas appear to be attempting to manipulate Türk-İş, the largest organisation of nationalist, patriotic Turkish workers. For the future of Turkish workers, it is essential that the Turkish trade union movement be conducted above all party interests and conflicts. Türk-İş should remain above party politics, but it should conduct its activities in line with the nationalist worldview that dominates its base, namely the Turkish workers. If ideas are not cultivated among the masses and a vacuum is left, the events before 12 March show how and with what this vacuum will be filled.

For this reason, nationalism, the strongest and most valid idea of our time, should be declared as the official worldview by Türk-İş, just as it has been declared as the official worldview by MİSK.

Trade Union Politics and Press Unions

In today's world, the power of the press, which constitutes the fourth estate in the life of societies, is the greatest aid in establishing a happy and peaceful order. It is evident that our press faces many serious problems. As the view of the Nationalist Movement, I would like to focus on how the issues of the Turkish press will be resolved in the Dokuz Işıkçı order.

We have long advocated for the establishment of trade unionism based on single and compulsory membership in every sector to ensure that workers' rights are fully protected. Moving towards national, uniform and compulsory trade unionism, especially in the press sector, which is the fourth estate, is in the interests of both our workers and our nation. Unfortunately, this has not been achieved to date. The existence of multiple trade unions in the same sector has been detrimental to workers. In this regard, the issue of unemployment, which is currently a problem in the Turkish press, is tied up at this point. Therefore, we believe that the issue of unemployment in the press can be resolved through national, uniform and compulsory trade unionism. The government has a major responsibility in this regard.

With the beginning of the splits, it took the name Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Yurt-İş). It dissolved itself in the early 1990s.

We closely follow the various issues facing our press. We all know how those who present themselves as the protectors of workers and defenders of issues such as their social security and job security in today's political order have summarily dismissed even those working in their own organisations, and even those who have been imprisoned for this reason. Therefore, the Turkish people should not trust those with such a huge gap between their words and deeds. We cannot ignore or turn a blind eye to how hundreds of members of the press were torn away from the professions they had devoted years to, and how a mass of unemployed intellectual workers was created. The Nine Lights system we defend will eliminate social exploitation and provide Turkish workers, who constitute a part of our nation within our historical development, with all the conditions necessary for a dignified life. As Nationalist Movementists, we are in favour of social peace, which will ensure the integrity of our nation. However, one of our primary goals is to ensure that the weaker sections of our nation, who represent the majority, contribute to the advancement and prosperity of our nation with confidence in their future.

The time has long since come for unemployment insurance to be established in our country. We want the press sector to be treated as a pilot sector in unemployment insurance, and then for it to be extended to other sectors. There is a source for the unemployment insurance to be established for the press sector. A five per cent levy on official and private advertisements would be sufficient to cover this. This would resolve the issue of unemployment in the press, which is often a cause for great concern. The government has a major responsibility in this regard.

Unless the issue of minimum wage in the press is resolved, the problem of unemployment will continue. The Nine Lights system, which is our party's view, cannot tolerate intellectual workers being squeezed like lemons, their essence extracted, and then dismissed from their jobs. In this regard, I would like to state that we will always stand by our intellectual workers, who have always had an honourable place in the creation of a Nationalist Turkey.

The Nationalist Movement also views it as a requirement of the Nine Lights system that workers, particularly intellectual workers, should have a certain share in their workplaces through ballot boxes established at work, thereby receiving a share of the profits. In this way, labour-management disputes will be eliminated, and our nation's development efforts will progress at a rapid pace.

Our national press, particularly opinion journalism, should be protected by the government, as is the case in many Western countries. The press's paper, distribution and other technical issues must be addressed without fail, and the state must extend a generous hand to our press. In this way, foreign ideologies that seek to undermine the Turkish nation and state will be prevented from influencing members of the press. Furthermore, the authorities must pay close attention to the issue of providing press associations that serve the public interest with a means of publication. This will also greatly prevent the unemployment problem that sometimes arises as a result of crises in our press. Another issue concerning our press is the conversion of the sentences of intellectual workers convicted solely of press offences into fines. We wish to state that we stand by our press organisations on the issue of converting the sentences of intellectual workers convicted for various reasons, except those attempting to destroy our nation and state, into fines.

OUR WORKERS ABROAD AND THEIR ISSUES*

In accordance with decisions taken by the Governments of the Republic of Turkey at the request of various foreign states, workers have been sent abroad for more than 15 years, with the number reaching around 700,000 in 1971. Although the work of our workers abroad is carried out by the Ministry of Labour and its affiliated organisations, despite the fact that contacts made with our workers in Germany, the Netherlands and other countries at various times as a citizen and a member of parliament, and the reports compiled on their problems, were submitted to the competent authorities in a timely manner, to date, the demands of our workers employed abroad have not been met in any way. I travelled abroad in October to respond to their latest invitation. As a result of my contacts,

1 — Our workers employed abroad shall have equal rights with workers from other countries who come to work in Germany, Belgium and other countries.

* This is a motion submitted to the Presidency of the National Assembly on 1 December 1971 for the examination of the situation of our workers abroad.

It has become clear as a result of investigations into the complaints and documents they do not possess.

2 — Although several of our Ministers of Labour and other Ministers travelled abroad on various dates to identify the problems of our workers abroad and address their causes, and supposedly to remedy these shortcomings, no results have been achieved from these inspection trips to date, and the situation of our workers abroad has worsened.

3 — When our workers abroad return home on leave, those arriving by road are subjected to unspeakable torture at border posts and customs offices. The items they bring as gifts for their families, purchased with the money they have earned through hard work, are confiscated even though they are not in excess of the allowed quantity and are not subject to customs duties. Illegal offers are made to recover these gifts, and some customs officersofficials are thus obtaining illegal benefits from our workers. Indeed, as reported by some of our workers, when they arrive at the border, they are given a receipt stating that some of these gifts are subject to customs duty and are told to return in two days. When these workers return to customs two days later, the officials who issued the receipt claim that the original receipt does not exist and that they cannot accept this-buzu cannot be accepted and that no goods were delivered to the customs administration in exchange for this receipt, claiming that customs operations were carried out with fake receipts and that our workers were also harmed in this way.

4 — Our workers abroad complain that the money they send to their relatives in Turkey does not reach its destination on time. For example, one of our workers in Germany states that money he sent to a relative in Turkey only reached its destination after 3-4 months, and that because the money arrived late, his bond was not paid on time and his house was sold as a result. This worker proved in his application to the relevant German postal authority that the money had been sent to Turkey on time, and it was determined that these remittances reached the worker's family late due to the negligence of the PTT.

5 — Some of our representatives serving abroad are neglecting their duties and failing to deal with our workers as required. Our workers are kept waiting for hours at consulate doors, and as a result

they are receiving less than their daily wages from their places of work and suffering losses. Furthermore, although the holidays of the countries where they work do not concern Turkey, our consulates are closed on Turkish national and religious holidays, as well as on holidays of foreign countries that do not concern us, and by not performing their duties, they are neglecting the affairs of our workers. Again, in the same vein, while religious officials such as imams and preachers are required to perform their duties in places where our workers are concentrated, it has been observed with regret that these individuals are assigned clerical duties at consulates and do not perform their duties.

6 — The situation of our female workers employed abroad is heartbreaking. Not only is there no authority protecting these workers, but our female workers are left to fend for themselves, and their circumstances are causing family relationships in our country to deteriorate day by day. Without undergoing a long period of preparation to develop self-discipline, our female workers are thrown into a very different social environment, causing them to struggle.

7 — Approximately seven hundred thousand of our workers employed abroad are working and living together with their families, estimated to be around one hundred thousand, in their places of work. It is the natural right of the children of these workers to be educated alongside our children in Turkey, with the same rights to education. Unfortunately, due to the indifference of governments, these children are left to their own devices, with no teachers sent to them, and as a result, these young ones are deprived of national education.

8— The fact that our workers abroad are thousands of kilometres away from their homeland, that Turkish radio stations are technically inadequate, and that there is no central organisation for the distribution of Turkish newspapers, forces our workers to follow the propaganda-like Turkish broadcasts of radio stations behind the Iron Curtain. The fact that these broadcasts by German radio stations, which are aimed at other groups of foreign workers, are not applied to our workers creates a feeling of inferiority among them.

9— Although our workers abroad earn billions of lira, they deposit this money in German banks, and only a small amount comes to Turkey. When asked why, our workers often say that there is no exchange rate between the currency they earn and the Turkish lira.

It is argued that the existence of exchange rate differences and the resulting formalities imposed by our banks, coupled with the failure to provide guidance to workers within the framework of plans prepared in Turkey to transform their savings into a useful source of foreign exchange for Turkey and to channel these into productive investment projects, are contributing factors.

10— As a result of various contacts we have made with our workers abroad, our workers are distressed that they cannot participate in elections held in our countryThey report that workers from other countries working in the same place as them participate in elections in their home countries and demand that the right to vote and be elected, granted to citizens by the Constitution, be applied in the same way even abroad.

Trade Unions and Workplace Democracy

Labour is the most precious, most sacred element of production; we will introduce Single and Compulsory Trade Unionism in order to fully grant our workers their rights and defend their interests. Every worker shall be a member of the single trade union established in their sector of employment. Freedom can only be achieved through unity and solidarity. Unity is strength. We have a beautiful proverb: The wolf will catch the lamb that strays from the flock. We will not let our workers fall prey to the wolves. Our workers will organise within their unions and obtain their rights. In our country today, every person of means is required to be a member of their professional organisation. A factory owner cannot work or do business unless he joins the Chamber of Industry, a merchant cannot unless he joins the Chamber of Commerce, a farmer cannot unless he joins the Chamber of Agriculture, a lawyer cannot unless he joins the Bar Association, a doctor cannot unless he joins the Medical Association, and an engineer or architect cannot unless he joins the Chamber of Engineers and Architects. In contrast, our workers are not obliged to join trade unions. They call this freedom. This is not freedom, but a trap of exploitation and oppression. It is the protection of capital and the abandonment of labour. When a worker is required to join a single, compulsory trade union, that is freedom. So, are factory owners, merchants, farmers, lawyers or doctors prisoners? Why are no songs of freedom sung for them?

National Single Trade Unionism

A significant portion of our nation consists of workers. As our country develops, the number of workers will increase further. Therefore, our state, which should be a national service and

welfare state, must first and foremost protect and regulate the social and economic interests of patriotic Turkish workers. Let us state immediately that it is impossible for an unorganised group to defend its interests and escape exploitation. The greatest strength lies in establishing one's own organisation and becoming a member of it. Strength comes from unity. Workers who remain outside of unity and organisation are doomed to exploitation today. To prevent this, the PRINCIPLE OF SINGLE UNIONISM MUST BE ACCEPTED in the Constitution, which is expected to be amended in the near future.

In every sector of work, a trade union should be established under the protection of the law, and our workers should be made members of their trade unions. Modern democracies are democracies of institutions and organisations. However, for an institution or organisation to achieve its purpose of establishment and existence, it must be endowed with the necessary strength and capital. Organisation, especially the organisation of workers, means that all persons with the same interests come together in one way or another within the same organisation. To exclude a worker from his union is to destroy the organisation of our workers in advance. It is highly beneficial to reiterate this point: Freedom means having power, strength, and property. Everyone who is not subject to external pressures, orders, or interference from others is free. Since freedom means strength, only a union that is organised and able to gather its members within the organisation can ensure the freedom of workers.

Some people object to workers uniting under a single trade union. According to them, a single trade union is contrary to freedom. This view is flawed and problematic in two respects. Firstly, in our country today, all social groups other than workers and peasants, particularly professions and classes such as factory owners, merchants, industrialists, large farmers, lawyers, doctors, and engineers, are subject to the principle of a single organisation in terms of unionisation. Since individuals belonging to these groups are compelled to become members of a single union or organisation, either the single organisation is highly beneficial, which is why self-employed professionals and employers have been forced down this path, or the single organisation is contrary to democracy and freedom. In that case, why have individuals been deprived of their freedoms?

Since a single trade union and a single organisation system are contrary to freedom, why then have some citizens been forced into such an organisation? Since the laws that compel them into this single organisation have not been repealed, we are faced with the following conclusion: our laws have made part of our nation slaves and part free. At the forefront of those made free are OUR WORKERS. Such an interpretation

Believing this would be naive. On the contrary, the mentality that directs employers to a single organisation and workers to multiple organisations is a mentality that exploits the weak even more, makes the poor poorer and the rich richer. The Nationalist Movement opposes this view and attitude. It believes that a single organisation will make our workers stronger, defends the principle of single trade unionism, and proposes the idea of single trade unionism as a constitutional amendment.

Workers' Savings and Investment Funds

The Nationalist Movement wants our development to be based on our national resources and capabilities. Turks will develop Turkey. While not being hostile to foreigners, we believe that you cannot grind flour with carried water. For this reason, we envisage the establishment of a WORKERS' SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT FUND to meet the savings and investment requirements of development, and we will also propose our view as a constitutional amendment.

A certain amount will be deducted from each worker's wages every month and paid into the workers' savings and investment fund. Like drops forming a lake, the money accumulated in this fund will amount to large sums. We will apply the same method to the other five social segments that make up our nation. These segments are the Peasants, Tradesmen, Civil Servants, Freelancers and Employers. Adding the Worker segment to this, we arrive at 6 SOCIAL SEGMENTS. This is the path we will take to benefit from the NATIONAL ECONOMY in the development of our Turkey. Thus, without needing foreign assistance, we will reach the level of European countries within 30-40 years and ESTABLISH A GREAT AND NATIONALIST TURKEY.

Worker Factories

As mentioned above, we will use the large sums of money collected in the Workers' Savings and Investment Unions **to establish** the factories necessary for the development of our country. The development of a country
development is only possible through the construction of large factories. At the forefront of large factories comes THE FACTORY THAT BUILDS FACTORIES. We will establish a basic factory and produce new factories every day. As a result, our Turkey will become industrialised and developed in a short time, and then

our valuable workers will be spared from having to go to Europe to work alongside others or beg from foreigners.

OUR WORKERS WILL OWN THESE ESTABLISHED FACTORIES.

We will not allow anyone to take away anyone else's rights. We will not allow anyone to enrich themselves with other people's money. Our workers will become the owners of the factory, built with their sweat and savings. Each worker will receive shares in proportion to the money they have paid into the fund and will become a partner in these factories. In this way, our workers will become property owners while also becoming partners in the profits of these factories. Ultimately, every worker will become wealthy and achieve a dignified life with their spouse and children. This is what we understand by nationalism.

Workers Will Receive a Share of the Workplace's Profits and Participate in Management

In cases where our workers are not partners in the factory where they work, as described above, they will participate in the management and annual profits of the workplace. About JOINT MANAGEMENT, JOINT PROFITS and JOINT OWNERSHIP

We will propose this idea we have put forward as an article in the constitutional amendment. WE REJECT THE OPPRESSION OF LABOUR BY CAPITAL AND THE DOMINANCE OF CAPITAL IN NATIONALIST TURKEY. WE INSIST ON LABOUR-CAPITAL BALANCE AND PEACE, LABOUR-CAPITAL BROTHERHOOD. WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM THAT ENSLAVES HUMANITY AND THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM THAT ENSLAVES ALL HUMANITY. OUR IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM IS A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM BASED ON THE NINE LIGHTS.

The Right to Strike and Collective Bargaining

It is unthinkable to restrict the right to collective bargaining and strike, which are social bargaining and pressure tools for protecting the social and economic interests of workers and improving their living conditions. In today's capitalist system, which does not grant workers the right to share in the ownership, management, profits, and property of the workplace where they labour, collective bargaining and, in particular, the right to strike provide opportunities for social defence and resistance. If these rights are restricted, workers will have no choice but to be exploited in servitude to capital. Getting rich off someone else's back

We do not recognise it. We do not want the exploitation of sacred labour, which is part of human personality. We do not approve of the mentality that privileges capital and condemns labour. We cannot allow others to become rich through the sweat of our workers' brows.

For the reasons explained above, we do not agree with the idea of restricting the right to strike in the Constitution. Such a restriction serves no purpose other than to bring about an excessive system of exploitation. The greatest enemy of exploitation is nationalism. Exploiting Turks for the benefit of Turks is contrary to Turkish nationalism, and no person or authority that creates opportunities for exploitation can claim to be a Turkish nationalist.

Agricultural Labour Law

For years, the failure to enact the Agricultural Labour Law, the Agricultural Workers' Social Insurance Institution, and the Agricultural Workers' Collective Bargaining and Strike Law, which would guarantee the employment and social security of agricultural workers—the most exploited and poorest segment of our country—remains a source of great injustice and misfortune. The Nationalist Movement wholeheartedly supports agricultural workers and wants these children of the nation to be provided with social and economic guarantees as soon as possible.

1. Educational Opportunities and Workers' Children

The Nationalist Movement Party is calling for the establishment of free WORKERS' SCHOOLS that will enable the children of workers to receive primary, secondary and higher education. In these schools, the children of patriotic Turkish workers will have the opportunity and chance to study, thus preventing the anonymous architects of tomorrow's GREAT TURKEY from being wasted due to lack of opportunity.

The Nationalist Movement invites the esteemed Turkish workers to join the NATIONALIST TURKEY and the IDEALIST WORKERS' FRONT...

Turkish Worker and Nationalist Movement

The Nationalist Movement holds the utmost respect for human personality. Our most important cause is to enable the Turkish people, and under their leadership all humanity, to attain their true personality. Labour is one of the most valuable and inseparable parts of this human personality. We oppose capitalist and communist systems that do not value labour in this way and view it as a commodity, an object separate from human personality. Labour is not a commodity, it is human.

If a person is viewed as a machine, then the exploitation of that person begins. More production is demanded from the machine at any cost, and when it becomes useless, it is discarded and thrown away. However, man is the most honourable of all creatures. And he is not a machine. The Nationalist Movement is the movement of those who will give man and his sacred labour its true value.

In any country, employment or working life requires, above all else, the existence of a tripartite relationship and order between employees, employers and the state. When we talk about working life, the first thing that comes to mind is employees and employers. However, the reason why the state is also involved is the need for the state to play an effective and regulatory role in matters such as the protection of the workforce, the maintenance of social balance and social justice, and the reconciliation of interests in the direction of national interests. If employees and employers are left to struggle to secure group interests in a free field without state control, and if this struggle is left open to destructive forces and currents conducive to the formation of class consciousness, national unity and solidarity will be lost, and our state will collapse. National interests take precedence over all individual and group interests. It is the fair hand of the state that will ensure this.

In order to achieve a just peace between labour and capital, both elements must be organised. However, this organisation must be kept free from ideological principles that would foster class consciousness and foster hostility towards other groups; it must constitute a constructive level of the national unity hierarchy. While working life is regulated in the form of workers' and employers' unions, neither will be given the opportunity or chance to dominate the other. Workers' unions are not only organisations that seek to improve workers' wages and social rights within the bounds of justice, but also organisations that represent the responsibilities of the working class in accordance with the requirements of national development plans.

We are a country that needs and aspires to industrialise rapidly. In this regard, the already large number of workers will increase significantly in the coming years. It is natural that labour issues will become more complex and diverse in parallel with this increase. To cope with these burdensome problems, all workers must unite under a single trade union umbrella. Workers who are not organised or who remain outside of organisations are doomed to exploitation. The Nationalist Movement demands that measures be taken to ensure that no worker remains unorganised.

One of the most significant problems facing our country today is unemployment. The root cause of this problem, which weak governments hope to solve by exporting workers, lies in the failure to industrialise at the desired pace. Considering that the vast majority of workers going abroad are skilled labourers, it is clear that labour exportation will not solve this problem, not only because of the cultural and moral problems it will bring, but also from a purely economic point of view. The solutions for comprehensive national development and rapid industrialisation lie with the Nationalist Movement, which is the only force capable of uniting the nation around a single principle. In addition to unemployment, hidden unemployment, particularly in the agricultural sector, is also a very important problem. In our country, an agricultural worker works an average of only 119 full working days per year. Considering the large proportion of our population in the agricultural sector, it is easy to understand how this situation causes a loss of strength. It is necessary to transfer the idle labour force in the agricultural sector to the industrial sector as soon as possible and to open up new areas of employment. It is imperative that the industrial sector find jobs for our unemployed, even absorbing those who are effectively hidden unemployed in the agricultural sector. In this respect, the growth rate of non-agricultural sectors is not sufficient to resolve the issue.

The health, nutrition and housing conditions of Turkish workers are also inadequate. It is a very sad situation for the Turkish nation that we have still not taken even the most basic steps to address these issues, which are now long behind the advanced nations of the world. The Nationalist Movement aims to ensure the best possible health, nutrition and housing conditions for our workers without delay. Furthermore, resolving the issues of worker participation in management and profit sharing will be a great source of strength for the Turkish labour movement.

It is natural that a nationalist government will base these rights on a more equitable foundation and reconcile them with national interests. We do not believe that there are Turkish workers who would set the place on fire solely for class interests and who would put their personal interests above national interests, and we will always fight against harmful currents that irresponsibly undermine existing rights in the face of the integrity of the state and the nation.

Our workers suffer not only from economic insecurity but also from a lack of occupational safety. The infrequent and theoretical seminars organised by trade unions are insufficient, and there has been no reduction in the rate of workplace accidents. On-the-job training must be a top priority. A comprehensive training plan must be prepared, and training for workers on other matters

The Nationalist Movement considers this issue to be one of the state's obligations and responsibilities.

Disputes over whether certain service providers should be classified as civil servants or workers, the problems faced by service providers who were retired as civil servants but later reclassified as workers and whose status needs to be rectified, the unresolved issue of workers' seniority compensation, and all matters concerning retired workers are also causes championed by the Nationalist Movement. We consider it our duty to put an end to this complex and unjust situation as soon as possible. We also condemn the CHP government once again for depriving the rights of nearly 200,000 workers by classifying them as civil servants during their time in power.

Our workers' wages are low. Struggling to make ends meet with wages that do not keep pace with rising prices, the hard-working Turkish worker is in a very poor state compared to workers in advanced countries. We consider it the right of our workers to have a dignified life, befitting the Turkish people, filled with material and spiritual wealth. The nationalist government will achieve this.

POPULATION POLICY, BIRTH CONTROL

NATIONAL POPULATION POLICY

Considering the size and productivity of our land, our population is low. Turkey's land is rich enough to comfortably support a hundred million people. This is not an opinion or a claim, but a scientifically proven fact.

Another situation is that our neighbouring countries are encouraging population growth, and their growth rates are steadily increasing. What are Turkish governments doing in response to this? Our governments, which are unable to satisfy our current population, appear to have accepted the principle of "birth control".

According to this view, our population growth will be controlled, and in this way, the per capita income level will increase or at least not decrease. This is nothing more than the administrators admitting and declaring their own incompetence. While all countries encourage their populations to grow, we consider Turkey's implementation of population control to be deliberate.

Who is helping with population control today? We are receiving foreign aid for this purpose. An aid organisation from a state in America is sending us incentive grants for this work. Is this because they love us so much? Are there no other motives behind this?

Hidden behind this is the fear of an industrialised, prosperous Turkey that produces its own atomic energy. If these nations truly love us, they should provide this aid not to restrict our population but to strengthen our economic situation.

The birth control being implemented by the government in our country is actually a betrayal, an assassination attempt on the existence of the Turkish nation, its future and the future of the Turkish race.

The main goal of this policy, carried out under the name of birth control or population planning, is to render the Turkish nation powerless and helpless.

Turkey's enemies deceive government officials with the lie of "birth control" because they do not want a strong Turkey with a population of 100 million that Anatolia can easily feed and support. Turkey is not India, China, Japan, America or Russia. The large populations of these nations are a problem both for themselves and for the world. But Turkey's situation does not create such a problem. Forty years ago, when our population was 13 million, there were 17 people per square kilometre, and the greatest need was population. Today, our primary need is still population. In the Netherlands and Belgium, there are 300 people per square kilometre. Based on this ratio, Turkey's land could accommodate at least 150 million people.

It is a very misguided policy to increase national income by preventing population growth. The welfare of the people is ensured by scientifically exploiting the country's underground and above-ground resources and by making use of human labour without wasting it.

The growth of the Turkish nation constitutes a major driving force for economic development. This has been the case in all developed countries. I should also point out that birth control is contrary to both Islam and our national interests, as well as being contrary to science.

For every Turkish woman who undergoes birth control, doctors and nurses are paid premiums with money obtained from foreign sources. As with other movements and behaviours originating abroad, we have determined that this initiative constitutes an assassination and betrayal of the Turkish nation's national existence and future.

Birth control is not practised in neighbouring nations around Turkey, in the Balkans, or in Israel and Iran. In this situation, the fact that birth control, which aims to reduce Turkey's population, is persistently continued here is a very painful reality that must be given serious consideration.

The population planning currently enforced by law in our country is extremely harmful to our nation. In recent years, all nations that have developed industrially and economically have also experienced significant population growth. It is as if their population growth has accelerated their industrialisation and development. Given this, it is not appropriate to attempt to prevent the growth of our population.

Finally, let me remind you that the population reduction policy carried out in Turkey under the guise of "birth control," which also threatens the health of thousands of Turkish women, is unnecessary. For our security and our development, it is essential that our population increases rapidly.

A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE OF NINE LIGHTS

Our view of collectivism is that in a society, each individual who makes up that society should be a separate owner of property. For this reason, the National Doctrine has adopted the principle of spreading ownership to all citizens, to the public. To this end, each social segment will have a savings fund, a savings organisation. In savings funds such as OYAK, which has been established in our country today, and MEYAK, which is being established, the savings collected from each citizen according to their means will generate investments to be made by the national sector. The owners of these investments will be the people who made these savings. Factories and facilities established through shares will be the property of the citizens who made these savings. Thus, every citizen will be granted property rights, and property ownership will be widespread. This is the economic model envisaged by Dokuz Işık. In addition, there is a need to embark on rapid, large-scale investments for Turkey's development. The need to embark on rapid, large-scale investments requires a large accumulation of capital. Today, we know that in Turkey, not only is there no large capital accumulation, but there is not even a normal level of capital accumulation. So, how can this large capital accumulation be achieved and secured in order to make rapid, large **investments**? The ways envisaged by Dokuz Işık to achieve this are as follows:

As announced in the national sector, the Turkish nation will be encouraged to save, and these savings will be pooled to create large capital reserves.

Secondly, the utilisation of the people's unused labour. The mobilisation of the people's energy will be pursued. Today, there are over 2 million unemployed people in Turkey. These are the openly unemployed. In addition, there are 8 million underemployed.

There is also hidden unemployment. Thus, in total, 10 million of our people are unemployed for two-thirds of the year. In other words, the labour of 10 million Turkish citizens is not being utilised. We know that unless human labour is valued in relation to time, it is an asset that cannot be preserved, stored and used when needed due to the passage of time. For this reason, human labour must be valued in a timely, scientific and efficient manner. What does it mean that the labour of ten million of our people is not valued for two-thirds of the year? If we assume that a person's daily wage is one hundred lira, the value of the labour of ten million people is one billion Turkish lira. If we calculate this for one month, it amounts to thirty billion lira. If we calculate this for a year, it amounts to three hundred and sixty billion lira. This means that if we assume these people are unemployed for eight months, we see that Turkey suffers a loss of two hundred and forty billion lira per year because it fails to value its people's labour. However, if we can mobilise human energy, the labour of our citizens, which represents an annual value of two hundred and forty billion, will make a major contribution to Turkey's development. This is precisely what the National Doctrine aims to achieve. In addition, we are faced with the necessity of determining priorities in ensuring Turkey's development. The governments that have ruled Turkey to date have either erred in determining these priorities or have failed to consider them at all.

Turkey's rapid development, prosperity and strengthening can only be achieved through modern industry and modern agriculture. Therefore, investments must be directed primarily towards achieving this. It is necessary to rapidly organise and modernise all of Turkey's agriculture and to concentrate investments towards rapidly industrialising Turkey. It is not right to invest in areas that do not contribute to this. These should be left for later. What could be an example? For example: activities such as constructing ornate buildings, opera houses, and sports halls. This should not be interpreted as meaning that we are against sports activities or against artistic activities or theatre activities. However, it is necessary to first carry out activities that will increase Turkish production, multiply Turkey's production, and thereby increase Turkey's income and economic power. Once income is secured and prosperity is achieved, it becomes much easier to carry out such development activities. These should be

We advocate the view that they should be put in order. In other words, we refer to investments that do not immediately contribute to the economy and do not increase production as dead investments. To develop Turkey, it is necessary to avoid dead investments. By dead investment, we mean ventures that do not immediately generate increased production or income for the Turkish economy from the capital invested. We are opposed to this. We consider it a mistake. In addition, the country's many natural resources must be rapidly exploited.

One of the measures that must be taken for Turkey's rapid development is to mobilise and evaluate our natural resources as quickly as possible. In addition, we believe that the state should take vigorous measures in various economic activities and foreign trade matters.

The principles we uphold in collectivism can be explained in three separate sections:

Private Enterprise

Private enterprise shall be supported and protected in the development of society. However, in this regard, it is essential that the rights of both employers and employees are mutually protected and that the relations between these two parties are controlled, regulated and supervised in a manner that does not harm the nation. In other words, our principle is to protect and support private enterprise; our aim is to encourage and promote it. However, in doing so, we insist on the principle that employer-employee relations must be supported, regulated and supervised in a manner that protects the rights of both parties and ensures that their relations do not harm the nation.

The Merger of Small Capital

There are many major tasks that need to be accomplished in our country. We hold the view that, in order to achieve these, the small savings held by the people should be encouraged, regulated and organised by the state, and combined to enable the people to become shareholders in large economic ventures. Small savings held by individuals, for example, ten thousand or twenty thousand people, can be pooled together to form large capital, and this capital can be used to establish large facilities.

How will this be achieved? Our people are accustomed to this. Encouraging, accustoming, emboldening, organising and spearheading the people will be among the duties of the state. In addition to this, many other major tasks must be undertaken and accomplished directly by the state. Even in the most capitalist countries, such as America today, there are some major tasks that are carried out entirely by the state. These are, for example, tasks that require large organisations and incur large expenses, such as atomic and missile research and scientific research. We do not hold the view that these should be entirely taken on and planned by the state and achieved rapidly.

Social Assistance and Security Organisation

This is the view that a social welfare and security organisation should be established to encompass the Turkish nation. Today, the Turkish nation is socially disorganised and fragmented. In the past, it had certain social ties and social institutions. These have been dispersed and destroyed. For example, there used to be foundations and neighbourhood committees. There were certain social and economic organisations that were appropriate for the conditions of the time. There were guilds, which also had social functions. These have disappeared over time.

Today, it is necessary to reorganise the nation. One of the foremost tasks is to establish a social assistance and social security organisation that encompasses the entire population. In other words, no one in Turkey should be left without support, assistance, protection, or employment, nor should they live in fear of such a fate. If the head of a family dies, the children and family must be immediately protected by this organisation. If the children are to be educated, they must be educated and continue their studies. Their family must be provided with work. An organisation must be established to address all these problems. Without such an organisation, great injustices and great tragedies occur in society, and such a situation undermines the health of the nation. In many places, you yourselves probably encounter such incidents. We hold the view that establishing such an organisation to prevent these issues is fundamental. In other words, everyone in society will know that everyone's social security is guaranteed. Need a job? Apply, and you will be given work. Illness? You will receive treatment. Education? Your child will be provided with educational opportunities.

Furthermore, health and justice security is another matter we consider to be essential. That is, when a case becomes a matter for the courts, citizens should be able to easily obtain the assistance they need, such as a solicitor, court costs and other necessary expenses. The current situation, where those with money can easily find multiple lawyers, pay for witnesses and comfortably benefit from legal opportunities, while those without money are deprived of these and unable to protect their rights, must be eliminated. Furthermore, the conditions in prisons and detention centres must be reformed in a manner befitting humanity, and citizens who end up there must be granted full equality of opportunity, while the dignity of citizens who are still defendants must be protected.

Another important aspect encompassed by our principle of collectivism is this:

The Turkish nation has suffered great neglect, hardship and calamity over the centuries, and as a result, the people and peasants in particular are distrustful and hopeless towards intellectuals and those who come to guide and help them; in other words, they are pessimistic. We see the clearest example of this in our songs and ballads. As a result of this constant pessimism, the ability of our people to take action and make great strides has been stifled. This needs to be addressed. In order to accomplish our great tasks and realise our grand designs, we must mobilise the energy of the people. We must awaken the people. To awaken the people, we must mobilise the fine arts with this understanding. We must first instil joy, a zest for life, and enthusiasm in people. We must instil excitement. People who feel hope and enthusiasm can work tirelessly; they can demonstrate energy. People who fall into despair and pessimism lose their appetite for life. They lose their drive to work. We have heard this many times in our own lives and understood that when we are sad, we have no desire to work. This is one of the important remedies we will resort to for the development of the Turkish nation. We must use art and our cultural activities to inspire the people, to give them hope, pleasure and joy, and thus to mobilise the energy of the people and create movement.

For this reason, we state as a principle that art shall be used for the benefit of society. It shall be mobilised for the benefit of society. We should harness this wasted public energy (since the majority of our people work for three and a half months a year, and the remaining eight and a half months this energy is wasted) and use it to solve our erosion problem and address major issues such as reforestation, irrigation and road construction. As an example, we can point to the 400 million wild olive trees in the region stretching from the Gulf of Izmit

to Iskenderun. All of these trees could be made productive at a cost of 150-200 million lira. The value of a grafted tree today is around 1,000 lira. In other words, as a result of an agricultural campaign, it is possible to increase the value of 400 million trees, which are currently worth nothing, to 400 billion Turkish lira.

Meanwhile, teaching and demonstrating handicrafts and arts and crafts that will enable the public to make good use of their free time, opening courses that will increase literacy and culture, and organising everything in such a way that not a single minute is wasted are other matters that we have incorporated into our principle of communitarianism.

National Spirit

In a world where giants battle, we find ourselves surrounded by great dangers. For years, those who have governed the country have neglected the fundamental issues that would uplift and save the nation, instead preoccupying themselves with displays of vanity and empty boasts. Instead of adopting the technology and modern mass production methods of Western civilisation, they have increased the nation's consumption by imitating the lifestyle of the European upper classes, based on luxury and waste.

The fundamental principles that constitute the development and strength of a nation are to achieve the highest level of knowledge and technology with a firm faith and sound morals, and at the same time to produce mass quantities suitable for the era, both in agriculture and industry. Given this, the first step in developing Turkey must be to start every endeavour with steel, producing goods that meet global standards and are cost-competitive on the world market. With today's meagre capital, outdated machinery and high costs, it is impossible for us to win the economic race we have entered. We must establish modern industry and large factories... We must create large institutions arising from small savings, similar to the Army Mutual Aid Association, and establish fully integrated institutions (complete institutions) from raw material sources to product marketing. This should be achieved by pooling the small savings of teachers, civil servants, workers, tradesmen, and peasants in institutions led by the state, thereby enabling large-scale ventures.

Economic units in villages and towns (to be organised as national production cooperatives) and these cooperatives will eliminate the usurer class by marketing national production, thereby creating employment opportunities and surplus income. This

surplus income will provide the main capital for heavy industry, and the national production cooperatives will ensure the organisation and management of the enterprise.

The Turkish economy will be freed from import fraud, Turkish industry from piecework assembly, and our exports from selling snails and snacks. The Turkish economy will be freed from the stranglehold of usurious banks, and everything will be geared towards production.

Today, the narrow shell in which we are imprisoned will thus crack, and the labour, energy and intelligence of the Turkish nation, combined with the resources of the Turkish homeland, will gain considerable significance in the world.

Today, the parasites clinging to the veins of the national economy will be eliminated of their own accord, and an honourable and dignified method of trade, which delivers the product to those in need, will emerge in place of the illegitimate, uneconomic and unethical trade practices carried out through quota grants, licence rewards and allocation favouritism.

As the Nationalist Movement Party, we will definitely establish heavy industry. However, we will establish industrial and agricultural cities that complement each other. We will make uncultivated land productive, change inheritance law, and prevent the division of cultural land. We will benefit Turkish tradespeople and Turkish villagers through national production cooperatives. Workers in every sector will join a single, brand-new trade union organisation and will be part of large consumer cooperatives. We will eradicate non-national economies and the usurious class from the life of the nation.

There is a path to progress that will liberate people from the bondage of capital or the state and will be based on the Turkish-Islamic ideal. This path is the Nine Lights path opened by the Nationalist Movement Party. The views of capitalism and communism derive their foundation and momentum entirely from the material world. Eastern views and thought, on the other hand, have completely forgotten the material world and are based on meaning. Western countries achieved material progress, but did not bring peace to humanity. The East, on the other hand, regressed and sank into the quagmire of poverty and ignorance. The new view that combines matter and meaning, embracing both, is the Nine Lights view presented by the Nationalist Movement Party.

5 - SCIENTIFICITY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Today, major advances in science have opened up boundless horizons of progress and happiness for humanity. The prosperity and strength of a country depend, above all, on the people living in that country having reached an advanced level in science and technology. A nation's military power is also dependent on its scientific and technical strength and its level of civilisation. No matter how heroic the people of a country lagging behind in science and technology may be, it is impossible for them to be strong in terms of national defence and military power. For these reasons, when considering the development of Turkey, we must make great progress in science and technology in order to ensure that the Turkish nation rapidly achieves prosperity, happiness and a strong existence.

To this end, it is imperative to cultivate world-class, highly qualified scientists and technicians in order to rapidly elevate Turkey to the highest level in science and technology, swiftly establish a modern industry, and modernise its agriculture. Unless human resources of this calibre are cultivated, it will not be possible for Turkey to rapidly advance in science and technology, establish a modern industry, or modernise its agriculture. To this end, Turkey must first select the most talented young people from among those in education, provide them with extensive educational opportunities, and rapidly establish a cadre of world-class scientists and technicians in every field. Whether in mathematics, physics, chemistry, agricultural sciences, or social sciences, training world-class and highly talented scientists and forming a cadre of scientists sufficient to develop Turkey is a matter of primary importance for Turkey. Until now, Turkey has

The ruling powers have muddled this issue. For Turkey, opening secondary schools and high schools in every town and multiplying schools everywhere is not enough to solve Turkey's problems. It is imperative to identify priorities. When we consider priorities, the first priority in ensuring Turkey's development is to attach importance to establishing a cadre of high-level, competent and superior quality scientists and technicians. This is the primary priority. Once such a cadre is established, Turkey will be able to rapidly acquire modern industry and modernise its agriculture thanks to the existence of this cadre. And thanks to this superior, elite cadre of scientists, Turkey will have gained great strength in science and technology. I consider it very necessary to point this out.

In addition, it is necessary to address National Education and to develop a plan that will enable National Education to rapidly transform Turkey into one of the most advanced countries in the world in terms of science and technology, and to carry out National Education activities accordingly. The four main objectives of National Education should be outlined. These objectives can be stated as follows: Firstly, it should aim to raise Turkish people, regardless of their age, as individuals who are conscious of the history of the Turkish nation, conscious of Turkish traditions, and imbued with the nationalist sentiments and spiritual values of the Turkish nation. This should be the primary objective of national education. It should be to raise Turkish people as exemplary members of the Turkish nation, who embody all the qualities of the Turkish nation and have internalised its common characteristics. Raising our people as naked beings, unaware of their own history, traditions, customs, and spiritual values, constitutes a great weakness of our country.

Second objective: National Education should set its goals according to the social and economic needs of the Turkish nation and educate the Turkish people accordingly. The social and economic needs of the Turkish nation must first be identified. That is, how many doctors, chemists, engineers, senior engineers, mechanical engineers, teachers, lathe operators, and polishers are needed for Turkey to establish modern industry, for Turkey to establish modern agriculture, and for the Turkish society to develop? these must be determined very carefully and scientifically, and the social and economic needs of Turkish society must be met.

Accordingly, the objectives of National Education should be identified, schools should be established accordingly, organisational structures should be set up accordingly, and students should be admitted to these schools accordingly, so that Turkish citizens can be educated and raised in line with these objectives.

The third goal of National Education: The fundamental principle should be to educate the Turkish people to live without being a burden on society, to grow up as productive individuals, and to contribute to society.

It is very harmful and dangerous for our country to raise people who are burdened with unnecessary knowledge from schools and who have their eyes fixed on government positions, pursuing civil service careers. It is of great importance to raise Turkish people to be productive, to raise them to contribute to Turkish society, to raise them to be knowledgeable and capable in this way, and to raise them with this spirit, this understanding, and this mentality.

Fourth objective: Today, the importance of technology and technical knowledge has increased dramatically worldwide. For this reason, Turkish children must be educated with a focus on technical training. Turkish children should be educated in a way that will enable them to achieve the development that Turkey needs. Science and technology strengthen and empower nations, regardless of their size or circumstances, in relation to other nations. For this reason, this issue is also of vital importance for the Turkish nation.

Every event we encounter, every issue brought before us, every task we see must be viewed with a realistic eye, free from prejudice and preconceived notions, and judged and evaluated with a scientific mindset.

We will set aside all kinds of preconceived notions. We will follow the scientific method when examining every event. What is this? Observation, investigation, research, analysis, experimentation, and finding positive results. Therefore, when considering all events and attitudes related to national issues, the principle we will apply to reach the most accurate conclusion will be the scientific method and scientific mentality, and we will accept scientific leadership as our **guide** in all our activities. We have found it very beneficial to take this as the basis of our view. Because often, many people come forward with preconceptions and ulterior motives at the outset, and from the very first moment, they conduct their reasoning and block the paths to reaching the correct conclusion. That is why we are scientific. What we mean by scientific is what we have stated above.

When examining events, we must employ a scientific mindset and scientific methods, and accept science as our guide in all our endeavours. We will accept only science, positive science, as our guide.

OUR CENTURY AND IMPERIALISM

From the earliest days when organised human communities first appeared on Earth to the present day, it is a historical fact that powerful nations and communities have exploited weaker peoples and nations, oppressing them by establishing military, economic, and cultural hegemony over them.

This situation, which we call "imperialism", continues to be practised in various forms in today's world, with weak and powerless states writhing under the military, economic or cultural subjugation of powerful and superpowers.

The most prevalent and rapidly developing form of imperialism in the 20th century is cultural imperialism. Developing in the form of cultural assault and invasion, this phenomenon exerts its influence on all elements of a society, starting with its intellectuals, thereby causing the economic and political exploitation of that society or accelerating existing exploitation. The primary goal of cultural imperialism is to create intellectuals who are alienated from their own values and the cultural characteristics of their nation, who are indifferent and selfish.

The second aspect, implemented as a consequence and necessity of cultural imperialism, is what we call new colonialism, neo-colonialism [78], which is the invasion of ideas and ideologies carried out especially among the youth and the intellectuals of the country. Thanks to this invasion carried out by powerful and superpowers that have made an idea or ideology their official view, and by international ideological organisations, a certain number of cultural and ideological slaves are emerging among the people of other countries. These people are, in a sense, these ideas and

78 **Neo-colonialism:** New Colonialism. A policy of attempting to gain political and economic hegemony over an independent country or region without colonising it. Imperial powers used to invade countries they previously regarded as "raw material deposits"; they forcibly seized the country's natural resources and ruled the country through a "Governor-General". Such countries were called "colonies". Nowadays, however, they establish hegemony by binding independent countries to themselves politically and economically.

They act as the vanguard of ideologies and the states that espouse them in that country.

Today, communism is the most organised and powerful cultural and ideological invasion and attack on the face of the earth. In our country, Turkey, the colonial intellectual types who are victims of neo-colonialism, that is, new colonialism, are unfortunately multiplying in parallel with developments around the world.

Here we are, we, the Turkish Nationalists, the Turkish Idealists, standing against this ideological and cultural assault and invasion launched against our homeland, waging the struggle that will save our homeland from becoming entirely colonised, from falling entirely into the lap of imperialism. With our ideas that are one hundred per cent local and national, with our ideology of Turkish Nationalism and our Nine Lights Doctrine, we stand against this movement of invasion. First, we will save our youth and our intellectuals from becoming colonial intellectuals and turn them into patriotic, nationalist Idealists, intellectuals who are symbols of self-sacrifice and dedication. Then, by establishing a Nationalist, Strong and Great Turkey, we will ensure that our country becomes a leading state, free from the influence of all forms of imperialism. The Nationalist Movement will fulfil its historical and national duty on this path.

SCIENCE, CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

SCIENCE AND CULTURE

It must be remembered that nations are like human beings. Just as a human being cannot live without a heart, brain, and blood, nations cannot live without a heart, brain, and blood. The heart of a nation is its culture; its brain is its political system; its blood is its economy. According to medical science, a human heart and brain can be transplanted into another person, but the recipient cannot survive for long, as the body rejects the transplant. If the simplest of living beings, the individual, cannot survive with the organs of another individual, how can one nation survive with the culture, economy and politics of another nation? Unfortunately, this simple truth has not been understood for years. Turkish culture, Turkish economic and political systems have been discarded, replaced by the cultures, economic and political systems of others. Meanwhile, it has somehow failed to be realised that it is a nation's own system that develops it. Nations cannot develop with foreign systems.

The Nationalist Movement arose from the necessity of establishing a devout and prosperous Turkey. The foundation of this great state is a NATIONALIST DOCTRINE based on Turkish culture and the Turkish understanding of economics and politics. The state we will establish will be based on national culture. National culture is a nation's way of life. National culture is the set of values that has emerged over centuries from the interactions between the members of a nation. When we speak of national culture, we think of a nation's religion, morality, law, customs, language, and art. It is with regret that we must note that today, many of these institutions have lost their national character. This is because they have been replaced by the cultural institutions of European nations. These institutions are based on the religious, moral, legal and political ideas of European people. The religion of European nations is Christianity; their morality is materialism; their legal and political systems are individualism. However, the religion of the Turks is Islam, the most perfect of religions.

Religion and morality, however, are Islamic morality and virtue. The law applied today is far from being Turkish law. This law has been taken from Switzerland, Germany and Italy. Likewise, our education system has been completely invaded by foreign cultures, and as a result, our intellectuals and our people, our parents and our children, our imams and our teachers have been turned into defenders of opposing cultures. In order to save ourselves from extinction, we must embrace our national culture once again and clothe ourselves in it. This culture is the GREAT TURKISH CULTURE, embellished by the Islamic Ideal and shaped by Turkish history. For these reasons, our government will implement a national cultural policy, TURKIFY cultural institutions from top to bottom, and NATIONALISE .

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

DEVELOPMENT

Now, I shall address a fundamental issue facing our country, one that we have yet to resolve despite our great efforts and countless sacrifices: As you know, for two hundred years, our Turkey has been suffering the pain of backwardness and yearning for an era of development. In pursuit of this goal, we have endured everything, even finding ourselves in a situation contrary to our historical tradition. So much so that, in order to prevent collapse, the Turkish nation has abandoned the world it pioneered and has not hesitated to become a follower, even an imitator, of a foreign world. Our administrators, politicians and intellectuals have seen Westernisation as the only solution for development. What do we have left after two hundred years of experience? What have we gained, and what have we lost in return? It would take too long to describe our material and spiritual losses. The short summary is as follows: Our underground and above-ground riches have been put at the service of other nations. Worse still, we have begun to stray from our national identity and lose our spiritual superiority. So what have we gained? We boldly ask this vital question, which for various reasons has not been dared to be asked or has been glossed over with soothing answers, and we give the answer without hesitation: we have wasted almost two hundred years and have not achieved even one per cent of what we could have done. We believe that this single, yet definitive example is sufficient to satisfy those with reason and conscience.

When we embarked on our Westernisation efforts, how far were we from the level of developed countries, and how far are we today? Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a positive answer to the above question without departing from the infallible standards of science and the findings of research. In other words, rather than decreasing, the gap between us and developed countries has widened. For example, France in the age of Napoleon III was two steps ahead of Sultan Aziz's Turkey, while de Gaulle's France in the era of Ecevit was five steps ahead of Turkey.

Napoleon's France was twice as advanced as Sultan Aziz's Turkey, while de Gaulle's France was five times more advanced than Turkey during the Ecevit era. With countless sacrifices, even millions of martyrs' blessed

79 **De Gaulle:** (22 November 1890 – 9 November 1970). French soldier and politician. His full name was Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle. At the beginning of World War II, he was promoted to brigadier general. Following France's defeat by Germany and its withdrawal from the war under very harsh terms, he went to London and launched the Free French Forces movement to resist the German occupation. He led the Free French Forces from 1940 to 1944 and became head of the French government after France's liberation from German occupation in 1944. He resigned from office in 1946, stating that the constitution of the Fourth Republic, established that year, did not grant sufficient powers to the head of state, and remained out of politics until 1958. Following the crises in France caused by the failures in the Algerian War of Independence and the First Indochina War, he returned to politics in 1958. He became the first president of the Fifth French Republic, which he helped establish. He resigned from office in 1969 and died in 1970.

80 **Bülent Evevit:** (25 May 1925 – 5 November 2006). He was born in Istanbul. He graduated from Istanbul American College in 1944. He studied English language and literature at Ankara University Faculty of Letters, and Sanskrit, Bengali, and art history at the University of London. In 1957, he spent eight months conducting research at Harvard University in the United States. In 1944, he joined the General Directorate of Press and Publications in Ankara as an English translator. Between 1946 and 1950, he worked at the Turkish Press Attaché Office in London. Between 1950 and 1960, he worked as a writer and editor-in-chief at the *Ulus* newspaper and, during the years when Ulus was closed, at the *Yeni Ulus* and *Halkçı* newspapers. In 1965, he wrote daily articles for the *Milliyet* newspaper. In the 1950s, he was part of the editorial staff of *Forum* magazine. He published the monthly *Özgür İnsan* in 1972*, the* weekly *Arayış* in 1981*, and* the monthly *Güvercin* magazine in 1988. Between 1957 and 1980, he was a member of parliament for the Republican People's Party, first from Ankara and then from Zonguldak. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1960-61 and served as Minister of Labour between 1961 and 1965. In 1966, he was appointed General Secretary of the CHP. In 1971, he resigned from this position, opposing his party's contribution to the government formed by the military junta. In May 1972, he was elected as the General President of the CHP. He became the Prime Minister of the CHP-MSP coalition formed in 1974. During this period, the Cyprus Peace Operation took place. In 1977, he formed a minority government but failed to win a vote of confidence. In 1978, although his party did not have a majority in the Grand National Assembly, he formed a government with the support of some independent members and small parties. This period as Prime Minister lasted 21 months. After the military intervention of 12 September 1980, he was sentenced to prison three times for his opposition to the military regime.

During his period of political banishment, Bülent Ecevit established the Democratic Left Party under the leadership of his wife, Rahşan Ecevit. When political rights were restored following the 1987 referendum, he was elected as the party's leader. However, he resigned from this position shortly afterwards when his party failed to achieve a favourable outcome in the subsequent general elections. However, in early 1989, when the position of General Chairman became vacant as local administration elections approached, he was re-elected as General Chairman at the Extraordinary Congress. He was also elected as a Member of Parliament from Zonguldak in the 1991 elections. After the 28 February process, he was tasked with forming a minority government and became Prime Minister with 70 Members of Parliament. In the general elections of 18 April 1999, his party came first, and he formed a coalition government with the MHP and ANAP, becoming the Prime Minister of that government. He suffered defeat in the 2002 elections. He passed away in Ankara in 2006.

Bülent Ecevit faced fierce criticism from the MHP for his stance in support of the left in the events preceding 12 September 1980. What is mentioned above is the "hostile" attitude of the government he formed in 1977 towards the Ülkücüler.

Despite the bloodshed that flowed like water for this cause, who is to blame for our stagnation? Let us just say that we cannot place the blame for our backwardness solely on our administrators. Our Western-imitating intellectuals, who were raised alien to national culture and far from a scientific mindset, are also complicit in this sin.

National Culture and Development

If the children of the same era within a society do not share the same spirit, then there is no such thing as a nation there, or if there is, it is in danger. The importance of culture and art lies in creating this spirit of national unity, in compelling people to share the same spirit.

The counterpart of temperament and character in people is culture in terms of the nation. Culture is the character of a nation. And in this respect, it is also national. Just as character in a person is a manifestation of their entire inner self, so too is the culture of a nation a fruit, a result of all its institutions.

The loss of selfhood means becoming pretentious, degenerate, and base. Imitation turns both the individual and the nation into monkeys. It is important to note the great difference between culture and civilisation. Civilisation, like culture, is not national. It does not recognise national boundaries; it is universal. I wish to emphasise the importance of this point.

From the time these ideas of development and progress first emerged until today, it is certain that we have fallen prey to a disease of Westernisation and imported political and economic systems from the West just as we import cars. Such behaviour is no different from putting a wolf's tooth in a sheep or dressing a patient in fancy clothes. What could be more dangerous than treating one disease with another? If the British political or economic system suits Britain and yields brilliant results there, this cannot be proof that the same system will yield positive and productive results in Turkey. On the contrary, a system that works very well there can produce very poor results here. This is because Britain's social conditions are very different from Turkey's. And again, British culture bears no resemblance to Turkish culture. We say this for good reason. If, without considering the importance of culture for a nation, one succumbs to the disease of imitation and adopts a regime and system from outside, the result will be destruction. After all, children of the same era should share the same spirit.

What I mean is that a nation's political, economic and other institutions must be in harmony with its national culture. I must express the same truth for civilisation and technology. Institutions imported from the West seem to me as illogical as putting an aeroplane engine on a horse-drawn cart. This situation accustoms us to ready-made solutions and makes us lazy. For this reason, we lose our own creative power and succumb to feelings of inferiority. It is an indisputable fact that merely resembling Westerners in form does not make us civilised.

For example, I do not believe that owning a car makes us civilised. Only when we can build the factory that produces it ourselves can we consider ourselves civilised. In the current situation, civilisation in Turkey is a civilisation of imported goods, a civilisation of consumer goods, and it exists only in name. Nations that are not themselves producers and creators are doomed to disappear. Moreover, and even more painfully, the national cultures of such nations are also invaded, dissolved under the influence of foreign cultures, and disappear. Backwardness in the field of civilisation leads to the death of national culture. The modern world seeks victory not by fighting on bloody battlefields, but in a cold war. The most effective way to achieve this is through cultural invasion. I would like to emphasise that backward countries must be very vigilant against cultural invasion. External enemies no longer feel the need to land armoured vehicles at Çanakkale; they aim to insidiously debase your culture, to alienate us from our national identity and spirit, that is, from our culture. Having explained this point, I would also like to highlight the following:

Turkey's development is, above all, a matter of national culture and national awakening. It would be a most sacred service for the intellectuals and artists who have taken upon themselves the preservation, dissemination, and even creation of national culture to awaken the Turkish community from its slumber and remind it of its own identity.

I believe that the happiness of people living in Turkey can be achieved by uniting them in an indissoluble spirit of solidarity. For this, the task falling to cultural creators is immense. They will harmonise the social orchestra by preserving the national culture and compel our institutions to carry the same spirit. To achieve these goals swiftly, the fine arts must be directed towards serving the people, and national intellectual movements must be created. Through our novels, our poetry, our theatre and cinema, we must proclaim a single ideal: the Turkish Ideal. I believe that in order to be worthy of our ancestors, who emphasised the importance of national

, we must not resemble others. We must abandon imitation. I have great affection for everyone who strives towards this goal.

It is well known that today, youth are being used as a whip and a pack of dogs by certain ill-intentioned political parties. In this sense, youth are not an end in themselves, but merely a means to an end. However, youth should be seen as an end in themselves, protected and nurtured. This is what a nationalist politician who thinks about the future of the nation rather than his own future would do. Cultivating tomorrow's leaders is the greatest service to the homeland and the nation. Those who try to gather young people around them at meetings, conferences and rallies to applaud them and boo their opponents are people with a distorted mindset who use youth as rowdy or bought-off propagandists. And sadly, this is how youth have been treated until now. Well, in a way, this is also a blessing.

How can blind people who cannot see their own path show others the way? If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the pit. This is truly the situation of youth today. Short-sighted leaders, like themselves, have led youth, and Turkey along with them, into the pit. The issue now is to save the youth, to show them the true path they should take, the path of the Turkish Ideal. The youth must understand that American servitude and Russian servitude lead to the same door. Sympathising with Communist Russia is nothing more than a desire to change masters. Serving anything other than the Turkish Ideal is slavery.

Meanwhile, young people are not entirely irresponsible either. They must find those who show them the true path and follow them. Even if not everyone is expected to be a Nationalist, every Turkish youth is responsible for not leaving the Nationalists alone. I do not merely say that every soldier must shed his sweat in the creation of the sacred monument called a powerful and happy Turkey; he is obliged to do so. Every Turkish youth who fails to properly fulfil the duty of creating a new society, a new nation, and a new history from scratch will have betrayed his ancestors, his descendants, and the Turkish Ideal. Turkish youth must be the leaders of the Turkish nation.

The Material Basis of Development

The material basis of development rests on a positive scientific mindset and technical progress. The positive scientific mindset must be strictly adhered to.

There are certain requirements. One of these requirements, and the most important one, is to conduct production and consumption activities in complete harmony within a society. Whatever system, principles, and understanding a nation's production life is based on, its consumption life must also be based on the same system, the same principles, and the same understanding. When we look at our beloved Turkey from this perspective, we encounter a devastating picture. Our consumption is developing in line with the standards of Western societies, but our production is completely Eastern, never able to escape its backward level. We dress like "Westerners," but we cannot establish the factories to produce those garments. We strive to benefit from the qualities we consider civilised in the West. We want to have our cars, telephones, radios, washing machines, refrigerators, and other modern conveniences. But we are unable to adjust our production techniques to our desires. We cannot produce most of what we call "civilised means"; we constantly buy them from others. If a nation relies on backward production techniques but becomes accustomed to consumption like nations with superior production techniques, what will be the outcome? The verdict of science on this matter is clear and unequivocal. Nations that produce like Easterners and consume like Westerners are always doomed to be exploited economically, to remain dependent on the help of others, and worse, to inevitably become impoverished. Both past governments and the current government have failed to grasp this fundamental issue that is rapidly leading our beloved nation to disaster. They have succumbed to their lust for power, wasted time on petty electoral calculations, and abused the trust of the nation. For the first time, we are experiencing the joy of getting to the root of the problem, diagnosing it, and seeking and demonstrating the solution for development.

Another indispensable requirement of the scientific mindset is this: no nation can develop by imitating systems tailored to the structures and conditions of other nations. Of course, nations, like individuals, will benefit from each other's experiences. However, if they simply copy what others have done and add nothing of their own, they will never achieve good results. How a nation will develop is revealed by examining its own conditions, correctly assessing its capabilities, and researching solutions appropriate to the characteristics of its material and spiritual structure. Relying on prescriptions prepared by foreigners often leads to the worsening of the disease, or even, God forbid, death. Our Turkey, economic development

In order to ensure this, it is attempting to implement the capitalist system. Capitalism is a system conceived according to the structure of European civilisation and the conditions of European nations. That Europe is a foreign world that does not resemble us, whose standards do not match ours, and whose values are contrary to ours. That Europe is based on social traditions of class antagonism. There is no "class antagonism" in the history of the Turkish nation. There is the unity of an entire nation around a single goal. That Europe owes a large share of its wealth to the ruthless exploitation of others. How can we develop with a system that is encouraged to make our exploitation easier? That is why we reject capitalism, which seeks to condemn not only our individuals but also our nation to poverty.

Especially in recent years, we have seen a foreign system, ostensibly socialist but actually communist, being recommended to our nation as a second path. We are not in a position to wonder what communism would bring to the Turkish nation or to say, "Let's try this too." Because, after sixty-one years of implementation, we know very well what it did to the 60 million Turkish-Islamic masses who are like us in terms of their lineage, religion, language and culture, and we see with undeniable clarity what it brought. Communism brought our unfortunate compatriots being herded into cattle trains and expelled from their homeland, mass extermination, being forced to forget their history and nation, enduring attacks on their beliefs, bowing to the corruption of their language, the destruction of their culture, the theft of their wealth, and the loss of their freedom. Ultimately, **for us, communism is not so much an "economic" issue as it is a matter of "independence."** We will not forget this truth. We will always remind those who forget, and we will surely root out the traitors who seek to make us forget. Let us also note that, despite their different appearances and their struggle against each other, capitalism and communism are actually made of the same dough, born of the same source. Because both are based on "materialism"; they appeal only to people's stomachs. We propose a national path to development, distinct from foreign systems such as capitalism and communism. This path has emerged not from stolen doctrines, but from an examination of our national structure and our unique conditions. We call this the "Third Way," the "Nine Lights Path." And we believe that the great Turkish nation, which we are infinitely honoured to serve, will surely accept our proposal and thus return to itself once more.

Science, Technology and Development

Furthermore, and ultimately, let me state that there is no miraculous power in motifs, symbols, or patterns that have lost their vitality, strength, and energy. The shameful and distressing state of the Turkish-Islamic world is before us. The arrogant and oppressive forces representing the dominant civilisation of the age rule over the lands of former magnificent civilisations and keep unfortunate countries in a state of humiliation. The solution and path these countries will find to protect and perpetuate their children's homelands and assets is not to cling blindly to obsolete institutions and dusty, mouldy motifs, but to strive to establish a superior system of life by penetrating the reasons for the superiority of the dominant civilisation. It is to accept the guidance of reason, science and technology. We want hearts to be enlightened by faith and minds by science; we will erase the darkness of ignorance, delusion and doubt.

We are tasked with establishing Turkish scientific life. We must establish the absolute supremacy of reason and science in the material realm. We will establish Turkish academia. We will initiate a cycle of thought and action that will secure universal prestige and opportunity for Turkish universities. We regard the world as a vast testing ground and a great school. We will cease to be poor imitators of the culture and technology of advanced nations. We will rise to a level where we will become leaders in science and technology. The present state of affairs represents hardship, deprivation, shame and humiliation. Recent centuries have been like this. The wheel of time is turning. It is turning towards the future. For the Turkish nation, glory, honour and prestige lie in the future, ahead. It is a rebirth in accordance with its character and nature.

Today, the great advances in science and technology have opened up entirely new horizons of prosperity, hope and progress for humanity. The significance of nations being backward, poor or sparsely populated has thus diminished considerably. Today, the most advanced countries in science, technology and civilisation are the most powerful and prosperous.

For this reason, advancing our country in the fields of science and technology is the primary solution for our development and liberation. A nation can only achieve this by training highly skilled scientists and engineers. It is evident that our politicians have failed to grasp the importance of this issue and address it appropriately. An example of this can be seen in the Five-Year Plan, which envisaged training three thousand scientists

, but this was not implemented, and instead of three thousand, only 600 people were trained.

For Turkey to develop rapidly, it is necessary to advance swiftly to the highest level in science and technology. Whatever is required for this must be done. Let me elaborate a little further: for Turkey to reach the level of today's advanced modern nations and modern states, it needs a cadre of world-class scientists and technical personnel. It needs world-class, large laboratories and scientists and technical personnel of this calibre. Before undertaking activities such as bringing schools to every village and completing primary schools everywhere, Turkey must establish and nurture this cadre of world-class scientists, which will enable it to join the ranks of the most advanced nations, no matter what. In this way, Turkey can reach the highest level in science and technology in a short time. Unless we find the path to advancement in science and technology, the salvation of the Turkish nation is impossible.

To this end, our enemies are carrying out various activities insidiously. They are trying to divert the attention of the Turkish nation from these fundamental issues and principles to trivial matters of form and style, and they are succeeding. For example, you see an event that came out of nowhere, and suddenly you're called a reactionary, or a progressive... Our nation is turning against each other. What is a reactionary, what is a progressive? Did we bring aeroplanes and did the Turkish people, the Turkish nation, say they wouldn't fly? Did we give them televisions and did they say they wouldn't use them? If someone rejects television, aeroplanes, modern tools, turns their back on them, strays from the right path, turns their back on justice, tramples it underfoot, then that person is reactionary. Then that person is a mürteci.

The main goal is to elevate the Turkish nation to the highest level in science and technology. Beyond that, wearing this type of shirt, that type of tie, these trousers, or baggy trousers instead of regular trousers—these are mere appearances. We must understand this. High morals, national consciousness, belief in rights and justice, and reaching the highest level in science and technology. To achieve this, we must do everything necessary. We must mobilise all our resources and become the most advanced nation on earth in the fields of science and technology. Whatever sacrifice is required, we must make it. The superiority and strength of nations over one another is determined by their ability to produce modern tools appropriate to the era in which they live. Today, Turkey is called a backward nation. Moreover, it ranks 76th among backward nations. Why? Because our own people are unable to produce modern tools appropriate to the era in which we live.

With our knowledge, science and manual labour, we are not in a position to do this in our own factories in our own country... Powerful, advanced nations are strong and powerful because they can do this in their own factories in their own countries with the science, knowledge, intellectual power and manual labour of their own people. We must not overlook this fact. Otherwise, apart from this, so-and-so said this, so-and-so did that, this is reactionary, this says that. These are seeds of discord and divisive actions sown among us to pit us against each other, to distract us from the main cause, the main truth; to divert our thoughts and opinions away from the main issue. The main issue is to enable our own people to produce modern tools and equipment suitable for the age we live in, with their own knowledge, expertise and manual labour, in our own factories, on our own soil. The day we solve this, we will have solved many other issues.

We are unlike anyone else. Nor do we wish to be like anyone else. We are Turks. We are a great nation with honour, dignity, a glorious history, having ruled over three continents and created great civilisations. We have no need to imitate other nations or other countries. I say this because the Nine Lights movement we have started, the Turkism and Nationalism we have initiated, are rapidly developing within the Turkish nation. As it develops rapidly, both the campaigns and propaganda launched against us by the communists and the propaganda launched against us by other hostile activities accuse us of being "Nazis" and "fascists". However, let me state this much: our movement is neither a Nazi nor a fascist movement; it is entirely a nationalist, patriotic movement.

Throughout our history, there have been great figures such as the Metes, Ertungas, Cengizs, Timurs, Fatih, Yavuz, Alparslans, Kılıçslans, and countless other great figures who accomplished monumental deeds and produced works that set an example for the world. We have no need to copy or adopt the views put forward by another nation that invites us to their country as saviours. We would consider such a thing a blow to our national pride. We are young and old, male and female Grey Wolves. We do not imitate others. Our path is the Nine Lights path. Neither communism nor capitalism. The Nine Lights path, which is 100% national, 100% local, and has adopted modern science and technology as its leader, will strengthen Turkey and the Turkish nation once again and raise them to the highest level in science and technology... This is the path to salvation.

NATIONAL EDUCATION, LANGUAGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Our Education Issue

Today, many mothers, fathers and young people are worried. Every year, more than 300,000 Turkish young people are unable to enter university or higher education. With this system, which has clearly become more of a recommendation exam than a university entrance exam, 300,000 young people will be added to the new generation every year, and this number will reach 400,000 or 500,000. According to the constitution, every Turkish citizen has the right to education, and the state has a duty to educate them. Therefore, the task at hand is to open up and expand the hidden capacities of existing universities and colleges, while also establishing a new higher education system. Developed countries owe their progress to higher education institutions and educated intellectuals. We must push our current capabilities to open new higher education institutions and accelerate our country's economic and scientific development by educating hundreds of thousands of young people there. We have sufficient buildings, an excellent teaching staff, and other personnel to enrol more than 300,000 young people in education this year. Fifteen years ago, our educational institutions could educate three times as many students with only a third of today's buildings and teaching staff. Today, with their current adult population and many times more staff, they can educate even more students.

However, in the face of the difficulty and exhaustion of scientific research, the economic resources available to teaching staff today are extremely inadequate. Science is as difficult as it is expensive. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement Party advocates that the economic difficulties and hardships faced by our distinguished scientists be addressed and resolved as a matter of priority.

As the Nationalist Movement Party, our goal is to establish a Nationalist Turkey. Communism, capitalism and other such non-national ideologies are weeds and obstacles on our path to this great goal. By overcoming all these obstacles, we will establish a national system based on the intrinsic values of the Turkish people and realise a Nationalist Turkey.

We are not merely an organisation fighting communism. We are a movement that will quickly elevate the Turkish nation's way of life to the highest level and secure the Turkish state its rightful place in world politics, and for this we aspire to power.

The success of a movement depends on having idealistic cadres. Idealistic cadres are a conscious team of people who share the same ideas, have established emotional and intellectual discipline among themselves, and compete in self-sacrifice and dedication.

An Outdated Education System

An education system that is not national, that does not create national culture, national character and national consciousness, can be nothing other than an outdated, harmful, bankrupt education system. Unfortunately, this is the case with the education system currently in force in our country. However, we are distressed that we cannot see that the reforms to be introduced to our education system, which is in need of reform, are based on national consciousness and national culture. What is expected from education is this: to bring together the young minds living in a country, to teach them their history and the conditions of their country, and to ensure that the human capital for national development is nurtured in a useful way. In other words, education has two tasks. The first task is to create national culture and national consciousness, and the second task is to contribute to economic development, environmental development, and national development within this culture and consciousness. Every system has its own unique models. For example, in Marxist or fascist countries, these are determined according to the values that underpin those systems. In a Marxist order, the main thing is economic development that contributes to economic growth. For this reason, only this aspect is taken as the basis in the education of individuals in Marxist systems. In addition to this, the consciousness of not betraying the Marxist regime and order and remaining loyal to it is instilled. As mentioned above, the Turkish National Education system should be oriented towards two main goals. First, young minds should be taught the history, culture and values of the nation to which they belong, and they should be moulded by these and become integrated with each other. Secondly, they must develop a mindset that will contribute to the country's development through productivity and research. In the draft reform, we see that only the second of these elements has been given partial importance. However, it is impossible for people who have not developed an ideology, especially a sense of national culture and consciousness, to contribute to economic development.

A major reason for the difficulties we face today is that our national education system fails to raise our children to be people who are attached to the national values of the Turkish nation, imbued with national culture, and possess a national consciousness, a national spirit, and national passion. Instead, it only

It is turning people into individuals burdened with information overload and filled with selfishness and greed. However, the foremost requirement of national education is to ensure that the children of the nation grow up first and foremost as Muslim Turks, attached to the spiritual values of Muslim Turks, moulded by and attached to the national culture, never detached from it, and always the desire, awareness, and feeling of securing the interests of the Turkish nation wherever they may be. Another aspect that national education must ensure is that, regardless of which school they graduate from, the children of the nation who leave school should not become citizens who are a burden on the life of the nation, but should be raised to be productive members who will add new values to the life of the nation. Today, our schools educate our children in such a way that when they leave school, they no longer go to the fields, nor do they want to. They no longer go to work at a workbench, nor do they want to. Instead, they all seek a place for themselves at the gates of the state, in an office job, a civil service position, not in an activity that adds value to society, but in a direction that will be a burden on society. For this reason, national education must not only impart national consciousness and national discipline, but also raise our children, regardless of which school they leave, with a discipline and knowledge that will add value to the Turkish nation in every sphere of life from the moment they leave school, rather than burdening the nation.

As Turkish nationalists, our cause is to exalt the existence of the Turkish nation and ensure its eternal continuation. No other idea, no other cause can take precedence over this idea, this cause. No behaviour, no action that does not serve the idea of protecting, elevating and perpetuating the existence of the Turkish nation should be considered legitimate for the Turkish nation. There is constant competition, constant struggle between nations. Every nation strives and struggles to make itself superior, more prosperous, happier, more civilised, and more advanced. This is an unchanging truth of history.

Nations deprived of this consciousness, this feeling, this sacred passion are doomed to extinction and decline. Throughout history, since the earliest recorded times, nations have been locked in this struggle. The Turkish nation, having freed itself from its neglected, impoverished, backward, and powerless state and become a nation that stands on its own strength, whose word and honour are respected everywhere, that does not beg from others, and that is the most advanced in civilisation and prosperity. Turkish

The transformation of the nation into such an entity is possible, first and foremost, through the consciousness of nationalism filling the hearts of the Turkish people and the ambition to be the strongest, most prosperous, and most advanced taking root in their minds. This is the essence of the struggle we, as Turkish nationalists, are waging; this is its goal; this is the purpose and meaning of our movement.

We are engaged in the literature of development.

Today, unfortunately, our lack of ideals, faith and ambition, and the indifference and selfishness of our intellectuals towards the issues of our country, are widening and deepening the gap between Turkey and the advanced and modern countries of the world, rather than closing it. The development programmes and plans implemented in our country to date have been nothing more than propaganda, consisting of unrealistic statements used by political cadres to lull and appease our people. The 55-year-old Republic of Turkey is a country that has achieved the development required for normal progress without making any sacrifices. Many countries that began their journey of development and progress in the same years have now left Turkey far behind. We are still preoccupied with the rhetoric of development. Turkey is among the most backward of the backward countries... Millions of Turkish peasants are dragged along in misery and destitution. And politicians still talking about development. To put a stop to this situation, to rebel against such a course of action, is the most sacred duty for those who seek to save the Turkish nation as soon as possible and make it a honourable entity in the world.

The Cultural Centre of Enemy Propaganda

Nations composed of individuals who lack faith, self-confidence, and historical consciousness are doomed to remain weak, to be looked down upon, and to be oppressed. If the intellectuals of a nation are detached from their national identity, alienated from the values of their nation, and have come to despise their language, religion, and culture, then it is difficult for that nation to struggle and shake off its oppression.

We believe that a cadre of idealistic intellectuals, conscious of the need for a materially and spiritually strong nation, who think big and aspire to great things, will rescue the Turkish nation from this dire situation.

We are fighting this battle. During previous administrations, a rift was created between administrators and intellectuals and the people; attempts were made to pit the army against the nation; universities, academies and radio stations were turned into propaganda centres for hostile cultures. If our people are at peace with their army, their state, their universities, their intellectuals and their administrators, and if our spiritual unity is established, it will be possible for us to accomplish great things and make great strides. A Turkey where civil servants and the people, the educated and the uneducated, labour and capital, the army and the nation, the imam and the teacher trust each other, join hands, and shoulder to shoulder, with the excitement of the same ideal, launch a campaign of labour, development, energy and mobilisation, will be able to take its honourable place among the nations of the world in a very short time.

The Resolution of Our Fundamental Issues

In order to resolve this fundamental issue facing our country, the current distorted, unpatriotic education system must be fundamentally reformed and reorganised. For years, our nation's intellectuals have been educated to be alien to the Turkish people, ignorant of the country's conditions, and lacking any sense of duty or service. The children of our country who receive education and training do not return to the people, do not seek to share in the life of the people, but instead strive to gain a position in the luxurious and comfortable life of the big cities. While the Turkish people struggle amid a thousand hardships, a thousand deprivations, and misery, the children raised with the opportunities provided by the people betray them. Intellectuals separated from the people, people deprived of intellectuals... This vicious circle must be broken as soon as possible, and the integration of the people and intellectuals must be achieved.

To achieve this goal, Turkish National Education should be organised in accordance with the following two objectives:

a — To create national culture and national consciousness, and to educate Turkish intellectuals as individuals with nationalist ideas.

b — To transform these intellectuals, within this culture and consciousness, into the pioneers and volunteers of the national development struggle.

Once this has been achieved, Turkish labour, Turkish energy from underground and above-ground resources, placed at the disposal of the nationalist and idealistic intellectuals of the Turkish nation for the cause of development, will make a strong, great, prosperous, industrialised Turkey a reality rather than a dream.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

Integration of the People and the Intellectuals

Today, a cultural war, which we could call a silent war, continues with full force on earth and among nations. A country's castles can be conquered, its armies can lose the battle, but as long as the hearts and minds of a nation are not conquered, that country can never be considered defeated. History is full of examples of this.

It is a great truth that **"if anyone tries to resemble a people, they are counted among that people."** In the culture war, nations aim to destroy the language, religion, customs and traditions, national and spiritual values of other nations and to establish their own cultures. Therefore, the culture war is not a matter of memorising and teaching the alphabet; it is a matter of nurturing and developing the minds, hearts and bodies of generations.

Today, the plans and programmes of the Ministry of National Education in our country are far from the goal of raising a nationalist youth. Institutions that should serve education and learning cannot claim or prove that they are fully and correctly fulfilling their duties in raising young people. Schools must be freed from their encyclopaedic character, which is merely an element of knowledge, and become a cradle of knowledge and a source of faith that leads students to the heights of science, faith and morality.

Instead of accepting students according to the needs of the country and the size of the class, universities should be opened according to the abilities of the students, and modern and large facilities that meet the needs of the age should be established on large areas to create university cities.

In order to become a nation that builds its own aeroplanes, ships and atoms, in addition to other conditions for social balance and development, the brainpower of the people themselves is needed. The country's great potential should not be squandered and wasted.

Those in power have spared no expense in making extensive and serious investments to cultivate intellectual capacity.

As another consequence of the misguided education policy that has persisted for many years, the channels between the people and the intellectuals are now blocked, and the bonds between them are severed. Intellectuals are distant from the people, and the people are hopeless about intellectuals. It should be remembered that the intellect, a gift from God, is a treasure superior to all else, and national education must be based on the foundations of science, faith and morality. It should not be forgotten that the development and happiness of nations depend on efforts to fill the minds, hearts and souls of individuals with science, faith and morality.

National Education and Turkish Youth

For Turkey to develop in a short time, it is more beneficial to train talented individuals as specialists. However, I would like to explain our views on national education a little further to avoid any misunderstanding.

Turkey's national education cause has been pursued in a highly unplanned and deeply flawed manner since the founding of the Republic. Today, the same blind struggle continues within the system. Education must be tied to a plan that will develop Turkey in the shortest possible time, taking into account the social and economic situation and needs of our nation. To this end, it is necessary to first determine the number of personnel Turkey needs, identify their specialisations, set targets to be achieved within specific timeframes, and organise educational activities accordingly. In other words, it must be scientifically determined how many doctors, health officers, midwives, nurses, mechanical engineers, construction engineers, and so on are needed for the health of the people in Turkey.

From now on, national education must be planned accordingly. Our economic situation and needs must also be taken into consideration in the same way. The current practice in Turkey is as follows: Primary schools are being established everywhere in an effort to provide primary education as widely as possible. In order to educate the pupils graduating from these primary schools, middle schools are being established, and in turn, high schools are being established for those who complete middle school. Thus, our students who graduate from high school cannot get into university. Even if enough universities could be established to accommodate the students graduating from high school, our children graduating from these universities would then face certain barriers.

They will find themselves in a difficult situation. And most of all, they will want to take up positions in the civil service. Since it is not possible to place so many university graduates in civil service positions, this will become a cause for concern in itself. At present, we cannot admit all of our children who have completed secondary school to university. This situation alone causes many unfortunate events. Moreover, one of Turkey's most important needs is to train technical personnel. For this reason, it is imperative that education be directed towards technical training in line with the country's social and economic goals. In general, it is certainly a desirable goal to ensure that the entire nation receives higher education. However, this requires extensive resources. Therefore, it is necessary to set stages and adopt a plan that will develop the country in the shortest possible time. Within the current global context, major advances in science and technology have opened up broad horizons for nations. Even poor, underdeveloped nations with small populations and limited territories can achieve a position of strength in science and technology, enabling them to establish a balance with wealthy, populous, and powerful nations.

For a nation lagging behind in science and technology to rise rapidly, preparing a cadre of three to four thousand scientists and technicians provides it with great opportunities. This is much easier and cheaper than attempting to send the entire population of millions to university. For this reason, we can summarise our views as follows for the most beneficial resolution of our national education cause:

a) Outstanding talents should be trained as a specialist group according to the social and economic needs and goals of the country.

b) Education should be converted into technical education that will produce a large number of technical personnel to meet the country's needs.
to meet the country's needs.

c) In order to ensure the rapid education of the entire population, the village planning system we have proposed in the Nine Lights doctrine must be implemented.

The most pressing issue we will be addressing is rapidly elevating Turkey to the highest level in the fields of science and technology. I firmly believe that the development of our country is primarily dependent on this. Naturally, this also includes the modernisation of our agriculture and the establishment of heavy industry in Turkey. The world is on the threshold of a new era. This era is the age of the atom and the rocket. It is also the age of science and technology.

We can say that. Just as the industrial revolution, which began and developed in the eighteenth century, had a profound impact on the social life of societies, this era will also change people's lives; we must recognise this now. For this reason, in our country, after 27 May, I was the first to propose that our nation make a leap forward, reaching the age of the atom and space. I still hold the same view today. If our Turkey is to exist and survive, instead of wasting time with certain forms and displays, it must devote all its energy to gaining strength in science and technology in order to move beyond the age of steam and electricity and enter the age of the atom and space.

The greatest shortcomings and flaws I observe among university youth today are also the flaws we see in Turkish society. I can list them as follows:

a) Lack of purpose, absence of national ideals,

b) Lack of seriousness,

c) Discipline and, along with it, a lack of respect for people's rights.

The loss of qualities such as loving people and not being selfish is a state of crisis. To these, we can add their laziness and unwillingness to work. Furthermore, the mentality of passing classes and obtaining a diploma at any cost is very destructive for our country. Unfortunately, cheating has become customary among our children and is often considered heroic. However, cheating is not only a very ugly habit, but also a vulgar form of fraud. Neither in our homes nor in the work of our national education officials is the necessary attention paid to remedying these spiritual deficiencies in our children.

The extreme leftist movements that have spread among university students in recent years pose a serious threat to our country. Our young people are being loaded with certain theoretical knowledge in our schools. However, our children are not being given national ideals, a national philosophy of life, or a national worldview. The hearts and minds of our children are mostly left empty in this regard. Whatever comes along will fill the void. Therefore, it is not enough to try to explain to the children of our country that communism is simply wrong and false, bad and harmful. It is necessary to clearly demonstrate that communism is not a suitable system for the development of Turkey and to recommend a national system and a national vision that will rapidly develop Turkey thereafter.

then to recommend a national system and a national vision that will rapidly develop Turkey.

National Education and Language

The primary duties of National Education are as follows:

1— To raise Turkish youth and the people with national consciousness and national values, to instil this spirit in them... This should be the primary duty of education.

2— It is necessary to educate young people to be productive. Those who are educated

Future generations should be producers rather than consumers in the national economy.

3— National education should be planned and managed according to the socio-economic goals and needs of the Turkish nation. What does this mean? For example, Turkey's needs for doctors, engineers, economists, etc. will be determined, and an education policy will be pursued accordingly. This has not been considered until now, nor is it being considered. Today, they fill up faculties wherever there are vacancies, without subjecting applicants to any random tests and without considering their abilities. This should not be the case. Education should aim to provide technical training. We are living in a technical age. Technical training is essential for development. For Turkey to progress and industrialise in a short time, education must be organised in such a way as to prepare world-class scientists and technical personnel.

In addition, national culture will be developed, elevated and disseminated. The foundation of national culture is the Turkish language. Turkish. Today, Turkish is under attack from both within and without and is being undermined. Today, there is a group of pseudo-linguists. They are compiling fabricated dictionaries under the pretext of simplifying the Turkish language. We are opposed to this fabrication.

There are four main principles accepted by the Nationalist Movement for the Turkish language.

1) The words to be used and the new words to be created should be words that the people speak, use and understand.

Today, there are words that come from Arabic and Persian, but these are words that have been used among ourselves for 800-900 years. Among Turks, these have become Turkish words. These words now have different meanings in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

Today, they are specifically removing words from Turkish, such as Arabic words, and replacing them with words derived from Armenian or Latin roots. One such word is "meselâ". Both the shepherd in the mountains and the citizen in the city know what this word means. The Turks in Crimea, Kirkuk, and Turkistan also know it. Turks abroad also say "meselen". If we get up and change a word that all Turks, both at home and abroad, understand and replace it with the word "örneğin", neither the people of Anatolia nor the Turks abroad will understand it.

2) Generations should not be separated in the name of linguistic research; they should be able to understand each other.

3) We must work to maintain, rather than sever, the linguistic and cultural ties with other Turkic communities outside Turkey.

4) Simplification must never sever our connection to our cultural values.

The Language Case

I would like to reiterate the importance of National Education in establishing a prosperous Turkey and initiating scientific life. We are determined to rebuild educational institutions and expand technical education within National Education. Our goal is to provide the children of the nation with opportunities for growth and advancement at every level of education, according to their abilities, ensuring equality of opportunity and possibility. On this occasion, let me state our view on the language of instruction and the language issue: The language issue is a matter of national existence and independence. In Turkish, we see the unity and integrity of the homeland and the continuity of national history. We love and protect Turkish like our mother and our motherland. Our principle in the language struggle is that the language should develop on the basis of the spoken language, the language of the people, without resorting to artificial language, without falling prey to the harmful and incompatible influences of foreign languages, without creating difficulties in understanding issues, and without deviating from the vital goal of developing as a single language in the Turkish world.

The dominance of the Turkish language in thought, education and scientific life is fundamental. We view the understanding and practice of making English the official language of instruction at universities, ahead of Turkish, as cultural imperialism and a very harmful development. We will put an end to this situation.

Language of Science: Turkish

Today, it is possible for a young Turk to be educated entirely in English from primary school through to the end of university. Not only is it possible, it is now commonplace. As is the case in all technical fields, this is now true even in administrative and social fields. A young person who has undergone this education does not know the Turkish terminology of their profession and is not required to learn the Turkish terms for the subjects they have studied at any stage. They do not take exams in Turkish. This is very close to making English the official language of Turkey. This is a situation that would be considered strange even in some African countries that still live in a tribal society in this day and age. No nation with any dignity can accept this. The situation is much more serious and much faster than imagined. Today, within Turkey, a letter can be sent in English from one Turkish institution to another, from one Turk to another, and this is not considered strange.

Today, knowing a foreign language, knowing it well, is a necessity; however, knowing many subjects only in English, not knowing them in one's own mother tongue, is related to the loss of dignity and honour.

All our schools should teach only Turkish, but they should teach foreign languages well as separate subjects.

Teaching English in Turkish schools also creates some peculiar situations. For example, at Ankara College, one of Turkey's best chemistry teachers is unable to continue teaching chemistry, while low-quality foreign teachers brought in from outside are teaching science subjects for high salaries. Although the Middle East Technical University needs staff, it cannot hire a Turkish professor who also speaks good German or French, but instead hires a low-quality peace volunteer appointed from abroad with foreign aid, who cannot find other work in his own country.

Turkish is rapidly losing its status. A ridiculous claim is spreading that science cannot be conducted in Turkish. This is unfounded. Turkish is an extremely suitable language for science, much more capable than English of easily generating new terms. Many of our scientists have amply proven this over the years with their writings in various fields. However, Turkish is now being suppressed and betrayed.

Teaching Turkish is not merely a matter of linguistics, or even nationalism. It is a matter of the dignity of the Turkish people, their self-confidence, their freedom from feelings of inferiority, and their honour and reputation among the nations of the world.

Today, just as imperialist Russia is forcing Russian-language education in Estonia, Lithuania and Turkistan[81] and striving to eradicate the identity of the Turkistan peoples, Turkey is similarly losing its own language, its mother tongue, and with it, its identity.

How did English education spread? It began with foreign schools such as Robert College, supported by church organisations and foreign governments. These schools strove to present their students as a privileged, enviable class in the eyes of the public. They automatically sent their graduates to America and accepted wealthy children. Subsequently, some Turkish private schools in poor circumstances began to imitate American and British schools in order to compete. They also received some external aid and encouragement for this.

The Turkish Education Association, established to improve Turkish education, ended up pursuing the exact opposite of its goals, adopting foreign curricula and foreign teachers that would undermine the nation from within. Later, the Ministry of National Education also chose to imitate private colleges. It established Maarif colleges.

It established English-language "colleges" such as Zonguldak College and Konya Maarif College. These schools have American advisers.

The establishment of Middle East Technical University by special law represents the pinnacle of these foreign language education activities. While our other universities are increasingly bogged down in bureaucracy and difficulties, Middle East Technical University is developing at such a pace that its graduates will soon number in the thousands. Within a few years, all key positions in the country will be held by young people who have difficulty performing their jobs in Turkish.

Middle East Technical University was established by Law No. 7307 and is governed by this law. We quote the following articles from this law verbatim:

"Article 1 — A university with legal personality, named Middle East Technical University, has been established in Ankara to provide education for young people, conduct research, and be administered within the provisions of this law.

Article 2 — The objectives of Middle East Technical University are as follows:

81 Estonia, Lithuania and Turkestan (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan) gained their independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

a) To provide Turkish students with certain qualifications with advanced education, generally in English, in scientific, technical and vocational fields, thereby offering them broad opportunities.

b) To provide equal opportunities to students from other countries with similar qualifications upon their application and acceptance as students.

c) To conduct applied research that will benefit the Turkish nation and other nations, with particular emphasis on the development of Turkey's and the Middle East's resources and the resolution of their economic issues.

Pay particular attention to the following article in the law:

Article 5 — The Board of Trustees shall appoint as the advisory rector a person who is recognised and distinguished for their exceptional experience in science and technical education and who is not a Turkish citizen.

A) The advisory rector shall be the principal adviser to the rector on matters of scientific, technical, and professional research and education.

B.....

C.....

D. The advisory rector ranks next to the university rector in academic rank.

These provisions indicate secret aims and methods similar to those used by the Russians in Czechoslovakia during the establishment of the university.

At a university funded by the Turkish people, whose primary goal is to educate Turkish youth, English is taught as a compulsory subject. Furthermore, when the environment becomes sufficiently complacent and self-effacing, this Turkish university, under the guise of a rector, is managed by a foreign consultant rector in all matters of education and research, with the objectives of foreigners being dictated.

It is a fact that Middle East Technical University has been gradually steered in the desired direction through a technique of gradual conditioning and lulling, without making it apparent to outsiders. That is to say: First, the Ford Foundation, which appeared to have no connection to the government, provided financial assistance to the university, and this assistance brought in foreigners from outside, but in doing so, it tried not to appear to be putting pressure on the university. Then, suddenly, this aid was greatly reduced, and just as the aid was about to be cut off, a larger offer of aid came from AID, i.e. directly from the American government. It is important to note that many conditions were imposed. For example, three or five years...

One million dollars is being provided, but this will only go towards the salaries of American personnel sent by the United States. Additionally, a two million dollar loan is being provided. Turkey will repay this. However, this money can only be used to purchase materials manufactured in the United States. It should be noted that, for example, Turkish-made materials or German materials that are cheaper than those from America cannot be purchased with our own money. Since Turkish personnel were not granted opportunities and equal rights, and their honour was violated, Turks fled abroad, and foreign personnel, sent with the aim of destroying Turkish culture and of low quality, will train our young people. Furthermore, although the university only wanted to accept assistance in the technical field, it was forced to accept foreign personnel assistance in the humanities as well, and this was made a condition.

The public was given false impressions about the establishment of this university. It was claimed that it was an international university, run with international funding, and therefore its language of instruction was English. These claims are unfounded. However, the Middle East Technical University is not an international university. It is nothing but a game. Moreover, the idea of an international university is one that cannot even be implemented in America today. Look how foreigners mock the Middle East Technical University:

An article published in the American magazine **"Rotarian"** in the summer of 1968 states: "Imagine that there is a university in Washington that teaches entirely in Russian. And imagine that the American government is paying for it.

You might say, 'That's nonsense.' This unbelievable thing actually exists today. In Ankara, there is the Middle East Technical University, which teaches entirely in English and is funded by the Turkish government."

ODTÜ educates thousands of Turkish youths, not thousands of foreigners. Despite this, tens of thousands of Turkish youths remain unemployed. Accepting a small number of students from other countries is beneficial. However, this sacrifice should be made to spread Turkish culture, language and influence. Every country accepts foreign students for this purpose and teaches them its language. No country sacrifices its national future and honour with its own money on the pretext of a few foreign students. Many countries around the world accept foreign students into their universities, but they do so within a national policy. Only education carried out within such a mindset and policy will benefit our nation.

Desired Changes

1) A new law should repeal Article 5 of Law No. 7037 or amend it to stipulate that the advisory rector must be Turkish. This would prevent one of our most important universities from being entirely under foreign control. Otherwise, a weak rector will be appointed, who will then appoint a foreign advisory rector.

2) All teaching should be in Turkish, but it is essential that students have a very good command of a foreign language. Otherwise, the university will degenerate. For this reason, preparatory classes in foreign languages should still be available, and students who do not know a language should learn either English, German or French for one year. Furthermore, each year, students should be rigorously examined in their chosen foreign language and in subjects related to their profession, and they should also take professional foreign language courses each year. In this way, they can follow foreign language professional and scientific books. However, Turkish will not die out. Turkish should be taught to foreign students. Foreign scientific works should be translated into Turkish in abundance.

3) Academic staff should be recruited to the university on the same principles as at present, and the advantages of the Middle East Technical University over other universities should be preserved. More diverse avenues for mutual cooperation with various countries should be opened, but in doing so, our national future, honour and culture should not be sacrificed, and we should not become tools for the goals of other countries (neither Russia's nor America's).

SCIENCE AND YOUTH

The subject of youth can be approached from several angles: education, culture, physical and spiritual training, and most importantly, politics. This last point should be emphasised as it encompasses the others. Moreover, youth is also an important political issue today.

Although we refer to all Turkish youth when we speak of youth, in reality, we are referring to youth who are effective and influential.

The question of whether young people should engage in politics, particularly in backward societies, is debatable. However, we must immediately point out that young people are the unelected representatives of a backward people. This means that if elected representatives, namely members of parliament, become incompetent, corrupt, or even malicious in serving the people, the duty of protecting the people's interests falls to the youth. For this reason, it can be concluded that political parties that do not have a good relationship with the youth are more concerned with their own interests than with serving the people. It is certain that administrators intent on plundering will not appreciate the efforts of the youth to warn the people.

Training tomorrow's leaders is the greatest service one can render to the nation and the people. Those who gather young people around them in meetings, conferences and rallies to applaud them and boo their opponents are misguided individuals who use youth as rowdy or bought-off propagandists. And sadly, this has been the treatment young people have received until now.

How can those who cannot see their own path show the way to others? If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the pit. This is truly the situation of youth today. Short-sighted leaders, like themselves, have led youth, including Turkey, into the pit. The issue now is to save youth, to show them the true path they should follow, the path of the Turkish ideal. Youth are the same whether they are American lackeys or Russian lackeys.

They must realise that this is the truth. Sympathising with Communist Russia is nothing more than a desire to change masters. Serving anything other than the Turkish ideal is slavery.

Meanwhile, young people are not entirely irresponsible. They must find those who show them the true path and follow them. Even if not everyone is expected to be an idealist, everyone, every Turkish youth, is responsible for not leaving the idealists alone. I do not merely say that every soul must shed their sweat in the creation of the sacred monument called a powerful and happy Turkey; they are obliged to do so.

Every Turkish youth who fails to fulfil the duty of creating a new society, a new nation and a new history from scratch will have betrayed their ancestors, their descendants and the Turkish ideal.

Turkish youth must lead the Turkish people...

Dear young people, we insist on the necessity and imperative of basing state administration on the historical values of the Turkish nation, on the collective conscience and on Islamic morality; we believe that by relying on these elements we will gain strength and power. Going even further, we say that if strength is to be gained by denying or altering our national, moral, and historical characteristics, by abandoning our Turkishness, we are opposed to this.

Whenever our nation has sought to emulate others throughout history, endeavouring to resemble them, it has fallen into weakness and its state has disintegrated. Whenever it has turned inward, relying on the essence of its own identity, it has become a power that shook the world.

The wise Khan's inscription on the Orhun stones reveals the truth:

"O Turk, ' ' tremble, ' ' tremble, ' ' return to yourself, ' ' return to yourself." The return to oneself has begun.

Nationalism, which for years was viewed as a crime,

has flared up again. So much so that those who haven't mentioned nationalism in thirty years And even those who accused young officers, elderly scholars, and university intellectuals of nationalism and subjected them to torture in coffins were forced to say, "We are nationalists." Even opportunists, socialists, communists, and internationalist Freemasons were compelled to appear nationalist. This is a great victory, and it has been won. We are the victors of this war. For our weapon was the history of the Turks, the spirituality of the Turks, the reality of the Turks; in short, the Turks themselves. Their weapon was corruption, slander, abuse, ridicule, self-interest, greed, lies, and deceit.

In Anatolia, they say, "What can the wind tear from the rock?" The wind of slander struck the rock of Turkishness and scattered.

The first phase has been completed; nationalism and Turkism have been accepted by friend and foe alike.

Now the second phase has begun; nationalism must be put into political and administrative practice. We will achieve this too. Today, we feel the power of 100 million Turks in our hearts.

We must build a free, prosperous and powerful Turkey. And we must do so very quickly, very fast, without wasting any time. After 200 wasted years, the time since 1960 has also been squandered with weaknesses, hesitations and petty games. This time would have been enough to end a war fought with love, faith and knowledge. This is our sorrow. We curse those who have squandered years of the nation's life for the sake of their personal whims. Our cause is not with individuals, but with attitudes.

The first step towards strengthening is industrialisation. Today, no matter how small a country's population and land area may be, a country with a strong industry is a powerful country. Technological advances and the introduction of atomic and missile weapons into the field of warfare have created huge differences between those who possess them and those who do not. We must catch up with our contemporaries who possess advanced technology. We cannot leave the guarantee of our existence to the aid of our allies forever.

This is not true security. If tomorrow, encouraged by internal traitors, we leave NATO, or if NATO disintegrates due to a Russian-American agreement, will we seek new alliances? No, my friends, we must be a nation that defends itself, a nation whose own weapons are sufficient. This is possible through industrialisation. All the resources of the state and the individual will be directed towards industry. Three-quarters of the population living in villages will be employed in industry. In this way, our citizens, who are idle and fight each other because they are idle, will find work, be comfortable, reap the rewards of their labour, and Turkey's production will increase, be self-sufficient, and be sold to foreigners. Furthermore, the population in agriculture will decrease, and the land currently allocated to each farmer, which is 8 acres, will become family farms of no less than 250 acres.

In industrialising Turkey, scattered villages will be merged to form new cities. A factory has transformed a village of 12 houses, such as Karabük, into a city of fifty-five thousand inhabitants. This is the social and economic principle. A workplace gathers and sustains six people. With its underground mines and above-ground water energy resources, Turkey has the potential to industrialise rapidly. This potential must be utilised.

, Turkey has the potential to industrialise in a short time. This potential must be utilised.

Customers are ready for our manufactured goods. Our oil-producing southern neighbours, with whom we share historical, religious and strategic ties, have high consumption levels and strong purchasing power, and will buy cheap goods from Turkey for themselves.

For the establishment and development of this industry, the focus of education will shift towards technology. The youth who agonise at the gates of universities each year will enrol in new faculties teaching technical sciences, and hundreds of thousands of engineers and technicians will soon realise the new Turkey, the core of a great Turkey.

You, our dear young people, are the source of our strength, the focus of our hope, and the guarantee of our future.

Our Understanding of Youth

Youth is the fundamental source of strength, energy, and hope for a new way of thinking and a developing social structure based on free thought and human intellect. Youth is the force that realises, elevates, and advances political goals.

In Turkey, we want a youth that is mentally, spiritually and physically healthy, with a free mind and conscience, possessing a strong will that is neither oppressed nor eager to oppress, ready to shoulder the responsibility for the future of the state and the nation, and confident in itself.

We consider Turkish youth, moulded by this spirit and consciousness, to be the solution to our cause of social, cultural and economic development, a powerful foundation that upholds and elevates our national existence and ensures its indivisibility. We see youth as an element constituting the main structure of a strong and prosperous Turkey in the future and as its high administrators.

Turkish youth is an indivisible whole; it is not the capital or plaything of divisive efforts.

Goal and Objective

The goal of Turkish youth is to establish a state order and administration that will realise and guarantee human rights and freedoms, the welfare and peace of the individual and society, and social security in Turkey.

To ensure its rapid establishment, along with all its institutions, and to become a dynamic force in the construction and development of the Republic of Turkey as a state of freedom, peace, service and prosperity. The goal is to participate constructively in the common civilisation of contemporary humanity. To this end, we, as Turkish youth, consider it necessary to mobilise all the power and resources of the state to establish and maintain an advanced way of life, and to equip and organise the nation in accordance with modern science and technology. We want scientific thought and planning to prevail in the administration of the state, in social life and in the education of youth.

Turkish youth pursue this goal:

a) The ideals of a nationalist, spiritual, social, and constitutional state;

b) We believe that these principles can be achieved by sincerely adhering to the principles of freedom, nationalism, morality, science, collectivism, progressivism, populism, ruralism, technocracy and industrialisation.

Young people account for over 40% of Turkey's total population. Compared to young people in other less developed countries, Turkish youth are more aware of the challenges and delicate situations that arise from the level of modern civilisation, and therefore have a duty to be a driving, proactive force. The Turkish nation must always maintain its awareness and enthusiasm to fight against corrupt forces that seek to undermine the unity of the Turkish nation and the sovereignty and integrity of the Turkish homeland and state, which are fundamental values. Eastern and Western countries, recognising the important role of their youth, have implemented and continue to implement youth policies and objectives. In addition, they have focused on identifying, implementing and analysing the policies to be applied in order to influence the youth of the world and their issues with their own views.

It is necessary to reveal the real reasons that emerged before 12 March and led a section of Turkish youth to rebel against their own state, and to take the necessary strong and substantive measures accordingly. Otherwise, this national and vital issue cannot be glossed over with superficial measures that further complicate the matter. While a segment of Turkish youth openly betrayed their own state, how and why did the other segment defend their state with a nobility and heroism worthy of their ancestors? Why were children of the same nation, living in the same country and receiving the same education, driven into such a stark and dangerous opposition between treason and patriotism?

We are pleased to state that the young people defending their homeland, being committed to the ideal of Turkish nationalism, have neither become tools of imperialism nor rebelled against the last independent, unique state of the Turks.

The high level of vigilance and self-sacrificing struggle demonstrated by Turkish nationalist youth against foreign ideologies, the precursors of imperialism, in recent years is beyond all praise. It is thanks to their selfless efforts that Turkey has been saved from the brink of disaster. In the service of the Turkish nation, nationalist Turkish youth have been treacherously assassinated by communist gangs, the servants of imperialism, and have given their lives as martyrs. Remembering with mercy the sacred memories of these young heroes who closed their eyes to the world in the spring of their lives, I offer them my gratitude and thanks.

Nationalist youth have suffered a great misfortune, which is that they have been met with incomprehension even by our own governments, which have fallen under the influence of communist propaganda. For this reason, young people have been and continue to be subjected to constant injustice, oppression and persecution. However, we will not lose hope that the truth will eventually be fully understood and appreciated.

Having come to know Turkish nationalist youth closely, I can say with confidence that they are worthy of our nation's complete trust and affection. Seeing their alertness, their strong sense of duty, and their high moral character, we look to the future of our nation with deep conviction.

Neglected Youth

Youth, the source of hope for the present and future of countries and nations, is also the guarantee of a state's continuity. Its importance is great and lofty.

It is regrettable to note that, to date, the issue of youth has not been addressed as a national cause in our country, and no method has been established for serving the youth.

Turkish youth are the sole hope and source of salvation for the future of the Turkish nation. With this view, it is necessary to organise young people, prepare them and train them to perform successful services for the development of the country.

Until now, the driving force of youth has not been appreciated by those in power, and young people have been left alone and unassisted in a haphazard atmosphere, facing social, economic, political and technical impossibilities.

The mental and physical health of young people has been largely neglected. The results produced by goodness, truth, beauty, true ideals and science have not been systematically imparted to young people, and their basic education has been based on images and chance.

The state has failed to fulfil its obligations towards young people. Within a mindset of youth cliques and crude partisanship, the leadership cadre has been confined to a narrow cell of thought that does not serve the country's interests. The parties have not chosen to view youth as a whole and to resolve this national issue within the framework of their main programmes. They have not considered the harmful consequences that would arise from the influence of foreign ideas and political movements, nor have they taken the necessary measures. As a result, we can say that the education of youth has been inadequate, both in terms of quantity and quality.

Youth has been targeted for the oppression and exploitation of tired and worn-out adults. However, despite all this, although their education is incomplete and flawed, the formation of the younger generations is ahead of that of the older generations. Our confidence in tomorrow stems from this. We consider this a source of happiness.

Today, one third of the world's population consists of young people. This figure is not insignificant, especially in less developed countries where it accounts for half of the total population. In these countries, young people are engaging with social issues and preparing to play a more active role.

Our Commitment to Youth

For the Turkish nation to achieve a modern civilisation, we are committed to ensuring that Turkish youth:

a) Preserving national culture, protecting identity, and passing it on from generation to generation,

b) Ensuring their intellectual and physical development to the extent necessary in the modern scientific and social order.

To this end:

1) We consider it essential that cultural and educational institutions be established and equipped in accordance with the principles of scientific efficiency and rationality, and that they be professional.

and ensure that its social order is developed in accordance with the standards of modern nations.

2) Equality of opportunity and access is our unwavering goal.

3) Social insurance guarantees should be applied to all young people in the nation.

4) Free healthcare services must be provided to all young people.

5) Children and young people must be specially protected in working conditions.

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6) Education and cultural facilities should not be unevenly distributed across the country. University youth should be united around a single ideal, namely:

Nationalism, Turkish consciousness. Those living within the borders of Turkey—Citizens are the true children of the Turkish nation, regardless of region, roots, religion or sect. Ensuring that they work hand in hand to elevate the homeland and make Turkishness a strong, advanced entity, and to strive towards our united national ideal, is one of the foremost duties of Turkish youth.

Furthermore, the youth's adoption of nationalist views brings us all many, many benefits for the good of the homeland and the nation.

The state should cover the costs of food, clothing, accommodation, and all course materials and books for university youth, except for those who are financially well-off.

Scholarships should be expanded with ample resources for this purpose. Furthermore, it is absolutely essential that university students engage with the public and villages during holiday periods, immersing themselves in their issues and concerns to understand them closely, and even actively participating in village development through physical labour.

Turkish Sport

Great nations are athletic nations. The Turkish nation has been renowned for its athleticism since ancient times. Wrestling, javelin, archery, sword-and-shield, tomak games, and horse riding are among our national sports that have gone down in history. However, the importance of sport in the life of a nation seems to be misunderstood in Turkey today. It is only right that we hold our statesmen and administrators responsible in this regard. Turkish youth should be healthy, courageous, and talented.

The cultivation of physical fitness is something that can be achieved through sport. Improving the health of our people, increasing their working capacity and developing their mental strength are also possible through the popularisation and promotion of sport.

For years, athletics has been a means of livelihood and a way to make money in our country. As a result, untalented and poorly trained athletes sent to international competitions cast a shadow on the honour of our nation. The results achieved by our athletes in international competitions and their behaviour there, which is contrary to Turkish manners and sportsmanship, have caused deep sorrow to all citizens. Governments must refrain from using the Ministry of Youth and Sports for partisan purposes. Sports education must be reformed, and sports must be rescued from the hands of profiteers and entrusted to genuine sports personnel who prioritise the health and honour of the nation above all else.

THE REALITIES OF OUR AGE AND TURKISH YOUTH*

Turkey is a country engaged in great struggles. The greatest struggle is to break the cycle of backwardness and poverty. To carry out and continue this struggle, we must act wisely and work hard.

Nationalist Great Turkey will be a country that has regained its historical prestige and reached the highest level in science, technology and industry. Those who are hostile to the Turks and who doubt the strengthening of the Turkish nation will try to prevent this strengthening with their usual treacherous behaviour.

To establish a Nationalist Great Turkey, we must make a leap forward to meet all the requirements of the atomic age, the space age, the electronic age, and advanced technology. This leap across the ages requires a strong state ideology and bold actions and initiatives.

The energy of the dynamism of the great leaps that will enable the Turkish nation to shine like a sun in the universe and be reborn exists only and exclusively in the Idealist Youth. The Idealist Youth, who possess this dynamism, are the youth of the Nationalist Movement, who are determined and committed to the struggle to change the destiny of the Turkish nation. As the General Chairman and leader of the MHP, speaking on behalf of the sincere feelings of the members of this party, we take pride in our Idealist Youth.

Our country is facing various disturbances and attacks from outside forces. We are particularly facing attacks from foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. Certain deviant voices and certain conditioned minds in our country are attempting to misrepresent this struggle, which is closely related to the life of the Turkish nation, to the Turkish people. This

* Alparslan Türkeş delivered this speech at the 2nd Youth Congress.

distorted voices, these distorted pens, speak of "conflicts between opposing groups". There are no opposing groups in Turkey. There is no conflict between opposing groups in Turkey. In Turkey, there are conscious, idealist sons of the nation who strive to overcome the Turkish nation's destiny of poverty, destitution and backwardness through political action and to re-establish the Turkish nation within the civilised life of the world. On the other hand, there is a herd of fools who want to enslave the Turkish nation, divide the Turkish homeland and drown Turkey in bloody fratricidal conflicts, thereby ending the life of the world's only Turkish state.

On one side are those striving to preserve the Turkish flag flying proudly on towers and flagpoles; on the other are those who tear the Turkish flag to pieces and trample it underfoot. It is impossible to see these two sides together. Every sensible Turk, every patriotic citizen who cares about their country and state, is obliged to stand with those who wish to preserve the Turkish state, to take a stand against those who wish to destroy it, and to join hands with them.

Great unrest, explosions and crises in society arise from all kinds of injustice. People may be willing to endure hardship and distress, but they cannot accept injustice.

Combating evil forces and overcoming crises are tasks that require a strong focus on social justice and social security and must be carried out without delay.

The existence of a respected and reliable justice system guarantees democracy and freedoms. The saying "Justice is the foundation of the state" was not uttered in vain. Actions must be taken in accordance with the purpose and meaning of this maxim.

Those who are hostile to the great Turkish nation, as they were yesterday, are today engaged in divisive and destructive behaviour such as communist agitation, regionalism and sectarianism in order to undermine our unity and solidarity for their dirty ambitions.

It is with regret that we must state that the protectors and collaborators of these divisive elements are the leaders of the CHP, one of the country's old political parties. Mr Bülent Ecevit, the honourable Chairman of the CHP, is the chief protector and chief collaborator of all kinds of separatism, all kinds of incitement, and of the separatists and communists who want to tear the country apart. He is an imitator of foreign cultures and ideologies and has adopted an attitude that is hostile to the independent, national culture and national intellectual life of the Turkish nation. He and his

I openly condemn and criticise those who stubbornly persist in these misguided attitudes. In order to overcome the dangers facing our nation and our country, it is imperative that the CHP, an important political party in our country, and its leaders recognise and understand their mistakes and abandon this gravely misguided path. Otherwise, continuing down this path will expose Turkey to great dangers. The Turkish nation, wishing to protect itself from these dangers, will be compelled to make the necessary decision regarding the leaders of the CHP.

Knowing the hostile intentions of communists, separatists, those who incite sectarian divisions, and the unwitting slaves of foreign ideologies, we have always opposed all kinds of destructive behaviour and will continue to do so.

As Turkish youth, you must know and thoroughly evaluate the issues facing our country, Turkey. You have passed great tests. Your conscious actions have resulted in honourable services that will go down in history.

The Nationalist Movement is gaining recognition and respect with each passing day. The sincerity and honesty of the policies we pursue are greatly appreciated and respected. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement is determined to be worthy of the respect shown to it by the Turkish nation and to forge ahead tirelessly and unwaveringly on the path it believes to be right. I want you to be well aware of this.

The salvation of the Turkish nation lies in eradicating all forms of corruption as quickly and directly as possible, and by eradicating all forms of immorality and black market practices. The dynamism and energy to elevate the Turkish nation to the atomic age, the space age, and the electronic age through the political action of the ideology of Turkish Nationalism lie within the Nationalist Movement Party. Intellectuals who call themselves nationalists must correctly identify their place and take it. Otherwise, their negligence and treachery will be measured. The gathering place of nationalists, the place of action for nationalists, is solely and exclusively the MHP.

Since 1830, most of those who have governed Turkey have not progressed beyond being imitators of Western capitalism. Imitating Western capitalism has not taken the Turkish nation anywhere. The fact that our nation is still poor today, that our nation is still under the economic exploitation of foreigners, is a consequence of the imitators of Western capitalism. A party that is an imitator of Western capitalism, exploiting nationalism by saying, "I am a nationalist, nationalists will unite here," is ensuring negligence.

A person who succumbs to the policy of exploitation cannot be considered a nationalist. Or, there are those who exploit the mercy felt by the people towards certain individuals, using the deaths of those who passed away as a result of certain mistakes or justified or unjustified attitudes in past years, turning their shrouds into flags and exploiting them to claim nationalism. They have committed a grave error. It is impossible for them to serve the Turkish nation. They must find the right path and accept it. Otherwise, they will remain people who have failed to fulfil their national and historical duties.

The MHP flag, the Nine Lights flag, is the true flag of liberation. Under this flag are those who uphold honesty, those who accept the view that the nation's existence is above the existence of the individual, those who accept to make every sacrifice for the rise of our nation, those who are determined to fight for the country and the nation. Those who seek easy success, those who chase positions, those who are self-serving, opportunistic, and deceitful cannot stand under this flag.

We must fight against foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. Nations that do not engage in this struggle are doomed to slavery. We pursue the cause of national ideals and national culture for this reason. For this reason, we want everyone to read, know and spread our National Doctrine, the Nine Lights.

We must preserve and perpetuate Turkish customs. Respect and obedience to elders, love and compassion for the young are among the most beautiful virtues of Turkish customs.

We advocate a view that upholds the existence of the nation above that of the individual, based on a disciplined understanding of the nation that adheres to spiritual values and moral principles in laws and regulations.

To establish a Great Turkey, we continue the struggle to propel the Turkish nation forward through the ages, elevating it to the highest level in science, technology, and spiritual values. In this struggle, we need a cadre of world-class, virtuous, knowledgeable scientists and technicians with high qualifications. This awareness and understanding, this drive and dynamism, exist only within the Nationalist Movement Party and its Idealist Youth. We are obliged to explain this clear truth to all our intellectuals and the public, to mobilise its great energy, to put it into action.

We must ignite and inspire the energy of the people through a campaign of goodwill based on trust and love. To this end, I propose that the fine arts be mobilised for the benefit of society.

We will relentlessly continue our struggle against divisive and destructive activities that threaten our unity and solidarity. Behaviours that seek to hinder our struggle are doomed to remain feeble and fade away.

We will never abandon our ideals. At the same time, we will maintain realism. Taking into account the conditions in our country, we will develop measures that will ensure the progress and advancement of our nation and our homeland, without imitating others, drawing strength from our own national history, relying on our own national and spiritual values, but also leading with modern science and technology, and we will undoubtedly develop in a safe and successful direction.

We will always care about the fate of people bearing the Turkish name, wherever they may be. We will do everything in our power to improve their circumstances and situation. Wherever there are Turks in the world, Turkish Nationalists are with them, care about them, and surround them with their love, respect, and concern.

Let us always stand on the side of justice. We belong to a great nation that has always served justice, law and fairness, and has established order wherever it has ruled. We will always defend the rights enshrined in the Declaration of Human Rights for our own nation.

We are determined to do everything required by our nation's ideals and higher interests in our national cause of Cyprus and other such national causes. When discussing the Cyprus issue, I advise you not to forget the Aegean islands, the islands that have fallen into the hands of foreigners who have penetrated right up to our shores. As long as a nation's national causes live in its heart, those causes are not lost. Those causes will one day surely be won.

Whatever the conditions may be today, conditions do not always remain the same. The Turkish nation will inevitably change its fate of backwardness, poverty and weakness. It will inevitably achieve its cause of becoming the most powerful entity on earth, the most advanced in science, technology and civilisation, a respected entity.

With your idealistic and faithful conduct, you will overcome every obstacle and illuminate every darkness. The Nationalist Movement will be victorious and will bring joy to the Turkish nation. This victory will be your achievement as Idealistic Youth, and a happy, great Turkey will emerge from your Idealistic minds and your hearts, as vast and faithful as the sea.

PRESS AND JOURNALISM

The press is referred to as the fourth estate. Except in countries where newspapers and other news outlets are subject to heavy censorship, no one doubts the accuracy of this description attributed to the press. Indeed, especially in our country, it can be argued that the press ranks even higher than fourth in terms of influence.

In a democracy, the press is one of the channels that enables the public to participate directly in national affairs and governance. Newspapers, radio and television are the primary tools both for reflecting events to the public and shaping public opinion, and for conveying the public's reaction to those in power. Thus, thanks to you, our people have the opportunity to intervene in the administration not only by going to the polls once every four years, but at any time, and democracy, which means popular government, is established in its true sense through our press.

I began with a quote highlighting the power of the press. I find it useful to repeat another quote about the press here: "A newspaper can be a window through which a person views the world, but it can also be a paper curtain covering that window." Undoubtedly, members of the press, like everyone else, will have political opinions, differing views, and value judgements. Indeed, it is natural that these differences should appear in their most crystallised form in the columns of opinion writers, who are the intellectual leaders of society. Our newspapers will feature right-wing articles, left-wing articles, centrist articles, nationalist articles and commentaries. However, the news, that is, an objective event, must be conveyed to the public with the same objectivity. Right-wing news cannot and should not be left-wing news.

Certainly, the formation of public opinion as varied as the types of newspapers in response to a particular event is an unfortunate circumstance. Such a situation undermines the role and function of the press in democracies, as we explained earlier.

The press itself will undoubtedly prevent such drawbacks arising from a lack of objectivity and impartiality in reporting. Furthermore, since one of the criteria for readers in choosing a newspaper is its objectivity and accurate reporting of events, the reward for an impartial stance or the penalty for the opposite will manifest itself in the form of circulation fluctuations.

We believe that press freedom is essential for the development of a legal system that promotes the happiness and well-being of society. We believe that today's press, despite various pressures, influences and obstacles, is striving to fulfil its honourable duty.

The Turkish press has reached its current position by overcoming serious obstacles. The press serves the public. In performing this service, it is essential that it does not act on the basis of preconceived notions, prejudices, previously held opinions, or emotional desires. In democratic regimes, every election expresses the choice of the people. It is primarily the duty of the press to ensure that this choice is reflected according to objective criteria. In fulfilling this duty, it is beneficial to take all necessary measures to free press members from external and internal pressures. We see the greatest danger to the press in its falling under the control of financial groups and in the imposition of emotional censorship on news. As a political party, we are seriously concerned about both of these issues.

In our country, where radio and television broadcasts cannot reach a wide audience with news, it falls to our newspapers to satisfy the information needs of broad sections of the public. In doing so, they must pay attention to journalistic integrity and refrain from resorting to demagoguery to attract readers.

We wish to see the Press Honour Council and the Press Ethics Laws, which were introduced to the Turkish press after 27 May 1960, as institutions that operate effectively and impartially.

There are events, apart from daily occurrences and domestic political issues, where our press cannot be objective.

On issues concerning our national unity, the integrity of the Turkish homeland and state, and national interests, our press should not be impartial but, on the contrary, should stand with all its might on the side of the Turkish nation's interests. Particularly in matters of foreign policy and in the coverage of events concerning our national integrity, not only objectivity but, if necessary, journalism

may need to be pushed into the background. At such times, our journalists' patriotism will impose censorship on their journalistic duties.

The Turkish press has successfully passed the test with the sensitive approach it has demonstrated on national issues to date. Our journalists have proven that they are aware of the responsibility that comes with the environment of press freedom in our country and the powerful position that this environment provides to news outlets. We are confident that this same sense of responsibility and seriousness will continue to increase the effectiveness of our press and its power in the public sphere.

Looking back at our recent history, we see that Turkish journalism has been developing rapidly in a positive direction, and we have no doubt that this development will continue.

NATIONAL ISSUES

Today, our country is undergoing serious upheavals and crises. A significant part of the reasons for these upheavals are external influences. Turkey is one of the countries caught up in the fierce struggles between the great powers of the world.

The development and advancement of nations is achieved first and foremost through sound morals and faith. It is achieved through modern, powerful nationalism, reaching the highest levels in science and technology, and through industrialisation. As a result, it is achieved by ensuring modern mass production in both agriculture and industry.

Undoubtedly, the most productive investments are those made in human minds. For this reason, it is crucial that national education activities are conducted in a realistic, accurate and scientific manner. Rapidly advancing in science and technology and transforming our society into a highly productive one depends solely on our universities working diligently and conducting scientific research. Only in this way can Turkey's problems of backwardness and poverty be swiftly resolved.

The occupation of schools and boycotts, which have rendered them inoperable through conflict, constitute the greatest betrayal of Turkey. The most significant problems facing our country are issues of faith, morality, ideals, and production. For many years, those who have governed Turkey and the intellectual circles have squandered Turkey's valuable time by imitating the consumption-based lifestyle of the West. They have not made any efforts to achieve the West's production capacity. With this behaviour, our country has continued to remain a backward producer, like the old Eastern countries, while being dragged into a consumer lifestyle like Western countries. This has led to increasing poverty and decline every day.

Today, we are confronted with unrest spreading across the entire country in our universities. Some people attribute the events that have occurred to the failure to implement university reform.

Some people claim that it came about because of social conditions in the country, while others claim that it was the result of conflict between extremes. In our view, these are not the real reasons.

This is a situation created by a subversive movement with foreign roots that seeks to divide, destroy and swallow up Turkey. It must be taken seriously, and patriotic citizens who love their country must join hands in a stance that accepts no compromise on the unity of the Turkish nation and the integrity of the Turkish homeland. We are opposed to these violent actions. We see the rule of law as the only path to salvation. In matters of foreign policy, we believe that we should not harbour hostility towards any state, that we should maintain friendly relations with all nations without interfering in their internal affairs, and that protecting our national interests should be the sole guiding principle of our foreign policy.

We are confident that the Turkish nation, which has proven itself capable of overcoming many difficulties, will resolve the issues we currently face in the shortest possible time.

SCIENCE, IDEOLOGICAL CADRES AND DEVELOPMENT

IDEALIST INTELLECTUALS AND DEVELOPMENT

Industrialisation is a matter of science and technology. The Turkish State can only be brought up to the level of contemporary societies by applying the most modern and newest technology to industry. Only in this way can we close the enormous gap between us and developed countries in a short time.

The only condition for this is to initiate an extraordinary mobilisation of effort, with nationalist and idealist intellectuals dominating state positions instead of bureaucrats and those in power who are indifferent to the cause.

Great importance should be attached to science and scientific research, and the country's need for scientists and technocrats should be identified and an education system appropriate to this goal should be implemented in place of the current chaotic system. Science and technology should be given priority in a direction that is productive and research-oriented.

The education system should be reorganised in line with the country's realities and development goals. With such an education, the productive, research-oriented minds that will be nurtured should be given a leading role in our development and provided with the status they deserve, without being forced to go abroad. The exploitation and export of brains must end.

This national elite, whom we can call the "Brain or Management Team" – nationalist, idealist, researchers, scientists – trained through special education, will be the cornerstone of our development.

Otherwise, it will be impossible for the nation to continue its development, progress and existence.

Turkish Intellectuals Must Think Like Turks

I must point out that it is impossible to expect great and creative moves from movements that have not gained independence in thought and attitude and have not overcome imitation.

Unless the intellectuals of a nation possess accurate information and assessments about the reasons for their backwardness, they cannot build the future of their countries on solid foundations. Unfortunately, in this regard, Turkish intellectuals have succumbed to the imperialism of foreign cultures, and therefore our efforts spanning more than fifty years have failed to yield the desired results. It should not be forgotten that it is impossible to expect great and creative moves from movements that have not gained independence in thought and attitude and have not overcome imitation.

Healthy vision is only possible by looking at the world through our own eyes. We believe that the Turkish nation, embracing Islam as its spirit and Turkishness as its body, will make great strides and rise above the contemporary level both materially and spiritually by making its own culture dominant in its life. Turkish intellectuals have the duty to free themselves from the pressure of foreign cultures, to acquire the habit of **thinking like a Turk**, and to lead their nation by finding solutions to its problems from this perspective. Turkish intellectuals have found the way to unite with our people by rallying around the Nationalist Movement. The victory of the Nationalist Movement is the national idea of the Turkish nation.

With this understanding, the Turkish nation's tendency to turn towards its historical path and embrace its own national and spiritual values is growing stronger every day. This sacred development, which we call the Turkish nation's self-discovery and return to itself, threatens the reign of mass parties that seek to live for the day. The daily games of politics will not save them; every measure they resort to will hasten their downfall.

The problems of Turkey and the Turkish nation are solved not with ideas originating from foreign sources, but with ideas that are one hundred per cent national. This is the view of Turkish Nationalism. The Nationalist Movement first entered Turkish political life by defending this view and has today become the most reputable, cleanest and most courageous political organisation.

Our cause is the struggle to create a future worthy of our past.

The Turkish nation is experiencing a very turbulent period in history. It faces the prospect of either continuing to exist as an independent state in the world or ceasing to exist. The reason for this is the great changes that have taken place in human life. The incredible advances achieved by advanced countries in science and technology have made them unstoppable powers. Over the past 58 years, the Turkish nation has again failed to keep pace with these developments. The main reason for this is the incompetence of those who govern Turkey.

The ideology we espouse and the political action we have initiated are based on the ideal of loving people and serving Turkish society without expecting anything in return. We have advocated the view that, regardless of their circumstances, people should be treated with love and respect, without despising or belittling them, and that work should be based on justice and fairness. We have adopted as our fundamental principle that the existence of society and the interests of the nation should be placed above personal interests. Turkish youth are a very pure, very idealistic group. They consider it an honour to work and struggle selflessly for high national and human ideals. The majority of intellectuals involved in political parties in our country pursue the goal of being elected as MPs or senators and gaining personal interests rather than working for an ideal. In this respect, Turkish political life does not provide a place for idealistic, self-sacrificing and selfless people. Political parties are rife with intrigues and endless gossip among those seeking personal gain. It is precisely because we have taken up the cause of the Turkish nation without compromise, guided by spirituality, science and morality, that we have rallied the vast majority of enlightened Turkish youth to our movement.

As Turkish nationalists, we can briefly summarise the struggle we have waged as a political action both long before 1965 and after 1965 as follows:

OUR CAUSE: To create a future worthy of the Turkish nation's great and glorious past.

Turkish Nationalism is the consciousness of the Turkish nation's pure and superior will to live. We cannot think of Turkish Nationalism as a reaction born out of danger. It is based on love for humanity and respect for human dignity.

It is a noble action that aims to establish a highly civilised order based on rights and justice. This action seeks to save Turkish intellectuals and future generations from the spiritual decline that would lead them to accept slavery, servitude, and beggary. The social order this action seeks to establish recognises human labour as sacred and accepts earning a living through hard work and creating works as the most honourable path.

We set out with the goal of establishing a new cadre of intellectuals who reject the mentality that considers begging from others as opportunism and embracing dependence on others. It is clear that we have made significant progress in this regard.

As Nationalist Movementists, we have also fought against foreign ideologies and played the greatest role in preventing their plans to undermine the Turkish state. As for the attacks against us, their main source is people who have been deceived and engaged in these foreign ideologies. Today, there are three types of intellectuals in our Turkey:

1) Sincere, faithful, idealistic, nationalist intellectuals.

2) Intellectuals who are blindly and self-servingly attached to foreign ideologies and foreigners.

3) Opportunistic, self-serving, indifferent intellectuals.

Our movement has been subjected to slander, injustice and hostility by those who make up the second and third groups. Despite this, it marches on, stronger than ever. Any attack that comes our way from these circles is considered an honour.

The future holds great dangers for the Turkish nation. These dangers include attacks by foreign ideologies and cultures, divisive movements being fuelled within our own ranks, and worst of all, the continued negligence stemming from the lack of awareness and awakening among our people.

For these reasons, great struggles will take place in the near future. The youth of the Nationalist Movement must prepare themselves for this. TURKISH NATIONALISM MUST EMERGE VICTORIOUS FROM THIS STRUGGLE; IT WILL EMERGE VICTORIOUS...

A CALL TO THE YOUTH*

YOUTH; THE NATIONAL STATE IS IN YOUR MINDS AND HEARTS. OUR GOAL: THE NATIONAL STATE – TO BE A STRONG GOVERNMENT.

The Turkish genius, who taught the world the order of the state, has today been attacked by foreign, divisive, false ideologies that have sprung up like weeds. However, I firmly believe that you, the Nationalist-Idealist Turkish Youth, are the representatives of the Turkish race's spirit of civilisation and heroism. I am fully convinced that you, the Nationalist-Idealist Turkish Youth, who represent the spirit of civilisation and heroism of the Turkish race, possess the strength and faith to lead our state out of this crisis and towards greatness and prosperity. I am proud to declare that the eternal existence of Turkishness will be protected against all dangers in the idealistic minds and tireless shoulders of you Idealists, the brave Grey Wolves. You are not alone in the struggle for the existence of Turkishness. In this struggle, you have Mete Khans, Bilge Khans, Fatih's, hundreds of millions of Yavrukurts, young Grey Wolves by your side. And finally, in this struggle, you have the great mission that Allah has drawn as a line of destiny for the Turkish nation. This mission is the Turkish world domination, the great ideal of Turkishness, which has left its mark from the Taurus Mountains to the Hira Mountains, and from the Hira Mountains to the lands of Anatolia.

The Turkish genius has the ability to produce great saviours even in the most unexpected, darkest moments. You are the happy Idealists who emerge like a light, a torch, from the dark environment of a mentality that has been corrupted over many years, that has made all kinds of aimlessness and all kinds of destructiveness into a state philosophy. I salute you as lovers of discipline, homeland, and nation, and embrace you warmly. History will speak of you with pride and admiration.

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* This section is taken from Mr Alparslan Türkeş's speech at the 1st Youth Congress.

Our goal: A National State—A Strong Government.

Our aim is to establish a great Turkey that is ahead of its time. Our aim is to establish a developed, civilised, powerful Turkey on these sacred lands. Our aim is to establish a nationalist Turkey, a heavy industrial society of 100 million people. Our goal is to establish a Turkey that is idealistic, civilised, communal, progressive, and freedom-loving. Our goal is to establish a democratic Turkey, a country of well-fed and happy people. In a word, our goal is to establish a national state and become a powerful authority. Never forget that the national state and powerful authority will be established in your minds, in your hearts, and in your hands. For this reason, you will not give up, you will not tire, you will not be afraid. Because the future belongs to those who do not give up, who do not tire, who are not afraid. Long live the National State, Long live Strong Power. Long live the Idealist Grey Wolf children of the great Turkish race...

Our greatest duty is national unity. We consider every person living within our national borders, who is not divisive and who accepts our national values, to be Turkish. This sacred homeland, from east to west, north to south, is the homeland of people who have lived and mingled together for centuries, with its stones and soil. This homeland is sacred ground, gifted to us with the blood of our beloved martyrs. Our duty is to protect and defend every inch of this homeland entrusted to us, even at the cost of our lives. We will pass on this sacred legacy, entrusted to us by our ancestors, to future generations exactly as it is. We are friends with every person and every organisation that will take on this duty, and we consider them our brothers and sisters. We welcome those who will take their turn in this duty with open arms; for this reason, let us state immediately that we are not divisive, but unifying; we are not separatists, but integrators. We oppose all divisive and separatist tendencies.

Nationalists Will Foil the Schemes of Enemies of the State

Dear Grey Wolves,

Within the framework of the Constitution, we respect every system that upholds liberal democracy and respects human rights, based on national unity and integrity. Our fundamental belief is in an inclusive, national liberal, parliamentary democracy. Those who do not believe in these principles will find us opposed to them. Our struggle will be democratic and legitimate, within the boundaries of the Constitution. Human

We do not believe in regimes that are not based on human rights and love for humanity. For this reason, we oppose all dictatorial regimes, especially Marxism and fascism. Liberal democracy cannot be established by opposing a single regime that is its enemy. Democratic fraudsters who secretly express their inner communism and Marxism through various slogans will conceal their true identities. Fanatics who call everyone who is not a communist a fascist should know that the Idealist Youth will always foil their games through legitimate means within the rule of law. Those who call Turkish Nationalists fascists should not forget that they themselves are the real fascists. Red fascists, at that! These communist fascists, these intellectual pygmies with their outdated ideas, will always find the legitimate forces of the state, the legitimate youth of the Turkish nation, and the Turkish Idealists standing against them.

A certain individual claiming to be a democratic socialist could no longer conceal his political intentions and insulted the Turkish nation's legitimate institution, its parliament. Remember that no socialist believes in democracy. Every socialist harbours a desire for extra-parliamentary rule. We, who believe in liberal national democracy, will pursue these enemies of parliament at every opportunity. Our faith in the great Turkish nation, which will block their extra-parliamentary paths, is boundless.

The last Republican People's Party government turned the radio and television administration, established with state funds, into a hotbed of the aforementioned mentality, instilled an attitude that did not believe in our national values, and transformed it into an institution that implemented an unprecedented example of partisan governance. I openly condemn this mentality and this administration, which runs counter to the Turkish nation, and call on them to return to the path of the Constitution. Let them never forget that all legal measures will be taken against them and they will be held accountable for their crimes.

We will work hard. We must come to power. The nationalist ideal of Turkey will be realised through our rule. In ten years, we will become a developed, growing industrial society. The national sector we will establish in every corner of the country will make every citizen a property owner, a homeowner. With Agricultural Towns, our villagers will truly become masters, overcoming all difficulties. Our workers, through free trade unionism based on the principle of national-type labour, will both contribute to our country's development and attain the most secure social security conditions. We will equip the children of peasants, workers, tradesmen, and poor civil servants with the highest scholarships and credit opportunities and educate them in universities and higher education institutions.

Ultranationalist Grey Wolves: Our duty is to seize power; our goal is to establish a developed, nationalist Turkey of one hundred million people. I call upon all of you to join this sacred cause. Long live the Great Turkish Ideal, long live the Ultranationalist Turkish Youth...

6- LIBERALISM AND PERSONALITY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Human beings are born with biological and psychological potential. This is what our individuality means.

Humans are individuals from birth. They then acquire personality by being moulded by the cultural values of the nation in which they are born and raised.

The child of every nation builds their fundamental personality with the values of their national culture. The individual, who acquires a social form and spirit through the religion, morality, customs, law and aesthetics of their nation, develops within their own abilities and originality and acquires personality.

Personalities, while original, fundamentally express national character and shared values. An individual possesses the core and fundamental character of the nation in which they were born and raised. For this reason, personalities reflect the nation in which they developed and matured. While we expect original and dynamic personalities from Turkish children, we also want to see them as modern individuals who actively embrace the social and cultural values that make them Turkish, who are not alienated from their Turkishness and our noble religion, Islam.

Nationalist Turkish youth must demonstrate their disciplined and freedom-loving nature in a balanced manner throughout their entire lives and behaviour.

Discipline means that a child of the nation respects his own religion, national customs, historical legal principles, and, in short, all the values that make us who we are. Discipline brings unity, solidarity and order.

Freedom, on the other hand, means that individuals can develop their own abilities, live their personalities freely, and express themselves without undermining national values.

In conclusion, we can say this: **Freedom without discipline is anarchy, and discipline without freedom is dictatorship.**

Strong personalities can only exist as children of great nations. Great personalities can be born by feeding on the history, culture and ideals of a great nation. People who are alienated from their own nation, who are imitators and degenerate, have no chance of success.

In Islam, it is forbidden to be a servant to anyone other than Allah. This means to be free in the fullest and most complete sense. A Muslim-Turkish child must be a person who accepts no god but Allah and dedicates himself to his state and nation with complete peace of conscience. Such a person is one who has freed himself from the narrow and egoistic desires of individuality and who considers the development of his personality in conjunction with national interests.

Turkish Nationalism has made liberalism and individualism the foundation of its doctrine, alongside its social character. This is one of the Nine Lights.

Today, the concepts of freedom and individuality should not be approached in the classical sense. Rights and freedoms that remain only on paper in constitutions and laws, and are not realised in practice, cannot be saved from being mere luxuries. For this reason, freedoms today must be **guaranteed**. These guarantees must be reinforced through economic, social, cultural and legal sanctions.

Those who profess liberalism in words but leave it unsecured cannot be sincere liberals.

On the other hand, views based on "individualistic liberalism," which incite people's individual egoisms and allow the weak to be crushed by the strong, are also foreign to us.

Liberalism cannot mean allowing individuals to exploit societies; collectivism cannot mean allowing individuals to be enslaved.

Liberalism

We believe that people can develop best and be happiest in freedom. For people to be free, for freedom to exist, they must own property and possessions. For example, we have freedom of movement, but we have no money in our pockets. In this situation,

Can we talk about freedom of movement? For laws promising freedom of movement to be effective, governments must provide the economic means to achieve this and take the necessary measures.

Individualism

People's personalities are important. We embrace collectivism, but we are individualists. This does not mean that we view people as mere entities whose sole purpose is to multiply their wealth. Individualism that seeks to exploit people and communitarianism that crushes individuality are outside our views; it is our duty to elevate people's individuality in an environment of freedom and to respect and love it. We accept not individualism but "individuality".

Many sociologists and educators have clearly stated that societies cannot survive without ideals, and individuals cannot be happy unless they are integrated into society.

The periods when nations embark on great works and endeavours are times when they are driven by great love and faith towards sacred goals. This faith and love unites all individuals in "sorrow, fate, and joy," leading them to great achievements. Essentially, the birth and development of great personalities, geniuses and heroes coincide with periods of such national endeavour and fervour. The destinies of great personalities cannot be separated from the destinies of nations.

NINE LIGHTS AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

For humans, happiness is first and foremost dependent on freedom. The most repulsive state that degrades humanity is for people to be slaves, to be enslaved. In the National Doctrine of Nine Lights, we have adopted a view that accepts neither using others as servants nor being servants to others. We are against slavery, which is the most repulsive state that degrades people. We believe that the Turkish nation and Turkish society will be happy and can rise up only if they are free in every sense. In this regard, we are against any kind of behaviour that leads people into bondage, whatever the excuse, whatever the name. By freedom, we mean not only political freedom, but also economic freedom, social freedom, freedom of science, in short, all freedoms expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Constitution as a whole.

The system of government we deem appropriate for the Turkish nation is the Liberal Democracy system. In this regard, the preservation and development of the Democratic Order and securing the support of the people within the Democratic Order are fundamental principles of the Nine Lights ideology. Along with the principle of liberalism, we also use the term populism. What is meant by the term populism is this: Everything should be with the people, for the people, true to the people, and by the people. We mean the idea that every action should be organised and carried out for the people and by the people, by sharing the people's life, prioritising the advancement of the people, working hand in hand with the people, and being deeply involved with the people's concerns. We do not consider it right or appropriate to act against the people. The rise of the Turkish nation and the development of the ideal of nationalism as a political movement depend, above all, on the creation and development of People's Democracy in Turkey. The preservation and achievement of the goals of Turkish Nationalism are closely linked to Democracy. For this reason, the will of the people, based on Populism and Liberty, is the fundamental principle of the national doctrine.

Freedom in our country has often been understood and accepted in a political sense, as a cliché. Such freedom has often been far from being freedom for all living people, for all nations. When we speak of freedom, we do not take political freedom as our basis; we consider freedom in all its aspects and accept as our basis the desire for freedom in that sense. These are the freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This is a view of freedom that encompasses all freedoms, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of science, social freedom, economic freedom, freedom from fear and oppression, and freedom from poverty. If someone says, "You are free; we recognise your political rights; you can vote for whoever you want," but then secretly threatens, "If you don't vote for this side, I'll fire you," then that freedom has no meaning. Or if a situation arises where someone threatens, "If you vote for this side, five of my men will surround you on your way home tonight and beat you up properly," then freedom loses its meaning. In other words, for freedom to be true freedom, it is essential that all these freedoms, listed separately in the United Nations Charter, are guaranteed to everyone as a whole.

Along with liberty, we also uphold individuality. People should treat each other with mutual respect and mutual assurance. If people are constantly subjected to abuse, if they cannot always be sure of their rights, then it is impossible for those people to be useful, to live in peace and to be happy in that country. That is why we express this principle by saying we are libertarians and individualists.

The Nine Lights Doctrine is Libertarian and Individualist.

The Nationalist Movement is based on love for humanity. The Nationalist Movement believes in human personality, loves and respects people. The development and shaping of human personality is possible in free and democratic regimes. Regimes that are not free and democratic are contrary to human personality. In such regimes, people are not respected. There is no love for humanity. The Nationalist Movement means loving and respecting the Turkish people and wanting them to flourish. For this reason, we believe that the path of governance for our nation is a free and democratic order. We oppose all regimes that are hostile to a free and democratic order; we do not believe in them. We oppose the Marxist-capitalist ideology that destroys freedom and democracy.

Fascist and Nazi state systems are systems we reject. In these systems, it is not the individuals who make up the nation who are dominant, but only certain classes or groups. Governance is in the hands of a handful of people. Marxism claimed to be the state of the working class, but in practice it created a new bureaucratic class. This class is first-class citizens affiliated with the Communist Party. Every luxury, every comfort, every means of the state is at their disposal. A large part of the nation groans in misery and bondage. Fascist and Nazi systems are other totalitarian systems that do not recognise freedom and democracy. The Nazi system implemented by Hitler in Germany was an anti-democratic regime based on the superiority of the German race, which viewed other races as inferior and despicable. It created divisions within itself and between individuals, and did not bring freedom to all people. The fascist system implemented by Mussolini in Italy led to severe state control, and individuals were unable to participate in the administration in accordance with their own decisions and preferences. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement sees the path of administration and the destiny of the Turkish nation and the Turkish people in a democratic system. We do not believe in systems that deny rights to all individuals. Our national doctrine, NINE LIGHTS, points to a new path for our nation based on love for humanity and infinite respect for human dignity. The fundamental source of this path is the Islamic faith and Turkish consciousness and pride. The torch of the Great Turkey, which will rise like a new sun on the horizons of the world, has been lit. I have given this torch to you. Carry it to every corner of our homeland and ignite the hearts of every Turk with it.

82 See Footnote 10: Fascism.

NEW COLONIALISM

In the age we live in, neo-colonialism has become widespread. In countries targeted for exploitation and subjugation, the forces seeking to colonise create communities that have adopted their own culture and ideology. With their help, they exploit, enslave and completely take over that country. For years, our Turkey has been under attack from various foreign powers, cultures and ideologies. Those who govern our country have pushed our nation into a cultural and ideological vacuum. This has made it easier for foreign cultures and ideologies to influence our people. The most terrible imperialism known to the world is Russian imperialism. Since 1917, communist ideology has been a tool of bloody, terrifying Russian imperialism. The Turkish nation can only live freely and independently and rise up if it is protected against all forms of imperialism. Ideas and ideologies can only be prevented by ideas and ideologies that are stronger and more robust than themselves. Otherwise, ideas cannot be prevented by brute force or police-gendarmerie coercion. In Turkey in recent years, due to the negligence of governments, the communist ideology has rapidly spread. We have upheld the ideology of Turkish Nationalism against it. And against communism, we have established a nationalist, modern doctrine that will ensure Turkey's development and advancement. We called this the Nine Lights doctrine. We proposed neither capitalism nor communism; we proposed a third way, an economic and social doctrine based on the spiritual foundations of Islam and Turkish Nationalism and guided by modern science. Our ideas gained the most respect and were received with enthusiasm among young people in higher education. We considered it necessary for the welfare of the country to warn young people against emerging foreign ideological attacks and to fill them with a nationalist ideology. We were very successful in this. Today, hundreds of thousands of Turkish youth are in our ranks.

The twentieth century is also the century of nations and nationalities. Those who are not nationalist and idealist have no right to live in this century. We reject all forms of

forms of imperialism and foreign cultures. Our primary goal is to spread and develop our own national ideology and culture.

We are opposed to systems that are not liberal and individualistic.

The Nationalist Movement is also opposed to fascism and National Socialism. Fascism and National Socialism are political-economic systems that were implemented in Italy and Germany after the First World War. Their leaders were Mussolini and Hitler. We do not believe in these systems, which do not believe in the democratic order or in love and respect for humanity. These systems, like Marxist-Socialism or communism, are systems that are alien to the age and to humanity. We have never embraced socialism, fascism or national socialism, and we never will.

However, some political opportunists, caught up in a fit of hysteria, mired in provocation and espionage, perhaps wound up like an old clock, repeat these immoral slanders wherever they go. We repeat to them: The Nationalist Movement loves and respects the Turkish people. The Turkish nation is opposed to both fascism and socialism. As our party emerged from within this Great Nation, it cannot embrace any system that runs counter to it. We are opposed to all forms of fascism, both red and black, to the very end.

The word 'fascism' in the communist lexicon is a term applied to any individual who is not a communist and who opposes socialism. According to communists, anyone who is not a communist or socialist is a fascist. Since there are no fascists in Turkey, anyone who uses the word fascist and accuses our people, our army, or our police of fascism is, remember, a communist.

Communists always attack those who oppose them with a series of slanders. They call them fascists, Nazis, reactionaries, etc. They also slander our young people as fascist commandos. We are as opposed to fascism as we are to communism. We have never been fascists. Our programme and our books are all out in the open. Our principles are set out in written documents. We are not fascists.

Those who hope to benefit from the continued decline of the Turkish nation and who want to erase Turkey, the last bastion of Turkishness, from the stage of history, seek to discredit Turkish nationalism and Turks.

The Nationalist Movement, which emerged as a political action of nationalism, and the established Nationalist Parties Alliance attacked the government with various slanders in order to undermine it.

From the perspective of the Turkish nation, just as Marxist communism is a primitive, outdated, obsolete view and an impracticable system, so too are fascism and Nazism alien to the Turks, outdated systems that, by their very nature, are contrary to the Turkish nation and our social structure. Moreover, as Turkish Nationalists, we are relentless enemies of all foreign ideologies and those who pursue them. Despite this, communists, admirers of left-wing dictatorship, and members of the Republican People's Party (CHP) continue to label others as "fascist Nazis." Those who stand by and protect those who level these accusations against our statesmen, the commanders of the Turkish Army, our security forces, and even our courts are guilty of grave negligence.

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

The Nationalist Movement Party believes in human rights and freedoms and is founded on love for humanity. Because, according to the Nationalist Movement, people whose rights have been violated and whose freedoms have been taken away cannot be constructive or productive. The rapid development of our Turkey depends on it becoming a respected member of the family of nations. For this reason, we, as the Nationalist Movement Party, believe in democracy, a regime of rights and freedoms. However, let us state immediately that democracy is not a regime of privileges that divides the nation into classes, granting rights to a handful of minorities while oppressing and exploiting the large majority of the nation. The Nationalist Movement Party does not believe in outdated, class-based democracies or exploitative democracies based on the rule of a handful of people! The democracy that the Nationalist Movement will implement is a democracy that grants all members of the nation the right to govern and be governed. In National Democracy, there is neither a false class nor the dictatorship of a handful of people. In National Democracy, the nation is the master.

"The 20th century is the century of populism and nationalism." Regimes that do not respect the sweat of the worker and the peasant have no place in this century. Loving the people, focusing on their main causes and finding solutions for them is our primary goal.

However, we do not understand populism as one class oppressing another. We want solidarity and harmony between classes. Seeing the Turkish nation as a whole and loving it is the fundamental duty of the Turkish nationalist.

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY MEANS THE DETERMINATION TO PROTECT THE STATE AND THE NATION

Our country has chosen the path of liberal democracy. Citizens with separate

programmes and ideas establish separate political parties. We regard and salute all our political parties as democratic institutions established by the children of the Turkish nation. However, it is our duty, as it is the duty of every citizen, to criticise mindsets and attitudes that we do not consider beneficial for the country within the framework of the system of liberty required by democracy.

Moreover, communists, who consider a Turkey where anarchy reigns supreme and peace and tranquillity are never desired to be a prerequisite for their own survival, have begun their destructive and divisive attacks. This includes launching boycotts and occupations in universities and colleges under various pretexts. They intimidate students who wish to attend their schools normally with pressure and terror, provoking student clashes and accusing nationalist youth of **"fascist attacks"**. However, nationalist youths, who hold domestic peace and harmony above all else, must exercise the utmost caution not to succumb to the provocations of communist aggressors. For our nation, determined to protect the existence of the Turkish state, has the power to deal with the enemies of the state within the framework of our laws and regulations.

However, the enemies of the Turkish state and nation must never forget that if the Turkish son is one day forced to fight for the survival of his state and nation, he will never shed tears for the separatists and enemies of the nation.

The Turkish nationalists' adherence to law and order and their trust in the strength of the Turkish state should never be exploited.

National Democracy is Based on Love for Humanity

The other source of the Nine Lights is LOVE FOR HUMANITY, INFINITE RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. As the Turkish nation, we have a distinctive national character. We Turks do not accept either being servants to others or using others as servants. We oppose any mentality that does not respect human dignity, does not carry love in its heart for the Turkish people, and despises the Turkish nation and the Turkish people. As Dokuz Işıkçılar, we regard the Turkish people and the Turkish nation as a sacred trust from Allah. We expect administrators and intellectuals to serve all members of our nation with this understanding, respecting the rights and laws of everyone, regardless of their position, without regard to differences in status or wealth.

It depends on their hearts being filled with boundless love and respect for humanity and human dignity.

Let us love our people

Above all else, respect and love for our people. Whether they are shepherds in the most remote villages, street cleaners in the city, poor tradesmen, labourers, or wealthy citizens in high positions, we must embrace each and every one of our nation's people, one by one, as a sacred trust created by God Almighty, embracing them with love and respect, regardless of their poverty, the dirtiness or tatteredness of their clothes, their shabbiness, or their destitution, and we must stand by one another.

Let us respect our fellow human beings and not be ashamed of ourselves.

A poor man from a village in our Anatolia sent his son to school. The boy finished secondary school, finished university, and his father said, "I'll send him to Europe," and sent him to Europe. The boy was studying in Europe. He missed his son and said, "I'll go and see him." He boarded a train from Istanbul, naturally taking his bag with him, filling it with a little food and small gifts from home, and also taking a basket with him. He also took a jug of water to drink when he got thirsty on the way. He arrived in Paris, at the Paris station, and his son also came to meet his father. When his son saw his father in his baggy trousers, his jacket, his bag on his shoulder, his basket and jug beside him, he felt ashamed, hid, and ran away...

To be ashamed of ourselves is to stoop very low. We are the children of that mother, that father. We come from those trouser-wearers, those saddlebag-carriers. The Western mind would play tricks on that saddlebag. The Western mind plays tricks on the fine work, the embroidery, that shows the nobility of the Turkmen spirit on it.

We must break free from this. We must stand by our own people, even if they are barefoot, even if they are covered in dirt, even if they are infested with lice. They are our people. They are the same noble stock. We will stand by them. This is the beginning of our salvation. We must stand by our people with a mindset of human love and respect for human dignity. We are civil servants; they come before us, they come to our offices, their clothes may be tattered, they may be dirty. But they are our people.

It is our nature. It is human. Our primary concern is to embrace people without contempt, to refrain from harming them, causing them pain, or subjecting them to oppression, guided by a mindset of human love and respect for human dignity. Furthermore, it is essential to instil in the people, the youth, and the intellectuals a sense of national unity, integrity, love for the homeland, love for the nation, and national consciousness. The strength of a nation comes from these things. Science, technology, culture, civilisation, the balance and strength they provide; above all, we say that we will advance in science and technology in a short time by training nationalistic, moral, world-class scientists and technicians!

FREEDOM AND PROPERTY

Democracy, in general terms, means freedom, and the guarantee of freedom is property. A person who does not own property cannot be free. They remain under the command and influence of others. They cannot even freely exercise their political preferences and right to vote. For this reason, we will pursue a housing policy whereby everyone, especially families with children, can live comfortably in a home with a title deed in their name. Our slogan is: A home for every family. We will also pursue a robust, dynamic and national land and agriculture policy that will enable our farmers and villagers to live in humane conditions. A narrow-scope land reform cannot solve the problems of Turkish villagers. With our agricultural towns project, we will transform villages into social, economic, and cultural units. We will open hospitals, public service institutions, and workshops in our villages. We will bring electricity and water; we will build roads.

Political democracy can only be completed by economic democracy. Economic democracy is the ability of a nation to freely vote on economic issues and to participate freely in economic power and economic decisions.

Our party aims to spread ownership to the national base. Where there is widespread ownership, slavery and communism cannot exist. In a system where everyone shares the means of production, economic slavery disappears and exploitation finds no source. Exploitation can only survive in capitalist and socialist systems. In these systems, ownership is either entirely granted to the state or to a handful of people. The Nationalist Movement, which is based on all members and social segments of the Turkish nation, will not leave ownership to the monopoly of either the state or a handful of people. We will establish a system that will put an end to the slavery of the state and the individual.

In these systems, the means of production, particularly factories, will be transferred to the ownership of the individuals who constitute our nation within the NATIONAL SECTOR, based on the principle of joint ownership by our working social strata. If necessary, the state will build factories and sell them on credit to our workers, civil servants, peasants and tradesmen.

The Nationalist Movement believes in peace between labour and capital. Our party will not allow labour to be exploited by capital, nor capital to be exploited by labour. Societies dominated by exploitation are class societies that have not attained national consciousness. In our country, labour and capital owners are indispensable elements of the same nation. While the dictatorship of capitalist or communist parties, which is the basis of class societies, fuels the labour-capital war and class struggle, in the Nationalist Order these two elements will live in peace with each other.

In our Nationalist cause, the Nationalist Youth have always defended the integrity of the homeland and the nation, passing a test that history will praise, and continue to do so today. I applaud these hard-working, Idealist Youth of the Nationalist Great Turkey with all my appreciation, love, and respect. The Idealist Youth are among the strongest guarantees of our homeland and national unity.

Lack of Property Breeds Slavery

There is a proverb that says, "Property is the essence of life." Indeed, look at the enslaved people throughout history. They are, first and foremost, people who have been deprived of property.

It makes no difference whether it is individuals, groups, states or governments that leave people without property. Because the result is always the same:

One of the most important guarantees of democracy and freedom is the fair and balanced distribution of property.

The reason the people are enslaved in communist systems is that they do not own property.

The sole guarantee of freedom is property.

The goal of the Nine Lights system we advocate is to make every member of the Turkish nation a property owner.

a) To achieve our national development and to make every Turkish citizen free, we must reorganise the Turkish nation.

b) We will forge bonds based on mutual love and respect among our citizens, regardless of party, sect, race or region.

c) We will rebuild Greater Turkey as a sacred whole that does not accept division...

c) The weakness of capitalism is this: the sole driving force being the pursuit of profit causes entrepreneurs to invent unnecessary commodities and, through advertising, publicity and propaganda, persuade the masses to accept them, leading to waste.

d) In our system, those who save will receive every kind of support and protection to become property owners.

The Nationalist Movement Respects Property Rights

The Nationalist Movement Party considers the principle of social justice to be an indispensable element of today's democratic state governed by the rule of law. To this end, it will take all necessary measures to expand property ownership through land reform, ensure the fair distribution of national income within society, and guarantee a standard of living befitting the dignity of the Turkish people. The Nationalist Movement Party respects property rights, the mixed economy, and private enterprise that serves national interests.

The Nationalist Movement Party attaches great importance to protecting human health. To this end, it will establish a universal health insurance system, freeing our citizens from having to queue at hospital doors, and strive to provide care and treatment opportunities befitting human dignity.

We will give labour its due value and take the necessary measures to protect workers and civil servants against the rising cost of living. We will raise workers to the desired level in terms of minimum wage, severance pay and social assistance. The Nationalist Movement Party will establish peace between labour and capital, creating a social and economic environment in which workers and employers will work hand in hand for Turkey's social and cultural development.

We will save the foreign currency sent by our workers abroad from being squandered and allocate it to investments that will serve the country's economic development. We will establish factories that build factories and enable workers to become property owners.

We will attach great importance to creating the necessary financing and credit resources to relieve tradesmen and artisans from their livelihood difficulties and enable them to live like human beings. We will ensure that Bağ-Kur functions more effectively to provide adequate social security for tradesmen and artisans, and we will establish a system whereby all our citizens can benefit from social security.

One of our main objectives is to provide our villages, where 65% of our population resides, with all kinds of civil and social services such as roads, water, electricity, schools, hospitals and mosques as soon as possible, and to provide our villagers with a lifestyle befitting their dignity.

We believe that our underground and surface natural resources must be operated in the manner most appropriate to our national interests.

Today, the war between nations is an economic war. We believe that Turkey's economic development is only possible through rapid industrialisation. Industrialisation must be directed towards heavy industry and, consequently, the war industry. This will also create more jobs and employment opportunities for our growing population. No one can benefit us. We must fend for ourselves and live without reaching out to others. This is an indispensable condition for being a strong, dignified state.

In our country, high prices place heavy pressure on our producers and other low-income citizens. Farmers pay high prices for everything they buy, yet they cannot obtain fair value for the products they grow. Officially set base prices are not respected in the market, and transactions are conducted at prices set by traders. This situation has caused great hardship for producers.

NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD IS BOTH SOCIALIST AND DEMOCRATIC

The Nationalist Movement aims to secure the happiness and freedom of the Turkish nation. We oppose ideologies that do not respect the Turkish people and do not believe in their democratic ideals and rapid development. In this regard, we do not believe in communism, which seeks to bind humanity in eternal chains of slavery and servitude, or its pseudonym, socialism, or false social democracies.

Socialism has never been seen to make people happy, nations free, or societies prosperous. Socialism is incompatible with democracy. Because democracy is based on debate, opposition, and a multi-party system. Socialism, however, aims to crush opposition in the name of a false working-class ideology, to establish a single-party system, and to turn the country into a fiefdom of the Communist Party members. There has never been a country in the world that is both socialist and democratic. Those who speak of democratic socialism are either ignorant people who have fallen behind science or adventurers who have fallen prey to deliberate, masked socialist communist ambitions. Those who seek power through socialist, communist methods, those who wish to lead the nation into eternal hunger and slavery under the guise of false populism, will not be tolerated. We will not tolerate a handful of street thugs and ignorant fools who seek to destroy the state, the homeland and the unity of the nation under the guise of socialism or democratic leftism. The last independent state of the Turkish world is strong. It has all the means at its disposal. Traitors who seek to destroy and fragment the eternal, independent last Turkish state under the slogan of "Turkish peoples," along with the ignorant and foolish who incite and support them, will be crushed by the state's solid forces.

He is a left-wing adventurer; he exploits freedoms.

An adventurous, left-wing party leader, acting outside all political decorum and propriety, is stirring up trouble wherever he goes and attacking the Nationalist Movement Party. This adventurous, left-wing party leader is the head of all anarchy in Turkey, the instigator and perpetrator of all unlawful acts. This is the one who pardons and grants amnesty to communists. This is the one who pardons anarchists, murderers, bank robbers, those who burn and dynamite national property, and who works for their pardon. This is the one who defends regionalists, minority racists, sectarian agitators, in short, all kinds of separatists and subversives, and who collaborates with them. This is what takes urban thugs under its wing, fills buses with them, and then opens fire on the people wherever it goes, inciting others to do the same, marching on the people and inciting others to march. This adventurous, leftist party leader is the one who one day talks about the laws of nature and encourages the seizure and occupation of all kinds of legitimate wealth, another day calls on university students to boycott, yet another day invites civil servants to revolt against the state, and considers everything illegal to be permissible for the sake of power.

Fake Leftists Will Be Disappointed

These sacred lands, which the Turkish nation has cherished for nine hundred years and made its homeland, will not be left to a handful of looters, separatists and fake leftists. As in every conscious, dynamic country in the world, in our Turkey too, fake leftists, adventurers, and those who are mentally and spiritually ill will be disappointed. The state security forces, the sons and daughters of the Nationalist Movement, will drown separatists, adventurers, fake leftists, traitors to the homeland and nation, and enemies of the state in their own dark consciences and destroy them.

The Nationalist Movement, which has dedicated itself to Turkish Nationalism, will make the ill-mannered well-mannered, the senseless sensible, and the sick healthy. Every poison has an antidote. The antidote to the poison of communism, separatism, and fake leftism is the Nationalist Movement Party. The Nationalist Movement is a bulwark against communism and fake leftism.

This Homeland Will Be the Grave of Separatists

The Nationalist Movement opposes all forms of separatism, regionalism, destructiveness, and subversion. The Nationalist Movement can be realised through the principles of national unity, national integrity, and the NATIONAL STATE. As the Nationalist Movement Party, we advocate a united and integrated state.

respect, the Republic of Turkey is an indivisible whole with its country and its people. Those who attempt to divide the country and the people of this state, whether openly or behind closed doors, in the square, on the street, or at the university, and those who promise to do so, will be doomed, and their heads will be crushed. Those who speak of the Turkish people will be disappointed and will regret it. This homeland, entrusted to us by our ancestors, the great Turkish nation, after centuries of struggle, shedding blood and enduring hardship, will be the grave of separatists. Those who seek to divide this great nation, born from the hearts of Bilgehans, Fatih, and Atatürk, and throw it into the arms of communist imperialism, will find themselves facing the Turkish nation, lovers of democracy and legitimate order.

We will not allow the phrase "Turkish Peoples" to be uttered in our homeland.

The Nationalist Movement considers everyone living within the borders of the republic who has dedicated themselves to Turkishness to be Turkish. The Nationalist Movement is not divisive, but unifying and inclusive. The Nationalist Movement rejects Hitler's racism and fascism just as much as it rejects the mentality that practises minority racism within the Turkish people and the fake left that supports minority racism. We will not grant any legitimacy to minority racism that walks hand in hand with the fake left, its leaders, and communist bandits. We will not allow the Turkish peoples to speak in our homeland. There are no Turkish peoples in Turkey, only the eternal, great Turkish nation.

The Nationalist Movement is in favour of true democracy and a liberal parliamentary regime. For this reason, we, as the Nationalist Movement, oppose both fascism and communism. Just as we oppose fascism and communism, we also oppose the fake left, which attacks our party, which believes in democratic nationalism, in a state of political insanity and moral crisis, and the twisted, pathological mentality of its thuggish, young leader.

The fake left must abandon Bolshevik methods, communist provocations, and frenzied attacks, and return to the confines of true democracy.

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83 **Bolshevik**: Refers to the group supporting Lenin in the split that occurred as a result of the disagreement between Lenin and Martov over the membership definition of the newly formed party at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1903. As Lenin's supporters were in the majority at the Congress, they became known as Bolsheviks, meaning "majority" in Russian, while Martov's supporters, who were in the minority, became known as Mensheviks.

and should refrain from sectarian provocations and regional exploitation.

The Nationalist Movement is the Architect of Greater Turkey

My Great Nation;

History has always bestowed upon you the title of "Greatness." You are the only nation in history that has never diminished. When one speaks of civilisation, culture, military prowess, and organisational skill, the Turkish people come to mind. You are the one who opens eras and closes eras. Your brave, hard-working, idealistic children, worthy of your greatness, are fighting today to protect your greatness and keep it alive. Your idealistic generations will open the new eras of tomorrow in technology, science and culture. Idealist youth, Idealist teachers, Idealist workers, Idealist civil servants, Idealist villagers will exalt you in every field. Millions of Idealists, sworn to establish a Great Nationalist Turkey, are working hand in hand, head to head, heart to heart. The Nationalist Movement is the founder and architect of a great Turkey. Great Turkey will be a country of people who love one another, respect one another, and are united by Turkish pride and consciousness. In Nationalist Great Turkey, people will not oppress, despise, or exploit one another. The Nationalist Movement will undoubtedly establish a Nationalist Turkey that is developed, has become a great industrial society, lives in peace and tranquillity, and is based on social justice. The Nationalist Movement will provide hospitals for the sick, land for the peasants, and credit for the tradesmen. The Nationalist Movement will bring prosperity to our country.

The Left Has No Connection with the People

Great Turkish nation,

Since we entered multi-party political life, we have tried many governments, including the Republican People's Party. The CHP has done nothing but be a government that brought about oppression, torture, hunger, scarcity, hoarding, black market trading, and rationing. During the CHP's time in power, it has done nothing but collect taxes from the people, sell off the property of those unable to pay, and cause inflation. This party, during its most recent time in power, has also caused inflation,

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They were named. Although there were attempts at unification between the two sides after the congress, unification did not occur, and they definitively split in 1912. The Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 and established the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union lasted only about 70 years.

It has done nothing but provoke and cause inflation. The left is indecisive, unplanned, and incompetent. The left does nothing but distribute the citizen's legitimate earnings, sweat, and acquired wealth to its own militants.

Once the Left becomes fake, it cannot free itself from demagogy and adventurism and find an opportunity to serve the people, the nation. The Left has no connection with the people. The talk of the people on the Left's lips is fake. The only ideology that sucks the blood of the people, that oppresses the people, is the ideology of the Left. The left is a bloodthirsty leech, a cruel vampire, thirsty for the blood of the people.

The strongest, most powerful party that will stand against the fake left, the adventurous leftists, the communists, is the Nationalist Movement Party. It is possible to destroy the fake left, rabid communism, separatists and destroyers by bringing the Nationalist Movement to power. The party of the nationalists is the Nationalist Movement Party. Unite in the Nationalist Movement against communism and the fake left.

The Nationalist Movement and Its Goal

Our goal **is to establish a Nationalist Great Turkey that** will bring happiness to all members and social segments of our nation. We will make democratic nationalism, the symbol of national sovereignty, the dominant philosophy of the state and state institutions within the consciousness of Turkishness. We will develop the Republic of Turkey as soon as possible and transform it into a modern industrial society. In accordance with the principle of National State - Strong Power, we will UNITE OUR PEOPLE, OUR WORKERS, OUR TRADESPEOPLE, OUR CIVIL SERVANTS AND EMPLOYERS AROUND NATIONAL IDEALS. We will bring a just, dignified and national order to the Turkish society, recognised by history as a great nation. We will establish an honest and honourable administration worthy of the rich history and superior cultural and civilisational heritage of the Turkish people.

Greatness and prosperity are the essential characteristics of the Turkish nation. The aspiration of the great Turkish nation, which has established empires, is to grow again, to become a GREAT NATION and a POWERFUL STATE. Our party will realise the aspiration for growth, which is the right of our nation, in all its aspects. A nation that was great in the past will be great in the future. All that is needed is for a nationalist cadre, a nationalist party that has seen and understood this greatness, to come to power.

Communists are slandering the Nationalist Youth.

Communists are attempting to portray Nationalist and Idealist Youth as "the cause of anarchy" using all means of propaganda to conceal their own ill intentions and ambitions from public opinion. Some traitors and fools may also be unwittingly or knowingly used as tools for this propaganda.

There has long been a baseless claim among communists and those who collaborate with them: anarchic events have occurred because leftist youth and nationalist youth have clashed with each other in the country. Both before 12 March and under subsequent administrations, injustices were committed against leftists, who were thrown into prison, while nationalists were favoured, protected and left untouched. Today, Mr Ecevit also defends this view. However, the reality is quite different. Firstly, there are major differences between the two groups in terms of both their goals and their actions. The communists' goal is to arm themselves, carry out a bloody communist revolution, divide Turkey along regional lines into separate states, and establish a communist regime in Turkey.

Today, they continue to pursue this goal...

Nationalist youths, on the other hand, pursue the goal of preserving the indivisibility of the Turkish homeland and the unity of the Turkish nation. They want the country's development struggle to be carried out within the framework of the legal order. Communists have taken advantage of university autonomy to arm themselves extensively. And they have engaged in armed guerrilla activity. Kidnapping, bank robberies, murders, raiding police stations, sinking ships, dynamiting factories and buildings, burning down the Palace of Culture, planting bombs at the home of Lieutenant General Erçıkan ([84]), attacks on General Eken ([85]). In the Nurhak Mountains ([86])

84 On 9 March, prior to the memorandum issued to the Süleyman Demirel Government on 12 March 1971, a left-wing junta was planning to stage a coup. Lieutenant General Atıf Erçıkan exposed the left-wing junta by secretly recording their meetings. Subsequently, on 11 April 1971, a bomb was thrown at his home in Ankara, and martial law was declared.

85 To prevent the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan, founders of the Turkish People's Liberation Army (THKO), four THKO militants assassinated General Kemalettin Eken, Commander of the Gendarmerie, as he was leaving his home on Reşit Galip Street on 4 May 1972. General Eken was shot in the leg, his aide Lieutenant Colonel Adnan Coşkun was shot in the head, driver Private Mustafa Baş and guard Zeki Yaşar were seriously wounded in various parts of their bodies, and Private Mustafa Baş later died.

86 This refers to the departure of communist militants Sinan Cemgil and his comrades to the Nurhan Mountains near Kahramanmaraş-Elbistan. On 31 May 1971, Sinan Cemgil and his comrades were killed in a clash with the gendarmerie.

Forming gangs, these are the actions of Dev-Genç [87]and the communist community... And all of them are crimes written in the law.

Communists were arrested and brought to trial not because they held Marxist ideas, nor because freedom of thought was not recognised in Turkey, but because they carried out these actions, which are crimes under the law.

Nationalist youths have not committed any such acts contrary to the law... Communists or those who support them are spreading propaganda that nationalists are being favoured and that only leftists and communists are being thrown into prison.

This is flawed logic. It is impossible to touch innocent people who have done nothing wrong. Do they not trust the country, its administrators, prosecutors and judges? Those who try to lecture everyone on the need to respect the decisions of the "judicial organs" seem, above all, to be in need of reform themselves.

Civilisation is Modernisation without Alienation

Since the Tanzimat, we have seen through experience how the efforts of many imitators, who have always thought that civilisation and development meant resembling others, have been fruitless and have created severe problems and deep wounds in our national life.

Our nation has grown to despise the soulless, characterless, freeloading type of "intellectual". It yearns for a new generation, a new type of enlightened person. This means an intellectual who does not contradict the Turkish or Islamic identity, someone who, while remaining Turkish and Muslim, believes in the necessity and imperative of modernisation and has realised this above all else within themselves.

We are faced with the imperative that our nation must rapidly develop and become a powerful entity that has advanced to the forefront in science, technology and civilisation. We live in a region that is of paramount importance in the struggle of great powers to establish dominance over the world. The strategic and economic value of Turkish territory is immense. The neighbouring countries around us

87 Dev-Genç stands for Revolutionary Youth Association. It played an effective role in the university occupations before the 12 March 1971 Memorandum. Its last general chairman was Ertuğrul Kürkçü, who later founded a party with PKK members.

We have a long history of conflict with other nations. And a very ugly and merciless law, which has been in force since ancient times, is still in effect today. This law is the law of "might makes right". Throughout its thousands of years of honourable existence, the Turkish nation has believed in and been committed to justice and fairness, but it is not within our power to change this ugly and unpleasant reality of the world. In order to maintain our state freely and independently on these beautiful lands, rich in various resources and located in a very important region, we must be strong. We must be strong in order to protect our rights and command respect, and we must also be compelled to open the way to rise up as quickly as possible.

We want nationalism, equipped with the understanding of science, wisdom, morality and order, to come to power. We want to see a Turkey that lives without needing either the brave or the cowardly.

The main foundations upon which the development, advancement, prosperity and strength of a nation rest are the following principles:

The youth and the nation must be imbued with a strong sense of nationalism and consciousness, possess sound morals and a high spiritual life, have reached the highest levels in science and technology and culture, be industrialised, and ensure modern, mass production both in agriculture and industry. However, before all efforts at development and advancement, it is essential that a nation exists in national unity and integrity.

The Nationalist Movement Party is the party that has ushered in a new era in Turkey. It is the party that has taken up the struggle for the cause that the Turkish nation is an indivisible and sacred whole, without accepting any distinction based on region, sect, or race. It is a party that fights for the indivisibility of the Turkish homeland, inherited from our ancestors at the cost of millions of martyrs' blood. It is a movement that strives to protect the integrity of the Republic of Turkey, the sacred legacy of our great ancestors, and to ensure its eternal survival.

The Nationalist Movement is a new birth. It is the rebirth of the movement to protect and establish our own national identity, rather than blindly imitating others. It is the birth of the will to break free from begging foreigners for help and to rely on our own labour, our own efforts, our own resources.

Until now, the great strides our nation needed have not been made. For the most part, administrators have been guided by the plans and influence of foreign circles.

Our attention and that of our nation has been diverted from our main causes to other matters and trivial disputes that have nothing to do with our development. In recent years, fabricated provocations such as right-left, reactionary-progressive and similar issues have emerged in our country, wasting the valuable efforts and time of our nation and pitting the people of the country against each other. The heavy responsibility for this lies with the leaders at the head of the state and the nation.Turkey has always taken pride in being a country that attracts the attention and desire of the whole world, from Eskimos to cannibals, with all its natural values and beauties. Our nation also has a distinguished place in history and the human community. Especially today, the Turkish Nation must be strong in order to protect and develop its existence against internal and external threats. We must first seek and prepare this strength within ourselves. We must never forget the geopolitical directive of the Anatolian plateau and the Turkish nation's will and ability to establish a great and powerful state. Remember that the Turkish nation needs unity and solidarity today more than ever. Instead of looking for each other's faults, we must strive to remedy our shortcomings and bind ourselves together with love and respect. Our shared history and shared destiny, along with our ideals, command us to do so today. Never doubt that any exploitative, divisive, hateful, or vengeful seeds aimed at the integrity of this beautiful and great homeland, every inch of whose soil has been watered with the blood of martyrs, will surely wither and be eradicated. If those who champion a cause do not embody its conditions and requirements in their own personalities, they cannot advance that cause one step further. I would like to emphasise that the Turkish nation carries not only its own destiny on its shoulders, but also that of humanity. For the Turkish nation was created to advise humanity to do good and to dissuade it from evil. History is the greatest witness to this. Unfortunately, the great Turkish nation, which has been a beacon of light for humanity, has imitated and copied other nations, causing great wounds to its national identity.

In the broadest sense, our call to the Turkish nation is this: O GREAT TURKISH NATION, TURN TO YOURSELF.

NATIONALIST AND CHARACTER-BASED DEVELOPMENT MODEL

Our homeland, our country, our Turkey needs rapid and balanced development. It is essential to make investments that will bring about development, to ensure capital accumulation, and to prepare the personnel we need.

We do not believe that we can achieve the development our country needs with imported systems.

Leaving imitation aside, we claim that Turkey's development is possible with a doctrine that is 100% local, 100% national, guided by modern science and modern technology, taking into account Turkey's current conditions, and derived from the history and spiritual values of the Turkish nation.

For this reason, we have decided to dedicate ourselves to serving the nation with this doctrine. The name of this doctrine is the NINE LIGHTS DOCTRINE! The foundation of our doctrine is Turkish consciousness and pride, along with Islamic faith, Islamic morality, and virtue. The Turkish nation has been honoured by Islam for 1300 years and has based all its moral and spiritual values on the foundation of Islamic faith and belief. It is impossible to think of the Turk apart from Islam. Islam is the soul of the Turkish nation, and Turkishness is its body. This is the foundation of the Nine Lights. Turkish pride and consciousness, Islamic faith, Islamic morality and virtue are the foundation of the NINE LIGHTS. Again, the foundation of the Nine Lights—which is the cause we have been discussing—is love for humanity, a mentality of infinite respect for human dignity...

Our country today is overwhelmed by instability, laxity, lack of peace, lack of security, profiteering, black market activities, theft, usury, injustice and unfairness.

People can endure hardship. They can endure fatigue and toil, but they cannot endure injustice! The most important thing that makes people unhappy is being treated unjustly, witnessing injustice, and encountering injustice and unfairness. Indeed, one of the significant problems our society suffers from is the presence of injustice and unfairness within our society. There is a need for state authority, a strong state authority. Continuity, justice, impartiality, stability, and speed are required in the state. Our state administration has a very cumbersome process. A very cumbersome process!

The Turkish nation will rise on the shoulders of nationalist Turkish youth*

Nationalists remain as determined today as they were yesterday to fight against destructive and divisive forces, exposing the true faces of those who trample on the constitution and speak ill of the Turkish army. Nationalist youth have never strayed beyond the bounds of the law, fighting with every sacrifice to ensure the survival of our state and prevent its destruction by hostile forces. Nationalist youth will continue this struggle in the future, carefully and vigilantly, through legitimate means, bearing the above points in mind. The existence of Turkish nationalist youth is a guarantee for those concerned about the continuity of the Turkish state.

Ensuring the unity and indivisibility of the Turkish state within its borders and establishing the principle of the supremacy of law are our fundamental principles. We will fight to the end on this path...

The **Nationalist Movement** Party mobilises the energy of the Turkish people, viewing it as the greatest source of strength for Turkey's salvation. This is achieved by taking into account the faith, beliefs and spiritual values of the Turkish people, appealing to their hearts, showing them the dangers, explaining their needs, and dismissing certain principles that remain on paper or are imitations of foreign countries, which they have put forward according to their own structures, taking into account the needs of our own national structure, the material and

* This section was written by the author immediately after the 1973 elections.

There is an obligation to mobilise spiritual energy and resources for the liberation of Turkey and the construction of a new Turkey. Only in this way can the Turkish nation leap forward through the ages and enter the atomic age and space age, which modern, advanced nations have already stepped into, without further delay, enabling us to catch up with them. Otherwise, all activities undertaken will remain aimless, as they have been until now. There are those who say, **"The rate of development is this much, we have invested this much in the country."** There are those from past governments who say, **"We have done this much**," and they have done so. But what they have done is not enough to bring the Turkish nation and Turkey up to the level of advanced nations. If one man has a capital of one hundred pounds and another has a capital of one hundred million pounds, and both earn a ten per cent profit, when will the one with a capital of one hundred pounds catch up with the one with a capital of one hundred million pounds? Today, Turkey is in the position of having a capital of one hundred pounds, while others have a capital of one hundred million pounds. The rate of development is seven per cent. The other's is 7 per cent or 3-4 per cent. When will Turkey catch up? Some of the prime ministers who have been in power in past years say, **"By the year 2000, we will have brought Turkey to the level of Italy today with the five-year plans we have adopted**." The statesmen who boast about bringing Turkey to the level of today's Italy by the year 2000 cannot save or develop Turkey. For this reason, there are major differences between us and the other political parties and their leaders regarding the country's development. They consider the growth and greatness of the Turkish nation to be a frightening idea. For them, reaching Italy's current state in the year 2000 is a highly commendable situation. In our view, greatness is a sacred right for every nation; it is a sacred right to think about becoming great and to strive for growth in every sense, whether material, spiritual, scientific, civilisational, or industrial. This is not a crime. There is no need to fear growth. It is not a crime to think about greatness, to desire greatness; it is a right for every nation, as it is a right for the Turkish nation. Indeed, it is even more justified for the Turkish nation to be greater than every other nation. Under these circumstances, the foreign activities that have been carried out in our country, the subversive movements that seek to divide and fragment Turkishness, and above all, the invasions of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures, which are more dangerous than all of these, cannot be prevented by the parties and party leaders who hold the attitudes and mindsets I have described. Before 12 March 1971, communism decided to take over Turkey. Naturally, Russian imperialism is behind this. Russian imperialism

From 1917 onwards, they acquired an unprecedented weapon in history. Until then, the Tsarist regime had concealed Russian imperialism behind Christianity. From 1917 onwards, they acquired another formidable weapon. This weapon is the ideology of communism, the doctrine of communism. This weapon is skilfully used to enslave selected victims, placing them under their own bondage and subjugation. In 1968, Czechoslovakia, while being a state that embraced communism and socialism, embarked on a different course of action than that practised in Russia ([88]).Soviet Russia could not tolerate even this. The Russian army, together with the communist armies of the satellite states in tow, immediately invaded Czechoslovakia from all four sides. They removed Dubček, the then leader of Czechoslovakia, who had embarked on a slightly more liberal form of socialism, from power. The Soviets who carried out this action put forward a new doctrine. With this doctrine, Brezhnev said: **"No socialist country can voluntarily abandon socialism, which is such a good system of government. If a socialist country abandons socialism and adopts another regime, it means that foreign forces are stirring up trouble there. Therefore, Russia, the main principle of socialism, will not allow any socialist country to abandon socialism or its people to be deceived."** Brezhnev doctrine ([89]) ... Another point of this doctrine is **"the sovereignty of states".**

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88 See footnote 28: The 1968 Czechoslovakian Events.

89 **Brezhnev and his doctrine:** (1906-1982) Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was a Soviet statesman. He was born in Kamenskoye (Ukraine). He joined the Communist Party in 1931. After graduating from a metallurgy institute, he worked as an engineer in Dynepralzerinjisk for two years. In 1938, he was made a permanent member of the party. He was promoted to colonel in 1941 and to major general in 1944 by the Presidium. In 1942, he took over the political administration of the 4th Ukrainian Front.

Brezhnev was appointed First Secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party in 1950. In 1952, he joined the Central Committee and Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was elected as a reserve member of the Presidium. In 1953, he was removed from these central party organs and exiled to Kazakhstan. In 1956, he returned to his former positions. He became a full member of the Central Committee Presidium. In 1960, he became head of state as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. After leaving this post, he rose to become First Secretary of the Party in 1964. Together with Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, he shared the leadership of the Soviet state. He directed the work of drafting the USSR constitution. At the 23rd Congress in 1966, he declared his adherence to Leninist principles. He became a marshal in 1976. In 1977, he was appointed head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, replacing Podgorny. He thus purged all his opponents.

The 1968 Czechoslovak uprising was suppressed by five Warsaw Pact member states (Brezhnev Doctrine). He signed the SALT-1 agreement with US President Nixon. He finalised the SALT II agreement with President Carter in 1979. He opposed the US intervention, which organised armed resistance against the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan led by Babrak Karmal.

It is divided into two: "**limited sovereignty**" and "**unlimited** sovereignty." For Soviet Russia, sovereignty is unlimited. For other states, unlimited sovereignty is impossible; their sovereignty is limited. Unlimited sovereignty belongs to the main socialist country. The sovereignty of small socialist countries is limited. The main socialist country can always interfere with and intervene in the sovereignty of small socialist countries. Only a country that accepts socialism with this doctrine has directly accepted the subjugation of Soviet Russia. The communist ideology sought to be implemented in Turkey is a movement that aims to enslave Turkey through these means, to enslave it through these means, to make it subservient through these means, and behind it lies the world's most bloody imperialism. Turkey is a NATO member state. Today, it is not possible to enter Turkey by force from outside. But if communism is taken over from within and a communist government is brought in, it can join the **Warsaw** Pact and open its doors. This is the game being played. They played it before 12 March too. The government of the time did not see the danger; when we warned them, they said, **"You are being paranoid, we are aware of everything."** They said, **"The streets will not wear out from walking**." We told them, **"There is more to this movement than meets the eye.** They are **using university autonomy to organise there, take over the streets of Ankara and Istanbul, and seize the government that way**." They replied, "**Sir, we are aware of everything. We have taken every precaution**." In other words, the ideology being pursued is war-

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In 1979, the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan requested assistance from the Soviet Union. As a result, Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. He died in Moscow.

The Brezhnev Doctrine: It was necessary not to tolerate independence movements that would endanger the regime in any country belonging to the socialist/communist bloc, and that other socialist countries had the right to intervene in order to establish a socialist regime in any country. It can be considered the Soviet Union's version of the Eisenhower Doctrine. The 1956 intervention in Hungary, the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia, and the 1979 intervention in Afghanistan were examples of this doctrine. It can be considered the Soviet Union's version of the Eisenhower Doctrine. The interventions in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Afghanistan in 1979 are considered to have been carried out within the framework of this doctrine.

The Brezhnev Doctrine is, in fact, a policy concept emphasised by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his Warsaw speech on 13 November 1968, and is an approach to action referred to by Western experts as the "Brezhnev Doctrine". In a section of his speech on that date, Brezhnev stated:

"If elements hostile to socialism attempt to steer the development process of society in certain socialist countries towards capitalism, this is not merely a matter for the country or countries concerned; it is a matter for all socialist countries."

They did not understand the meaning and importance of cultural invasion. Appeals were made to the Minister of the Interior and the Prime Minister everywhere, but the government of the time was powerless to do anything. In this situation, the nationalists took action, the nationalist Turkish youth took action. And we waged a fierce battle, both inside and outside the university, against this bloody ideology that sought to drag Turkey into the darkest, bloodiest slavery the world had ever known. It was this struggle that enabled the country to emerge from this crisis with the intervention of the **Turkish Armed** Forces **on 12 March**. Many young people sacrificed their lives in the prime of their youth for this cause, closing their eyes to the world. Today, I consider it my duty to honour the memory of those martyrs with the deepest respect and gratitude.

Turkish nationalists! Democracy prevails in our country, and various political parties are active in democracies. However, due to the political whims and ambitions of the individuals who have seized leadership of these political parties in Turkey, Turkish democracy has faced serious crises, particularly in recent years. These crises continue today. As a result of the 1973 elections, parties opposed to the left received a percentage of the votes cast.
It has obtained 67.5 per cent. The CHP, which claims to be left-wing, has obtained 33 per cent. However, the parties that claim to be against the left are the parties that have obtained the votes of the majority of the Turkish people, the Turkish citizens. They have failed to form a coalition among themselves in accordance with the wishes of the Turkish citizens and establish a government. The sole reason for this is the situation of the leaders of these political parties. As a result, the CHP came to power. The CHP government initiated a cadre revolution movement in our country. To place state cadres in the hands of extreme communists, elements imbued with communist ideology, thereby paving the way for Turkey's easy transition to a communist regime at a later date. No one but us has been aware of this cadre revolution. We have repeatedly brought this to the attention of the public and the relevant parties. To avert this danger, we tried to persuade them to set aside their disagreements, reach an agreement quickly, and change the government so that power would be taken by a coalition of parties opposed to communism. We made numerous contacts and engaged in many reconciliation efforts. I wish to state this clearly to you, Turkish nationalists. It is impossible to describe Turkey's current situation without mentioning these things. As soon as the CHP came to power, it turned all its activities against Turkish nationalists. On the one hand, it carried out a cadre revolution, replacing state cadres

While handing over power to extreme communists, on the other hand, they embarked on activities to crush and disperse nationalists, especially nationalist youth, and to intimidate and subdue nationalist teachers. A massacre of teachers began. Those who used to make a fuss about the massacre of teachers have themselves embarked on and carried out the massacre of clean, patriotic teachers. The temperamental leader of the Republican People's Party became Prime Minister and, in every speech, accused nationalist youth in various ways, using the term "commandos." One day, he lost control to such an extent that he said**, "Right-wingers are provoking left-wingers in the country.** and **the leftists and leftist intellectuals, who have shown patience until now,** will **no longer** be able **to tolerate these injustices and provocations by the right-wingers**." Consider this: the head of the Government of **the Republic of Turkey**, the person occupying the office of Prime Minister, is dividing the country's children, the country's citizens, into right-wingers and left-wingers, favouring the left-wingers and accusing the right-wingers. Such behaviour is contrary to the concept of law, contrary to patriotism, and contrary to the status of Turkish citizenship. A person who is Prime Minister must accept all the people of the country, without distinction, as a sacred trust from God Almighty, and is obliged to protect and safeguard them. But such a person has become Prime Minister of Turkey. Having stated this situation, I would like to briefly mention the national doctrine and national programme we have put forward for the development of Turkey. First and foremost, we have set a goal. The ultimate goal we have set is for the Turkish nation to reach the highest level in science and technology in the shortest time and by the shortest route, and spiritually, in faith and morality, to the highest level, industrialised, never begging for help from anyone, standing on its own strength, and able to make its voice heard not by shouting it out everywhere in the world, but by washing its eyebrows lightly.

To build such a Turkey, first and foremost, we must fill the people of this country with national consciousness, give them national ideals, and ignite our spiritual values and faith in every heart, turning them into a burning torch, mobilising the energy of the people of this country and setting them in motion!

There is no capital accumulation in Turkey. The great capital accumulation that has created today's advanced Europe, advanced America and other advanced countries does not exist in Turkey. It does not seem possible to achieve this capital accumulation in a short time by finding the opportunities they have obtained.

Therefore, measures are needed to ensure this capital accumulation and replace it. On the one hand, this means abandoning the wasteful economy, abandoning the consumption-based economy, and returning to a savings economy and an efficiency economy. There is a great deal of waste in Turkey. Turkey needs to save. In addition, it needs to mobilise human energy, human labour and the spirit of volunteerism! In this way, Turkey can initiate and achieve the major economic movements it needs, and it must succeed! To this end, it is imperative that we direct our cultural activities, the infinite sources of strength and possibilities of our religion, the fine arts, and our intellectual life towards this goal and take action towards this goal. Indeed, our religious beliefs and moral values point us in this direction. Therefore, we must channel the entire nation's strength towards this path and mobilise it so that Turkey can become a country that has advanced to the forefront in science, technology, and civilisation, industrialised, and achieved economic prosperity as soon as possible, putting all other activities on hold.

Turkish nationalists, in Turkey's liberation and development, the fundamental problem is people; people! We must focus on this. People can endure hardship, but they cannot endure injustice and unfairness. Today, we must eradicate the roots of all kinds of social, political and economic injustice in Turkey, as well as the roots of immorality, profiteering, profiteering, black market activities and the exploitation of the people, and establish a social solidarity organisation, a social justice organisation and a comfortable standard of living for all Turkish citizens from Edirne to Kars, from Sinop to Mersin, is a fundamental value of the Nationalist Movement's struggle. The Turkish nation, foreign ideologies that seek to condemn Turkey to slavery and servitude, foremost among them communism, are skilfully exploiting the poverty, hardship, deprivation and injustices that the Turkish nation finds itself in today. They incite Turkish children and Turkish intellectuals who come to university by saying**, "Look at the state of the villages, look at the state of the people, look at the economic hardships in the country, look at the injustices, look at the profiteering**." Then they try to lure them by saying that the solution to this is communism. The people who have ruled the country for years have condemned the Turkish people to spiritual emptiness, intellectual emptiness, and a lack of faith.

They have done so. People whose hearts, souls and minds have been left empty cannot withstand the onslaught of foreign ideologies and foreign persuasions for long. In this, foreign ideologies have been successful. But I would like to tell you that there is injustice and unfairness in Turkey. There is poverty and destitution in Turkey. But communism cannot be the way out of these. To recommend communism or socialism as the way out of these is like telling a man who is sick with stomach ulcers, "Drink this acid water, you will get better." We believe that, above all else, a nation will be saved and will develop by embracing modern science and modern technology while remaining true to its religion, morals, and national consciousness. For this reason, as the Nationalist Movement, we have set modern science and modern technology as goals for our youth, based first and foremost on our nation's spiritual values, nationalism, and Turkish nationalist consciousness. That is why we have declared communism not as a path to salvation, but as a path to slavery and bondage, and we have waged a relentless war against those who seek to lead Turkey, the world's only independent state, the Turkish state, into this bondage, this slavery. This war will continue! Our war within Turkey's borders against communism, which aims to make the Turkish nation slaves to the most terrifying imperialism known to the world, Russian imperialism, WILL CONTINUE RELENTLESSLY!

Great Turkish nation! The Nationalist Movement will eradicate the roots of this foreign ideology in Turkey. Whether Mr Ecevit embraces it, supports it, or whether the CHP opens its wings and doors, or whether others under the influence of other ambitions support it, we will deal with them and their supporters!

7- VILLAGISM

INTRODUCTION

One of the important principles of the National Doctrine of Nine Lights is ruralism. Today, 65% of the Turkish nation still lives in villages. Therefore, finding solutions to quickly resolve the problems of the villagers, who constitute 65% of our population, and supporting our villagers to develop is a priority for the development of the Turkish nation. Today, there are around forty thousand villages and hamlets in Turkey, along with various small settlements, totalling over seventy thousand settlements. All of them need attention; they need care; they need maintenance. Given that 65% of our population are villagers and live in villages, this means approximately 29 million people. In other words, of Turkey's population of over 45 million, 29 million people live in villages and hamlets.

These people are today 90 per cent without doctors, without care, without light, and with many of their needs unmet. Lifting them up and organising them as quickly as possible is a matter that must be considered first and foremost for the advancement of our nation. Yet, for years, this rural mass has been neglected in our country. Our rural citizens have been severely neglected. Given that they constitute 65% of the population, it is imperative that the rural population be prioritised, organised, equipped with all kinds of resources, and provided with every kind of assistance so that this mass can be uplifted as soon as possible. It can be said that to the extent that we develop this group, the development of other segments of our society will occur almost automatically. In order to develop our villagers, it is necessary to organise them first. We have stated that we consider the population of Turkey, consisting of civil and professional divisions, to be divided into six sections. Of these six sections, the most populous and most important

The rural population constitutes the majority. The organisation of the villagers is essential for rapid development. How will this organisation be achieved? It should be done by grouping our villages into agricultural towns. The agricultural town organisation should be established as follows: Our villages are located close to each other in many places. By examining them, it is necessary to group these villages in a manner appropriate to their circumstances. Ten villages located close to each other, or rather twelve, four, fifteen villages, or, depending on their situation, eight villages, seven villages, nine villages should be organised into a group, and the one that is suitable, rather the village located in a central place, should be taken as a centre of attraction and educational centres that will meet the primary and secondary school needs of the whole village should be opened here. Furthermore, to organise the villagers in such a way as to enable them to practise agriculture according to modern principles and to provide them with information by employing agricultural experts at this centre, to establish an agricultural machinery park at this centre, to create fertiliser depots, pesticide depots, and pest control organisations and units, and to meet the needs of the villages within this group from this centre. It is also necessary to maintain a health organisation at this centre, to establish and maintain a health team at this health organisation consisting of doctors, health officers, midwives, nurses, etc., and to benefit our villagers in terms of health by providing them with vehicles such as jeeps, etc.

If we were to attempt to provide a doctor for each of the forty-five thousand villages, we would face a need for at least forty thousand five hundred doctors. We would face the costs that forty-five thousand doctors would impose on the state budget and many difficulties. However, if we were to organise our villages schematically into groups of ten villages, forty-five thousand villages would become four thousand five hundred groups. Providing doctors, health workers, midwives, nurses and transport to these 4,500 groups, as well as providing the necessary equipment and supplies, would be easier, and the costs these would impose on the state budget would be manageable and affordable in the short term. To this end, the way to ensure the development of our villages is to organise them into groups of agricultural towns and agricultural town unions. The advantages offered in the villages selected as centres will, over time, encourage the other villages in the group to move to these central villages and gather there. There is no need to force our villagers to do this. Our villagers

They are migrating to centres that offer convenience for themselves and educational opportunities for their children. Today, the shanty towns surrounding large cities demonstrate this. The migration of our villagers to cities has led to the emergence of shanty town neighbourhoods. Why are our villagers migrating to cities?

To gain access to schools for their children, to gain access to healthcare facilities for their sick, to find work that will provide them with a better livelihood! Therefore, if we bring these opportunities to their doorstep and establish centres near their villages that provide them with these opportunities, it will be possible for the villages belonging to this group to gradually migrate to these centres of attraction over time, thus creating what we might call agricultural towns in these centres.

Today, our country faces the problem of erosion. Erosion is the wearing away of our soil. It is the loss of the most fertile part of our soil, which forms the top layer of our fields and pastures, due to wind and floods, and its washing away into the sea by floods. Over time, eroded soil loses its fertility and becomes desertified. For this reason, Turkey faces major challenges such as preventing erosion, combating erosion and reforesting the country.

The Current Situation of Our Villages and Rural Life

Since the establishment of the state, the Turkish villager, who has been granted only patience, resignation and hardship, has been reduced to the state of a fish whose bones remain after the flesh has been eaten. These hard-working people, who sell their fields, their cows and their rugs to educate their children and treat their young, struggle to save the seeds they sow in the soil from the mouths of wolves and birds, from harmful insects, and from a thousand other difficulties. But before the wheat is harvested, before the fruit trees bear fruit, before the tobacco is dried, loan sharks lie in wait at the threshing floor, black marketeers at the field boundaries, opportunists on the roads. After all these struggles, whatever land, cattle, and sheep they manage to keep are mortgaged to the banks. The villager appears to be a landowner, a property owner, but in reality, he is not the owner of the property. The sheep are his, but the milk belongs to someone else. He grows the wheat, but his share is barley bread. Unfortunately, the burdens are on the backs of millions of people, while the benefits are in the hands of a handful of people. While Turkey's coastlines are being snapped up by opportunists, our villagers living on the coast can only watch the sea from afar. The Turkish villager

When blessings are distributed, they are pushed to the back, but when services are rendered, they are called to the front. For economic development and balance to be achieved, the management of property must be conducted with good faith, scientific methods, national interests, and within moral boundaries.

I wish to state once again a great truth before the Turkish nation and warn those responsible:

When the gap between poverty and wealth widens in this country, when the hungry and the well-fed drift apart, when low and high pressure centres form in social and economic terms, it is impossible to prevent the destruction caused by the resulting storms. And it should not be forgotten that the first target in the fight against mosquitoes is to drain the swamps. In a country where unemployment and favouritism, robbery and bribery walk hand in hand on the streets, and where misery and despair are on the rise, there can be no talk of a just system.

Wrong Village Policy

Today's village policy is implemented from the centre to the periphery. This is a view that makes village development impossible and increases migration to cities. Village development should be implemented from the periphery to the centre. Investments in Anatolia will not only provide cheap labour but also prevent people from abandoning their villages. The shanty towns surrounding our major cities are caused by nothing other than misguided village policy.

Today, our abundant waters are flowing away, and we are not yet able to take full advantage of them. We are only able to utilise five and a half per cent of the opportunities our waters provide us with. Ninety-four and a half per cent of our waters flow away and are wasted. Rapidly exploiting these will accelerate Turkey's development. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out agricultural and land reforms in our country to address all these needs. Agricultural reform encompasses modernising agriculture, organising it according to scientific principles, increasing yields by using fertilisers, pesticides, modern sowing methods, and seed improvement according to scientific principles, and raising the yield per unit. Agricultural reform also involves developing irrigation facilities and creating a national agricultural inventory to enable strategic agricultural planning, thereby steering our agriculture towards the most economically viable direction. This includes the most efficient use of our land on a regional basis.

This includes conducting research to ensure efficient use and implementing the most suitable farming practices for that soil.

In addition, land reform must also be addressed.

Land reform involves not only organising large tracts of land in a profitable manner, but also requires the rational organisation of excessively fragmented and small plots of land that lead to uneconomical management.

Today, Turkey's problem is not so much the existence of large estates and large landowners, but rather that the land has been fragmented and divided in a way that leads to inefficient management. For years, there has been talk of land reform in our country. The communists have tried to exploit this more than anyone else. They have constantly exploited the issue of land reform by promoting a feudal literature, claiming that the land is in the hands of landlords and that landless peasants are oppressed. However, when we look at the issue impartially, realistically and scientifically, we see that it is quite different. Today, our population living off agriculture is around 29 million. The land area of the Republic of Turkey within its current borders is 782,000 square kilometres. This 782,000 square kilometres includes Lake Van, Lake Tuz, other lakes, forests and areas unsuitable for agriculture. However, to explain the issue clearly, let us assume for a moment that all of Turkey's land is suitable for agriculture. Let us try to divide Turkey's land equally among 29 million villagers. 782,000 square kilometres means 782 million acres. When we divide these 782 million acres among 29 million people, each person gets approximately 3 acres of land.

If all of Turkey were suitable for agriculture, if lakes and every area were arable, and if we were to declare existing land titles invalid and redistribute Turkey's land equally among the current farming population, each villager would receive only a very small amount. If we were to divide 782 million acres of land in this way, in theory and in bulk, each villager would receive around 3 acres of land. If we were to divide this per family, assuming there are roughly 6 million peasant families on average, the amount each would receive would still be 13-14 acres. Moreover, Turkey's currently cultivated agricultural land amounts to approximately 300 million acres, a portion of which consists of pastures.

It is formed by the inclusion of land that has been cleared for farming, which was previously used for livestock grazing. In fact, scientifically speaking, 250 or 260 million acres of Turkey should be used for agriculture, and the remaining pastures should be allocated to animal husbandry. In that case, if we were to distribute the land suitable for agriculture to farmers, the amount per peasant would be very small, and the amount per peasant family would also be very small. All this shows that Turkey has a large population engaged in the agricultural sector in economic terms. Today, 15% of the population in France is engaged in the agricultural sector, 7% of the population in the United Kingdom is engaged in the agricultural sector, and 4.5% of the population in the United States is engaged in the agricultural sector. However, although 4.5% of the US population is engaged in farming, this 4.5% feeds the entire United States and also sells and distributes the products it produces to the whole world.

Therefore, it is impossible to provide sufficient land within Turkey's current borders to the 29 million people currently engaged in agriculture, to the farmers. It is possible to rapidly industrialise Turkey, rapidly make Turkey a modern industrial power, and transfer the population engaged in agriculture to industry and the general services sector, thereby systematically reducing the 65 per cent farmer ratio to
to 50%, 40%, 30% or 20% in a planned manner, while also modernising and organising agriculture and putting it in order by allocating enough land to each farming family to run a profitable business. Otherwise, coming forward with claims that we will distribute land to everyone without taking these measures would completely ruin Turkey. It would cause great turmoil in Turkey and undermine the country's economy.

According to current scientific research, the amount of land that a farming family can normally work profitably is around 300 acres. The smaller the amount of land, the less economically viable it becomes to farm. Accordingly, it is necessary to plan and organise agricultural and land reform. On the one hand, it is necessary to transfer the population to the industrial sector and the general services sector in economic terms, and on the other hand, to consider measures that will prevent the continuous fragmentation and crumbling of land through inheritance. Unless these are done, it will not be possible to put Turkey's agriculture in order and develop Turkey economically. For this purpose, the two fundamental principles on which our policy is based are as follows. One is the concept of agricultural towns;

Establishing village groups based on agricultural towns, organising villages into village groups to meet their needs. The other is to rapidly modernise agriculture and achieve profitable management, resorting to agricultural and land reform for organisation, carrying out agricultural and land reform together. These two cannot be separated. It is necessary to consider these two together.

A question may be asked. It may be said that today in Turkey there are people who own 60,000 acres, 80,000 acres of land, so will these large estates not be touched? Shouldn't these large estates also be subject to reform? Of course they should. Of course, these too will be subject to reform in a manner appropriate to economic management. However, their quantity does not exceed 1% in Turkey. When compared to the overall situation, the number and proportion of these large landowners does not exceed 1%. In addition, the most important issue in Turkish agriculture is that our land is divided into small plots of 30, 20, 70, or 100 acres in the hands of small farmers, leading to uneconomical management. These small units must be organised into cooperatives to achieve an economic management system. Alternatively, the issue of inheritance must be regulated by new laws to prevent fragmentation through inheritance. Furthermore, it is necessary to establish an organisation encompassing all villagers through village mutual aid institutions and to undertake large-scale investments that will also serve the development of the villagers.

ORGANISATION OF THE TURKISH PEASANT ORGANISATION

65% of our country's population consists of peasants. Our villagers, however, are currently the most disorganised and voiceless group in our country. Low-income groups living in large cities exert influence and pressure on governments because they are organised into various institutions. As a result, wages and salaries are increased. This situation reduces and slows down investments that would increase the country's production.

The main objective is to organise and develop the peasantry. To this end, greater importance must be attached to the production economy than to the consumption economy. Our villages should be organised into village groups and agricultural towns established. Cooperatives should be adapted to the specific circumstances of our country and our nation, and our people should be organised into production and consumption cooperatives. If our villagers are organised in this way, it will be possible to solve many of their problems. Organising our entire nation into production and consumption cooperatives and making the investments necessary for the industrialisation of our country in these institutions will greatly facilitate our development.

Some Measures

Agricultural policy should be determined in such a way as to evaluate opportunities in agriculture and eliminate limiting factors. Structural deficiencies in agriculture should be rectified and economically viable family farms should be established, which should be considered fundamental elements in structural reform.

In Turkey, the yield of both plant and animal products is extremely low. For this reason, productivity in agriculture must be increased, and fertilisers, seeds, medicines, breeding stock, good nutrition and artificial insemination opportunities that increase productivity must be provided to farmers in a timely and efficient manner.

a) Planning

The production of our products should be planned with a view to improving the nutrition of our people, increasing exports, meeting the raw material needs of our industry, and taking into account domestic and international market conditions.

Our land faces an increasing threat of erosion year after year. Overgrazing and disorder in our pastures are a cause for concern. Increasing the number of animals rather than increasing productivity per animal is not an example of progress. Our animal production levels are also very low.

In agriculture, state and private sector investments must be increased to sufficient levels.

b) Investment

Our country has vast land resources and is suitable for growing all kinds of crops, with varied climatic characteristics. Despite this, agricultural loans are inadequate. The volume of agricultural loans should be increased and linked to a system. The Agricultural Bank's own resources should be reinforced, and it should be linked to the Ministry of Agriculture to ensure coordination.

c) Marketing

In our country, marketing services are still carried out using primitive methods. Modern marketing methods should be applied so that farmers can evaluate their goods, and the education and training of farmers should be addressed to the fullest extent possible. The surplus of the population working in agriculture and hidden unemployment are a reality. While shifting this issue to industry, the agricultural industry must be taken into account and the transfer of the population to the agricultural industry must be considered first.

The situation of our forest villages is also heartbreaking. For this reason, we consider the establishment of a forest products industry in forest areas to be of vital importance.

c) Cooperatives

Cooperatives should be developed and farmers should be encouraged to take an active role in them, abandoning the dream of having a cooperative in every village.

Cooperative unions should be established in the villages we call agricultural towns and which are listed as central villages in the Third Five-Year Plan; at least 5-6 villages should be linked together.

d) Ending Usury

Furthermore, usury and profiteering, which have engulfed our country, must be stopped decisively. Our villagers and producers are being crushed by usurers. Unless measures are taken to eliminate them, the political and social peace of our country cannot be ensured. Our villagers must be saved from being slaves and victims of a consumption economy based on luxury and waste. Governments must address this issue promptly.

The activities of our banks, especially the Agricultural Bank, towards the peasants are very limited and inadequate. Producers are being crushed by loan sharks and are in great distress. Usury is a harmful activity that exists throughout our country and in every phase of social life. Freeing the people from the hands of usurers must be one of our most urgent tasks.

Organising for Development

To this end, it is necessary to organise our citizens, primarily the villagers, and provide them with easy and cheap credit. It would be very beneficial to organise our villages as agricultural towns and in the form of production-consumption cooperatives.

Turkish villagers and producers are currently in a very difficult situation. The base prices set by the government for the products grown by producers are unfounded. All the basic necessities that villagers and producers are forced to purchase have rapidly become more expensive and continue to rise in price. In contrast, not only are the base prices set by the government low, but it is also impossible for producers to sell their products at official prices. Neither the state economic organisation nor the producer cooperatives, which are the buyers, have sufficient credit and facilities to purchase all the producers' goods. In this situation, the peasant is left at the mercy of merchants and moneylenders. Merchants purchase the producer's goods not at the official base price set by the government, but at even lower prices.

Agricultural product pricing policy is part of general government policy. Government purchases of cereals remain limited and do not allow for complete control over prices (as in the case of beet purchases). This works to the disadvantage of producers. Playing with prices alone is not sufficient to increase the production of agricultural products. Price measures should reduce the cost per unit of the product and other measures should also be taken together. Until these are done, it cannot be said that the farmer's health, property and risk are secure.

Forest Villages

Our villagers, particularly those living in forest villages, face significant hardship due to the pressure of the forest law currently in force. A situation has arisen in which forest villagers are being forced into starvation or imprisonment by harsh laws, without being provided with new means of livelihood. Problems cannot be solved with dry prohibitions and violent laws.

The development of the Turkish nation, the protection of forests and the improvement of agricultural productivity depend largely on the implementation of a scientific fuel policy. The Turkish nation must be freed from using manure as fuel and encouraged to spread it on the fields. As well as rich lignite deposits, our country has other resources that can meet its fuel needs. A fuel office should be established and efforts to resolve this issue should be pursued with urgency.

The price of fuel gases should be reduced, and the burden of collecting brushwood and drying dung should be lifted from our girls and women. Gas stoves, which can be easily manufactured in state factories, should be distributed to villagers at low prices. In this way, both forests should be protected and comfort should be ensured.

The Village and Land Issue

Our development is a matter of the development of the Turkish nation. Our villagers constitute the largest social segment of the Turkish nation. The population living in our villages is around 29 million. Achieving sound and balanced development depends on changing the social and economic structure of our villages. Our village community structure appears underdeveloped.

One of the principles of Dokuz Işık is called Köycülük. Köycülük encompasses the economic and social transformation of our villages through the implementation of our Agricultural Towns project. Agricultural towns are one of the fundamental projects for our village and national development. With the Agricultural Towns project, we will achieve two fundamental revolutions. One is social, and the other is economic village development; our villages will be introduced to a new form of settlement in social terms. The Turkish people are the essence and voice of the village, showing no deviation, yet always neglected. We must bring the villagers into a humane way of life. A villager living in an environment without roads, electricity, water, schools, hospitals, or doctors is not living with human dignity and honour.

Today, there are 45,000 villages in our country as municipalities and 65,000 as settlement units. In order for villagers to live in a manner befitting human dignity, these places must have basic infrastructure facilities such as roads, water and electricity, social and cultural facilities such as schools, hospitals and public service institutions, and finally workshops, factories, other economic institutions and industrial facilities. Today, 53% of our villages have no water, 75% have no roads, and 98% have no electricity. The average national income per villager is 700 lira per year.

Land Reform or Village Reform?

The realisation of our national integration depends on the reform of the village community structure, which encompasses a very large part of our population. Reforming the village community structure requires multifaceted social, economic and cultural measures. Rural development cannot be achieved through narrow-scope land reform alone. If we compare the current rural population and its annual growth with the amount of land that can be distributed, it becomes clear that land reform alone is nothing more than a misleading measure. Therefore, the task at hand is to implement narrow-scope land reform on the one hand, and rural reform on the other. Today, there are around 65,000 villages in our country. Twenty-nine million people live in these villages. It is not possible to provide every village with the infrastructure and superstructure facilities, cultural and social facilities such as schools and hospitals, necessary to enable the people living in the villages to live in a humane manner. In view of this situation, it is essential to unite the villagers in terms of social, economic and cultural services. For this purpose, villages established in the same region should be grouped together.

The most suitable one is selected. This is called the **"central village"**. All infrastructure facilities and socio-cultural service institutions are concentrated in this village. Thus, services are brought directly to the village, and the villages become urbanised towns. The surrounding villages are connected to the central village in various ways. As this village will be an economic and cultural centre, a certain proportion of the civil servants, workers and employees who will work in the facilities and businesses here are recruited primarily from the surrounding villages. In this way, employment opportunities are found for the army of visible and hidden unemployed people accumulated in the village, and the surplus population in the village is transferred to the industrial and service sectors.

In our view, just as other reforms are needed, there is also an urgent need for land reform. However, it is impossible to consider land reform separately from agricultural reform, industrial reform, and social and legal reforms concerning the redistribution of the population.

"Agricultural reform" involves analysing the land, allocating each plot to the type of agriculture that will yield the highest profitability, utilising both surface and groundwater for agriculture, taking measures to prevent erosion, the establishment of organisations to ensure the use of agricultural tools and equipment, the use of pesticides and fertilisers, the insurance of agricultural products, the facilitation and economic optimisation of the sales, transport and distribution system, and the prevention of usury.

"Land reform" entails eliminating the power of the landlords who own 8-10 and more villages and improving the social conditions of the peasants tied to the land. On the other hand, it entails taking legal and economic measures against land divisions that cause uneconomical management through inheritance. and the transfer of 25 per cent or more of the population to industry and other sectors.

Industrialisation and Land Reform

At the root of Turkey's problems lie the issues of education and industrialisation. Until these are resolved, it will not be possible to get other matters back on track. The issue of land reform is also related to these.

Agricultural and land reform must follow industrialisation. The state should establish large enterprises, encourage private initiative, and identify small business units in each region to operate, efficiently manage, and rationally utilise the land that is becoming sparsely populated due to the population drawn to industry.

The measure of this should not be how many pennies the farmer earns just to fill his stomach, but how much yield can be obtained from the land by minimising waste of tools, materials and labour.

Land reform efforts undertaken before industrialisation will give rise to economic and political crises. Yesterday's neglect is the cause of today's anarchy. Today's recklessness may also disrupt our tomorrow.

Land Reform Efforts

Land reform, to define it briefly, is the increase in agricultural production and the allocation of land to peasants who have no land or insufficient land. Our Turkey is a country based on an agricultural economy.

Countries based on an agricultural economy are considered economically underdeveloped. In such countries, the vast majority of the population lives in villages. In fact, nearly two-thirds of our population lives in our villages today. The envisaged land reform will not enable our rural population to achieve social prosperity and live in humane conditions.

We are a party that advocates land reform. Nevertheless, we advocate it in a different way from other parties that also advocate land reform.

Today, the population working in agriculture constitutes seventy-two per cent of our total population. It is ridiculous to insist that we are an agricultural country when it is a fact that a country, especially an industrialised country, cannot achieve prosperity through agriculture alone. Turkey's underground and above-ground resources and our geopolitical position compel us to industrialise. A land and agricultural reform undertaken before the population is transferred to industry will not succeed. Once this idea is fundamentally accepted, the issue of land registry and cadastre must be resolved, and the matter of villages, or what we call "agricultural towns," must be addressed by establishing a cooperative system. We are in favour of an agricultural and land reform that is intelligently implemented, does not constitute a transition to collectivism, and positively impacts production and productivity, thereby assisting industrialisation.

Land Consolidation

Land reform is not merely about land distribution. Land distribution is only one element of land reform. The other two important elements of land reform are the consolidation of small plots of land and preventing the division of land. In our country, 87% of land is divided into plots smaller than 100 acres. Agricultural holdings smaller than 100 acres are far from being economically viable. Therefore, the first reform to be carried out is the consolidation of small plots of land. Land consolidation should be compulsory. Today, compulsory land consolidation is carried out in democratic countries such as Belgium. It is not possible to achieve voluntary consolidation. Furthermore, it is essential to introduce provisions that will prevent the division of land through inheritance. Determining the upper limit for private land ownership in land distribution is a very important issue. Large farms are more efficient in agricultural economics. Given the conditions in our country, the private land to be distributed should cover more than 1,250 acres of irrigated land and 2,500 acres of dry land, taking into account the population conditions of various regions. Leaving smaller plots of land to landowners undermines the economic benefits expected from land reform. On the other hand, priority should be given to the South-East and East regions in land reform. This is because in these regions, 700 villages are owned by individuals or families, which is contrary to the democratic way of life of our nation and human dignity.

Co-operation

Co-operation is a complementary element of land reform. Agricultural management requires technology, capital and marketing. It is impossible for small farmers to achieve this on their own. This can only be achieved through union and solidarity. This can only be achieved through co-operatives, which are economic organisations. However, in a democratic system, freedom is fundamental. The guarantee of freedom is private property. For this reason, peasants joining a cooperative must have private and individual ownership of the land. Granting property rights to the cooperative leads to the emergence of kolkhozes, as in the Soviet model.

Our villagers will attain a standard of living befitting human dignity. With agricultural towns, villagers will gain access to water, electricity, roads, schools, hospitals, in short, the conditions for a humane life, while on the other hand

With increased agricultural production and the substantial income this will generate, the savings made will contribute to our economic development. The focus of the agricultural towns movement is the establishment of a rural industrial system. In this way, agricultural towns pursue the industrialisation of our country and, consequently, of our rural population. Rural industry will be financed by the savings of the villagers and the assistance provided by the state. Agricultural towns will, on the one hand, provide our villagers and villages with industrial facilities and, on the other hand, create the opportunity for efficient land reform. In our view, land and agricultural reform consists of four movements. These are: preventing the division of agricultural land, consolidating fragmented agricultural land and enterprises, expropriating privately owned land above a certain size in exchange for compensation and distributing it to landless or land-poor peasants, and finally, the movement towards cooperatives based on the principles of labour and ownership, unrelated to the cooperatives in Marxist countries, and fully reflecting the will of the peasants. A land and agricultural reform that does not incorporate these four movements is doomed to failure.

Cadastral Matters

Gardens and vineyards should be excluded from the scope of land reform. This is because gardens and vineyards require significant investment and labour. The Draft Preliminary Measures for Land Reform included vineyards and gardens within the scope of land reform, which was a misguided approach. However, we see that the temporary commission has correctly removed this provision. If vineyards and gardens were included in land reform, their owners would uproot the trees that resulted from considerable labour and investment and convert the land into fields. Moreover, only 2% of our agricultural land consists of vineyards and gardens, and these are very small in size. They are half a dunam, one dunam, three dunams, five dunams, at most 50 dunams, 100 dunams. On the other hand, we believe that the article in the draft law on preliminary measures for land reform, which prevents the acquisition of ownership through usufruct, does not correspond to the realities of our country. The state cannot blame citizens without performing its public duties. One of the most important services of the state in terms of land is to carry out land registration and cadastral surveys. As this organisation has not been established as required in our country, cadastral surveys have only been carried out on 30% of our land.

Seventy per cent have not been surveyed. Only around 40 per cent of our land has genuine and valid title deeds. Therefore, if the provision introduced by the Land Reform Preliminary Measures Act is to be implemented,

Sixty per cent of the land, which is unregistered and based on customary ownership, will be nationalised. It should be noted here that nationalisation is not a social reform but a social revolution. In states governed by the rule of law, revolutions are not carried out; instead, reforms, corrections and improvements are made. Moreover, given that the social aspect of land reform requires that land be given to landless or smallholder peasants, under whose tenure are the lands to be nationalised because they lack title deeds? Let us state immediately that these lands are in the hands of our poor peasants. Because our peasants have been left poor and uneducated, and because the state has failed to perform its public service of registration and cadastral surveying, these lands will be taken from the peasants, and without compensation. This will create social unrest, not social peace, in this country, and will run counter to the fundamental meaning and spirit of land reform. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the lands for which title deeds have been issued belong to the large landowners who are to be included in the scope of land reform. In this case, the provision in the law stating that real estate ownership cannot be acquired through possession will cause more harm than good and will therefore increase social unrest.

AGRICULTURAL TOWNS

One of the most important issues in establishing economic democracy is the matter of villages and villagers. Today, two-thirds of our population lives in villages. There are more than 60,000 villages. Since our villagers are Turkish people, they must attain a standard of living befitting human dignity. However, in most of our villages, even the most basic services are not available. It is impossible to build roads, water supply, electricity, hospitals, schools, and libraries in every village, or to find doctors, midwives, and teachers. This results in our villagers living in primitive conditions. No one in this country, no government, has the right to allow this. We must gather our villages around centres of attraction in terms of services and establish agricultural towns. Although this view, which we have advocated for years, has been included in the Third Five-Year Plan, we do not believe that the current political powers can realise this project. These are policies of appeasement and procrastination. Agricultural towns will change the social and economic structure of our villagers. Factories, workshops, small manufacturing plants, modern schools and hospitals will be established in every agricultural town. While the savings of our villages can be utilised in the establishment of agricultural towns, the state will also give priority to these establishments through incentives and credit measures. We must not forget that in the 16th century, when the Ottoman Empire reached its highest political and economic level, the number of villages ranged between 8,000 and 10,000. In developed societies and countries, instead of small and fragmented villages, there are large, developed villages. Our villages, with their agricultural towns, will become major economic, social, and cultural centres.

Agricultural Towns and Development

Today, there are 40,000 village councils and 65,000 settlements in Turkey. In this situation, the minimum requirement for each village council is one

school, a mosque, a midwife, a health officer, a fountain, two teachers, an imam, and a road network connecting the village to others, we arrive at the following conclusion:

40,000 mosques, 40,000 schools, 40,000 fountains, 40,000 imams, 40,000 midwives, 40,000 health officers, 80,000 teachers and 40,000 road networks connecting the villages are the minimum requirements.

If we divide the rural population of 29,000,000 among 40,000 villages, the average population of villages in Turkey is 500. The average distance between villages is 5 km, requiring a minimum of 200,000 km of roads to be built.

Until these conditions are met, the citizen's life in the village amounts to abandonment to nature. Meeting these conditions would entail enormous expense.

Given that the distance between villages is 5 km, the boundary between two villages would be formed 2.5 km from the village centre. This distance means that it takes the farmer half an hour to reach the furthest field on foot. If we switch to mechanised agriculture today, a half-hour distance would be 10-12 km by tractor. Therefore, the merging of 12 villages is a natural consequence of mechanised agriculture. With the merging of villages, all needs will be reduced to one-tenth, and the road network will be resolved with 80,000 km. The savings from the road network alone could enable the state to build these new villages **as "agricultural towns"**. Today, 99% of our village houses are symbols of misery, consisting of four walls and a roof, lacking in health and physical integrity.

The establishment of "agricultural towns" with a population of 5,000, by ensuring the migration of handicrafts and newly established industries to these areas, will prevent the formation of shanty towns and facilitate the emergence of a prosperous and well-developed Turkey, where every home has running water, mobile butane gas, and electricity. A settlement will be formed around a square, with a mosque, school, dispensary, agricultural equipment cooperative, administrative buildings, orderly streets and a market, eliminating the distinction between village and city. Three-quarters of the population engaged in agriculture will shift to industry and services, achieving the goal of a strong nation and a prosperous homeland. Mobile doctors will visit every village every week. Farmers will be able to rent the agricultural tools and equipment they need interest-free, paying when the harvest is delivered, and will obtain all kinds of fertiliser and seeds under the same conditions.

By the time this stage is reached, an average of 4 million people in Turkey will be engaged in agriculture, and farms consisting of family holdings of at least 250 acres will be established.

All these principles will undoubtedly be implemented over time and according to geographical and economic conditions. Upon reaching this stage, consent and preference for the good will always be the guiding factors.

As Turkey transitions to the organisational structure described above, the issue of housing for civil servants and teachers will resolve itself.

The Economic Development of Our Villages

Now I turn to the economic development of the village. The economic development of the village will be twofold. First, agricultural industry investments will be made with the money collected in the Savings and Investment Funds of the Village Production Cooperatives. These investments will be made within the framework of agricultural towns and will be directed towards the agricultural machinery manufacturing industry. Machinery industries producing agricultural machinery and tools, fertiliser industries, improved seed industries, and agricultural pest control industries will be established. Each agricultural town will also be an agricultural industrial town. The second aspect of the village's economic development is agricultural reform. Agricultural reform consists of three movements: land reform, technical and credit reform, and cooperatives.

Land Reform

Land reform will first ensure the consolidation of fragmented, scattered agricultural land. Depending on the climate and agricultural structure of various regions, agricultural holdings of less than 100 irrigated acres or 300 non-irrigated acres are not economically viable in our country. The aim of agricultural reform is not only to distribute land to landless farmers. Another equally important aim is to increase agricultural production. In this regard, irrigated agricultural holdings cannot be smaller than 100 acres, and non-irrigated agricultural holdings cannot be smaller than 300 acres. Farms smaller than these figures are not efficient in terms of agricultural economics and cannot support a farmer's family. These figures represent the minimum limits for agricultural land ownership. Farms smaller than this size will be consolidated and increased to a minimum of 100 or 300 acres. We call this process the consolidation of agricultural land. Another measure as important as consolidation is preventing the fragmentation and disintegration of agricultural holdings through inheritance and sale. A change in inheritance laws will prevent such fragmentation. Agricultural land included in inherited property

The farm shall be left as an independent share of the inheritance to the most competent person in the family who has chosen the agricultural profession, and the other heirs shall be paid their rights in cash. This will also remove an obstacle that reduces agricultural production and income. Another way to implement land reform is to give land to peasants who have no land or insufficient land. Our agricultural towns and industrialisation project will draw a large part of the rural population into the industrial and service sectors, thereby reducing the proportion of the population in the agricultural sector. Thus, the land to be given to landless peasants or those without sufficient land will not be less than 100 acres of irrigated land or 300 acres of non-irrigated land, depending on regional conditions.

Today, your land is suffering great losses due to erosion. Furthermore, our land must be scientifically examined to determine the agricultural strategy that will provide the highest economic profitability.

The ratios of forestry, livestock farming and agriculture must be adjusted appropriately, and irrigation works, rivers and lakes, and the fishing regime must be reorganised according to scientific principles. Scientific measures to rapidly prevent erosion and increase agricultural production many times over are the main issues of agricultural reform.

In land distribution, treasury lands, swamp lands to be drained, and portions of privately owned lands exceeding a certain amount will be distributed. In enterprises based on agricultural capital and agricultural labour, an upper limit will be determined according to regional and climatic conditions, and portions exceeding this limit will be nationalised.

The land to be distributed will be expropriated in exchange for compensation. No excess land will be taken from the landowner without compensation. The compensation paid will be channelled into production rather than consumption; for this purpose, landowners will be given shares in light industrial enterprises such as the textile factories currently owned by the state. There will also be a shift towards new industrial establishments. Thus, landowners will invest the money they receive in the production industry, rather than in luxury and dead investments. The land distributed to peasants will be given to them in instalments in exchange for a fee.

Technical and Credit Reform

Agricultural reform, as the second movement, encompasses technical and credit reform. It is not sufficient to distribute land to peasants who lack technical tools and equipment and cannot obtain money or credit. To cultivate this land, they need machinery, seeds, fertiliser and, ultimately, money. The necessary technical means and credit for agricultural operations must be provided by an organisation. This organisation is the Village Agricultural Cooperatives, which constitute the third phase of agricultural reform.

Cooperatives

Our villagers will unite within cooperative organisations. Membership in the cooperative will be compulsory. In these cooperatives, each member villager will remain the owner of their land and the owner of their labour. We are opposed to the sovkhoz and kolkhoz types of state farms or collectivism found in communist countries. These cooperatives are so-called cooperatives.

In these cooperatives, the peasant is not the owner of the land, nor is he the owner of his labour. In communist cooperatives, peasants are workers and employees. In the cooperatives we will establish, ownership and labour will remain with the peasants; only large cooperative enterprises will be established in economic terms to prevent the waste of time, credit, capital and technology. Large-scale enterprises are more efficient in the economy. The aim is to increase efficiency and develop our country. Unlike communism and capitalism, we want to make everyone a property owner, so within this economic aspect of agricultural towns, the real farmers will be the landowners.

Rural agricultural cooperatives will be effective in the distribution of technical equipment and credit, as well as carrying out marketing tasks. Every villager will sell their products here, and usurers, exploiters who earn money without labour, will disappear.

Village-Ak

In addition, rural mutual aid organisations will be established in the agricultural towns to be built, which is an organisation we could call Köy-Ak. This will create an organisational structure that will channel the participation of villagers in the country's development and investments. The agricultural towns

will also give rise to agriculture-related industries, small industries, and small manufacturing plants in the region or within the region of several agricultural towns participating in the group, according to the needs and characteristics of that group. Thus, our villagers will be organised, and the opportunity to participate in large investments through Köy-Ak will arise. At the same time, our villagers, our people, will gain the opportunity to rapidly transition from the village economy, the town economy, the regional economy, and the national economy to the global economy. One of the major problems facing Turkey is its ability to transition to the global economy.

Village and Industry

The importance of modern soil cultivation, fertilisation and pest control achieved by introducing technical capabilities into agriculture is evident in the development of Turkish agriculture. At the core of this type of agriculture lies modern farming, tools and machinery. Seeking to meet this need by importing agricultural tools and other necessary agricultural materials reduces the benefits of increased agricultural production. Since imported tools and machinery increase production costs, agricultural enterprises seek to increase production at a higher cost. To illustrate with an example, a farmer prefers to achieve a gross yield of 7,500 lira with an expense of 5,000 lira rather than a production of 20,000 lira with an expense of 15,000 lira, and rightly so. In this regard, rather than increasing costs by importing tools, machinery, fertilisers, and even agricultural pesticides, which are of great importance to Turkish agriculture, it is necessary to offer farmers our own domestically produced alternatives at lower costs.

The best way to achieve this is to make use of the villagers' spare time by setting up workshops in agricultural towns and other suitable locations through Village Cooperatives. Naturally, it would be unrealistic to expect these workshops to start manufacturing heavy agricultural machinery such as tractors and combine harvesters at the outset. Starting with the manufacture of light tools such as harrows, ploughs, rodrivers, ordinary ploughs, and rollers, as well as sprayers and other agricultural tools, the agricultural workshops of the Village Cooperatives will gradually move on to manufacturing heavy ploughs and, with the development of other industrial branches, will also be able to move on to manufacturing combine harvesters and tractors. The production of artificial fertilisers, which is already developing in our country, should be addressed separately in each region, taking into account the needs of those regions. In our country, the food industry and the processing of industrial crops, especially the beverage industry, are under state control.

It shows a tendency to develop in a disorderly manner, far removed from its role. So much so that when industrial development is mentioned, in parallel with the Common Market's stated objectives for Turkey, the textile industry, the soft drinks industry and canning have begun to be understood in our country. When the Nationalist Movement comes to power, it will control the processing of agricultural raw materials, ensure that products are processed in the most appropriate way to meet nutritional and other needs, and facilitate the export of surplus products. To this end:

a) As with the Sugar Factories Organisation, fibre and oil crops such as flax, hemp, cotton, soya, groundnuts, poppy, sesame, olives, etc. will be cultivated in areas where agriculture is developed. ginning, textile and oil-soap factories will be established to process these crops through Village Co-ops and other capital providers. This will not only prevent transportation costs but also enable farmers to process their own products at their own centres. Thus, income will be generated in two ways: from the sale of raw materials and from the processing of products, which will encourage farmers to strive to increase their production. Raw materials will be processed at the Agricultural City centre where they are sourced.

b) In parallel with sugar factories, the processing of by-products will be pursued to develop the feed industry.

c) Canning will be taken out of the hands of city capital. Capital in the city should be directed towards heavy industry instead of the manufacture of soft drinks, canned goods, etc. To this end, Köy-Koop will take over all activities from the manufacture of cans to the processing of canned goods. Furthermore, cold storage facilities will be provided during every agricultural season to ensure the supply of natural vegetables and fruits throughout the year. This will enable exports to be carried out directly by the Village-Coop Union in the agricultural town without the need for any intermediaries.

c) The processing and preservation of products such as dried vegetables, fruits, grape juice, molasses and tarhana, which are original to Turkish cuisine, will be ensured by the Village Cooperative Union in parallel with the canning industry.

d) Village Handicrafts: As is well known, Turkish farmers generally have free time during the winter months, apart from the time spent on field cultivation and other tasks requiring some knowledge. To make use of this time, they engage in activities such as weaving carpets and rugs, working with leather and wood, as well as sewing and embroidery.

Women's work needs to be developed. To this end, looms suitable for handicrafts appropriate to regional conditions will be provided in every agricultural town using loans granted by Village Cooperatives for the idle months. Alongside Sümerbank, other shops will also be encouraged to enter into contracts with farmers, ensuring they can work with confidence that their labour will be rewarded.

Livestock and Nutrition

During the era when the Turkish nation ruled the world, their main foods were meat and dairy products. Unfortunately, today our country consumes the least amount of meat and dairy products compared to European countries. Per capita milk consumption in Europe is 150 kg per year, while in Turkey it is 50 kg. Annual meat consumption in Europe is around 50 kg, while in Turkey it is around 20 kg. This low consumption of meat and milk is not due to a shortage of livestock, but rather to their very low meat and milk yield.

No government has ever seriously addressed the main problems in animal husbandry. Feed prices are very high. Animal husbandry is largely dependent on pastures. Pastures, however, are very poor. Artificial feed is still produced in very small quantities in Turkey. In contrast, the price is very high. Feed costs account for 60% of the cost of animal products. In order to make animal products cheaper, it will be necessary to reduce feed prices on the one hand and, on the other hand, to implement breeding projects that make good use of feed and improve livestock. To this end, the first step is to organise livestock farmers into associations within agricultural towns. At their annual meetings, the Peasant Unions-Cooperatives will determine prices, resolve marketing problems, and work to secure low-interest credit facilities. This will allow a portion of the money that would otherwise go to middlemen to remain with the producers, while also making it possible to supply cheaper goods to consumers. Cooperatives will be encouraged to engage in breeding production, and feed factories, which will be part of the village industry in agricultural towns, will be established by these cooperatives.

8 - DEVELOPMENTALISM AND POPULISM

INTRODUCTION

As Turkish nationalists, our cause is to exalt the existence of the Turkish nation and ensure its eternal continuation. This is a noble cause; no other idea, no other cause can stand above this idea, this cause. No behaviour, no action that does not serve the idea of exalting the existence of the Turkish nation and ensuring its eternal continuation, that is not in line with this idea, can be legitimate for the Turkish nation. The world is a struggle of nations. There is a constant competition, a struggle between nations. Every community strives to make its own nation superior. Every nation struggles and fights to become more prosperous, happier, more civilised, and more advanced than other nations. This is a feeling, a consciousness, and a sacred ambition. Nations deprived of this consciousness, this feeling, this sacred ambition are doomed to disappear from the world map, to languish, to fall under the domination of other nations. This struggle between nations has been going on since the earliest times recorded in history. Within this international struggle, the Turkish nation must free itself from its current state of neglect, poverty, backwardness and weakness as soon as possible. It must be freed from the position of begging others for help and become a nation that stands on its own feet, whose word and honour are respected everywhere; a nation that is strong, most advanced in civilisation, and supreme in prosperity. This is why we, as Turkish nationalists, are fighting; this is our cause.

The Turkish nation can only attain such a lofty status through NATIONALISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS and by possessing the ideal and ambition to make the Turkish nation the most prosperous, powerful, and civilised nation on earth.

This is the purpose and meaning of the cause, of the movement, under whose banner we have raised the flag of NATIONALISM, which is listened to more attentively by our beloved nation, our dear citizens, and under whose banner they gather with greater love.

The world is a struggle between nations. The Turkish nation can only achieve victory in this struggle through the reorganisation of our state and nation. In this reorganisation, the state will take on a new structure, a Nationalist-Idealist structure. We can achieve this structure through the national doctrine of NINE LIGHTS.

To protect the last independent Turkish state, we must unite around a NATIONAL DOCTRINE. This doctrine is the NINE LIGHTS doctrine. NINE LIGHTS is a doctrine based on the Turkish nation, its history and culture, and belief in it. Contrary to what some deviants claim, our doctrine has no connection whatsoever with "national socialism".

A-DEVELOPMENTALISM

THE PATH TO PROGRESS IN CIVILISATION LIES THROUGH THE PRINCIPLE OF PROGRESSIVISM

The eighth principle of the national doctrine of NINE LIGHTS is "Progressivism". Progressivism means conducting research to achieve a better, more beautiful, more advanced state; aspiring to achieve what is better and more perfect, and seeking ways to achieve this. Civilisations arise from people not being satisfied with their current situation and always wanting what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect; from their research; and also from their desire to free themselves from the domination of natural forces, to rule over natural forces, and to use natural forces for their own benefit. If people were content with what they had achieved and said, "This is enough for us," civilisations would remain as they are and would not develop. However, we see that the situation of forty-five years ago no longer exists today; it has changed and developed. Even the situation of five years ago no longer exists. Five years from now, we will always have progressed further than today, and many new things will have been discovered; because people are always searching for the better, the more beautiful, the more perfect. Therefore, one of the fundamental principles upon which our development and survival depend is that we must never be satisfied with what we have achieved, but must have a spirit of inquiry to find what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect. This is the main principle upon which our progress depends.

However, while seeking what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect, we never consider insulting our past or severing our connection with it. For a nation is a continuous flow. It is impossible to cut off its life at any point and erase the past from the life of the nation. For this reason, in progressivism, we accept the continuity of the nation's life as fundamental. In all our activities related to progress, in all our advancement and

development initiatives, we accept the principle that all our work must be in line with our national spirit and national traditions.

Progressivism means improving the current situation, building steps like climbing a ladder, placing higher steps in front of the one we are on, stepping on these steps to rise to something better, to rise to something more beautiful, to find and achieve something more mature. Progressivism does not involve destroying or overthrowing the current situation. It involves correcting, reorganising and developing the current situation. In other words, revolutionism is a concept that is the opposite of progressivism; it is a view. We wish to explain that we do not see revolutionism and progressivism as a path for the development of our nation, nor do we embrace them. Why do we not accept revolutionism as a path?

Because revolution means destroying everything from the past, abandoning all our values from the past, and creating a different situation that has no connection to us or our history, the outcome of which is impossible to predict.

Nations are like mighty trees. Just as mighty trees rise high above the ground as trunks, their roots extend deep into the earth below. Great trees can sustain their lives and vitality not so much because of the size of their trunks, but because their roots spread deep and wide; if their roots are cut, it is impossible to keep those great trees alive, to keep their trunks standing upright above the ground. Nations are like great trees. Their survival and development depend on their roots and their attachment to them. For nations, breaking away from their past means separating from their roots, and then they cannot survive on earth, they cannot develop, they need a support, another bond. Eventually, they disappear.

For this reason, the roots of the nation are also its national history. The cultural treasures it has created over thousands of years of existence are its spiritual values. They are its national traditions. Therefore, severing ties with these, destroying everything, overthrowing everything is a view, a path that we do not accept. For this reason, we have adopted the principle of progress based on evolution, not revolution. The meaning we attribute to the principle of progress is this: since the day they were created, people have never been content with their circumstances, striving for a better life, a more beautiful

They have striven to achieve this state, to arrive at more mature results. For this reason, we have incorporated this sentiment and this mindset into our doctrine as a principle. Since the day they were created, people have thought about the need to free themselves from the captivity of natural forces and to ensure that natural forces are used in a way that is beneficial to them. They have tried to achieve this and have sought many solutions to this end. Thus, the struggle against the forces of nature is another important factor in progress.

The struggle against the forces of nature has enabled human communities to benefit from these forces, and it is thanks to people's constant desire to seek and search for what is better, more beautiful and more perfect that civilisations have emerged on earth. These civilisations have always developed within the flow of history.

Here, we wish to emphasise to all our young people, to all the people of our country, that in their personal lives, personal affairs, and professions, they should always strive for the better, the more beautiful, and the more perfect, and at the same time, for our nation, our homeland, and our state, they should strive to rise higher, to become more developed, more advanced state. To this end, we have incorporated the principle of Progressivism into the NATIONAL DOCTRINE OF NINE LIGHTS.

This feeling, this desire, this passion is a very positive feeling, a positive desire, a positive passion. It is the most legitimate, most beneficial feeling, a passion that requires the channelling of human energy, the energy of youth.

The most noble sentiment and thought that elevates humanity is to rectify the circumstances and conditions we find ourselves in, to improve them, to advance them, to bring them to a state of permanence, to constantly think about this, to seek ways to achieve it, to work for it, to strive for it. Individuals and societies lacking such a thought, such a desire and perspective can be considered nothing more than doomed entities.

As Turkish nationalists, we accept loyalty and love for the Turkish nation and loyalty and service to the Turkish state as fundamental principles. We accept as fundamental the desire to rescue the Turkish nation from its difficult situation and make it strong, free from all kinds of fear and oppression, living with honour, prosperous, happy, and at the forefront of modern civilisation.

We will always strive for the better for the Turkish nation. We will devise measures and undertake efforts to achieve greater maturity, working day and night to attain the most beautiful, the best, and the most mature in all things. We will strive to achieve this both in our own lives, our own professions, and our work; and we will strive to ensure that our nation, our homeland, and our state rapidly reach the highest level and the most advanced state as soon as possible.

Unity - Togetherness

Turkey's rise cannot be achieved through ideas imported from abroad. No foreigner can think about the interests of the Turkish nation as much as the Turkish nation itself. Today, the Turkish nation is being targeted for destruction by imported ideas such as communism, fascism, or capitalism. Turkish youth must rise up against the destructive ideologies brought in from abroad, which serve the interests of others rather than the Turkish nation.

The solution to our problems lies in turning to ourselves, joining hands in unwavering unity, and embarking on day and night work.

As the Turkish nation, as Idealists, we must rise up against the treacherous activities targeting our territorial integrity, the indivisibility of our state, and our development. As Dokuz Işıkçılar, a new and great struggle awaits our youth. A struggle against those who seek to destroy our unity and solidarity, against those who seek to undermine our development, against those who seek to destroy our territorial integrity...

For the Turkish nation to develop and progress, every Turk must prioritise the preservation of unity and solidarity. We must stand united against any scheme that seeks to divide us, alienate us from one another, pit us against each other, or cause Turks to fight Turks.

Communism, regionalism, and sectarianism are foremost among the schemes that threaten our unity and integrity. Partisanship is foremost among the issues that undermine our unity and solidarity.

Today, a democratic system, an order, is being attempted in our country. There are many parties. However, partisanship, party interests, are enveloping the nation's body like a cancerous disease.

It is evident that our nation, afflicted by this disease, is losing its way; the children and people of our country are forgetting national unity and the higher interests of the nation and the state, and are dragging the country towards a dangerous and painful direction, caught in the grip of personal and partisan interests. Therefore, above all else, every Turk must remember this: any attitude that does not ensure the unity, solidarity, and free and independent existence of the Turkish nation, or that is detrimental to its free and independent existence and advancement, has lost its value for the Turkish nation and must be eliminated. Therefore, when speaking of democracy and partisanship, the interests of the Turkish nation, its unity, integrity, solidarity, and higher interests must be the unwavering motto and principle of every Turk. Behaviour contrary to this is detestable to every Turk and must be suppressed.

National Unity

For our nation to develop and progress, it must first and foremost return to its national identity and national existence. A nation can rise only by creating national values and valuing them. If nations possess national morality, if they hold on to their history, religion, faith and customs, they can preserve their power and strength, develop and rise. A nation that distances itself from its identity, despises its identity, does not appreciate itself, considers other nations superior to itself, copies others and accepts this as a virtue, is like a plane tree uprooted from its roots, lost and long dead.

Therefore, in our struggle to uplift our nation, the foremost point we emphasise is this: We are Turks, we are like ourselves, we are a strong, capable, virtuous, moral nation. We are not inferior to others, we are not lacking in any way. It is not possible for us to rise by copying others. We will trust in our own identity, rely on ourselves, return to our own characteristics, return to our own national customs and morals. But we will also adopt modern science and modern technology, and we will ensure the development of our country by finding ways to advance in these areas as soon as possible.

In development activities, there are other important issues that must be considered above all else in the activities of a nation's survival and development. At the forefront of these issues is the preservation of that nation's national unity.

The issue of ensuring security and protecting the integrity of our homeland arises. Today, our Turkey faces serious subversive movements, both in terms of threatening the integrity of our homeland and in terms of threatening our national unity and national existence. At the forefront of these subversive movements is communism, the mother of all subversive movements. Under one wing of communism lie sectarianism and partisanship, among other subversive movements, which are nurtured and carried out by communism. The goal of these subversive movements is to weaken the Turkish nation from within, to destroy the unity and solidarity of the Turkish nation, and to undermine the integrity of the Turkish homeland.

Now, I see no need to dwell at length on what communism is. Communism is an idea that was put forward a hundred years ago, or even longer, in a foreign country, by a Jew. Today, it has lost its scientific validity and value; it is an idea, a view that has been thoroughly examined and criticised, leaving nothing to be upheld. Moreover, it is a view that is contrary to the ideas of nationalism, religion, and family. It is bait, a means of deception, used by the most savage, most terrifying imperialism the world has ever known, Russian imperialism, to enslave nations. Today, when we look at the countries that have fallen into the trap of communism, we can see this situation clearly. The events that befell Hungary and Czechoslovakia give us a sufficient idea about this. In our beautiful Turkey, too, such events are being orchestrated by treacherous hands controlled from abroad, and incitement aimed at undermining our unity and solidarity is being carried out. The aim of these provocations is to destroy unity and solidarity, to seize Turkey by dividing it, and to deliver Turkey into the arms of its enemies. Behind these provocations lies treachery against the Turks; behind them lies an assassination attempt against the Turkish nation and the Turkish homeland.

As Turkish nationalists who wish to develop and advance Turkey, we will stand against any action that undermines or destroys our unity and solidarity, and we will strive to eliminate and eradicate it.

Culture and Art

The fine arts, all kinds of activities in the country, and especially intellectual activities, literary activities, and cultural activities play an important role in the development and progress of a nation.

cultural activities play an important role. Culture and art must be mobilised to protect and develop the national identity of the Turkish nation, to awaken and elevate the Turkish nation.

Artistic activities should not be left unchecked, nor should they be used as tools or playthings by various hostile ideas and activities. Artistic activities should not be used to corrupt the morals **of** the Turkish nation, to destroy its culture, to kill its intellectual activities, or to render it thoughtless, soulless, detached from its national identity, and devoid of its national spirit.

The national doctrine of Dokuz Işık (Nine Lights) takes into account this aspect in the development and advancement of the Turkish nation- this aspect, which it takes into account in the development and progress of the Turkish nation; in particular, we accept as a priority that our cultural and artistic life, our intellectual life, our intellectual movements, and our literary life should be directed towards 100% national goals, be at the service of national goals, and be mobilised in a direction that will ensure the development and advancement of the Turkish nation. In short, culture and art must be mobilised in the service of national goals and ideals for the development and progress of the Turkish nation, and young people must be educated in this direction.

Culture and art left to their own devices always lead to the deterioration of a nation and hinder its development. In this regard, as Turkish Nationalists, we will never leave our culture and arts unattended; we will never tolerate cultural, artistic, or intellectual movements that are leftist, communist, Marxist, of uncertain origin, or that undermine the morality of the Turkish nation.

I am pointing out a major principle, a major principle: WE ONLY GRANT FREEDOM IN TURKEY FOR ACTIVITIES THAT WILL BENEFIT THE TURKISH NATION. NO FREEDOM CAN BE GRANTED FOR ANY ACTIVITY THAT WILL DESTROY THE TURKISH NATION, CAUSE HARM TO THE TURKISH NATION, OR POSE A THREAT TO ITS EXISTENCE.
There can be no such thing as the freedom to destroy the Turkish nation or to annihilate the Turkish nation; such a freedom cannot be recognised on this soil.

By mobilising the entire Turkish nation through the planned mobilisation of the fine arts towards national goals, the development of the Turkish nation can be achieved in a short time by mobilising the national energy of the Turkish nation and the Turkish people. Because there is no capital accumulation in Turkey. There are many impossibilities in Turkey. Overcoming these can only be achieved by mobilising the Turkish nation, awakening it, making it the owner of its national causes, and harnessing the national energy, the energy of the Turkish people.

By mobilising these resources, this capital accumulation deficit can be addressed and Turkey's development and progress can be achieved in a short time.

The world is witnessing a struggle between developed and developing nations. Every nation is fighting for its own survival, development and advancement. Imperialist countries invaded countries rich in underground and surface resources and exploited them. Sometimes imperialist countries competed with each other to exploit these resources. Previously, imperialist countries used force and weapons to seize and exploit countries rich in raw materials but weak themselves. Today, a new form of colonialism has emerged: neo-colonialism. What does this type of colonialism rely on? Here, whichever nation wanted to exploit another nation targeted its youth and intellectuals; they tried to impose their own culture. To this end, they opened schools in those countries. Here, they tried to endear themselves to the students. They gave them a taste of all kinds of civilised opportunities and the beauties of material life, and with the help of these sympathetic people, they secured military, economic, political and cultural interests for themselves in those lands. This is called "Neo-colonialism" (New colonialism).

The Russians established a university in Moscow called the "Friendship University" with the capacity to educate 30,000 students for these purposes. They generally accept Asian and African students here. They endear themselves to them and turn them into communists. Even Israel and Egypt have done this. So, these nations think about this and do it, but why don't ours wake up? Why don't we go down the path of securing national interests over other nations by practising cultural imperialism? Turks abroad are ready representatives of Turkish culture... Whatever Turkey asks of them, they will do it at the cost of their blood. While foreigners cultivate people who love them in other countries through neo-colonialism, we are not taking advantage of the Turks abroad who are captive in various countries and are struggling to establish contact with us! It is in our interest to engage with the Turks abroad.

The Characters of Nations

Every nation living on Earth has a distinct character. Nations differ from one another in terms of their beliefs, customs, traditions, national attributes and character. These national attributes and character play a significant role in the development, progress and advancement of a nation.

Throughout its thousands of years of history, the Turkish nation has possessed certain national characteristics, traditions, and beliefs that have ensured its invincibility, enabling it to overcome every disaster and rise above every danger. Foremost among these is the view that one must never accept defeat, never accept being conquered, never accept bowing down; one must resist bowing down and being conquered. Refusing to surrender, refusing to be defeated, is the secret of invincibility. No matter how dire our situation, no matter how impossible our circumstances, we will never give up; because refusing defeat and surrender is the eternal motto of the Turkish people. History has proven this thousands of times. The great idea, the great spirit that will develop us, elevate us, make us great, and save us in a short time is the belief in never accepting defeat or surrender, always striving and working to win. With this spirit and this belief, we must work with all our might to rise as a nation, as a people. We must work with great enthusiasm, great excitement and determination to become the most powerful, just, scientifically and technologically advanced country on earth.

In this endeavour we undertake for the development and progress of our nation, we must prioritise national interests over personal ones; for personal ambitions diminish people. However, being filled with great love and passion not for oneself but for the elevation of one's nation elevates a person; this is the true secret.

Turkey's Geographical Situation

The Turkish nation and Turkish nationalism have many enemies. They resort to every means to prevent the Turkish nation from growing and developing. There are two important reasons for this. The first is Turkey's geopolitical position in the world, and the other is the anxiety felt because we are the "Turkish nation".

The land on which we live, our geographical location, is of great strategic importance. The Middle East region, which includes Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Cyprus and Afghanistan, is famous for its oil. The richest oil resources are here, in the lands surrounding Turkey. The oil fields in Romania, Baku, Ahvaz in Iran, Mosul-Kirkuk in Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and in the south of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Libya are coveted by the world.

It is pulling. The roads leading to this important region by land and sea are under the control of a castle. Whoever controls this castle controls the Middle East. This castle is Turkey. It is such a castle that the roads descending from the Caucasus, Iran's entry and exit routes, and the roads connecting Syria, Iraq and Europe pass through this castle.

Today, Western countries benefit from Middle Eastern oil. The routes to that region and the towers controlling it are in Turkey. If Turkey aligns with the West, the West will benefit from this oil; if it aligns with the East, the East will benefit. Turkey's strengthening and growth will not only put a stop to communist ambitions in the Middle East, but will also prevent international intrigues in the region. Therefore, any state or nation that wants to benefit from the oil in the Middle East, that wants to seize sole control of the Middle East, does not want Turkey and the Turkish nation to grow stronger and develop. There are also certain concerns arising from the fact that we are "Turkish".

Looking back at history, three of the eight world empires established throughout history were founded by the Turks. As a nation that single-handedly established three world empires, bringing order and organisation wherever it went, the "Turk" is feared. The Western Hun Khan Attila reached the gates of Western Rome, while the Ottoman Empire reached the gates of Vienna in the heart of Europe. As a result, there is a lingering fear and resentment in the hearts of other nations. If the Turkish nation develops and regains its former strength and power, other states and nations will lose a great deal. Today, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Russians, British, and French are all against us, because we defeated and crushed them all in the past.

There is a fear among Western nations: the fear that we will rise again as we once did, that we will accomplish great deeds as we did in history, that we will crush them, that we will return to the heart of Europe.

Today, there are nearly 15 million Turks in Iran, which has a population of 28 million. The same is true in Bulgaria, Russia, China, Syria, Iraq, Greece, Yugoslavia, etc. Millions of Turks are held captive. Due to a flawed education system unworthy of national identity, the hostility of foreign states towards the Turkish nation has not been explained to our generation, to our youth; these hostile states have been portrayed as "innocent" and "friendly states".

Throughout history, when we have been victorious, we have treated the defeated with great honesty and humanity. We have not oppressed them. But when we have been defeated, they have behaved savagely, oppressed us, and committed all manner of immoral acts. At such times, the "civilised world" has not even raised its voice. When an action was taken against us, against our national security, and we suppressed it, taking the necessary measures, it was said that "the Turks are committing barbaric acts!" However, when massacres were carried out against the Turkish nation, the civilised world did not raise its voice; it even applauded those who carried out the massacres.

There is a city called Constanța in Romania. Turks lived there. Constanța was a Turkish city. When the Russians invaded, they burned, hanged, and slaughtered everyone, including women and children.

Finally, in 1963, this type of savagery occurred in Cyprus. The unarmed wife and child of a Major Doctor were riddled with bullets from a machine gun in the bathroom. The world's nations did not react to this. Various factors played a role in this:

1) They favour Christian nations over us. Crusaders

This mentality still persists.

2) There is also the feeling of hatred towards Turks and the desire to eliminate them.

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As Turkish nationalists, we will be aware of these things, prepare ourselves accordingly, educate ourselves, use every means at our disposal, and strive to elevate and develop the Turkish nation, restoring it to its former strength.

Our National Education

Another issue we face in development is our national education system. A nation that wants to develop and progress must attach great importance to its national education. Our current national education system fails to raise Turkish children to be loyal to the national values of the Turkish nation, steeped in national culture, possessing national consciousness, and imbued with a nationalist spirit and nationalist fervour. Instead, it turns them into people who are extremely overloaded with information and filled with selfishness and greed. Children raised in such a system prioritise their own interests over those of the Turkish nation.

Our national education, along with instilling national consciousness and national upbringing, will not burden our children who are growing up as a burden or a parasite on the nation's back, but rather,

school they graduate from, they must be raised with an education and knowledge that will add value to the Turkish nation, develop it, and advance it in every sphere of life from the moment they graduate.

National education should be planned and managed according to the socio-economic goals and needs of the Turkish nation. What does this mean? For example, Turkey's need for doctors, engineers, economists, etc. will be determined, and an education policy will be followed accordingly. This has not been considered until now, nor is it being considered. Today, wherever there are vacancies in faculties, they are filled randomly, without any testing and without considering ability. This should not be the case. Education should aim to provide technical training. We are living in a technical age. Technical education is essential for development. For Turkey to progress and industrialise in a short time, education must be organised in such a way as to prepare world-class scientists and technical personnel.

In addition, national culture will be developed, elevated and disseminated. The foundation of national culture is the Turkish language, Turkish. Today, Turkish is under attack from both inside and outside and is being undermined. Today, there is a group of purists. They are creating fabricated dictionaries under the pretext of simplifying the Turkish language. We are opposed to this fabrication.

An education system that fails to foster national culture, national character, and national consciousness can be nothing other than an outdated, harmful, and bankrupt educational system. Unfortunately, this is the case with the education system currently in force in our country. However, we are distressed that we cannot see that the reforms to be introduced to our education system, which is in need of reform, are based on national consciousness and national culture. The expectation from education is this: to unite the young minds living within a country, to teach them their history and the conditions of their country, and to ensure that human capital is nurtured in a way that is beneficial for national development. In other words, education has two tasks. The first task is to create national culture and national consciousness; the second task is for this culture and consciousness to contribute to national development. Every system has its own models. For example, in a Marxist or fascist country, these are determined according to the values that underpin those systems. In a Marxist order, the main focus is on economic development and contributing to economic growth. For this reason, only this aspect is taken into account in the education of individuals in Marxist systems. In addition to this, there is the consciousness of not betraying the Marxist regime and order and remaining loyal to it.

The Turkish National Education System, as mentioned above, should be directed towards two main objectives. Firstly, young minds should be taught about the history, culture and values of the nation to which they belong, and they should be moulded and integrated with these values. Secondly, they must be equipped with a mindset that will contribute to the country's development through productivity and research. In the draft reform, we see that importance is given only to the second of these elements. However, it is impossible for people who have not developed an ideology, especially a national culture, character and consciousness, to contribute to economic development.

Turkey's Paths to Development

As a nation and as a state, if we do not want to be colonised by other nations and states, if we want to continue our existence, we must accelerate our development activities.

As Turkish nationalists, as IDEALISTS, we have taken action today to achieve the best, the finest, the most perfect for the Turkish nation, whatever the cost. We have taken action with the determination to restore the Turkish nation to its former glorious days, to create a developed, powerful, strong Turkey that can stand on its own two feet without begging anyone for anything.

The flag we have raised and the movement we have initiated are being met with great understanding and appreciation by the noble Turkish nation. The Nationalist Movement and the Nine Lights movement are growing stronger every day and are being heard throughout the country. Our subject is the methods and principles that must be applied to raise the Turkish nation to the highest level in the shortest time in the direction I have outlined.

For our nation to survive and rise, it is necessary, above all else, to beat as one heart, to be united and together as one spirit, one voice. Today, despite having suffered many disasters, the Turkish nation is still one of the greatest nations on earth. From the Danube River to the Balkan Mountains to China, the Turks still extend, and the lands of the Turks are still traversed. The great deeds this great nation has accomplished in history and the great presence it will re-emerge with in the future are causing concern among certain foreign powers and foreign circles that covet the regions and fear the strengthening of the Turkish nation. For this reason, in order to prevent the Turkish nation from growing stronger and developing, they will first and foremost seek to disrupt and fragment our national unity and integrity.

Plots of corruption and sedition are being spread and instilled among our people and our nation. For the advancement of the Turkish nation, every Turk must always prioritise the preservation of unity and solidarity, and stand united against any scheme that seeks to divide us, alienate us from one another, or pit us against each other.

In the struggle we have embarked upon to develop our nation, the foremost issue we focus on is returning to our own essence, our own identity. We are Turks, and we resemble ourselves; we are a strong, capable, virtuous, and moral nation. It is not possible for us to rise by copying others. We will rely on our own identity, on ourselves; we will return to our own characteristics. We will return to our own national customs and morals. But we will also embrace modern science and modern technology, and we will ensure the development and progress of our country by finding ways to advance in these fields as soon as possible.

In order for us to develop and progress rapidly, we must attach importance to science and technology and strive to reach the highest level in science and technology as quickly as possible.

The Importance of Population in Development

One important issue facing the Turkish nation in its quest to rise, become strong and powerful, and grow is the population issue. Today, Turkey's population is around forty-five million. The population density per square kilometre is fifty people. In Europe, it is three hundred and sixty people. In Japan, it is three hundred and ninety-five people. If we wanted to have half the population of Europe, we would need to quadruple our population. This would be around one hundred and fifty million. Can Turkey feed one hundred million, one hundred and fifty million? Turkey can feed three hundred million... Over the last five or six years, a trend, a disease has come to our country: population control! Family planning, population control! Why? Let's not multiply, we are multiplying too fast. Multiplying also slows down our development. Now they say it is "slowing down our development". So, cut half of the Turkish nation, let the remaining half live more comfortably! Can such a thing happen? We also learn that, for population control and family planning, certain organisations in a foreign country are allocating fifty million lira to Turkey, giving fifty million lira every year. Did they convince someone who accepts measures to prevent children with this fifty million lira? Did they convince the doctor who convinced them, the nurse?

is paid as a premium. In other words, there are those who do not want the Turkish nation to grow to this extent, who are concerned about the growth of the Turkish nation. Turkish governments have also accepted this and made it law. We consider this a great danger for the Turkish nation. There are certain key elements that constitute the strength and power of nations.

Population comes first among these. Land area comes first among these. Progress in science and technology comes next, followed by resources. Population, the most important of these, is the true source of a nation's strength. It is the primary reason for the economic development of the Turkish nation. In the economic and industrial development of nations such as Germany, France, and England in Europe, the rapid growth of their populations has had a significant impact. Contrary to what many claim, rapid population growth is not a factor that slows down development. Historical examples to date have shown that rapid population growth is a factor that has accelerated development even more. This is because development, especially in countries like ours that have not progressed so far in science and technology, requires manual labour and a large population. There can be no development without people. Even if a country has the richest underground and surface resources in the world, what use are those resources without the people, the population, to use them? That is why we are against population control and activities that hinder the growth of our population. We see this as a crime, akin to murdering and executing the future life of the Turkish nation.

Indecision in Administration

The administrators of developing and developing countries must also be distinguished individuals. Intellectuals who know their nation well, who are faithful to customs and traditions, and whose religious and moral views are in line with those of the nation should govern the nation. The nation should be governed by a distinguished cadre of administrators.

Another significant issue facing our developing Turkey is the crisis of authority in our country. It is indecisiveness and lack of seriousness in administration. In a country, if order and state authority do not prevail in a serious manner above all else, subversive movements seeking to destroy that country will easily find opportunities to operate. Today, we see many destructive activities in our country. All these activities are taking advantage of the indecisiveness, lack of seriousness and crisis of authority of those who have governed Turkey until now

and are becoming a scourge on our beautiful, developing Turkey.

The Turkish nation's swift escape from this dire situation and its development depend on nationalist administrators taking charge.

Administrations should make decisions based on the preferences of the people. Our nation has a preference for development, growth, and the completion of its economic development. We must abandon inadequate and misguided economic policies and choose a national economic policy that suits our country's needs. This economic policy must be one that ensures economic independence and enables the sale of industrial products abroad. To this end, priority must be given to industrial investments. In order to realise industrial investments, priority must be given to all kinds of savings, and the desire of citizens to save must be encouraged. A country whose savings and development are not based on national resources cannot claim independence.

Flawed Investments

Another issue is the wasteful and misguided use of budgets, which are formed from the taxes paid by our people with great sacrifice, over the years. It is the flawed nature of the investment policy in the country. For years, not only by the current government, but also by previous governments, ten, twenty, twenty-five years ago, the budget, which consists of taxes paid by the people with great sacrifice, has been spent on fancy buildings, ostentatious activities, activities that are far from ensuring the development of the people and have nothing to do with the real development of the people, It is necessary for investments to be made in industry, in a direction that will develop the country. Other activities and other expenditures should be postponed; they should be left behind. First and foremost, investments will be made to increase Turkey's current production, both in agriculture and industry, by a factor of one hundred, two hundred, five hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand. Other activities will be met with essential needs. This will yield results in a short time and prepare Turkey's salvation in a short time. Otherwise, building fancy government buildings, theatre buildings, this and that, which do not ensure production, do not generate income, and do not ensure the welfare of the people, is using this country's resources in the wrong direction.

B - POPULISM

FOR THE PEOPLE, WITH THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE

Our aim in populism is that everything should be for the people, with the people, and towards the people. In other words, we do not consider attitudes such as looking down on the people, accepting superiority over the people, or separating oneself from the people to be appropriate. Everything will be for the people, with the people, and towards the people.

The people are the population that constitutes the nation. Peoples who have achieved social and cultural unity and who live their own national culture have become a "NATION". Nation and people are concepts that are difficult and impossible to separate; they are realities. Communities that have not become a nation and have not achieved social and cultural unity are also called peoples. These communities exhibit a kind of mass character because they have not achieved social and cultural unity and do not live their own national culture. Communists refer to such communities as "people," meaning "herd, mass." They refer not only to such communities but also to the nation formed by a people who have achieved social and cultural unity as "people." This is because communists do not accept the reality of the nation. The strengthening of communities' national cultures and the acceleration of their development into nations is a development that communism does not like at all. For this reason, communism tries to destroy national cultures on the one hand, while on the other hand, it tries to divide and destroy communities from within by creating artificial nationalities and instilling national consciousness in them. This is the reason behind and the source of the term "peoples" that has emerged in Turkey today. When we speak of populism, what we mean by "people" are Turkish communities that have achieved social and cultural integrity and live their national culture; they are the Turkish nation.

Working for the People

Serving the people and being bound to them with love, respect and trust is the greatest virtue. For those in power to be from the people, to live like the people, to be among the people, to work with the people and for the people is the primary path to solving the nation's problems.

Since my childhood and youth, I have wondered why the Turkish nation has fallen so far behind, becoming poor and powerless, from its former days of strength and prosperity. I would research how it might be possible to escape this weak state and become a prosperous, peaceful nation once again, standing on its own two feet and not begging anyone for help. I would study other nations, especially advanced modern countries, and strive to find ways to enable us to catch up with them. There is a folk song that goes like this:

Devour me, devour me
A wolf has entered my
heart Day and night it
devours me If I don't
resolve this matter It
won't accept me, it won't
devour me!

For years now, a wolf has been gnawing at our insides... A wolf has been gnawing at our desire to make every effort to rapidly develop our nation and our homeland by the most direct route. Now I am travelling step by step across the country. And I am meeting and talking with all citizens. But why am I doing this? I am doing this to instil a sense of urgency within my nation and to mobilise the entire nation to undertake great initiatives together.

Money is not everything. Some people stand in our way and put money first in every endeavour. This is wrong. What matters most in every endeavour is the nation, the people. And it is that people possess faith, ideals, willpower and enthusiasm. A cause cannot be sustained and cannot succeed unless it is embraced by the people. The solution to our problems is to mobilise as a nation, united in the same understanding, and to activate the energy of the people. This

is achieved by explaining our cause and issues to the people, making them their own, and gaining their trust.

Equality of Opportunity

In order to commence development activities, it is necessary to foster affection, respect and trust among the people. To mobilise the energy of the people, it is first necessary to show affection for them and serve them.

In order for our nation to develop and catch up with advanced modern countries, we must undertake significant and demanding efforts and make swift moves. We must take new steps to transform Turkey into a strong, prosperous, and civilised country that can stand on its own two feet without relying on others. We are faced with the necessity of a new liberation movement to secure the lives and futures of the entire nation. To this end, we must all shoulder heavy burdens. However, everyone—the villager, the city dweller, the intellectual, the prime minister, and the painter—must share these burdens fairly. People do not shy away from or hesitate to shoulder heavy burdens. But first and foremost, it is necessary to convince the people, to inspire faith and ideals in the nation, and to mobilise them. If burdens and benefits are not distributed fairly among citizens based on merit, effort, and diligence, this will cause unease for everyone. Therefore, to ensure order and peace in our country, burdens and benefits among citizens must be distributed fairly based on merit, effort, diligence, and ability. An order must be established that will ensure equal opportunities for all, and an organisation must be set up that will rapidly establish social justice and social security. Whether poor or rich, everyone must be able to obtain the same opportunities, and this must be ensured by the state. A broad mutual aid organisation must be established swiftly to protect orphans, widows, the poor, the homeless, the sick and the disabled, and to ensure they have employment and receive assistance. If the members of a household live without knowing each other, without caring for each other, without mutual support, without affection and without assistance, that household cannot be peaceful and secure.

Turkey today resembles such a house. On the one hand, people who have lost their faith and moral compass are pursuing plunder, looting and profit at the expense of destroying all kinds of values; on the other hand, millions of peasants and common folk are living amidst a sea of mud and filth, in material and spiritual darkness.

It has been left to its own fate. These issues must be swiftly rectified and Turkey must be restored to a stable state. To this end, intellectuals and administrators must turn to the people, live among the people, and become part of the people. We must break free from the narrow confines of a few large cities, which are like ivory towers, and move towards our scholars, universities, administrators, villagers and the people. We must place artistic and cultural endeavours under the authority of a newly established ministry and take action to educate and inspire our people through art and to mobilise popular energy.

The Divide Between the People and the Intellectuals

"The fate of a leaf that has fallen from its branch is determined by the wind."

Adults and intellectuals should not become detached from the people; they should move towards the people.

They should go to the people and learn the national culture from them, bringing civilisation to the people. They should learn the national culture from the people, because the source of national culture is the people rather than the educated class.

There should be no disconnect, no chasm between the people and the intellectuals. If there is a chasm between the people and the intellectuals, if the intellectual class does not consider the people and looks down on them, that nation cannot progress.

Another issue is that our intellectuals are not well educated. For many years, the intellectuals of our country have been receiving an education that distances them from the Turkish people.

and distancing themselves from the Turkish people. And so

They are being raised with a certain mindset, a certain mindset is being instilled in them. The children of the country who attend secondary school, middle school, and higher education do not return to the people, do not want to be part of the people's life, Instead, they have become accustomed to occupying positions of power in the comfortable life of a few cities such as Istanbul and Ankara, looking down on the nation from their ivory towers with their foul air and passing judgement. The Turkish people live in extreme poverty, deprived of everything, in villages surrounded by mud and filth, in utter misery, yet the children of the country, who have grown up and become enlightened through their labour, through what they have given, through the opportunities they have secured by sacrificing their own needs, are breaking away from them. separate from it, in the artificial, corrupt atmosphere of a few cities that have no connection to the Turkish people.

They are falling ill and becoming isolated from the people. This is one of the main reasons why the Turkish people, the Turkish nation, have not been able to develop until now. All nations living in the world have been able to achieve development by working hand in hand with the people. Intellectuals who remain separate from the people, and people deprived of intellectuals, have floundered in misery and disaster. This has been the fate of the Turkish nation until today.

Imitation and Imitative Intellectuals

Our intellectuals should seek culture not in other countries, but within their own people. For a hundred, a hundred and fifty years, Turkish intellectuals have always sought culture abroad, unable to reach the people, striving to imitate not the civilisation of the West, but its outward appearance.

For a hundred and fifty years, Turkish intellectuals and those who governed Turkey have been under the influence of a misguided mindset. This misguided mindset is the belief that Turkey can be developed by imitating the systems of foreign countries. A hundred and fifty years ago, those who governed Turkey, the intellectuals who governed Turkey, claimed and believed that by imitating the British and French parliamentary systems of the time, the crude outward appearance of the capitalist system of government, all of Turkey's problems would be solved and all its issues would magically be resolved in an instant. When we examine the history of intellectual movements, when we look at history, we see this. Those who governed the country, the leading intellectuals of the country, claimed that if they introduced the parliamentary system of France and the constitutional monarchy system of England into the country, all of Turkey's troubles and all its problems would be solved at once. What kind of systems were these? They were the capitalist and liberal systems practised in England and France at the time. Attempts were made to imitate them, and they were imitated. However, they did not bring the expected benefits for Turkey or the Turkish nation. On the contrary, every attempt at imitation led to greater losses and setbacks for the Turkish nation. Because the Turkish nation is not the British nation; it is not the French nation. Even today, similar mindsets can be seen among certain groups in our country who consider themselves enlightened. Some still believe that adopting and imitating Western capitalism and liberalism, or neoliberalism, will bring Turkey

They claim to be developing the country. Some also claim that they will develop Turkey by imitating Russian communism.

Yes, we were lagging behind; Europe was ahead of us, but our consumption was also in line with our own way of life. Those items imported from Europe were not available in Turkey. We did not have those fabrics, those alcoholic beverages, those ornate household items. We paid for these items in order to resemble them. Turkey became a market for Western countries. In this situation, a class of intellectuals emerged, confined to a few large cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, etc., with no connection to the peasants or the people. A class that imitated European luxury like monkeys! This group, seeing signs of civilisation in themselves, looked down on the people as "reactionary". Today, if you tried to send them on duty to a corner of Anatolia, they would resort to every means to avoid going. It was the same 50 or 60 years ago. In this situation, the people saw that the intellectuals were against them, against their desires, against their beliefs and customs; the intellectuals were exploiting them; the people lost their trust in them, and our nation split into two groups with separate ways of life and separate ways of thinking. This has been the case since 1800, for 178 years. This movement, which began with Selim III, continues to this day. During the reign of Selim III, efforts were made to modernise the Ottoman army. The French army's training methods were adopted, officers were brought in from France, the uniforms worn by the French army were imitated, and their weapons were used, but after 10 years, the decline began again. This was because those training methods and weapons had become obsolete. The reason: there was no activity to develop or seek improvement. Everything was imitation. However, it is not enough to take something; it must be developed. Then Mahmud II came, forcibly removed the caftan and trousers, had the necks of those who objected cut off, made them wear the fez and trousers, and declared that the country was now modern. After that came the Tanzimat reforms, the First and Second Constitutional Monarchies, and the Republic. Yet nothing changed. It was all imitation, and as a result, we are ranked 76th among the countries of the world in the United Nations report. For the Turkish nation, a more terrible disaster is unimaginable. The idea of adopting the developments seen in the West, but creating our own national culture and civilisation and not being anyone's refuge, should have been the path we embraced. Although efforts at development have been made since the time of Selim III, no result has been achieved to date. On the contrary, due to sterile disputes that do not address the fundamental socio-economic issues and problems of the Turkish nation, we have been subjected to continuous disasters and destruction. Our nation needs an unshakeable order based on a sound system of justice and diligent work.

The intellectual elite, who mimic Europe's luxury like monkeys and are worlds apart from the people, can offer our nation nothing. They are enamoured with the culture, customs, and traditions of the Europe they imitate, looking down on the people. It is these imitative intellectuals who are responsible for Turkey's backwardness and its fall to 76th place.

Only nationalist intellectuals who act with the mindset that everything is for the people, with the people, and for the people, who love their nation and homeland and wish to elevate it, the Dokuz Işıkçılar, can save Turkey from this situation.

Social Justice

Another significant issue facing our developing Turkey and our people is SOCIAL INEQUALITY and the lack of social organisation. The Turkish nation has a civilisation dating back to ancient times. In the past, our society was organised by institutions of social solidarity and social justice. In the past, foundations, imarets, guilds and, in Anatolia, the "Ahi" organisations were institutions that addressed and resolved certain issues needed by society; however, these have gradually disappeared from Turkish society, and no new institutions have been established to replace those that have withdrawn from Turkish society. It is imperative to establish new organisations that can take their place and meet today's needs.

When considering the advancement and development of the Turkish nation, we must above all else establish a sense of justice and fairness everywhere, ensuring it prevails everywhere. Without this, the advancement of the Turkish nation is inconceivable. The safety of the Turkish homeland is inconceivable. But we must all, as individuals, as families, as groups, as parties, make this an indispensable sacred principle, a rule of conduct. A major cause of the great difficulties our country is experiencing today is the injustices and inequities we face. The hatred, malice, hostility and strife that divide our nation are all the result of injustice and inequity.

While on the subject of justice, it is necessary to briefly mention social justice, social solidarity, and equality of opportunity and means. The banner of nationalism that we have raised, the banner of Dokuz Işıkçılık, has made it its primary principle to establish complete social justice and justice in every sphere in our country. Social justice means ensuring that the burdens, obligations, income and benefits borne by citizens are distributed fairly according to work, effort, merit and ability.

It means order. Social solidarity; **a nation; a nation living under the same state, in the same homeland, is like a household living in the same house. Just as members of a household living in the same house are responsible for each other, bear each other's burdens, are obliged to keep each other in good condition, extend a helping hand to each other, help each other, and care for each other's suffering and troubles, so are the people of a nation. We must establish a Social Assistance and Security Organisation that encompasses the Turkish nation, including its villagers, farmers, and workers.** In this way, the need or situation of having or not having connections, having or not having money, should disappear in the country, and it should be possible to provide the necessary assistance to the people, to all citizens, and to provide protection to those in need. There should be no distinction between rich and poor among the people. As is the case today, those with money get what they want, those with connections get what they want: the people who do not have money or connections, the citizens who do not have these things, are left helpless, abandoned, suffering, left to their own fate. This is a situation that hinders the development of our nation and constantly drives our people into unrest.

CONCLUSION

Human beings are the foundation of everything. Human beings must be awakened, they must have faith, they must have ideals... If we can bring our nation to this state, the cause will be resolved. If we cannot awaken our nation, if we cannot organise it, no matter how much we read, no matter how great we become, the cause will remain unfulfilled. This is the great issue before us.

Turkish intellectuals have not seen or understood these realities. For hundreds of years, Turkish intellectuals have left their villages, come to Ankara, and studied. They have become lawyers, doctors, professors. They have built apartment buildings. Then they forgot their villages. Not only did they forget their villages, they now look down on them.

The intellectuals are detached from the people, distant from the people... This is the reason for the failure of the Turkish nation to progress. Such intellectuals must emerge who will share in all the experiences, all the hardships, all the sufferings of our nation, our people, who will live alongside them, who will make their cause their own.

If we do this, a GREAT, POWERFUL and NATIONALIST TURKEY will rise like the sun on the horizon of our country and will never set until the end of time.

9 - INDUSTRIALISM AND TECHNICALISM

INTRODUCTION

Today, the world has entered the age of the atom, nuclear power and space. Industry and machinery have taken the most important place in human life. The defeats and disasters that the Turkish nation has suffered over a period of 300 years; the pain, the developing power of machinery, the industrial power, the Turkish nation's manual labour, animal power, have left it in a primitive state. Today, the strength of a society depends, above all, on its establishment of modern industry and its attainment of the highest level in technology and industry. For years, there have been debates in our country. Should Turkey be an agricultural country, should it develop its agriculture, should it not focus too much on industrialisation, or should it? Such debates have been raised. In order to become a modern society and a strong state and nation, Turkey must become one of the world's most advanced industrial countries as soon as possible.

This does not mean that agriculture will be neglected or abandoned. The Turkish nation, while becoming an industrial society, will also modernise its agriculture, attaching equal importance to it and establishing a modern agricultural system. Essentially, establishing a modern agricultural system is not possible without industry. For this reason, the view that "Turkey should focus on agriculture, it is an agricultural country. It would be more correct to focus efforts on agriculture. From an industrial perspective, it should be content with establishing light industry related to agriculture." This view is not correct. Turkey must have an industry based on heavy industry and capable of producing all kinds of factories, modern tools, and machinery. For this reason, in addition to the principle of Science within the Nine Lights National Doctrine, the principles of Industrialism and Technicalism have also been included. We are living in a technical age. Today, people are travelling to space. They are visiting the moon; tomorrow, it will undoubtedly be possible for them to travel to other stars. Advanced nations

In an era when such strides have been made in the technical and industrial fields, it is inconceivable that Turkey should neglect its industry and technology.has failed to develop over the last 300 years, a significant reason is that we have not given sufficient importance to heavy industry and technology, and we have not concentrated our efforts and resources on establishing and developing these in Turkey as soon as possible. The gap between Turkey and advanced nations and states has not narrowed over the past 300 years; on the contrary, it has widened. The gap between Turkey 100 years ago and advanced European countries such as Britain, Germany or France 100 years ago has not closed over the past 100 years; on the contrary, it has widened. Today, advanced nations have acquired the capability to launch rockets into space. Turkey, however, is still struggling to enter the age of electricity.

Taking all these factors into consideration, our primary objective is to mobilise Turkey on a grand scale and, in the shortest possible time, establish it as a nation with the most advanced industry and transform it into a technologically advanced society. This is to ensure that the Turkish nation achieves prosperity and happiness as soon as possible and becomes capable of standing on its own feet against any threat.

Today, the world has entered the age of the atom and the missile. The age of steam is now behind us, and the age of electricity is also about to be left behind. Humanity is entering a new age. This age is the age of the atom and the missile. How is this possible? It is possible through technology and also through nations becoming industrialised, becoming owners of heavy industry. And what does industry depend on? It depends on technology. Therefore, advancing and rising to the forefront in the field of technology and becoming a major industrial power is another of our fundamental principles for our development and liberation.

I believe I have summarised our fundamental principles in this manner. I pray that the Almighty God grants us the strength and means to implement these principles for the benefit of the TURKISH NATION.

However, in doing so, we never consider insulting our past or severing our connection with it. For a nation is a continuous flow. It is impossible to cut off its life at any point and erase what came before. For this reason, we accept continuity as fundamental to progress. In all activities, in all progress and development efforts, we will ensure that all our actions are in line with our national spirit and national traditions.

We accept the principle of progress. This is the essence of the view we mean by the principle of progress.

National Development

The issue facing Turkey today is industrialisation. Our nation has made its choice and reached its decision. This decision is to become an independent industrial nation in a very short time and to establish a great nationalist Turkey. Our nation's greatest aspiration is to become an economically strong, developed and prosperous Turkey. A nationalist administration is one that understands economic development and is able to make choices in this regard. It is not possible for our nation to develop with just a few new reform measures. Development is a movement based on industry and industrialisation. Today, we do not see a reform and programme movement that will industrialise our country in a short time. In this day and age, it is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to survive and maintain its independence. While the world's major economies are establishing the latest technology and the newest industrial facilities, our stagnation poses a threat to our future. Our nation, having been a great nation throughout history, rightly aspires to grow today. Realising our nation's desire for economic growth is an inevitable national duty.

Time is passing.

Our party was founded in 1948 by the blessed hands of the great man, the late Marshal Fevzi Çakmak [90], and has rendered valuable services to the country to this day. During the period from 1948 to the present day,

90 **Fevzi Çakmak:** Turkish marshal, politician. Born in Istanbul in 1976. On 28 January 1896, he graduated from the Military Academy with the rank of Second Lieutenant and was assigned to the staff corps. On 25 December 1898, he graduated from the War Academy and was assigned to the 4th Branch of the General Staff.
On 11 April 1899, he was assigned to the Staff of the 18th Division of the 3rd Army in Metroviçe. He became a Senior Captain on 6 February 1901, a Major on 18 April 1902, a Lieutenant Colonel on 19 July 1906, and a Colonel on 17 December 1907. On 29 December 1908, he was appointed Governor of Taşlıca and Commander of the 35th Brigade. On 27 July 1910, he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Kosovo Corps.
On 15 January 1911, he became Director of the 5th Branch of the General Staff. On 18 April, he was appointed Chief of Staff of the İşkodra Corps. On 2 October 1911, he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Western Army. On 3 July 1912, he was appointed Acting Commander of the Yakova Division, on 6 August Chief of Staff of the Kosovo General Forces Command, and on 29 September Director of the 1st Branch of the Vardar Army Command, participating in the Balkan War. 2

The main issues facing the country have not been resolved in a healthy manner, and growing needs have not been met. Responsible administrators have managed to distract our intellectuals, our youth, and our people by presenting slow and necessary developments in daily life as major advances.

The deception of our people may have benefited those in power, but there has been no change in the bitter realities we face as a nation.

Responsible politicians claim that significant progress has been made in Turkey over the years and provide figures to substantiate their claims.

The only question we will pose to them is this: Has the gap between the standard of living and pace of development in Turkey and that of developed countries 25-50 years ago narrowed today? Or has it widened?

Twenty-five to fifty years ago, developed countries had aeroplane speed, while Turkey had horse-drawn carriage speed. Today, they have rocket speed, while we have only reached train speed. In short, the gap between us and developed countries has not narrowed. Our country has all the means necessary to achieve national development.

In August 1913, he became commander of the Ankara Reserve Division, and on 6 November 1913, commander of the 2nd Division. He was promoted to colonel on 24 November and to major general on 2 March 1914.

During the First World War, he served as Commander of the 2nd Caucasian Corps, Commander of the 2nd Army in Diyarbakır, and Commander of the 7th Army on the Palestine Front. He was promoted to Lieutenant General on 28 July 1918. On 24 December 1918, he was appointed Chief of the General Staff. On 14 May 1919, he was appointed Inspector of the 1st Army. On 3 February 1920, he was appointed Minister of War in the Ali Rıza Pasha Cabinet. Following the occupation of Istanbul on 8 April, he secretly left Istanbul on 17 April to cross over to Anatolia. He arrived in Ankara on 27 April. He was introduced to the Grand National Assembly as the Kozan Deputy. On 3 May, he became Minister of National Defence. On 24 January 1921, he was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee and again Minister of National Defence. He was promoted to the rank of general on 2 April 1921. Although he resigned from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of National Defence on 16 May, he was re-elected to the same positions on 19 May. He was elected Deputy Chief of General Staff on 5 August. He moved to the Tent Camp at Kocatepe on 25 August for the Great Offensive. He was promoted to Marshal on 3 September 1922. On 27 October 1922, he was appointed Commander of the Western Front while retaining his position as Deputy Chief of General Staff.

During the Second Term (11 August 1923 – 26 June 1927), he was elected Member of Parliament from Istanbul. On 14 August 1923, he was once again appointed Deputy Chief of the General Staff. On 30 October 1924, he resigned from his position as Member of Parliament. After serving as Chief of the General Staff for 23 years, he retired on 12 January 1944. In the 1946 elections, he was elected as an Independent Member of Parliament for Istanbul from the Democratic Party list and entered the Assembly. He founded the People's Party in 1948. He passed away on 10 April 1950.

The People's Party, founded by Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, is considered the precursor to the MHP.

We possess the means. Our underground and above-ground resources, as well as our human resources, are abundantly available.

Administrations should make their decisions according to the preferences of the people. Our nation has a preference for growth and desires the completion of its economic development. We must abandon inadequate and misguided economic policies and choose a national economic policy that suits our country's needs. This economic policy must be one that ensures our economic independence and enables us to transition to a structure capable of exporting industrial products. To this end, priority must be given to industrial investments. In order to realise industrial investments, priority must be given to all kinds of savings, and the desire of citizens to save must be encouraged. A country whose savings and development are not based on national resources cannot claim independence. The first condition necessary for the establishment of an independent industry is the establishment of a machine manufacturing industry. Indeed, a country's ability to achieve or maintain economic independence depends on its ability to establish a machine manufacturing industry. In addition to the machine manufacturing industry, importance must also be given to the metallurgical industry, the petrochemical industry, and the energy production industry. It is impossible for a country that has not established a national industry to reach the level of modern civilisation. However, the great Turkish nation has left its mark on every era and has earned the right to be civilised in every era. This is evident in its rich history, great culture and lineage.

The rapid establishment of our national industry will also provide a solution to our employment problem. Today, there is a large army of open and hidden unemployed people in our country. The fact that a large part of the country's population is unemployed is an obstacle to establishing national peace and tranquillity. The most important way to eliminate unemployment is to establish national industries. This will create many workplaces, which will absorb the surplus population and provide them with employment opportunities. In addition to industrial facilities, infrastructure investments should also be prioritised to eliminate unemployment. The idle labour force should be utilised in the construction of major roads, sewers, ports, and dams. A country that has not built its infrastructure services (facilities) cannot undertake investments in its superstructure. In this regard, while transforming the army of hidden and open unemployed into a service force contributing to our national development, our citizens who have gained purchasing power will also find the opportunity to live in peace. Today in our country, the number of open and hidden unemployed reaches 10 million in some seasons. This means that in some months, 19 million people in our country are unemployed. This unemployment

Bringing people together within a service force and employing them for the development of the country is the sole national employment policy.

Civilisations have always been born out of the desire and effort to achieve the better, the more perfect, and to break free from the bondage of natural forces and rule over them. It is necessary to propel the Turkish nation rapidly through the ages and reach the atomic and space age as soon as possible, placing it among the advanced nations. The source of strength that will achieve this is the consciousness and sentiment of Turkish Nationalism. It is the Turkish nation's deep sense of its own identity and its return to itself.

The first condition for the liberation and development of a nation is the establishment of complete internal unity and internal security. It is necessary to be vigilant and intolerant towards any disruptive actions directed against internal unity and internal security.

The Development and Productive Mindset of Nations

The rise, development and expansion of nations depend above all on the strength of their inner resources and their awareness of the need to perpetuate their existence. Being beneficial both for themselves and for the human family is only possible by aiming for and realising goodness, beauty and freedom.

In order for the Turkish nation to emerge from its current dire situation as soon as possible, it must abandon certain superficial, fanciful ideas and actions and instead mobilise itself for scientific and technical progress. It is imperative that it builds and develops its aeroplanes, lorries and buses, ships, tractors and agricultural machinery, missiles, nuclear plants—in short, everything that modern countries are competing to possess. The ability to create more modern and useful tools ensures the power and superiority of nations over one another. It is imperative that the Turkish nation acquires these capabilities as soon as possible. Development initiatives undertaken in Turkey to date have been ineffective because the wrong strategy has been used in investments. Instead of using resources to establish research laboratories to train a high-quality scientific and technical workforce and to establish heavy industry, i.e., primary industry (iron and steel factories, energy sources, transport facilities), this has not been done. Instead, ostentatious buildings have been constructed, alcohol

The mistake was made of establishing factories and utilising resources in other light industries.

Industrialisation is a matter of science and technology. The Turkish state can only be brought up to the level of contemporary societies by applying the most modern and newest technology to industry. Only in this way can we close the enormous gap between us and developed countries in a short time.

The only condition for this is to initiate an extraordinary mobilisation of effort, with nationalist and idealist intellectuals dominating the state apparatus instead of bureaucrats and those in power who are not up to the task.

Great importance should be attached to science and scientific research, and the country's need for scientists and technocrats should be identified and a targeted education system should be implemented in place of the current chaotic system. Science and technology should be given priority in a productive and research-oriented direction.

The education system should be reorganised in line with the country's realities and development goals. With such an education, the productive, research-oriented experts who will be trained should be given a leading role in our development and provided with the status they deserve, without being forced to go abroad. The exploitation and export of brains must end.

This national elite, whom we can call the "brain or managerial cadre" of nationalist-idealists, researchers, and scientists, trained through special education, will be the cornerstone of our development.

Otherwise, it will be impossible for the nation to continue its development, progress and existence.

National Development and National Production Industry

Turkey's development is, above all, a matter of national culture and national awakening. It would be a most sacred service for the intellectuals and artists who have taken upon themselves the preservation, dissemination, and even creation of national culture to awaken Turkish society from its slumber and remind it of its own identity. I believe that the happiness of the people living in Turkey can be achieved by uniting them in an indissoluble spirit of unity. For this, the task falling to the creators of culture is also great. By preserving national culture, they will bring harmony to the social orchestra and oblige our institutions

to carry the same spirit. To rapidly achieve these goals, the fine arts must be directed towards serving the people, and national intellectual movements must be created. Through our novels, our poetry, our theatre and cinema, we must sing of a single ideal, the Turkish ideal. I believe that in order to be worthy of our ancestors, who emphasised the importance of national culture by saying, "We are like ourselves," we must not be like others. We must abandon imitation. I have great love for everyone who strives for this cause.

In order for our country to become self-sufficient, it is necessary to reduce current expenditure to a minimum and undertake extensive and large-scale investments that will rapidly increase productivity in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Furthermore, it is essential to mobilise public energy to utilise our labour force, which is currently being wasted every day.

The age we live in is one of great advances in science and technology. Science and technology today are a source of real miracles for human communities. It is a difficult task to elevate an entire nation in terms of science and culture in a short time. However, it is relatively easy to create a cadre of 5-6 thousand high-quality scholars in a short time. Such a high-quality cadre can also lead our country to great strides. It is necessary to embark on extensive scientific and technical research and to resort to ways of rapidly developing Turkey under the leadership of science. We would also like to emphasise that a development rate of *7%* and an investment rate of 18% are far too low for Turkey. We consider it essential for our salvation that investments be directed solely towards areas that will increase production.

As descendants of a generation that built great empires, ruled over continents and vast territories, and brought civilisation and enlightenment wherever they went, we cannot claim to have fulfilled our duties adequately.

The Turkish individual, loyal to his state, the guardian of national wealth, and approaching his patriotic duty with the mindset of "either a veteran or a martyr," is uncertain about his future. The sight of the children of the homeland, both men and women, queuing at the doors of foreign states to secure their livelihood is not only heartbreaking, but also creates many problems in terms of social solidarity. It is painful to live in longing for the homeland, dependent on the people we once ruled over. Therefore, it is our fundamental duty to strive for industrialisation through the progressive steps we will take in our own homeland.

We must be part of this effort. We must embark on a comprehensive campaign of work and competition to overcome hidden and overt unemployment and create a prosperous and strong Turkey.

It must be stated with regret that roads, schools, teachers, health and insurance matters have not been addressed in a planned and programmed manner, and successive political administrations have not addressed fundamental issues due to concerns about votes.

No serious steps have been taken in line with the ideals and with the dignity of the state in the face of regionalism and separatism.

The discord between the Turkish people and the educated elite has caused irreparable damage to our social fabric. A serious national education reform is essential to overcome this situation and the crisis it has created. It is one of our greatest sorrows to see that the current governments have failed to take such fundamental measures.

It is truly painful that, after so many tragic events, seriousness and a sense of duty have not been instilled in Turkish political life. Indifference and irresponsibility have reached devastating levels. We cannot claim to have saved our national pride in international relations. The geopolitical and strategic situation of the land we inhabit requires us to be very cautious. The Cyprus issue, a painful matter, has been left to future years in incompetent and unqualified hands.

It is a separate wound that Turkey, a country of agriculture, imports wheat from America. Import and export operations need to be re-examined in terms of national interests. Economic state institutions and government departments have not yet achieved the peace and method of serving the nation and being productive.

"Bureaucracy" has cancerised the state organisation. The intrusion of daily politics into institutions has further complicated matters and disrupted the spirit of service.

Productive and Widespread Industrialisation

The fact that industrialisation has been haphazard, random and focused on the manufacture of consumer goods means that it cannot deliver what we expect from it. This is because entrepreneurs are inevitably drawn to regions where transport facilities are plentiful, marketing is easy and demand is readily met. One such region

is the Istanbul-Izmit corridor. And all factories are concentrated in this region.

We must abandon the practice of making investments in large centres and concentrating our industry in certain large centres. The policy of spreading outwards from major centres is harmful. Until now, all governments have stubbornly persisted with this misguided policy. A new principle adopted by the Nationalist Movement is to spread industrialisation fairly across regions and direct it from the periphery towards major centres. Dead investments must be avoided.

Due to the continuation of misguided policies, thousands of citizens from all over Anatolia have flocked to large industrial centres in search of work. In these cities, which have grown rapidly, masses of people have formed who have been uprooted, lost their customs and traditions, and become detached from their heritage. This accumulation creates an environment ripe for all kinds of evil.

Citizens are forced to choose between two evils: either uproot themselves to find work, or resign themselves to poverty to avoid uprooting. The nation will inevitably be exposed to some form of harm.

To escape this dilemma, we must take measures to promote the spread of industry. We can outline these measures as follows.

1) To transition from an agricultural structure to an industrial structure, merge villages into towns with a population of at least five thousand.

2) Provide infrastructure investments (roads, water, electricity) to these towns.

3) Spread our new factory cities, such as Karabük and Kırıkkale, across our underdeveloped

regions.

4) Granting priority allocation to underdeveloped regions.

5) Additionally, for such regions, implement tax reductions, customs exemptions, credit enhancement, and interest rate reductions for such regions.

In this way, citizens' employment opportunities will be secured without being uprooted. If this state of neglect continues, there is no doubt that the crisis Turkey finds itself in will only worsen. Every second spent on these measures is detrimental to national identity. The concentration of industry in one or two specific regions has led to Turkish villagers flocking to these areas in search of work.

Thus, shanty towns, hotbeds of poverty, spread as far as possible around large cities. This situation causes social erosion.

As a matter of principle, initiating development from large centres is one of the most serious mistakes made by almost all governments.

Development should not be carried out from large centres towards the periphery, but rather from the periphery towards large centres.

Mobilising all resources to develop Anatolia and uplift the rural population is the only viable path.

Industrialisation and Eastern Anatolia

Industry tends to concentrate in developed regions. This is a natural and human condition. However, the continuation of this situation develops one region of the country while holding back others. The influx of people from rural areas to industrialised regions also creates masses who are uprooted, have lost their customs and traditions, and are separated from their heritage. In this way, the resulting large cities constitute a breeding ground for social disasters.

Turkish citizens are unemployed in their own regions, and when they find work, they are neglected and suffer greatly. One workplace supports six people; this is the law of economics. A city with a population of 55,000 has formed from the village of Karabük, which employs 9,000 workers. Striving for development by following a 7% growth rate means accepting that it will take 250 years to reach the current level of America. Such a heavy pace is unbearable.

Workers must be made partners in industry, and the strength of the entire nation must be focused with great enthusiasm on the drive for development. Capital, labour and knowledge, guided by the state, can transform the country into a prosperous land. We must distance ourselves from the petty calculations of weak governments and administrators lacking in enthusiasm and faith. The spirit of the Second National Forces must emerge. An industry in which labour is also a shareholder can be established rapidly. Our children, who have fallen into the hands of strangers for bread money, are content with less in their own homeland. We must show the effort to realise this hope and this opportunity.

We must not sink to the humiliation of seeking work today in the countries we conquered yesterday. It is a disgrace that idle governments turn a blind eye to the undermining of our national dignity.

The Eastern region, in particular, lives in poverty and hardship despite the great opportunities offered by nature. We must plough our hands deep into the soil to make the opportunities of this region available for the benefit of the nation. We must immediately begin the development of the East by establishing a special fund. Private enterprise must be encouraged to move to the East by granting them credit transfers, interest rate reductions and tax breaks. In this way, a new era will dawn around the newly established factories.

WIDESPREAD INDUSTRIALISATION

Economy and industrialisation play the most important role in the country's development. We believe that human labour is sacred and one of the fundamental elements of economic activity.

We consider it essential to make the most efficient use of the country's wealth, to overcome the mass unemployment caused by the backwardness of the social and economic structure, to enter an era of prosperity, and to live as an independent nation, by rapidly implementing industrial revolution and establishing an advanced production system. Our Turkey today bears all the signs of a backward and ailing structure.

The homeland, which carries the meaning of a political whole, is far from expressing economic unity and integrity. The people are deprived of the opportunities of the national economic era. Modern nations are societies organised according to modern production techniques. For the individual and society, development means moving from deprivation, helplessness and weakness to existence, power and prosperity. The current structure of the Turkish nation, its way of life and work, cannot escape deprivation, suffering and the tyranny of natural conditions. We need hundreds of thousands of service and specialist personnel from every profession, but society is unable to derive sufficient benefit from those who are trained. Goods are produced, but no buyers can be found; specialisation is created, but it cannot be sustained. The deprivation, hardship and dangers created by the flawed economic structure and organisation, and the low national income, will continue to worsen year after year, generation after generation, unless the current proportions, order and structure change. This nation does not deserve this painful situation. We do not want to see our homeland as a country of hungry free people and well-fed slaves.

To this end, measures will be directed towards a fundamental structural revolution.

a) Planning and organising the material and spiritual resources of the nation for the benefit of the nation,

b) Modernising the national economy,

c) Developing and nurturing economic and professional groups that have not gained sufficient strength within the national structure, c) Providing unemployed and unskilled citizens with professions, specialisations and jobs, preparing them for new professions and specialisations when necessary,

ç) Ensuring the continuity of goods and services production; ensuring continuity and security in production, distribution, and consumption,

d) To regulate working life and working conditions,

e) Ensuring that labour receives its due value,

f) Addressing individual initiative and lack of knowledge through education and removing legal barriers,

g) To realise the vision of a "100 million-strong Turkey" in order to strengthen Turkey's population,

(g) Ensure the full implementation of the mixed economy principles stipulated in the Constitution.

h) Private enterprise should be given the opportunity to serve in accordance with the national development and industrialisation plan.

ı) In our country, which is striving for development, the strategy for investments has not been clearly defined.

i) The scope of the state and the private sector must be clearly defined, and opportunities for long-term projects in these sectors must be created.

In order to master the main strategy of development, the rapid production industry, energy sources, and railways must remain under state control; light industry should be transferred to the private sector. These facilities, currently owned by the state, should be divided into publicly tradable shares and offered to the nation, making citizens property owners in their homeland. The capital raised in this way can form the basis for new investments, and the nation can turn to willing savings instead of being crushed under price increases. State enterprise in the light industry sector should only play a pioneering role in underdeveloped regions; we must rid ourselves of state capitalism. Today, our state has fallen victim to a policy of attributing everything to the state and turning citizens into labourers, the result of a difficult-to-understand mentality.

The sad truth is that İ. İnönü and the CHP, who drafted the 1924 and 1961 constitutions and personally established the state order twice, are among the foremost proponents of the argument that this order they created is flawed.

In Turkey, where 85% of industry is state-owned, increasing the pace of statism will lead to divisions such as "the state as employer; the people as labourers". The task at hand is to remove the state from its role as hotelier, shoemaker, clothier, butcher and tavern keeper, and to rescue the key sectors of industry from the stranglehold of privileged friends who operate them with a profit-seeking, self-serving mentality.

Inadequate Economic Policy

It cannot be said that the economic policy being pursued carries the conditions and sacred spirit required by economic independence and the war of liberation. First and foremost, it is essential that statesmen wholeheartedly believe in and commit to economic independence and the war of liberation, and that they have clear views on the sequence and order of the efforts to be undertaken. The success of Turkey's economic war of liberation lies in modernising agriculture on the one hand, while simultaneously achieving an industrial revolution and establishing basic manufacturing industries in the country. It is regrettable to say that the years since the founding of the Republic have been characterised by the expenditure of state revenues on arbitrary and fanciful projects rather than on investments that would ensure agricultural and industrial production.

Economic independence and the success of the war of liberation depend first and foremost on the mutual trust between leaders and the people, and between intellectuals and the people, bound together by an unwavering sense of confidence. For this, leaders must live like the people and, alongside them, engage in significant savings and self-sacrifice, undertaking to work day and night, enduring many hardships for a certain period.

However, partisan behaviour currently takes precedence over all other considerations, and actions are being taken to satisfy those with political influence rather than activities that would quickly transform the country into a productive nation in the fields of agriculture and industry.

The liquidation of state investments made with state resources, where the non-recoverable and inefficient portions do not cause any social or other significant harm, is necessary. Beyond this,

preserving facilities and businesses established by the state is the most appropriate course of action.

In expressing our views, as someone who was among those who first established the State Planning Organisation in Turkey and whose signature is on the first founding orders of the Planning Organisation, I would like to point out a few things on this subject:

It is as wrong to regard the planning organisation as an entity that will implement everything after careful consideration as it is to view this organisation merely as a consultative body. The head of government is responsible for determining and presenting the plan's objectives, strategy and available resources, and is also tasked with supporting the plan with all his power during its implementation. The primary duty of the planning organisation is to determine the scientific principles governing the use of available resources and to apply these priorities with discipline. At the same time, it must conduct the necessary scientific research and studies and assist the head of government in making the right decisions. To this end, it is essential that the Prime Minister works in close cooperation with the planning organisation from the moment the plan's objectives are set until the very last tasks are completed.

The application of planning solely to the public sector and the exclusion of the private sector from the plan is not an approach suited to Turkey's circumstances.

Economic Policy is Fundamentally Flawed

Turkey's development into an industrialised country will be possible through industrialisation. Although this is the common view of the public, it is hardly possible to claim that those governing Turkey have adopted serious principles towards industrialisation and are taking measures to put development on a fast track by overcoming bottlenecks.

Indeed, although industrialisation is a mandatory policy, economic decisions and behaviour have not been conditioned towards industry in all income streams. It is envisaged that industrial income will yield the highest returns, followed by income from shares and bonds; commercial profits from goods production; banking and deposit income in third place; and income from all types of real estate as the lowest-yielding area.

While it was necessary to promote industrialisation, this important issue was not taken into consideration, and public opinion was deliberately misled and attention diverted away from these matters of vital importance. However, countries seeking to promote industrialisation must curb speculative gains in unproductive sectors and areas.

On the other hand, fiscal policy, particularly tax system measures, should not be a fragmented and incoherent system that emerges with the aim of overcoming occasional financial difficulties and generally seeks only to generate revenue for the treasury.

-Regulating economic policy,

-Ensuring the flow of savings, profits and resources to industry,

-Predicting changes in credit and tax policies in line with the sector's development goals and circumstances,

-Regulating income distribution in favour of industrialisation and in accordance with the principles of social justice,

-It is essential that the profits of unproductive areas, particularly real estate income, be reduced to a level below term deposit interest rates. In contrast, fiscal policy generally does not go beyond being a means of financing hidden unemployment and unproductive current expenditures.

The Path to Rapid Development

Rapid development can only be achieved by channelling income towards industrialisation, and the fundamental condition for this is that property income rates should be reduced to a lower level in favour of industrialisation and deposit interest rates. For example, if the term deposit interest rate is 9%, the real estate income should be no more than 7%. In addition, it is imperative that property purchase tax and annual building tax be set at progressive rates for any excess demand.

Resolving the Housing Issue is Not Difficult

If the real estate income ratio is lowered below the term deposit interest rate and property taxes are set at rates that are not passed on to tenants and are multiplied

rates, will significantly impact housing construction driven by profit motives. It is clear that, unless alternative measures for housing production are envisaged, a significant and dangerous housing shortage will emerge.

However, to prevent such an outcome, the state must assume responsibility for housing construction at least at the rate of annual urbanisation and the needs arising in cities by establishing the Social Housing Institution and deducting housing premiums from the incomes of those who are members of the Social Insurance Fund and Bağ-Kur, thereby providing them with modern, affordable housing and enabling citizens to own a home throughout their lives. Pension Fund, and Bağ-Kur, thereby providing modern, affordable housing and freeing citizens from the tragic struggle and hardship of owning a home throughout their lives and leaving property to their children. Moreover, such a measure would prevent the squandering of billions worth of national production in cement, iron, construction materials, and timber on shanty towns and similar primitive housing construction. However, the Ministry of Urban Development and the State Planning Organisation favour ad hoc interventions rather than a humane policy.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR RAPID DEVELOPMENT OR A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW SYSTEM

It is not difficult to see that workers and civil servants initially lose 63 per cent of their wages—40 per cent on rent, 15 per cent on taxes, and 8 per cent on social security contributions—and live on a meagre 37 per cent.

For those concerned with development issues, the question inevitably arises as to what purpose these sums serve and in what direction they are used.

- 40% was squandered by property owners for speculative purposes,

- 15% was used to finance unproductive current expenditure and hidden unemployment,

It will be determined that 8% of this amount was not properly utilised by social security institutions and was generally used to fuel and reinforce inflation and speculation.

However, if these funds are utilised for industrialisation and yield an annual productivity of 6%, there will be no reason why Turkey cannot join the ranks of countries showing miraculous development within a maximum of 15 years.

period, there would be no reason why Turkey could not join the ranks of countries showing miraculous development.

Given this situation, due to politicians who engage in daily political speculation and blind the public's discernment, progress in development is only incremental rather than giant leaps forward. To put an end to this stagnant development, we consider the following political principles to be essential:

It is essential to prioritise price stability in development

* In order for money to fulfil its role in development efforts, it is essential to protect savings against price movements and, consequently, to ensure that the annual rate of price increase does not exceed the interest rate on demand deposits.

It is imperative to make savings and industrial investment attractive.

* Since investment is necessary for development, and savings are necessary for investment, it is inevitable that real estate income should be kept below the rate of interest on term deposits in order to encourage savings and prevent them from being diverted into real estate. On the other hand, it is also imperative that property purchase and building taxes be levied at progressive rates for any excess demand, while preventing the passing on of property taxes to tenants.

It is also essential to ensure that income from shares and bonds invested in industry is valued above savings.

The capital markets law has been delayed.

* There is a significant need for the Capital Markets Law and the Workers' Mutual Aid Institution Law.

It is also not difficult to impose more favourable conditions on foreign capital.

* With the aim of encouraging foreign capital to shift from assembly to manufacturing and to produce vital components through compelling incentives, the income or corporation tax rate levied on foreign capital ventures should be determined in proportion to the percentage of imported components. On the other hand, parts should be scored according to their economic importance, and the tax rate should be adjusted accordingly. When parts are manufactured domestically, the tax should be levied at a lower rate based on the corresponding score value.

Workers' foreign exchange should be rewarded.

* Today, as the share of buildings and land in the structure of investment capital grows day by day, the state should directly cover the land and construction share of the enterprises to be established by our workers abroad, but should recover the assistance it provides through nominal rent or annual instalments.

The foreign trade regime should be organised for the benefit of industrialisation.

* Today, in order to reduce dependence on foreign exchange and imports, it is essential to rapidly establish factory production and the intermediate goods industry and to create an environment in which the national currency can play its role in development. Moreover, establishing this type of industry is more economical and cheaper than importing ready-made factories. However, the importing class is being allowed to sacrifice the welfare of the country and the nation by turning a blind eye to the increasing importance of imports with each passing day. We do not advocate the nationalisation of imports and exports to remedy this situation. However, paying tax for an import licence should be conditional upon participating in industrial investments that prevent imports. Furthermore, the limit on imports should be directly proportional to this tax and participation amount. In this way, the current situation, which is detrimental to the country, will be conditioned on development.

A major solution should be to set aside a portion of export revenues as compulsory savings and allocate them to the establishment of manufacturing industries.

Reform is also essential in banking.

* Instead of banking and central banking, which are proliferating like mushrooms and generally finance speculation and unproductive investments, it is essential to develop a system that links issuance and securities transactions to production and to make the domestic and foreign resources of banks more effective in promoting industrialisation.

Banks should introduce a new deposit system called an industrial capital account to replace high-interest long-term bonds for savers. Under this system, depositors should receive a premium in addition to interest, and such deposit income should be exempt from income tax. This is because citizens do not trust printed objects such as shares and bonds and view the money tied up in them as lost (wasted).

While managers in Western countries panic at the slightest price increase, those who run Turkey do not bat an eyelid.

The main reason for this is undoubtedly ignorance and lack of foresight. This issue has not yet been taken seriously.

We believe that inflation can be prevented by ensuring that, as a primary measure, the issuance and trading of securities are based on the production and exchange of goods, meaning that banks and the Central Bank should not accept securities that do not contain daily and ledger entries. In addition, the condition of having paid tax should be stipulated for the use of securities and discounts. Furthermore, the amount of tax paid should be taken into account as a criterion in credit and discount limits.

Instead of considering measures that would increase investment and employment and resolve hidden unemployment, and demonstrating sensitivity in these matters, Turkish politicians prefer to appease their constituents and bind their judgement. They wear out the doors of directorates-general in government departments and enterprises with the aim of finding jobs for them, thereby binding the judgement of citizens. (deceiving them). It does not matter to them that state enterprises become shelters (soup kitchens) for unnecessary labour. Moreover, it is clear that this kind of policy, i.e. increasing unnecessary employment when there is no need for it, will result in encroaching on the livelihoods of those who contribute to production.

Some Obstacles to Development

Becoming a strong and developed society is dependent on rapid industrialisation. An industrial and service-based society is characteristic of a modern society. It is a fact that industrial investment is much more productive than agricultural investment and that the increase in prosperity is directly proportional to industrialisation. In order to rapidly develop Turkish society and rescue it from being a backward agricultural society, it is imperative that all resources and opportunities be directed towards industrial investment and that developments in employment be shifted towards the industrial sector.

However, we strongly oppose the current employment policy, which contributes nothing to production in the public sector, grows larger every day, is the main cause of demand inflation, constitutes unemployment insurance for high school graduates, turns the state sector into a soup kitchen, and whose costs are passed on to society through taxes and price increases, thereby consuming investment resources. This policy serves no purpose other than to reinforce bureaucratic feudalism in state entrepreneurship

feudalism and undermines the peace and prosperity of the people.

Furthermore, **the education system is geared towards consumption rather than production.** Graduates become desk jockeys rather than machine and goods production workers; they are caught up in the cogs of a terrible mechanism that consumes society's resources. **Here, we wish to state that education policy is completely isolated from development goals.**

Some Solutions

Today's investment policy is consumerist, not productive. Apart from a few investments that go beyond mere showmanship, the rest are current expenditures that bind the community's foresight. If analysed carefully, consumerism, which prevails over productivity in society, is nothing more than a new manifestation of the philosophy of a morsel and a cloak. The low-income population, lacking modern facilities, has surrendered itself to a life of meagre means and resignation. To put it bluntly, it is neither thriving nor dying. Frequent price hikes mean that the people's meagre sustenance is being ruthlessly attacked. The duty of governments and the welfare state is not to kill their citizens, but to keep them alive.

The basis of industrialisation is the manufacture of machinery by machine. In this regard, special importance should be given to establishing factories that will manufacture the machines needed to produce machinery. Industrialisation is the reorganisation of all productive economic sectors of the country in accordance with the requirements of modern science and technology. This is possible through the mobilisation of the country's major economic, social and political powers and capabilities by competent, capable and nationalist leaders, and through the people willingly making the necessary sacrifices and concessions.

The state budget in Turkey is quite meagre. Nevertheless, the capital necessary for the industrialisation of the country can be secured. There is an opportunity for rapid development without imposing a new burden on society. The opportunity for development lies in the severe hardship endured by the people.

For this reason, in addition to attaching importance to price stability, the aim should be to reduce all types of real estate income to a level below bank deposit interest rates, with the goal of rapidly evaluating resources and opportunities in the direction of industry.

In order to build confidence in the joint channelling of large capital and public savings towards industry**, the capital markets law should be enacted as soon as possible.**

Tax rates should be envisaged at varying levels according to development and regional benefits.

Machinery factories should be established for each sector in order to accelerate investments.

Banks should introduce a new account called an industrial capital deposit account, which pays a premium in addition to interest.

The state should cover the cost of buildings and land for industries established by workers abroad.

The tax rate should be reduced in proportion to the shift of foreign capital from assembly to manufacturing.

Our current lax investment policy makes it impossible to overcome this weakness. It is essential to use state authority to encourage investment and steer it in a beneficial direction.

This authority;

1) Achieving quality production,

2) Absolute savings,

3) should be used to rectify investment policy.

A haphazard investment policy prevails in Turkey. Savers who are not encouraged to save invest their savings in stone buildings. The key to investment is to pay attention to priorities. It is essential to channel investments into areas that will increase production. It is a grave mistake to believe that establishing soft drink factories is beneficial to the Turkish economy.

Engaging in costly construction activities is detrimental. Instead of spending millions of lira on parliament buildings and municipal palaces, it is imperative to prioritise investments in establishing motor factories and heavy industry that will increase production.

Directing Capital Accumulation

For profits and savings to be meaningful in industrialisation and for development investments to be accelerated, the increase in investment costs must be

Conversely, it is imperative that earnings and savings increase at a higher rate. Governments that fail to grasp this important point have not only failed to react to the rapid rise in prices, but have actually added fuel to the fire. They have added price increases to the burden already weighing on citizens and entrepreneurs.

Indeed, the savings made by entrepreneurs and the loans they have secured with great difficulty cannot cover the rapid increase in investment costs. Capital and savings owners, unable to escape the inflationary pit dug by the state, are investing their funds in unproductive sectors and services. For this reason, instead of seeking fault with citizens and capital owners, it is imperative to hold those in power accountable and demand answers from them.

There is nothing more tragic than those who do not understand monetary and pricing policy aspiring to govern the country. For those in power who fail to grasp the destructive nature of inflation in economic and social policy, their lack of foresight and ignorance have led them to cut off the branch they were sitting on by subjecting the public to inflationary psychology; that is, they have destroyed the citizens' substantial savings at the expense of the citizens themselves. In contrast, it appears that businesspeople and entrepreneurs have not yet gained the foresight to demand accountability for the capital and savings that have been destroyed.

In the development of economically underdeveloped countries, it is imperative to place special emphasis on capital formation. The development of our country, Turkey, can be achieved by mobilising public savings, taxes and foreign aid, and by organising and utilising the labour of the people.

In Turkey, the fees charged by banks as intermediaries are provided on a short-term, high-interest basis, particularly to those working in the trade sector, such as import and export. This makes the money provided expensive, and the borrower also spends it on consumption.

There are too many banks in Turkey. Management is very costly. The cost of credit is high. The distribution of credit is based on the patronage of certain individuals. State banks are also subject to waste of resources, as they are modelled on commercial banks. These resource-consuming banks are unable to find sufficient funds for their purposes.

Foreign aid and foreign capital are also unable to contribute to capital formation in Turkey. **This aid is shifting towards increasing consumption and causing foreign exchange to flow out of the country.**

Tax policy is structured in a way that causes hardship for low-income citizens. It runs counter to capital formation. To ensure tax justice, indirect taxes should be avoided as much as possible, moving towards the direct taxation of goods and income, and increasing taxes in proportion to the size of income.

Our principle in commercial and economic matters is the concept of a rich nation, a rich state. We must abandon this and adopt a realistic approach. Efforts must be made to regulate imports and exports strictly in accordance with the conditions and interests of the nation and the country, and no opportunity should be given to individuals or institutions to monopolise. New markets should be sought, with particular emphasis on Middle Eastern countries.

The capital markets law must be enacted without delay, and the legislation that enables currency speculation in banking must be reviewed. The system and regulations should not operate to make the rich even richer.

MARITIME TRADE AND MARITIME TECHNOLOGY

Turkey must embark on rapid development initiatives. To achieve development, it is necessary to undertake continuous, productive, income-generating, and production-enhancing large-scale investments. Investments, however, require substantial capital accumulation and extensive financial resources. Since Turkey does not have large capital reserves, we are compelled to seek solutions for the investments we need. One of the foremost solutions is to prioritise maritime affairs. Given that our homeland is surrounded by seas on three sides, it is imperative that the Turkish nation becomes a maritime nation.

For many years, those who have governed Turkey have failed to understand the importance of maritime affairs and maritime trade and have not taken the necessary action in this regard. This attitude has been one of the main reasons for the continuation of poverty and misery in our country. Maritime affairs and maritime trade are our real lifeline. It is a magical path to development. The backbone of maritime affairs is the shipbuilding industry.

, it is essential to place great emphasis on this and to do everything necessary for the development of this industry.

It is widely acknowledged that maritime trade is the most significant factor in the prosperity and economic development of nations. Countries are engaged in fierce competition in this regard. In our country, surrounded by seas on three sides, only a small portion of our imports and exports are transported by our own vessels due to the inadequacy of our fleet. Our country, which carries out 95% of its imports and exports by sea, unfortunately has a dismal level of transport by its own ships. Our balance of payments deficit covers a significant portion of our foreign trade deficit. The Greek merchant fleet, which was 7,840,826 gross tonnes in 1966, increased by 100 per cent to 15,441,392 gross tonnes in 1971. It ranks fifth in the world. The necessary measures to be taken in terms of breadth and depth in the export-import fleet and shipbuilding industry sectors were listed in the five-year plans, but these statements were carried over to the next planning period with the same rhetoric, and unfortunately, no serious action has been taken to date.

Today, the Turkish freight market is in foreign hands. This market must be returned to our national shipowners. Currently, Turkey loses 6 million lira in foreign exchange every day to foreigners for the transport of its own cargo. This amounts to a foreign exchange loss of over 2 billion lira this year.

Turkey cannot hold its own in the market unless it has strong shipping companies. This can only be achieved by creating conditions in line with global maritime trends under state protection. Today, our national enterprises have fallen under the control of foreign shipping companies due to governments' failure to take charge of maritime issues and steer our maritime industry. Consequently, Turkey is unable to develop its exports.

The most concrete example of this is clearly seen in the market war between Australia, which sells agricultural products to Canada, and our country. Indeed, even though we offer the same type of goods at 15% cheaper than Australia, due to high freight costs incurred by transporting goods on foreign ships, our goods are offered at 10% more expensive in the Canadian market.

Our public sector maritime enterprises genuinely lack the qualities of shipowners. Indeed, as a result of this deficiency, our investigation revealed that the enterprises in question, which only allow foreign-flagged vessels to "carry" on two foreign routes, also leave our maritime industry with a foreign exchange loss of at least 223,370,000 lira.

flagged vessels to "carry" on two foreign routes, thereby depriving our maritime industry of at least 223,370,000 lira in foreign exchange.

Our ports must be rapidly modernised to meet global standards. Furthermore, productive coordination must be established between inland transport routes and transport systems.

Maritime education must be addressed as a priority. This education should be of such a quality that it enables personnel at every level to keep pace with advanced technology in their respective fields.

Unless measures are taken to rapidly advance maritime affairs, it will not be possible for Turkey to have a strong economy. It would be very useful to draw the attention of our nation and all stakeholders to this point.

In addition to governments and other official bodies, members of the private sector and every Turkish citizen must take action to develop our maritime sector and rapidly transform the Turkish nation into a maritime nation in the broadest sense. The rise and development of our country depends on opening up to the seas by evaluating the opportunities offered by maritime affairs.

A NATIONAL MARITIME INDUSTRY MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

Our country, surrounded on three sides by seas, can only achieve rapid development in trade and economy and strengthen our National Defence by attaching great importance to maritime affairs. During the Ottoman Empire, Turkey succeeded in becoming a seafaring nation and, as a result, achieved great prosperity and power. However, as in many other areas, it subsequently suffered a major decline in this field.

Since the founding of the Republic, much has been said about developing our maritime industry, yet very little has been done to date. Turkey's ability to conduct its imports and exports with its own merchant fleet is a matter that will, in itself, lead to significant foreign exchange savings. Separately, the benefits that participation in international transport and trade activities will bring to our country are numerous. The establishment of a shipbuilding industry in our country is of great importance for the development of maritime affairs.

. Although the State Planning Organisation has included very appropriate measures in its five-year plans and annual programmes since 1963, successive governments have failed to give these measures the importance they deserve.

Before the First Erim Government resigned, it had announced that 250,000 dwt vessels would be purchased from foreign countries for our merchant fleet and described this as a major development initiative. The ships planned for purchase are not only 100,000-200,000-ton ships that exceed the construction capacity of our shipyards; among them are many smaller ships that our shipyards are capable of building.

Instead of purchasing ships from abroad, it would be beneficial for the government to rapidly develop the shipbuilding industry in our country and thereby develop our merchant fleet. The following analysis clearly shows that spending millions of foreign currency to purchase ships from abroad is contrary to the five-year plans and annual programmes that the State Planning Organisation has been implementing for 15 years. Namely:

The 1963-1967 First Five-Year Development Plan listed the following measures concerning the shipbuilding industry in its 1963 implementation:

1) Ship imports will be halted. However, ships that cannot be built domestically, as well as special types of ships and tankers that are economically essential and cannot be built in our country, will be imported.

2) A shipbuilding institution will be established. Until this institution is established, a coordination committee, formed with the participation of relevant institutions, will manage shipbuilding operations.

3) A mechanism will be established to provide credit to shipowners to purchase ships to be built domestically, starting from the construction phase.

4) A shipbuilding control system will be established that will be accepted by the registration and classification authority.

These measures are also reiterated in the implementation of the plan in 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1971.

It is evident that only a small portion of the measures envisaged by the State Planning Organisation were implemented, while a significant portion were repeated in the implementation plans each year.

I believe that the reasons for this repetition, as well as the other issues I will discuss below, should be the subject of a thorough investigation.

1) While it is accepted by all countries around the world that maritime trade is the greatest factor contributing to the prosperity and economic development of nations, and while great efforts are being made in this direction, today, due to the inadequacy of our fleet, only a small portion of our imports and exports can be transported by our own ships, The average annual cost of freight we are forced to pay to foreign fleets is very high. This amount accounts for a significant portion of our foreign trade deficit. Over the last five years, Turkey has transported an average of 20% of its imports and exports

It transports 36% of its total import and export volume, representing 3.2% of the total weight, using its own fleet. Considering that the development of our fleet is not only a financial advantage but also an important element of our national security, the shipbuilding industry should be given the necessary importance.

2) Although our country's public shipyards have reached the capacity to meet all our ship needs with the investments made, the wheels are only turning at 10-25% efficiency due to unemployment and lack of planning.

3) In the 1955s, attempts were made to conclude a licence agreement with MAN, Burmeister, and Sulzer to establish an engine factory, but these attempts failed.

4) Recently, construction at the Pendik shipyard has come to a halt,

5) Every order gets bogged down in the labyrinths of the Ministry of Transport, Industry, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, and then in Istanbul...

is going to the price determination commission. If customs formalities are added to this , the external market prices change during the intervening period,

6) While foreign exchange transfers for purchasing ships from abroad are carried out without hesitation,

are hindered by difficulties in foreign exchange transfers for the necessary materials. ,

7) The Customs Duty Exemption Law No. 3339 has been repealed as of 1 March 1970 and has ceased to be in force. Instead, the provisions announced in the Official Gazette do not meet today's needs.

8) The annulment by the Constitutional Court of certain articles of Law No. 933 has removed the shipbuilding credit fund currently in operation from customs. No provision has been introduced to replace it and provide the same benefit.

9) It is stated that, given the large number of laws, decrees, regulations, circulars and notifications relating to our maritime trade fleet and shipbuilding industry, deficiencies, excesses and restrictive provisions in the legislation have not been identified and the shortcomings in the legal structure have not been remedied.

10) Consequently, it is evident that some issues remain unresolved, while the majority are in a state of neglect.

In light of this situation, the shipbuilding industry, our merchant fleet, and related sectors An inventory should be made of the major problems that have a direct or indirect impact. The place and importance of marine research in the Turkish economy is increasing day by day, given that our country is surrounded by seas on three sides.

To this end, we must swiftly take measures that will enable major advances in every branch of maritime affairs in a short time. It is necessary to encourage and develop the shipbuilding industry. It is impossible for the naval forces of a country to develop if its civil maritime sector does not develop. Civil maritime transport makes a country recognised, respected, wealthy and prosperous throughout the world.

Those who govern Turkey must immediately direct our national resources towards activities that will lead Turkish maritime affairs to great developments*.

THE ENERGY ISSUE

Today, the energy crisis facing our country is actually one of the natural and, at the same time, highly dangerous consequences of the policies pursued for years by those responsible for governing Turkey in matters of social, economic and industrial development.

If this trend continues, Turkey will experience shortages not only in the energy sector but also in many other areas, including steel, machinery, vehicles and similar items.

The shameful water shortages, destruction of nature, environmental pollution, the population's protein-deficient diet, unemployment and poverty that have become apparent in Ankara, Istanbul and our other cities are all signs of the above.

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* This text is a summary of the parliamentary inquiry submitted to the Grand National Assembly by Mr Alparslan Türkeş.

These are just a few examples of the dead-end situations into which our nation is being led by the short-sighted, disorderly and unfounded development policies we have mentioned.

This mindless policy, which considers imitating Western civilisation in its outward appearance to be a virtue and attempts to present this imitation to the nation as the fundamental solution to all societal problems, bears the heavy responsibility of a fundamental flaw: the inability to possess a nationalist worldview. For a quarter of a century, every factory, power station or similar facility established in our country has been built, either openly or covertly, with loans or aid from a foreign country. Those who present this to the public as a triumph of their policies have gone so far in their actions, which run counter to the flow of Turkish history and the national sentiment and pride of the Turkish people, that they have virtually brainwashed the public into believing that nothing can be done in our country without outside assistance.

Thus, the Turkish nation's ability to determine its own destiny has been stifled, and its national creative intellectual power has been condemned to rust and decay on the sidelines. If, at a time when we need it most, we find ourselves lacking a strong national heavy industry organisation, the reason for this must be sought in the fact that the economic and industrial policies pursued have been devoid of a nationalist philosophy that prioritises fundamental national interests.

Today, there is an energy crisis in Turkey that everyone knows and sees. This crisis will not gradually diminish; it may even increase. It is clear that this situation strikes at the heart of Turkey's national development drive and hinders progress. There is no sign on the horizon that this crisis will be resolved overnight. Because a society that cannot manufacture its own machinery cannot reach the level of industrialisation required by the twentieth century through the help of others. And for this reason, no event has yet occurred that would prove the contrary.

According to experts, almost half of Turkey's daily electricity needs are met by petroleum. Given that Turkey is not an oil-producing country, this situation is cause for concern not only for the country's leaders but also for ordinary citizens, to the extent that it could keep them awake at night.

If, for any reason, we were unable to import oil tomorrow, the cities of this country would be plunged into darkness and the wheels of its factories would grind to a halt. It is impossible to predict where this would lead.

That being the case, it is understood that preparations are underway to construct additional oil power stations in Turkey, in addition to those already in existence.

Turkey is experiencing an energy shortage. The same shortage applies to steel, machinery and transport vehicles. Cities are running out of water. The water shortage will increase. This is because, in order to make the large investments needed to overcome all these bottlenecks, there is a need for a large number of machines, engines, iron, steel and many other basic investment materials. The Turkish national economy and industry have not reached a level of maturity where they can grow on their own and solve their own problems without the need for external assistance. This is because, in practice, no place has ever been given to policies aimed at achieving such a level; on the contrary, the recent implementation of the personnel law has created the possibility of outsourcing national engineering services in the public sector to foreign companies.

The dangerous situation that has arisen today in the energy sector is a particularly sensitive issue and is causing the Turkish nation great distress. This nation has established great states throughout history and carries within its soul the pride and longing of being a great state as a historical legacy. It continues to do so today. To keep such a nation, within the community of nations, in a state of inertia, having lost its claim to progress and greatness and abandoned to the shame of backwardness, to insist on this attitude and to prevent it from participating in the race of civilisation, brings with it a historical responsibility that is difficult to bear. This is the real reason behind the energy crisis we face in Turkey today.

NATIONAL DEFENCE INDUSTRY

For years, as a result of inexplicable neglect, the Turkish nation has fallen into a state of decline and disarray, and we are now facing internal and external threats that endanger its existence, the integrity of its state, and its independence. Treasonous movements originating from outside forces seeking to undermine our country from within, along with the competition between states occurring throughout the world—particularly the Cyprus, Aegean Sea, and Middle East issues that have profoundly affected our homeland—have ignited a great awakening in the minds of the Turkish people. Today, we as a nation understand this with certainty: the Turkish state and Turkish existence cannot be sustained with the mindsets and policies that have prevailed until now. Turkey must make bold and radical moves and leaps, remaining faithful to the spirit of its national culture and history. In order to aim for the level of the most advanced nations and states and to reach this goal within the necessary time frame, we must come together as a nation, with politicians, academics, the public sector, the private sector, workers and businesspeople, the army and the press, with sacred enthusiasm and zeal.

While planning to reach the level of contemporary civilisation through modern scientific methods, it is essential not to overlook a matter of vital importance: A mindset that pushes aside the Turkish genius nurtured by Turkish culture and civilisation, and is based on imitation and copying, cannot offer creativity, momentum, or proposals that will lead to great goals. Those who have determined Turkey's destiny to date have chosen this imitation, which they see as easy and effortless, in order to achieve results by the shortest route. We must swiftly distance ourselves from this understanding, which has been tried for many years and today drives the Turkish people into panic and deadlock. **The value that makes actions proactive, creative and continuous is national culture.** Every development, every discovery springs from human thought. Human thought, in turn, derives its constructive, proactive and creative power from national cultures. A person who draws on cosmopolitan or foreign cultures cannot possess the values of these cultures.

It is impossible for them to understand and assimilate these values, nor is it possible for them to make an original proposal based on these values. This is because, in a world order organised into nations, an individual's understanding and assimilation of their own culture depends on the education they have received since childhood and the national heritage they have inherited from their history.

I believe I have thus pointed out a fundamental error that has persisted for many years.

It is now understood that it is wrong to consider it sufficient and valid to pursue only material gain in a way that provokes the envy of the masses, without concern for the fate of the nation and the state. We are all bound to each other by the bonds of shared destiny, like people on a ship. If we rise, we rise together; if we sink, we sink together.

Today in Turkey, foreign ideological propaganda seeking to steer the country's main issues in certain directions is rapidly developing. One of the important aspects of this propaganda's success is the creation of an atmosphere unfavourable to the private sector. Propaganda persistently carried out by certain centres portrays free enterprise as the culprit behind Turkey's current difficulties.

The State Must Fulfil Its Duty

The development policies implemented to date have unfortunately often run counter to our national interests. In the 20th century, the Turkish state should not be preoccupied with weaving cloth. The public and private sectors must be freed from destructive competition that harms the national economy. To this end, the areas of activity of both sectors should be broadly defined and structured to complement and complete each other. The state must establish and develop strategic areas, the basic chemical industry, the heavy machinery and equipment industry, and the defence industry. The economic policy currently being implemented, under the name of a mixed economy, consists of a series of measures that are uncertain and do not inspire confidence. Today, the state sector operates with 150 billion in production capital, unfortunately with a capital efficiency of less than 1%.In contrast, the private sector pays 5 billion of its 10 billion profit in taxes to the state with 50 billion in production capital. We believe that honest and courageous businesspeople who pay their taxes honestly and are conscious that the goal of every economic activity concerns our national interests deserve praise and appreciation.

National industry is a whole. It is pointless to even discuss giving priority to the war industry. A country's standing at home and abroad depends on its modern military power. Under current conditions, in order to meet all the needs of our defence capabilities, it is necessary to establish and develop the war industry sector of national industry. This may require time, along with various other factors. However, no sacrifice should be spared and every price should be paid to minimise this time. I am fully confident that the Turkish economy, operating in a stable and secure environment, can achieve this goal in a very short time.

Heavy industry, the nuclear industry, and underground and surface resources should be operated by the state. **Foreign trade should be Turkified. We do not accept that people who earn money in Istanbul and invest in Athens are one of us.**

The Phantom Aircraft Issue

The ability of a nation to live freely and independently depends, above all, on its own strength. Among the various elements that constitute a state's power, protecting its independence and territorial integrity is of paramount importance. The foundation of a nation's national defence capabilities is its armed forces. Comprising three main branches—land, air, and sea forces—the armed forces today reflect the material and moral qualities and capabilities of a society. Science and technology have advanced significantly in our time. Modern weapons, equipment, and tools are evolving and changing daily.

If a nation is advanced in science, technology and civilisation, its armed forces will also be advanced and powerful. It is impossible for a society that lags behind in civilisation and science to have advanced and powerful armed forces. This is because it cannot produce the weapons and equipment based on the advanced technology required by the age in which it lives. It is forced to either purchase them from advanced countries with money or obtain them through political agreements and exchanges of interests. This is like trying to turn a mill with carried water. Therefore, nations that wish to live freely and independently, that wish to protect their existence and realise their national ideals, must rapidly develop in science, technology and civilisation.

Modern weapons and equipment are very expensive. As long as we cannot manufacture them in our own factories in our own country, using the knowledge and labour of our own people, we are obliged to procure them from abroad.

We will find them. If we attempt to purchase these weapons and equipment, which are very expensive, it will devastate our country's economic situation and prosperity. Furthermore, a newly acquired weapon becomes obsolete after a few years due to new inventions and must be replaced. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to find political solutions and balance the exchange of interests between nations to achieve this. On the other hand, we must also strive to advance rapidly in science and technology and industrialise.

Despite the general views expressed above, the preservation, continuation and continuous advancement of the Turkish nation is a matter that takes precedence over everything else. For our independence, the integrity of our homeland and the honourable existence of our nation, no action and no sacrifice can be deemed impossible. Turkey is bordered by around ten different states, both on land and at sea. One of these is Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union is currently one of the five most advanced superpowers in the world. Soviet Russia possesses the world's largest armed forces. Although Turkey has superior forces in terms of numbers, it is surrounded by some fifteen nations and states of varying sizes. Furthermore, it faces other superpowers in the air, at sea, on land and in space. It is therefore necessary to organise and use its superior forces accordingly. Considering this characteristic, it can be accepted that the forces Turkey can use in its region can, to a certain extent, balance Turkey's power.

Turkey must always be strong and find ways to remain strong in order to protect its own existence. For this reason, it is absolutely essential that the Turkish Armed Forces always possess a deterrent, dissuasive quality, a force, even superiority. Those who govern our state must always keep the Turkish Armed Forces ready for action. Furthermore, in terms of national defence capabilities, it must be an unchanging policy for us to be superior to our neighbours, with the exception of Soviet Russia.

The issue of Phantom aircraft has sparked debate among our statesmen. Phantom aircraft are one of the most advanced air weapons. They are superior to other types of aircraft in terms of the altitude they can reach in a very short time, their speed, and the tasks they perform. They can carry out bombing, fighter, and reconnaissance missions day and night, in all weather conditions.

They are also capable of performing close support and reconnaissance missions. They can also drop atomic bombs. Thanks to modern innovations, they can hit their targets with precision without putting themselves in danger. One of these aircraft is worth 75 million lira of our money. Experts say that one of these aircraft is worth thirty of the old aircraft. Our neighbour, the Iranian Air Force, has had 126 of these aircraft, or 7 squadrons, for two years. It is also known that the Israeli Air Force has had and used them for two years. Recently, they have also begun to be supplied to our neighbour, Greece. According to our expert colleagues who have flown to Athens, Greek pilots are being trained on Phantom aircraft belonging to the Sixth Squadron at Athens Airport. Apart from these, the armed forces of our other neighbours also have modern aircraft, weapons and vehicles. The Soviet Union is equipping the armed forces of Bulgaria and Romania, particularly the Bulgarian forces, with the most modern weapons, equipment and supplies. Furthermore, in light of recent agreements with Syria and Iraq, the Soviet Union is supplying these countries with modern weapons. In light of all these circumstances, it is clear that Turkey must maintain superior national defence capabilities. In order to provide superior deterrence for the Turkish Air Force in the current state of peace, it is necessary to have approximately 200 Phantom aircraft, or 10 or 12 squadrons. If purchased with money, the cost of 200 aircraft would be 15 billion lira. It is not appropriate for Turkey to incur such an expense, as it would be detrimental to its industrialisation and economic development. It is necessary and possible for Turkish statesmen to meet these needs through political means. To this end, it is necessary to be very vigilant and not be swept along by events. Efforts must be made with our allies and friends, taking into account developments in modern strategies and world politics. In the recent Cyprus events the arms embargo imposed by the USA ([91]and the paid-for Phantom aircraft to Turkey

91 According to a report published in the *Official* Gazette on 1 July 1974, the United States imposed an embargo on Turkey for not halting opium poppy cultivation. Following the Cyprus Operation, the US government added the Cyprus Peace Operation to the embargo. It demanded that Turkey withdraw its troops from Northern Cyprus. This arms embargo was lifted in 1978 by a decision of the US Congress. Despite the lifting of the embargo, it was not until 1980 that arms aid to Turkey reached pre-1974 levels. Due to this arms embargo, Turkey's dependence on the United States for arms was reviewed, and the Turkish defence industry was established.

Situations such as failure to deliver will be closely monitored by Turkish statesmen and will be an important issue to focus on.

A NATIONAL DEFENCE INDUSTRY WILL BE ESTABLISHED

Since its appearance on the stage of history, the Turkish nation has been known as a society characterised by its high human qualities, justice and honesty. It has also gained renown as an organised, skilled warrior and conquering nation; however, it has never used its strength and capabilities to oppress or wrong others. Today, in a modern age where science and technology have advanced greatly, the mentality of domination and aggression based on force continues among nations, just as it did in ancient times. This is not sufficient to protect the rights of the Turkish nation, which desires to live in peace with both its neighbours and all other nations in the world. It is imperative that Turkey possesses an effective National Defence force capable of deterring its enemies and dissuading them from aggression.

A country's internal and external security; its internal and external affairs cannot be considered and resolved separately and differently. Turkey, which has implemented a strong and national culture, politics and industry programme; which has achieved development by breaking the cycle of poverty and deprivation, can best ensure both its internal and external security. The invasion of foreign cultures and ideologies that envelop Turkey like a web, leading to fratricidal conflicts, divisions in the form of regionalism and sectarianism, and the class struggle we are being pushed towards are all movements linked to Turkey being a country that has failed to resolve its issues. A Turkey that has secured its internal national unity and solidarity, united around national consciousness and ideals to become a single, tight-fisted fist, will also take its honourable, prestigious and desired place in foreign policy in the shortest possible time.

For years, as a result of inexplicable neglect, we have been confronted with internal and external threats that endanger the existence of the Turkish nation, which has fallen into a state of backwardness and ruin, as well as the integrity and independence of the state. We have decided to establish a committee to counter the treasonous movements originating from outside sources that seek to undermine our country from within, as well as the competition between states occurring throughout the world, especially

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was decided upon. Many important Turkish defence industry companies were established during this period.

The Cyprus, Aegean Sea, and Middle East issues, which have profoundly affected our homeland, have ignited a great awakening in the minds of the Turkish people. Today, we as a nation understand this with certainty: the Turkish state and Turkish existence cannot be sustained with the mindset and policies that have prevailed until now. Turkey must make bold and radical moves and leaps, remaining faithful to the spirit of its national culture and national history. In order to aim for the level of the most advanced nations and states and to reach that goal within the necessary time frame, we need to come together as a nation, with politicians, scientists, the army, the public sector, the private sector, workers, businesspeople and the press, with sacred enthusiasm and zeal. While planning to reach the level of contemporary civilisation with modern scientific methods, we must not overlook a matter of vital importance: A mentality that pushes aside the Turkish genius nurtured by Turkish culture and civilisation, and is based on copying and imitation, cannot offer creativity, momentum, or proposals that will lead to great goals. Those who have determined Turkey's destiny to date have chosen this imitation, which they see as easy and effortless, in order to achieve results by the shortest route. We must swiftly distance ourselves from this understanding, which has been tried for many years and today drives the Turkish people into panic and deadlock. The value that makes actions proactive, enterprising, creative and continuous is national culture. Every development, every discovery springs from human thought. Human thought, in turn, derives its constructive, enterprising and creative power from national cultures. It is impossible for a person who draws on cosmopolitan or foreign cultures to understand and assimilate the values of these cultures, nor to make an original proposal based on these values. This is because, in a world order organised into nations, an individual's understanding and assimilation of their own culture is based on the education they receive from childhood and the national heritage they inherit from their history.

Our world has entered the age of electronics, missiles and atomic weapons. Today, nine states possess atomic weapons [92]. Many other states, notably Greece, Iran and Israel, have also taken steps to acquire this weapon. Turkey's situation is serious, surrounded as it is by the atomic weapons possessed by Russia and our other neighbours.

92 The countries possessing atomic bombs are the United States, the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, France, India, Pakistan and North Korea. Israel also possesses atomic bombs, although it does not openly state this. Iran has made progress towards building an atomic bomb.

In order to maintain our existence and independence, we must seek and find ways to obtain the same opportunities. Although initially small in quantity, Turkey's possession of atomic weapons will ensure that it gains an important place in world politics, carrying serious weight. Nations have performed different duties as they have appeared on the stage of history. The Turkish nation also has important duties. This has been determined by our national history, national culture and civilisation. In order for our nation to fulfil its duties towards humanity, it must be brought to the most advanced state in every respect.

Industrialisation as a whole, and allocating significant resources to the defence industry for this purpose, is not the goal for Turkey. Our goal is to reach the level of the age we live in and to achieve the highest level. I have stated that we are living in the age of electronics, missiles and the atom. This should be Turkey's goal. Every necessary measure must be taken by the state, the private sector and the nation to achieve this. Looking at the situation our country finds itself in today, we must not give in to despair. Our world is advancing rapidly. The nations that are pioneers of the electronic-missile and atomic age have reached this point in a very short time. With its organisational skills, intelligence, and rich culture, it is not unrealistic for the Turkish nation to achieve these goals once it believes in them. We must teach the intellectuals of the Turkish nation and the new generations to think big, to aspire to greatness, and to strive to be great. It is impossible for minds that do not think about growth to reach the advanced level of the age. Given the duties that come from the history and national culture of the Turkish nation, I have infinite faith that it will overcome all bottlenecks and reach the level of the advanced nations of the world; that a great, prosperous and powerful Turkey will be established. I take my leave of you, saying that these days are not far off. (*)

The Truth

Now we must dwell on a painful truth. This painful truth is that there is a gap between the Turkish nation and advanced nations.

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* Speech given by Alparslan Türkeş, Chairman of the MHP, at the Istanbul Aydınlar Ocağı in March 1975.

Today, some regions of Turkey are living in the Stone Age, living in cave dwellings. Some regions have entered the Iron Age, some are on the verge of entering the Steam Age. Some regions are entering the electrical age... Meanwhile, the world, the advanced nations, have entered the atomic age, the space age, the missile age, the electronic age. Electronics is the reason for the developments that advanced nations benefit from today, which science has miraculously brought to humanity. Which of these exist in Turkey? None! The gap between the Turkish nation and advanced nations, which has been narrowing for hundreds of years, has been widened by those who govern Turkey with their foolish administration, instead of bringing the Turkish nation up to the level of advanced nations.

Our Aim in Industrialisation Is Not Assembly Work!

I am listing the main conditions for our economic development: We must industrialise as soon as possible.

However, what we mean here is not assembly or consumer industry, but heavy industry, i.e. manufacturing. It means establishing factories that manufacture machinery. There is no connection between industrialisation and importing basic components from foreign countries and assembling them. The impossibility of development without industrialisation stems from these two scientific facts: Every agricultural country is doomed to be exploited by industrialised countries. This is because the market value of an hour of labour expended in the industrial sector is three or four times greater than the market value of an hour of labour expended in the agricultural sector. In other words, an industrial worker can purchase four hours of work by an agricultural worker with one hour of work.

We advocate not just the assembly of factories imported from abroad in Turkey, but the establishment of factories that actually manufacture goods. The Turkish state must become self-sufficient in the first phase. Every obstacle hindering our national industry must be removed. Labour must be shifted from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector.

Our plans include incentives for investment. Dead capital in the hands of the people will be directed towards large investments under the leadership and guarantee of the state. Turkish workers will be both partners and employees of the factories where they work. These investments will increase production, generate foreign exchange and create jobs. The era of burying millions in stone buildings must now come to an end. The Turkish nation has no tolerance for wasteful and dead investments.

Industrialisation has become unplanned, aimless speculation.

Banking has become a mechanism designed to crush citizens in difficulty, with high interest rates, short maturities, high collateral requirements, and a focus on murabaha rather than increasing production. Industrialisation, our main concern, has become reckless, unplanned, and aimless speculation. The motor vehicle industry has been reduced to merely manufacturing European industrial products. Foreign capital investment has prioritised soft drinks, neglecting heavy industry.

Twenty-nine million peasants constitute a class that is neglected and treated with indifference, receiving far less than their fair share of general investment. Their land is scarce and unproductive, and their produce is sold below its value. The produce of 29 million people has been sold at rock-bottom prices to favour the inhabitants of a few large cities; under government pressure, wheat prices are kept below cost, and tobacco is bought at spinach prices. On the one hand, floods and on the other, drought pose a constant threat of disaster every day. Peasants are left to live in misery, without security or insurance. National education has become nothing more than a futile effort, aimless and purposeless, concerned only with producing literate individuals. At primary and secondary school age, that is, children under the age of 18, propaganda promoting all kinds of theories from communism to anarchism has filled the schools, and people who claim and proclaim these activities as a right and duty have filled the streets. They are turning the children entrusted to them for teaching and upbringing into rebels who are hostile to each other, hostile to society, and hostile to the family. Communists have become so reckless that they exert pressure on the Ministry of National Education, even on the ministers themselves. These corrupt individuals, who yesterday opposed sacred concepts and all spiritual values, have abandoned their real duties and subjected the young to misguided suggestions, while the Ministers of Education, deprived of fundamental beliefs, have become so bewildered that they declare themselves neutral towards these events. Remaining neutral towards evil means serving evil. University students have been left destitute, miserable, and defenceless, crushed under the weight of their need for shelter and food, deprived of the means to obtain essential books and materials, and exposed to all the threats of leftist movements, ready to tear each other apart.

OUR UNDERGROUND WEALTH

Underground resources, particularly minerals, constitute the most important element of national industry, national defence and energy policy. Development means becoming an industrial society. Industry, in turn, requires minerals. To make a machine, one needs iron, copper, chromium and aluminium. Steel is the lifeblood of industry. Iron is needed to make steel. National defence is responsible for protecting our state, our country and our nation. To achieve this protection, aircraft, artillery, tanks, weapons and other equipment are needed. All these defence tools can only be made if we have the necessary minerals. Industry and defence are dependent on energy resources. Petroleum, coal and uranium are among the most important minerals used for energy.

The main focus of competition and struggle in international politics is to gain influence in mineral regions and to acquire these regions in one way or another. In order to survive as a sovereign state and not lose our independence, we must protect our underground wealth. Our development can only be achieved by producing our minerals and selling them abroad. To this end, we must resort to every means necessary.

Our underground resources are our most valuable treasure. We must rescue them from waste, from foreign companies, and from their state as dead wealth buried underground. The capitalist economy and the private sector pursue profit. To maximise profits, they do not operate mines that are costly and laborious. In the mines they do operate, they extract only the easiest and most profitable part of the ore, closing the rest with the excuse that "there is no more ore left." We must not forget that this country belongs to all of us. Future generations, our children and grandchildren, also have a right to this country. National consciousness forbids squandering everything today and leaving nothing for tomorrow. Domestic and foreign private companies take the ore from our mines and leave empty pits for tomorrow. How will we account for this to future generations before history?

Our mining policy is a rational policy**. We will nationalise our rare minerals. Neither the domestic nor foreign private sector will be permitted to engage in mining operations. Under a Nine Lights government, it will be the day when the Turkish state and the Turkish nation explore and operate all mines.** Today**,** we possess the world's largest BORAX[93]mineral reserves. This mineral is found in only two countries in the world. Borate is used in many branches of heavy industry. It has gained strategic importance as it was also used in the latest missile fuels. It is expected to be used in nuclear energy production tomorrow, and there is even talk of the Americans achieving success in this regard. Our borax mines have reserves worth 800 billion lira at today's prices. Once it begins to be used in nuclear energy production, Turkey will become a country poised to become a world superpower with borax, which is superior to petroleum.

Coastlines (shores) that are important for national defence and homeland security will also be nationalised. Today, our coastal areas have become a subject of speculation, and our shores, which are a strategic part of the national territory, have become a haven for private interests. With the Tourism Industry Development Laws, foreign states and companies have been granted the right to acquire land ownership on our coasts. Like coastal areas, urban land

93 **Boron:** an element with the symbol B on the periodic table, heat-resistant and with a hard structure ( ). Boron melts at 2300°C and boils at 2500°C, and there are approximately 230 varieties found in nature. Furthermore, it is not found freely in nature, but rather in the form of salts and compounds with other elements. The most important sources of this element on Earth are found in Russia, the USA and Turkey, and it is used in over 400 fields, ranging from the military to computer systems, and from the construction industry to the automotive industry.
The main boron deposits in Turkey are located in Balıkesir, Kütahya, Bursa and Eskişehir, and there are facilities for operating boron mines in Kırka (Eskişehir), Emet (Kütahya), Bigadiç (Balıkesir) and Kestelek (Kütahya).
Turkey ranks first with a 72% share of boron reserves, followed by Russia with an 8.50% share and the United States with a 6.80% share. Boron is of great strategic importance to our country.
The usage areas of boron include , , , , and . While the United States uses boron in space technologies and military systems, Turkey uses it in the production of detergents and soaps and . Many scientists describe boron as "the oil of the 21st century and the salt of industry". Petroleum, today's most important natural resource, is used in areas such as gas oil, fuel oil, machine oil, fuel oil, and jet fuel, while boron can be used in all these areas, even in computer systems and military systems. In addition, because it is resistant to friction and heat, it is also used in aircraft and spacecraft.

The issue of property ownership will also be fundamentally reorganised. Land speculation will be brought to an end.

OUR INDUSTRIALISATION ISSUE

Our aim is to become an independent and large industrial society. We will establish large-scale industrial facilities that engage in mass production. The price of industrialisation is to establish manufacturing oriented towards exports, particularly the capital goods industry (machines that make machines). The assembly industry cannot ensure our development. In the assembly industry, machines and parts are made abroad and brought into the country as a new form of import. The assembly industry is not a production goods industry but a consumption industry. Our country can never develop with a consumption industry. Therefore, we must establish a national production goods industry. The capital goods or production goods industry means the machine-making machine industry. Once we establish such an industry, we can build as many factories as we want. Because this industry is the factory construction industry. For example, we need fertiliser factories for our agricultural development. Today, when we want to open a fertiliser factory in our country, we make an agreement with America, Germany, and Russia. We purchase the machinery and materials for the fertiliser factory from those countries, bring them here, and assemble them wherever we want. Instead, we will establish a very large machinery industry (factory industry) in our country. This industry will build thousands of fertiliser factories for us. This factory is a factory that makes fertiliser factories.

The most significant feature of a factory that builds factories is this: Let us assume in the above example that we have established all the fertiliser factories necessary for our country. A new fertiliser factory can never become a cement factory. However, with a few minor modifications to be made in the factory that builds fertiliser factories, the fertiliser factory can be converted into a cement factory that produces cement.

Who will establish our industry, and who will finance it? Under the Nine Lights system, our economy will be divided into three sectors. The first sector is the public sector, the state sector. As this sector will be state-owned, the state will provide its financing. The state sector will undertake infrastructure investments (roads, water, electricity, dams, ports, canals, etc.), defence industry investments, and mining operations. No one other than the state sector will be able to operate in this sector. This is because this sector concerns the existence and continuity of the state and our nation. It is a strategic sector. The second

IT IS A NATIONAL SECTOR. Six national organisations will constitute this sector. This sector will mainly establish the machine-building industry. Our fellow citizens who are members of these organisations will be the owners of the resulting means of production. Thus, as the basic industry will be nationalised, we will call this sector the NATIONAL SECTOR. The third sector is the private sector. The private sector will also make industrial investments.

Industrialisation is a matter of technology and science. We will acquire the most modern, cutting-edge technology. Only in this way can we close the gap between us and developed countries in a short time. We will train a large number of scientists and technical personnel for science and scientific research. We will give priority to applied and research-oriented science and technology that increases production. Our education system will be redesigned according to the realities of the country and its development goals. We need productive, research-oriented and creative minds. We will not export our trained, expert minds. Today, our most distinguished and technical scientists have been imported by other countries and taken from us. We will give them a leading role in our development. We will prevent the exploitation of Turkish brains abroad by other countries. We will not allow this. Thousands of our trained personnel, who are valued worldwide, have been forced to work in foreign countries because they could not find the necessary interest and value. It should not be forgotten that these distinguished personnel were created with the money of this poor nation. Brain drain and exploitation must be stopped.

We must gather around the nine lights.

Turkey's survival and escape from danger depend on its strengthening, that is, on its becoming an advanced, developed nation. It depends on our becoming a country that is advanced in science and technology, industrialised, capable of building its own atomic bombs and missiles. Unless this is achieved, Turkey will remain dependent on others and in a weak position. The rapid realisation of Turkey's strength depends on idealistic, faithful, capable, nationalistic individuals gathering around the same programme, the same principles, within the same organisation, uniting and forming a team. If we do not do this, it means that in order to easily gain position or any prosperity or benefit in a short time, we will throw ourselves at any group and achieve our goals without doing any service... In other words, as Turkish nationalists, we must prevent the division of our nation and fight against communism, which seeks to destroy the Turkish nation.

To free it from the clutches of foreign ideologies and to strengthen the Turkish nation, to develop it rapidly, to industrialise it, to advance it in science, technology and civilisation; to bring together, unite and form a team around the same programme, around DOKUZ IŞIK, around the same principles, within the same organisation, nationalist cadres who are idealistic, faithful and capable. nationalist cadres to gather around the same programme, around the NINE LIGHTS, around the same principles, within the same organisation, to unite and form a team. There is no salvation outside of this.

Our Nine Lights Doctrine, our national doctrine, is being picked apart by other parties from every angle. Many ideas and opinions are being stolen and appropriated. The aim of this new theft by the international left, accustomed to stealing ideas from foreign countries, is solely to undermine the Idealist Movement and divert the National Nine Lights Doctrine from its goal. Let them take our ideas; it does not matter, but let them evaluate them properly as Turks, let them apply them properly according to Turks and for Turks. The People's Party, caught on the hook of the international left, has exploited and distorted the Agricultural Towns, the Village Towns, the Nation Sector, and the People's Sector, diverting them from their purpose. Having come to power, it has categorically failed to implement them and has abandoned them. This shows that they cannot understand the creative ideas that spring from the Turkish people's own identity and that they are incapable of applying the principle of according to the Turk, for the Turk.

This demonstrates how powerful a doctrine and cause the National Doctrine of Nine Lights has become. Even its greatest opponents cannot resist stealing its principles and ideas.

FINAL WORD

The rapid establishment of our national industry will also provide a solution to our employment problem. Today, there is a large army of open and hidden unemployed people in our country. The fact that a large part of the country's population is unemployed is an obstacle to establishing national peace and tranquillity. The most important way to eliminate unemployment is to establish national industries. In this way, many workplaces will be created, which will absorb the surplus population and provide them with employment opportunities. In addition to industrial facilities, importance should also be given to superstructure investments in order to eliminate unemployment. The idle labour force should be utilised in the construction of major roads, sewers, ports and dams. It is not possible for a country that has not built its infrastructure services (facilities) to make fundamental economic investments. In this regard, on the one hand, the army of hidden and open unemployed will be turned into a service army and contribute to our national development, and on the other hand, our citizens who have gained purchasing power will have the opportunity to live in peace.

Today in our country, the number of open and hidden unemployed reaches 10 million in some seasons. This means that in some months, 10 million people in our country are unemployed. Uniting the unemployed within the service corps and employing them for the development of the country is the only national employment policy.

While our economic development depends on industrialisation, the government's focus on certain side reforms is an incomplete and flawed approach. We say it is incomplete because development cannot be achieved solely through land, education and tax reforms.

The only reliable path to development is industrialisation. We say it is flawed because these reforms will not reshape the sectors to be reformed as imagined. I would like to touch upon two of these reforms in particular: land and education reform. Land reform, to put it briefly, is the increase in agricultural production and the allocation of land to peasants who have no land or insufficient land.

Our country is based on an agricultural economy. Countries based on an agricultural economy are considered economically underdeveloped. In such countries, the vast majority of the population lives in villages. Indeed, today, it is impossible for the 29 million villagers, who make up nearly two-thirds of our population, to achieve social welfare and live humanely. Even if the most radical form of land reform, involving the redistribution of land, were to be considered, the amount of land available for redistribution in Turkey would only be sufficient to provide land to 150,000 peasant families. However, the number of peasant families without land or without sufficient land is around 3 million. For this reason, we say that land reform alone is not a sufficient measure. Since the biggest problem facing our country is development, industrialisation will ultimately shift the idle population, the hidden army of unemployed, to the industrial and service sectors. Therefore, the first task is to focus primarily on industrial development. Rural industrial development must be carried out in conjunction with agricultural reform. On the one hand, large industrial facilities will be established in the villages of the region, thus creating the opportunity to attract and employ the surplus population and unemployed from the surrounding villages. On the other hand, we will provide the opportunity to establish economically viable agricultural enterprises for the declining rural population who have moved to the industrial sector. Our population is growing rapidly. Even if land is distributed today to 150,000 landless or under-landed peasant families through the most optimistic land distribution, this distribution will lose its economic and social meaning next year due to population growth. Therefore, the path to follow is to establish a new settlement plan for villages and the village population in social terms through Agricultural Towns, and to establish a modern agricultural society in economic terms. Thus, the Turkish nation's foundation and so-called masters, who are in reality neglected, despised, abandoned, and even robbed, homeless, without roads, electricity, or water, will attain a standard of living befitting human dignity. With Agricultural Towns, villagers will gain access to water, electricity, roads, schools, hospitals, in short, the conditions for a humane life, while on the other hand, thanks to increased agricultural production and the large income that will remain for them in return, they will contribute to our economic development through the savings they will make. The focus of the Agricultural Towns movement is the establishment of a village industrial system. Thus, the Agricultural Cities project aims to industrialise our country and, consequently, our villages.

Rural industry will be realised through the savings of villagers and the assistance provided by the state. While on the one hand, agricultural towns will enable villagers to gain access to industrial facilities, on the other hand, it will create the opportunity for productive and efficient land reform.

will gain access to industrial facilities, while also creating the opportunity for productive and efficient land reform. In our view, land and agricultural reform consists of four actions: preventing the division of agricultural land, consolidating fragmented agricultural land and holdings, expropriating privately owned land above a certain size in exchange for compensation and distributing it to landless or land-poor peasants, and finally, a cooperative movement based on labour and ownership, unrelated to the cooperatives in Marxist countries, and fully reflecting the will of the peasants. Any land and agricultural reform that does not incorporate these four movements is doomed to failure.

Thus, we have outlined the main features of Dokuz Işık's 100% indigenous and national doctrine. Unlike today's intellectuals, we have never resorted to imitation, but have put forward a doctrine appropriate to our own history, culture, and socio-economic structure.

THE NATIONAL DOCTRINE OF NINE LIGHTS IS THE ONLY NATIONAL PATH THAT WILL ENABLE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "GREAT TURKEY" UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

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