

# NIHAL ATSIZ

BIOGRAPHY



TALAT ÜLKER

# **BERSERKER**

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## **BOOKS**

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# HÜSEYİN ATSIZ

THE VOICE OF HARŞIT

TALAT ÜLKER



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## PREFACE

Every nation its own unique story of modernisation. The modernisation stories of nations are determined by the cultural and belief climates of those societies along with the historical adventure they have gone through.

It is a futile endeavour to search for all the stages of the modernisation and enlightenment process that the West has undergone in the Orient. The process of reform and Renaissance, the greatest enlightenment movement in the history of the West, produced similar results in all Western societies.

The philosophical foundations of the enlightenment and modernisation of the West were laid in Germany, the political foundations in France and the industrial foundations in England. The main principles of the social system reached today in the West are the establishment of the relationship between religion and the state, the introduction of scientific developments into the production process, and the domination of Protestant morality in behaviour and economic mentality.

Turkish modernisation, which was shaped by external sources, started with the search for security and independence, was shaped by emulation of the West, and remained a top-down model because it could not overcome imitation. Perhaps for this reason, it has not yielded completely successful results.

The process of modernisation in our country cannot be attributed to factors such as enlightenment, urbanisation, creation of a national bourgeoisie, institutionalisation and expansion in the press, media and education. Modernisation in our country started as a fantasy of emulation and intellectuals to transform society and spread to the grassroots through bureaucratic impositions. This modernisation, which is a political programme and struggle from beginning to end, lacks philosophical depth and sociological infrastructure.

Nationalism, which is one of the most effective results of the modernisation process, was not a political programme or an intellectual fantasy in the West, but rather the result of enlightenment, industrialisation, urbanisation, the spread of press, broadcasting and education,



It emerged as a result of very strong and multifaceted sociological factors, such as the emergence of the national bourgeoisie.

Modernisation doctrines to be seen in Turkish communities as of the mid-nineteenth century. The intellectual movements that accompanied our modernisation and enlightenment process can be grouped under the headings of Islamism, Westernism, Ottomanism and Turkism. The most influential of these movements and the one that had the most impact on the flow of national life was undoubtedly Turkism. The view of Turkism was shaped by the efforts to create a nation from the communities of the empire, rose to the status of the official ideology of the state with the Constitutional Monarchy, guided the cadres who conducted the War of Independence and formed the programme of the republic, the new regime of the state.

Before the nationalist movements, the Ottoman Empire had organised its ethnic groups and societies within a structure called "millet system". In this system, the term millet was used to describe religious groups, not ethnic groups. The distinguishing lines were not ethnic identity or culture, but religious life. Within the system, there were Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Muslim communities. The Muslim community was the principal element and the Turks were the founding and dominant element within the principal element.

It cannot be said that Turks were able to utilise their dominant and founding position in the Empire sufficiently due to the weakness of their bureaucratic tradition. Unable to establish its national bourgeoisie and bureaucratic tradition, the Turkish nation became a prisoner of the weakness of handing over the top management of its states to minorities throughout history. This characteristic of ours, which meant utilising the energy of other nations in the centuries when we were strong, caused the Turkish race to stay away from the state in the ages when we were weak and among the main reasons for the collapse of our states.

With the victories won by the Russians, the state forced to become the protector of the Orthodox, the scientific and military defeats forced the state to westernise, and the appetite of Western colonialism to exploit the Ottoman lands forced the state to grant national orders to the Greek, Armenian and Muslim communities with the reforms of 1839 and 1856. When this process was combined with the process of dissolution of non-Turkish Muslim minorities from the state, all efforts proved fruitless and the sun of the state was about to set. Due to this sunset, the Turkish society, abandoned, battered and betrayed, remembered the need to organise around its own identity.



When the data of Turkology were added to this recollection, the Turkism movement emerged.

The Turkist-Turanist world view developed by thinkers and writers such as Gaspıralı İsmailYusuf AkçuraHüseyinzade Ali and Ahmet Ağaoğlu was systematised by Ziya Gökalp. A significant part of the ideas of Akçura and Gökalp were realised by Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Between 1923-1931, the dominant ideology of the state was Turkism. Although the Turan ideal was postponed, the Turkish identity is the founding element of the state. However, this power did not last long. The Turkism movement, despite being the founding idea, was attacked, wounded, excluded from the state and pushed to the opposition since the years when Atatürk retired to Çankaya.

When the Turkish Hearths, which were the branches of the world view of Turkism, were closed down, Turkism, which was confined to the speeches of official ceremonies, began to lose its founding function in the state. The idea of modernisation was transformed into westernisation, and the foundation of the state began to be sought in Greek mythology and ancient Anatolian civilisations. The idea of nationalism falls into opposition again.

The turning point of the fall of the idea of Turkism to the opposition was the trial held due to the events of May 1944. This trial went down in history as the Racism-Turanism Trial. Turkists were accused of attempting to overthrow the state and order and were excluded from the state. In this process, the idea of Turkism shifted to the right front and was tried to be kept in a position against the Republic and Atatürk.

The Turkish nation, which had lost the top management of the states it had established throughout history to minorities, could not change the same fate in the Republic, and as of the forties, the gap between the state and the nation gradually widened. After Atatürk's death, the remnants of the renegade devshirme took over the state cadres again.

As of the forties, Atsız was the leader, opinion leader and artist of the opposition to the devised governments that re-invaded the state. Having completed the staffing in the state, the renegade and devshirme group embarked on the liquidation of Turkism, and Atsız's uncompromising and harsh nature the reason for this liquidation.

The style of Atsız's struggle against the concessions made to the state's founding programme, Turkism, and the devshirs who used the power of the government can be discussed. He was committed to the Turkish nation and its values.

When he fought with the alienated state officials and political staff, he used a very harsh and generalising language. Due to this harsh and generalising style, he also made unintentional statements that could never be approved about both the brotherly communities that are the remnants of the empire and our belief world.

While Atsız's fight with this controversial style was going on, a nonsense like humanist, universal, cosmopolitan Anatolian nationalism was immediately embraced by minority racists and Turkish culture started to be transformed. Homer our father, Cybele our mother and the Greeks our brothers and sisters. "Neo-Greekism", which had been cultivated by names such as Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Bedri Rahmi, Nurullah Ataç, and the Fisherman of Halicarnassus, and made the dominant view of the state by the National Chief, the support of the ummahist movements in the following years. The gift of this interesting coalition to our country is the concept of Turkishness, which is still on our agenda today.

Turkism was excluded from the state with the push of fake Kemalists and by Ottomanist and ummahist groups. Atsız stood up against the people and groups who tried to remove the Turkish lineage from the state, albeit for different reasons. Atsız, who made many enemies due to this stance, did not receive the attention he deserved from the literary world.

Atsız is a cavalryman who fought fiercely with the elements aiming to tear the state away from Turkish identity, national history and cultural values, without discriminating between right or left. He interpreted the present with his mind nourished by the victory epics of the past, and offered propositions for our future. Although his ideas lack philosophical depth, they are meaningful as the excitement of a sincere man for his nation. He is not only a man of ideas and cause, but also a strong artist. With the direction he has drawn for Turkish historiography, the novels he has contributed to our cultural life, and the poems that are the products of an excited heart in a fight with life, he is among the values of our literature waiting to be appreciated.

This book was written to introduce Atsız to Turkish children whose minds are blurred under the shadow of identity struggles. I owed it to myself to write this book.

The first reason for writing the book is that Mr Atsız is a person who made important contributions to my world of feelings and ideas. His novels and poems



He instilled national excitement in my generation and made them realise the meaning of national belonging.

The second reason is our fellow countrymen. As is known, although he was born in İstanbul, Atsız Hodja is from Gümüşhaneli in terms of his family roots. However, this fact is not known by Gümüşhaneli people.

The third and most important reason is the identity debates that our country has been dragged into. All the groups and races with whom Hodja Atsız had fought throughout his life, and with whom he had said some extreme words while fighting, tried to ask the Turkish nation to account for the fact that it had established a national state after the empire. It is not possible to approve of some of the hurtful words of Hodja Atsız about the elements in our national structure that were part of the empire and became a part of our culture. However, we have learnt from our experiences how accurate his determinations about the elements "whose membership to this nation and this state has been weakened" are.

In the book, I have endeavoured to introduce Hodja Atsız in every aspect, and to leave no word about him and his works without a word. I have tried to convey all the necessary information about his life, his ideas, his virtues and excesses to the best of my ability. My love for him did not prevent me from pointing out his mistakes and reminding him of his excesses. Despite all my endeavours, I have certainly made mistakes and omissions.

I hope that the book will be useful for our country and lovers of Turkey.

Talat ÜLKER



*"We do not understand life with philosophy  
and science; Life should be dice thrown with  
steel hands. Isn't it an ordeal to die in a  
comfortable bed? Bloody border lines should  
be our grave."*

## **Atsız's Life and Struggle**

The Republic of Turkey, which was founded on the remnants of the Ottoman Empire, is not yet a hundred years old. Throughout this short history, the Republic of Turkey has been followed step by step by the fights between the intellectual currents that emerged during the decadence years of the Ottoman Empire and which are still unresolved.

Turkism, which left its mark on the first years of the state as the idea that founded the state, began to fall away from the state with the push of the works that meant "creating a new history". During the reign of National Chief İsmet İnönü, the ideas of Turkism and Turanism were accused of "fascism". In these years, which were the most difficult period of their history for Turkists, opposing the official ideology was a reason for trial and conviction. In Osman Turan's words, these were the years when Turkish Nationalists lived "as an expatriate in their homeland".

During this period of unfavourable conditions, the burden of the cause of Turkism was on the shoulders of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız. He inherited the idea of Turkish nationalism from Ziya Gökalp and passed it on to the next generations by equipping it with sharper and more extreme discourses with the push of his fights with the state and minority racists.

His harsh and sharp style made him increasingly isolated. Many of the friends he had set out with abandoned him because of his writings that offended the religious and overlapped with racism. But he insisted on his own truths and never compromised. His lovers lacked the knowledge to criticise him. His enemies and those who did not like his ideas always wanted to humiliate him by accusing him.

It is futile to search for sociological and philosophical depths in Atsız's writings. There was only one criterion for him to oppose or accept something: Turkism. He fought against every idea and person he believed would harm the history, culture and unity of the Turkish nation. He never minced his words in these fights. He was not afraid of being exiled, condemned or left alone. The fights in his writings are about the issues and concepts that constitute the agenda of today's Turkey. What he said in his writings of ideas and fights are still being discussed and solutions are being sought today.

Atsız's unquestionable aspect is his artistic and scientific qualities. Some of the views he put forward in his intellectual writings can be evaluated within the fiction of the period he lived in. Others are still among the most important sources of reference for Turkish nationalists.

As a Turcologist, Atsız carried out very important studies on Turkish language and history, and contributed dozens of works to Turkish culture that are still used as reference sources. His contributions to Turkish historical science are beyond all appreciation.

As an artist, Atsız, with his poems and novels, is among the most skilful writers of the national romantic style of feeling. Although this aspect of him was overshadowed by his identity as a fighter, people who did not like his ideas his artistic side. Nevertheless, his novels became one of the most widely read works of Turkish literature and his poems became the talk of the youth.

Rather than being a leader of ideas, Atsız is an exemplary person with his fight against the movements and people who are considered to be enemies of the nation and with his unbroken line in his personality. This man of fierce nature, who never falls off the agenda with his writings and experiences, is a monument of character who endured the ordeal of every idea he believed in. His ideas on minorities and religious life great reactions from Turkist-Nationalist circles. also had actions and ideas that every nationalist would envy and envy, definitions and determinations that went far, far beyond their intended purpose.

## Curriculum Vitae of Atsız

( 12 January 1905-11 December 1975 )

Atsız was born on 12 January 1905 (12 Kanun-i sâni 1905) in Istanbul. His father was Naval Deck Major Mehmet Nail Bey from the Çiftçiogulları family of the Midi village of the Torul district of Gümüşhane, and his mother was Fatma Zehra Hanım, the daughter of Naval Lieutenant Colonel Osman Fevzi Bey from the Kadioğulları family of Trabzon.

He completed his primary education in French and German schools in Kadıköy (1911), in a French Primary School in Suez for a few months due to his father Mehmet Nail Bey's duty in the Red Sea (1911) and in Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa Primary School in Kasımpaşa. After completing his secondary education in Kadıköy and Istanbul SultanisAtsız enters the Military Medical School in 1922.

Atsız, who frequently received disciplinary penalties at the Military Medical School due to fights with communist and minority nationalist students, was expelled from the Military Medical School on 4 March 1925 when he refused a deliberate and unnecessary request for a greeting from a Baghdadlı Mesut Süreyya Efendi, who was of Arab origin and discriminated against minorities. After this incident, he worked as an assistant teacher at Kabataş High School for three months. Later on, he works as an assistant clerk on the Mahmut Şevket Paşa ferry of the Turkish Naval Roads. In 1926, Atsız enrolled in the Literature Department of the Faculty of Literature of Istanbul University and in the High School of Education, the boarding school of the Istanbul Darülfünununun, but after a week he was called for military service, and when his request for deferment was not accepted, he was drafted.

Atsız, who attracted the attention of MFuat Köprülü with the publication of his articles"Place Names belonging to Turks in Anatoliaprepared with his friend Ahmet Naci in the second volume of Türkiyat Mecmuası, made a graduation study on Edirneli Nazmi's divan in 1930 and graduated from the Faculty of Literature in year. After his graduation, his teacher Prof. Dr. M. Fuat Köprülü hired Atsız as his assistant (25 January 1931). On 15 May 1931, he publishes his first magazine. The name of this magazine, which also inspired his own surname, is Atsız Mecmua. This magazine was published for 17 issues in total until 25 September 1932.

In 1935, he separated from Mehpere Hanım, whom he married in 1931.



In July 1932, during the First Turkish History Congress convened in Ankara, Atsız's position at the university was terminated on the pretext of his support for Prof. Dr. Zekî Velîdî Togan, who opposed the historical thesis declaring the ancient Anatolian civilisations as Turks, and some of his writings. In March 1933, he was appointed as a Turkish teacher at Malatya Secondary School.

After working as a Turkish language teacher in Malatya for a short time (8 April 1933-31 July 1933), Atsız is appointed as a literature teacher at Edirne High School.

Atsız's teaching of literature in Edirne lasted for a short period of four months (11 September 1933-28 December 1933). While he was in Edirne, published *Orhun*, which was the continuation of Atsız *Mecmua*, and was taken under the order of the deputy ministry for heavily criticising the mistakes in the four-volume history book published by the Turkish Historical Society and taught as a textbook in high schools (28 December 1933). *Orhun* was closed down with the decision of the Council of Ministers (5 November 1933 - 16 July 1934, issue 1-9). Atsız, who remained in the deputy order for nine months, was appointed as a Turkish language teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa (9 September 1934).

On 27 February 1936, Atsız married his second wife Bedriye Hanım and had two sons, Yağmur on 4 November 1939 and Buğra on 14 July 1946.

Atsız worked as a Turkish language teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa for 4 years and was dismissed from this position on 01 July 1938 due to his preference for students of Turkish ancestry in the school entrance exam in accordance with the school regulations.

From 1937 until the end of June 1939, Atsız worked as a Literature teacher at the Private Yüce-Ülkü High School, and between 19 May 1939 and 7 April 1944 he worked as a Literature teacher at Boğaziçi High School, also a private high school.

While Atsız was a Turkish teacher at Boğaziçi High School, he founded *Orhun* Magazine. Starting from its 10th issue, it started to be published again (01 October 1943-1 April 1944, issues 10-16, total 7 issues).

In March and April 1944 issues of *Orhun*, two "open letters" addressed to the Prime Minister of the time, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, to warn those concerned about the activities of local communists during World War II. In these open letters, he states the increasing activities of communists and calls for the resignation of the Minister of National Education of the time, Hasan Ali Yücel. In the National Education

Hasan Ali Yücel, who started to be taken to shelter even by the members of his own party due to the communist cadre, terminated Atsız's position as a Literature teacher at Boğaziçi High School as his first act (07 April 1944). Orhun Magazine was closed down again with the decision of the Council of Ministers.

Sabahattin Ali, whom Atsız accuses being a "traitor" in his second letter, files a defamation lawsuit against Atsız. In the first session of the Defamation Trial held on 26 April 1944, young people who were Atsız's supporters chanted against "communists". Thereupon, university students are not admitted to the second session held on 3 May 1944. Protesting the situation, the students organised a demonstration and hundreds of people were arrested.

During the 19 May 1944 ceremonies, President İsmet makes a speech heavily accusing Atsız and his friends, and Atsız and 22 of his friends are put on trial before the Istanbul Martial Law Court. The trial, which begins on 07 September 1944, continues for 65 sessions, 3 days a week, and concludes on 29 March 1945, and Atsız is sentenced to 6.5 years in prison. The verdict was appealed and the Military Court of Cassation overturned the decision of the Martial Law Court. Thus, Atsız was released on 23 October 1945, after being imprisoned for a year and a half.

Atsız, who was not given a job from April 1947 to July 1949, had to sell some of his books between October 1945 and July 1949 in order to make a living, worked at Türkiye Publishing House for a while, and was appointed as an "expert" to Süleymaniye Library on 25 July 1949. After the Democrat Party came to power, Atsız was appointed as a teacher of Literature at Haydarpaşa High School (21 September 1950) and an investigation was opened against him by the ministry after a lecture he gave on 4 May 1952 on "The Salvation of Turkey". was dismissed from his position at Haydarpaşa High School on a "temporary" basis (13 May 1952) and reappointed as a clerk at Süleymaniye Library.

From 31 May 1952 until 1 April 1969, when he asked for his retirement, Atsız worked in Süleymaniye Library and his longest tenure was in this library. In 1964, Atsız continued his struggle by publishing the journal Ötüken and published a series of articles in Ötüken about the "subversion" and "separatism" movements in the Eastern and Southeastern regions during the Justice Party rule. As a result of the campaign launched against him, a ministerial investigation was opened and he was taken to court. The trial lasts for 6 years, and after long hearings, the court-

The court sentences Atsız, the owner of Ötüken, and Mustafa Kayabek, its manager, to 15 months imprisonment each.

He was arrested on 14 November 1973 despite a medical report certifying his illness. Pardoned by President Fahri Korütürk, Atsız released on 22 January 1974. He spends 2.5 months of his 1.5-year sentence in prison.

Atsız, who suffered a great shock due to the sudden death of his brother and travelling companion Nejdîet Sancar, could not finish the last works he was working on. In November 1975, he fell ill, and on 11 December 1975, due to a heart attack, passed into eternity.

On 13 December 1975, after the funeral prayer at Kadıköy Osmanağa Mosque, he was buried in Karacaahmet cemetery next to his brother Nejdîet Sancar.

### **Atsız's Chronology**

#### **1905**

- 12 January, the birth of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız.

#### **1911**

- Started primary education at Kadikoy French School

#### **1922**

- He graduated from Istanbul Sultanisi and completed his high school education.
- He enrolled in the Military Medical School.

#### **1924**

- On the evening of 26 October 1924, the night of Ziya Gökalp's funeral, he was sentenced to a fine for the incidents that broke out at the Military Medical School.

#### **1925**

- 4 March, he is dismissed from the Military Medical School on charges of indiscipline as a result of his struggle against separatist minorities.
- He worked as an assistant teacher at Kabataş High School for three months.
- He worked as a clerk for a short time on the ferry named "Mahmut Şevket Pasha" of Deniz Yolları.



**1926**

- In 1926, he enrolled in the Literature Department of the Faculty of Literature of Istanbul University and the Higher School of Education, the boarding school of Istanbul Darülfünun.
- 28 October, conscripted.

**1927**

- 28 July, he completed his military service and returned to school.

**1930**

- In 1930, he from the Faculty of Literature with his thesis Edirneli Nazmi's divan.
- Divan-ı Türk-i Basit Grammar and Lügat" was published.

**1931**

- He married his first wife Mehpare Hanım.
- 25 January, became assistant to Fuat Köprülü
- 15 May, Atsız started to publish Mecmua.
- His story "Boy Girl" was published in Atsız Mecmua under the signature of Y.D.
- His story "Two CorporalsGalicia1917was published in Atsız Mecmua under the signature Y.D
- His story "Return" was published in Atsız Mecmua under the signature of Y.D.
- His story "Martyrs' Prayer" was published in Atsız Mecmua under the signature of Y.D.

**1932**

- In order to protest Dr. Reşid Galip's insulting speech against Zeki Velidi Togan at the First Turkish History Congress organised by the Turkish History Research Society in Ankara in July 1932, Atsız, together with eight of his friends, sent a telegram to Reşid Galib with the statement "We are proud to be a student of Zeki Velidi".

- In the 17th issue of Atsız Mecmua dated 25 September 1932, his article titled "Darülfü- nunun's Black, or more accurately, Disgraceful List" was published.
- 25 September, Atsız Mecmua was closed after 17 issues.

### 1933

- 13 March, he was dismissed from his assistantship on the grounds of a telegram and an article he wrote in reaction to the attacks he was subjected to by his teacher Zeki Velidi (Togan) Bey at the Turkish Language Congress.
- He slapped Ali Muzaffer Beyi, Dean of the Faculty of Literature at Istanbul University, in front of everyone at a tea in Tokatlıyan, who had approved his dismissal from his assistantship.
- In March 1933, he was appointed as a Turkish teacher at Malatya Secondary School.
- On 8 April, he started working as a Turkish teacher at Malatya Secondary School.
- 31 July, he was appointed as a literature teacher at Edirne High School.
- 5 November, Orhun Magazine started publication.
- 28 December, he was dismissed from his position at Edirne High School for severely criticising inaccuracies in high school history books.
- The brochure "Reply to Sartbashi" was published
- His travel notes titled "March to Çanakkale" were published.

### 1934

- 16 July, Orhun Magazine was closed down by a decree of the Council of Ministers because Atsız had exposed the communist cadre within the state.
- His work titled Edirneli Nazmi and his work was published.
- 9 September, Atsız is appointed as a Turkish teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa.

### 1935

- The pamphlet Communist Don Quixote Proletarian Bourgeois Nazim Hikmetof Comrade was published.
- He published a work titled Collections on Turkish History

**1936**

- 27 February, he married Bedriye Hanım.

**1938**

- 1 July, he was dismissed from his position for preferring young people of Turkish descent in the recruitment of students to the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School.

**1939**

- On 19 May, he started working as a literature teacher at the Private Boğaziçi High School.
- 4 November, his first child, Yağmur Atsız, was born.

**1940**

- His work titled Dede Efendi, His Life and Works was published.
- The history work titled 900th Anniversary was published.
- His review of The Demons Within has been published
- His research titled History of Turkish Literature was published.

**1941**

- He published his first novel, The Night of the Sycophants.

**1943**

- 1 October, Orhun magazine was published again.
- His work "The Most Insidious Danger" was published.
- His work titled "This is how the account is given" was published.
- His work titled "Turkey will never give in" was published.

**1944**

- In the 15th issue of Orhun magazine dated 1 March 1944, he published an "Open Letter" addressed to Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu.
- In the 16th issue of Orhun dated 1 April 1944, Atsız published another article with the title "Second Open Letter to the Prime Minister Saraçoğlu Şükrü" and explained the communist activities of Sabahattin Ali, Pertev Naili Boratav, Sadrettin Celâl and Ahmet Cevat and called on the then National Education Hasan Ali Yücel to resign.

- 7 April, Hasan Ali Yücel terminates Atsız's position as a literature teacher at Boğaziçi High School.
- 7 April, Orhun magazine was re-published with a decree of the Council of Ministers.
- 26 April, the Atsız-Sabahattin Ali trial began.
- On 3 May, the famous hearing of the Atsız-Sabahattin Ali case was held, which went down in history as the "Day of Turkists".
- 8 May, Hamit Şevket İnce, one of Atsız's three lawyers, announced his resignation.
- 9 May The Atsız- Sabahattin Ali trial is completed. Atsız is sentenced to 4 months imprisonment and a heavy fine of 66 lira 60 kuruş, but his sentence is suspended.
- 10 May, Although his sentence was suspended, he was arrested under government pressure.
- 18 May, The government issued an official communiqué accusing Atsız and his friends of subverting the established order by pursuing "Racism-Turanism".
- 19 May, President İsmet accused Turkists and Turanists his speech on the occasion of Youth Day.
- In June-July, Turkists were subjected to torture in cells called "Coffinluk".
- On 7 September, as a result İnönü's speech and the publication of Ulus, the official organ of the government, a "Racism-Turanism" case was initiated in the Istanbul Martial Law Court No. 1 with charges such as establishing a secret society against Turkists attempting to overthrow the order and overthrowing the government.

#### 1945

- 29 March, Turkism-Turanism trial concluded. Atsız is sentenced to 6.5 years. The Military Court of Cassation overturns the verdict.
- 23 October Atsız, who had been imprisoned for one and a half years, was released after the Military Court of Cassation overturned the conviction on the merits.

**1946**

- 14 July Atsız's second child, Buğra Atsız, was born.
- 5 August, the "Kenan Öner-Hasan Ali Yücel Trial", in which Atsız was also on trial, began at the Martial Law Court No. 2.
- In March, he published his second novel, Death of the Grey Wolves.
- 31 March, all defendants in the "Kenan Öner-Hasan Ali Yücel Case" were acquitted.
- He published his poetry book titled Yolların Sonu.

**1949**

- 25 July, Atsız was appointed as an "Expert" to the Süleymaniye Library after his classmate Prof. Dr. Tahsin Banguoğlu became the Minister of National Education.
- He published his third novel titled "Bozkurtlar Diriyor".
- His work titled "Ahmedi, Destan and Tevarih-i Müluk-i Al-i Osman" was published.
- His work titled "Şükrullah, Behcetü'l-tevarih" was published.
- His work titled "Aşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Aşık, Tevarih-i Ali Osman" was published.

**1950**

- On 14 May, after the change of government, Orkun magazine to be published.
- 21 September, After the Democratic Party came to power, he was appointed as a literature teacher at Hay- darpaşa High School.

**1952**

- On 4 May, an investigation was launched against him for his lecture titled "The Liberation of Turkey" given at Ankara High School.
- 13 May He was dismissed from his teaching post with a "provisional" record, despite being cleared of any wrongdoing in the investigation.
- 31 May, Atsız, who was dismissed from his teaching position with a provisional registration even though the ministerial investigation against him was completed in his favour, was reassigned to his former position at the Süleymaniye Library. He starts working at the Süleymaniye Library.



**1955**

- His work titled "900th Anniversary-Foundation of our State" was published.

**1956**

- His work titled "Turkish Country" was published.

**1958**

- He published his fourth novel called "Mad Wolf".

**1959**

- His fifth novel "Vitamin Z" was published.

**1961**

- He published his work titled "Tevarih-i Cedid-i Mir'at-i Cihan".
- His work titled "Ottoman History Calendars" was published.
- His review "The Exorbitant Errors of the Ordinary" was published.

**1964**

- He founded the association of Turkists.
- He published Ötüken Magazine.

**1966**

- His work "Issues in Turkish History" was published.
- He published the study titled "Birgili Mehmed Efendi Bibliography".

**1967**

- He published the work "Ebussuud Bibliography According to Istanbul Libraries".

**1968**

- He published the work titled "Ali Bibliography".

**1969**

- 1 April, .

**1970**

- His work titled "History of Aşıkpaşaoğlu" was published.

**1971**

- The first volume of "Selections from Evliya Çelebi Travelogue" was published.

**1972**

- He published his sixth novel, "Spirit Man".
- The second volume of "Selections from Evliya Çelebi Travelogue" was published.

**1973**

- His work titled "History of Oruç Beğ" was published.
- 14 November He sentenced to 1.5 years in prison for the articles he published in Ötüken Magazine describing the activities of separatists to destroy Turkey. He was imprisoned despite being ill and submitting a medical report.

**1974**

- 22 January, as a result of the initiatives of Turkist organisations, scholars and young people, was pardoned and released by President Fahri Korutürk.

**1975**

- 22 February His brother and travelling companion Nejdet Sancar passed .
- 11 December Hüseyin Nihal Atsız passed .
- 13 December He was buried next to his brother Nejdet Sancar in Karacaahmet cemetery.





*"...Wasn't it not the heroic epics such as Koroğlu, Danişment Gazi, Battal Gazi, the first authors of which are unknown, that caused us to continue to be in a state of heroism for centuries? Since I am not a stylist or a scribe, I do not know to what extent I can overcome this task. Just as the silent work of a simple village physician, without anyone realising it, adds up in health statistics, just as the battle of an infantry division among the reasons that prepare the final result, I a move that I consider useful for our national upbringing with my work."*

## **Works of Atsız**

Atsız was an uncompromising man of action, as well as a master writer, poet, historian and man of letters. His masterpiece is the life he lived. is such a life that he never deviated from his line despite dismissals, exiles, trials, arrests and isolation. Throughout his life, he suffered, thought, researched, wrote for the Turkish nation, which he regarded as the subject of his ideas, and stubbornly produced despite all obstacles. He left behind 6 novels, 5 stories, 1 book of poetry, 30 books on history, literature, bibliography and criticism, more than 400 articles and 40 articles written for the Turkish Encyclopaedia.

In addition to all these, there is information that Atsız completed his work titled Turkish History, which he started in the 1940s, shortly before his death, or at least that it was about to be completed. It is understood from the information that this work has a national historical integrity that would shake the history books written with the obsession of Anatolianism. However, this work disappeared after Atsız's death and the manuscripts of the work were never unearthed. It is understood from his letter to Adile dated 20 February 1975 that this work was written and revised:

*".....From a Turkist point of view, I should not end before finishing Turkish History. Besides, mine*

*It will be a history that has no scientific claims, will be written only for the youth and the nation, but will bring a new view. I found the manuscripts in a cupboard in my new house and took them out. I started in 1942 and wrote it three times, once in full, once intermediate, once concise. Now I have taken the mufassal one and started correcting it, let's see what happens."*

We hope that these manuscripts will be found as soon as possible and brought to Turkish historical science.

In his writing life, he used the signatures Atsız, H.Nihal, Nihal Atsız, Çiftçioğlu, Çiftçioğlu H.Nihal and H.Çiftçioğlu; on the days when he had difficulties in publishing his works or when he did not want to use his signature, he used the pseudonyms K.A, Y.D., T.Bayındırlı, Selim Pusat, Sururi Ermete, Bozkurt and Adsız Dergi.

#### **Novels**

1. Night of Sycophants, Istanbul 1941
2. Death of the Grey Wolves, Istanbul 1946
3. Bozkurtlar Diriyor, Istanbul, 1949  
(The Death of the Bozkurtlar and Bozkurtlar Diriyor were also published as a single volume under the name Bozkurtlar)
4. Mad Wolf, Istanbul 1958
5. Vitamin Z 1959  
(This small novel was published in the Büyük Doğu magazine in 1959 under the signature "Selim Pusat").
6. Ruh Adam, Istanbul 1972.

#### **Stories**

1. "Return" 1931 Atsız Mecmua
2. "Martyrs' Prayer" 1931 Atsız Mecmua
3. "Boy Girl" 1931 Atsız Mecmua
4. "Two CorporalsGalicia... 1917..." 1931 Atsız Mecmua
5. "The Tale of Every Age: Boz Oğlanla Sarı Yılan" 1966 Ötügen

#### **Poems**

1. End of the Roads 1946

**Scientific Works:**

1. Divan-ı Türk-i Basit, Grammar and Lügati 1930,
2. Reply to "Sartbashi", 1933
3. March to Çanakkale, 1933
4. XVth Century Poet Edirneli Nazmî'nin Eseri ve Bu Eserin Türk Dili ve Kültürü Bakımından Ehemmiyeti, 1934
5. Collections on Turkish History, 1935
6. Communist Don Quixote Proletarian Bourgeois Nazim Hikmetof Yol-dasha, 1935
7. XVth Century Historian Şükrullah, 1939
8. Münecimbaşı Sheikh Ahmet Dede Efendi 1940
9. 900th Anniversary (1040-1940), 1940
10. The Demons Within 1940
11. History of Turkish Literature, 1940
12. The Most Insidious Danger, 1943
13. This is how you settle accounts, 1943
14. Turkey Will Never Bow Down, 1943
15. Ahmedî, Destan and Tevârih-i Müluk-i Alî Osman, 1949
16. Shukrullah, Behcet al-Tavârih 1949
17. Aşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Aşîkî, Tevârih-i Ali Osman, 1949
18. 900th Anniversary-Foundation of our State, 1955
19. Turkish Country, 1956
20. Bayburtlu Osman, Tevârih-i Cedîd-i Mir'at-i Cihan, 1961
21. Calendars of Ottoman History, 1961
22. The Ordinaryus' Exorbitant Mistakes (reply to Ali Fuat Başgil), 1961
23. Issues in Turkish History, 1966
24. Birgili Mehmed Efendi Bibliography, 1966
25. Ebüssuud Bibliography According to Istanbul Libraries, 1967
26. Ali Bibliography, 1968
27. History of Aşıkpaşaoğlu, 1970

28. Selections from Evliya Çelebi Travelogue, 1971
29. Selections from Evliya Çelebi Travelogue, 1972
30. History of Oruç Beğ, 1973
31. Atsız's stories were not published in book form. He wrote about 40 articles for the Turkish Encyclopaedia. His articles in magazines were published as Articles I, Articles II, Articles III, Articles IV (1992) long after his death.

*"As for us: Our real surname is "Çiftçioğlu". We originated from the village of Midi in Dorul district of Gümüşhane province. In Midi, which is now a village of 8 houses, there is no one from the Çiftçioğlu household left. Some of them migrated to the villages of Yozgat province, and a more unfortunate part, our family, settled in Istanbul. We inherited racism from our ancestors in the village. Because the history of Çiftçioğulları begins with the destruction of the Greek monastery near where they lived."*

## **Atsız's Family and Surname**

Hüseyin Nihal Atsız is the greatest representative of national sentiment, racial reactions, Turkist and Turanist world view in the Republican period. Atsız is a master historian who knows all periods of Turkish history. He is one of the undeserved masters of Turkish novelism. He is a poet of medium power, a unique man of action who has the courage to say what he knows and believes to be true in the sharpest and shortest style, a valiant heart, a raging river that does not fit into its valley. His overflowing is similar to the Harşit stream, which cannot be contained in spring. The fierce but valiant personality of the Black Sea people seems to be manifested in all aspects in Atsız. As a member of a Gümüşhaneli family born in Istanbul, he is a valiant heart who carried the pure and noble Turkishness of his family origin to the capital of the empire.

He is as fierce as Harşit, which does not fit into its valley when it rages, as valiant and hardworking as the cets who make their bread from stone, and as faithful and honest as to attempt to rebuild the world. Atsız's family was known as Çiftçioğulları in the village of Midi in the Torul district of Gümüşhane. Çiftçioğulları migrated to Midi village towards the end of the 18th century from the neighbouring village of Edire (Dörtkonak). These villages are connected to Gümüşhane Centre district in today's administrative division. Kara Mustafa



In these villages, located in the valley known as Deresi, no one from the Çiftçiogulları family remained.

The oldest ancestor of the Çiftçiogulları family that can be identified in the population records is Ahmed Aga, who is estimated to have lived in the early 19th century. Ahmed Aga had four sons İsmailSüleymanHüseyin and Şakir. İsmail Aga's migrated from Midi Dayılı village of Akdag Madeni accident of Yozgat province during the displacements due to mobilisations. Atsız's own statements about his family origin are as follows:

*As for us: Our real surname is "Çiftçioglu". We originated from the village of Midi in Dorul district of Gümüşhane province. In Midi, which is now a village of 8 houses, there is no one left from the Çiftçioglu dynasty. Some of them migrated to the villages of Yozgat province, and a more unfortunate part, our family, settled in Istanbul. We inherited racism from our ancestors in the village. Because the history of Çiftçiogulları begins with the destruction of the Greek monastery near where they lived.<sup>1</sup>*

Hüseyin Ağa (1832 - 1894), the third child of Ahmet Ağa, travelled to Istanbul as a naval officer between 1850-1852, and at the end of his military service, he left his military service and stayed in the Ottoman Navy and was promoted to the position of Chief Engineer Slave. Hüseyin Ağa's wife was Emine Hayriye Hanım. They had two children. Nevber Hanım and Mehmet Nail Bey (1877-1944). Mehmet Nail Bey also joined the Ottoman Navy and retired from the Navy as a naval deck major. Fatma Zehra Hanım, whom Mehmet Nail Bey married in 1903 when he was a captain, was the daughter of Lieutenant Commander Osman Fevzi Bey and Tefrika Hanım. Osman Fevzi Bey was from Trabzon and his family was known as Kadı Oğları. Mehmet Nail Bey had three children with Fatma Zehra Hanım. Hüseyin Nihal (Atsız), Ahmet Nejdett (Sancar) and Fatma Nezihe (Çiftçioglu).

Atsız had two marriages. In January 1931, he married his first wife Mehpare Hanımbut they lived separately after 1933 and divorced in 1935. He married his second wife Bedriye Hanım on 27 February 1936, while he was a Turkish teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa. Born on 1 December 1913 in İzmir, Bedriye Hanım was the second of the daughters of Osman Sabit Bey, who was martyred on the Caucasian front. From this marriage, Atsız had two children, Yağmur on 4 November 1939 and Buğra on 14 July 1946.

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1 Crusade Against Turkism



a son. In March 1975, he divorced his wife, with whom he had been living separately since the 1960s.

Atsız was not the only Turkist writer raised by Çiftçioğlu family. His brother A. Nejdet Sançar is also one of the valiant pens of the Turkism cause. Nejdet Sançar was born in Istanbul on 1 May 1910. Nejdet Sançar graduated from Istanbul Boys' High School and graduated from the Faculty of Literature in 1935. He did his military service as an artillery sub-lieutenant in Çanakkale, and after his discharge he appointed to Sivas Teacher Training School. After a while, he was taken under the Ministry's command for not welcoming the Minister of National Education Hasan Ali Yücel during his visit to the school, and then he was assigned to the Balıkesir High School. While he was still working at Balıkesir High School, he was arrested in May 1944 due to the Racism-Turanism case. When the Turkism-Turanism case resulted in the acquittal of all defendants, he was released but was exiled to Hakkâri. Instead of going to Hakkâri where he was exiled, he settled in Zonguldak, where his wife was stationed, remained unemployed for a long time and finally found a at the Ereğli Coal Enterprise. When the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, he returned to work as Zonguldak High School Literature Teacher. After a while, he was transferred to Edirne High School and from there he appointed as a clerk to the National Library in Ankara. In addition to his duties here, also gave lectures at Gazi High School and Police College. Besides his teaching, Nejdet Sançar also in nationalist organisations. While he was in Zonguldak, he worked in the Turkish Association for the Struggle against Communism, when he was transferred to Ankara, he continued his work in the Turkish Quarry, and after 1964, he was the chairman of the Turkmen Association, which was transferred to Ankara and renamed the Union of Nationalists of Turkey.

Nejdet Sançar published many articles in nationalist journals and newspapers. Some of these journals are as follows: *Orkun*, *Milli Yol*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Yeni İstanbul*, *Zaferan*, *Son Havadis*, *Ötüken Kütüphaneciler Der-gisi*, *Milli Işık*. He founded *Afşın* Publications published nationalist books and died on 22 February 1975. Some of Nejdet Sançar's works are as follows:

1. Reckoning with Hasan Ali
2. Heroes of our Race
3. Reckoning with İsmet İnönü
4. What is a Communist?

5. Nazim Hikmet Tale
6. Turkish - Italian Wars in History
7. Love of Turkishness
8. Articles on Turkism
9. Turk, Muscovite, Communist
10. Letters to Afşin
11. A Tale of Red Paradise
12. Secret Communist Documents
13. Turkish Heroes

Çiftçiöğlü family was victimised by the Surname Law and family members different surnames. Hüseyin Nihal's surname was Atsız, Ahmet Nejdî's was Sancar and Mehmet Nail's was Özçiftçi. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız the following information about the origin of his family and the different surnames of his family members:

*Nejdî Sançar is my own brother. In other words, he is my maternal and paternal brother. And he is 5 years, 4 months, 11 days younger than me. I was born on 12 January 19052, he was born on 1 May 1910. Let those who are strong in maths calculate whether our age difference is correct or not.*

*So, if we are real brothers, why don't we have the same surname? This is what the People's Party suspected. What the secret purpose of having different surnames? Were we going to take over the government bloodlessly with a sudden coup from the centre? Or were we going to pretend that we were not brothers and implement other unthinkable plans? It would be useful to answer this question here.*

*First of all, let me say that I am not in need of a surname bestowed upon me by the state; let the degenerates think about that. The Surname Law adopted by the state, that is, the People's Party at that time, was wrong. Because in Turks, the surname comes before the name, not after it. This is the structure of the language. Putting the surname at the end because we want to be like Europeans is the product of a sense of inferiority that has been imprinted in the subconscious. We are not Europeans at all. We are ice-cold Asians and above all we are Turks... Do you understand, monsieur? Being European is not a virtue and being Asian is not a defect. Don't forget that Albanian is European but Japanese is Asian.*

*Ninety-five per cent of Anatolian Turks had surnames when the Surname Law was enacted in Turkey, and these surnames often ended with "son". Çapanoğlu Ahmet, Kadioğlu Mehmet, Göcenoğlu, Mızrakoğlu, etc. In our history*

*There were plenty of such surnames: Osmanoğlu Murat, Aydınoğlu Umur, Kara- manoğlu İbrahim and others... Now, was there any point in leaving these names, which were customary and appropriate to the structure of the language, saying İbrahim Karamanoğlu, Murat Osmanoğlu? There was not, but it happened...*

*As for us: Our real surname is "Çiftçioğlu". We originated from the village of Midi in Dorul district of Gümüşhane province. In Midi, which is now a village of 8 houses, there is no one left from the Çiftçioğlu dynasty. Some of them migrated to the villages of Yozgat province, and a more unfortunate part, our family, settled in Istanbul. We inherited racism from our ancestors in the village. Because the history of the Çiftçioğulları begins with the destruction of the Greek monastery near where they lived.*

*This surname "Çiftçioğlu" was not written on our civil registration papers. Because in the past, surnames were not written, religion and sect were written. When the Surname Law was enacted, my father and I were in different places. Nejdett Sançar was doing his military service. The text of the Surname Law was not published in daily newspapers. So-called summaries of it were published and these obviously inaccurate. For example, it was written that surnames ending with "son" would not be accepted. Historical surnames were also not allowed.*

*Since I used to sign my writings with "Atsız", I chose this as my surname. I applied on the last day. The officer cut me off: "You cannot take Atsız as your surname". "Why?" "It's a historical name!" We were up against a knowledgeable officer. What should I do? I had to prove that I was more knowledgeable than him. I said: - "The historical name is Adsız, which is written with "d". Mine is written with "t"!" The officer was shocked by my pedantry and replied: "Ha!... Then it's OK", replied.*

*My brother his surname through the military unit to which he belonged. I think that was also the last days. He of "Sançar".*

*My father, again influenced by the newspapers, thought that he would not be able to take the surname "Çiftçioğlu" and told the clerk, "My surname will be Çiftçi". The officer looked at the list: "This name is taken, find another one". According to the Surname Law, two different families could not have the same surname in one registry office. At that time, my father close to sixty and tired of life. He said to the officer:*

*"I ask you: please finish this job today by adding something like "self", er" or man" at the beginning or end"*

*Apparently, there were some merciful officials in the era of the People's Party. They did not give my father the wisdom of "Write a petition" and replied "Hayhay". My father's surname registered as "Özçiftçi". Fortunately, the People's Party*

*that also had a different surname. Otherwise, who knows how much he would have been disturbed and what measures he would have resorted to...<sup>2</sup>*



*"I left the Military Medical School, but the memory of him remained in my mind. Years later, when I was working as a literature teacher in that building, now Haydarpaşa High School, I was filled with memories. The corridors and classrooms would tell me stories of the old days. After all, what is life but a few memories?"*

## **Atsız's Education and Civil Service Years**

Atsız entered the Military Medical School in 1922 with an exam. His aim was not to become a doctor. But this is the most suitable way he could find to be close to the military profession he loves so much. The fights that shaped the life of Atsız, who had a quarrelsome and combative temperament, started during his years as a student at the Military Medical School. In those years, there were students at the Military Medical School who were prone to heresies such as communism and minority nationalism. In particular, there were frequent arguments between minority nationalist students and Turkish students. Atsız always at the centre of these fights. For this reason, he was given disciplinary and prison sentences many times. On the evening of the day of Ziya Gökalp's funeral, a fight broke out between Turkish students and other students and Atsız was given a final warning. He would be expelled from the school for any offence he would commit in the future. However, the incident that led to his expulsion develops on a very different ground.

During the years when Atsız was a student at Tıbbiye, Turkish society's view of Arabs was full of anger and resentment. In the last fifty years of the empire, Arabs had always allied with the enemy opening new fronts for the Turkish armies or shooting Turkish soldiers in the back on many fronts. Even in the defence of holy places such as Jerusalem and Mecca, Arab tribes joined forces with the British armies and took sides against the Turkish soldiers, and the historical friendship and unity between these nations, the two original colours of the Islamic civilisation, was shattered, and more than shattering, it turned into enmity.

While Atsız was in the third year of the Military Medical School, he was expelled from the Military Medical School on 4 March 1925 when he deliberately disobeyed the instructions of a lieutenant (lieutenant) named Mesut Süreyya Efendi, who was of Arab origin from Baghdad. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız summarises his years at the Military Medical School and his expulsion as follows:

*When the Republic was proclaimed, I was a student in the second year of the Military Medical School. My epaulette number 82. Although I had no desire to be a doctor, a medical student just to be a soldier. At that time, there was no Military Academy in Istanbul. I have the strength to wait. In the Military Medical School, everyone a grade, and these grades obtained through exams held twice a year. The top of the class also the class sergeant.*

*Tıbbiye was, in the words that İsmet Paşaş loved and a lot, a "fey" hearth. Everything; poets, politicians, businessmen, revolutionaries, and sometimes even doctors came out of this school.*

*It was said that the Military Medical School was the continuation of the Janissary Corps. It was not a lie in terms of bullying and bravado. Istanbul was under occupation. In addition British soldiers were sleeping in one part of the Medical School. this, even the British were afraid of us.*

*The Medical School was in the building of Haydarpaşa High School as it is today. Half of this big castle was the Military Medical School. used to attend lectures together with civilian students at the faculty, and we used sleep, eat and study at the Military Medical School.*

*My expulsion on 4 March 1925, a few days past the halfway point of my third year at the Medical School, which had five classes at that time, was the first of the dramas in my life. I will not write the details of it, as it would touch the heart. I will only say that the reason for it is the basic principle that I have been defending for years, that I have not given up even though it has wasted my life, and that I will never give up. In addition to this, my insubordination and a little bit of women's influence played a role. Mesut Süreyya from Baghdad, who was at that time in the rank of sanimülazım in the Turkish army, took his duty in the plot against me and did it successfully.*

*I left the Military Medical School, but the memory of him remained in my mind. Years later, when I was working as a literature teacher in that building, now Haydarpaşa High School, I was filled with memories. Corridors and classrooms would tell me stories of the old days. After all, what life but a few memories?*



*I had never had any love or interest being a doctor, but being a doctor was one thing, but being a military medical student was quite another.* <sup>3</sup>

In 1926, Atsız enrolled in the Literature Department of the Faculty of Literature of the Istanbul Darülfünunu and the High School of Education, which is the boarding school of the Istanbul Darülfünunu, and tells about his enrolment in the Faculty of Literature from his own pen:

*After recovering from the spiritual trauma of leaving the Military Medical School, I devoted myself to Turkish history and gradually began to read scholarly publications. In the meantime, an article I sent to be published in Türkiye Mecmuası Köprülüzade to invite me to his house and we met. The late Necip Asım and German professor Menzel were also there. Their scholarly conversations boosted my self-confidence. At the time of this meeting, I the deputy clerk of the steamship "Mahmut Şevket Pasha". I could not respond positively to Köprülü's offer to enter the Faculty of Literature. I was ashamed to make such an offer to my father, as I would lose my when I became a student. It was certain that he would have welcomed it, but there was something called "shame" at that time. My late friend Nejat solved this issue. He enrolled me in both the Faculty of Literature and the Higher School of Education at a time when I was on a voyage to Mersin by ship. I was not aware of such a boarding school. This school, which was located on the upper floor of the burnt down Zeynep Hanım mansion, was something like the lei part of the Darülfünunun. When I entered the literature department (now called Turkology) of the Faculty of Literature, many of my friends me saying, "Now you have found your place". How I had found my place... This place almost as a grave for me. We very marvellous classes. While I was still thinking about how I would cope with all these sciences, I was drafted into military service. After doing my military service in the fifth regiment in Taşkışla, I started to attend the Faculty.* <sup>4</sup>

At the Faculty of Literature, he became a student of teachers such as Fuat Köprülü, Ragıp Hulusi Özdem, Yusuf Şerif, Osman Rişer, Ali Ekrem Bolayır, Zeki Velidi Togan, Ferit Kam, İsmail Baltacıoğlu. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Nihat Sami Banarlı, Ziya Karamuk, Pertev Naili Boratav, Tahsin Banguoğlu, Abdulkadir Gölpinarlı, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar were his classmates. Favourable to him

<sup>3</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

<sup>4</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

Atsız, who grows up in an educational environment, equipped to produce important works in the fields of history and literature.

Atsız, who attracted the attention of his teacher MFuad Köprülü with the publication of the article "Place Names of Turks in Anatolia, which he prepared with his friend Ahmet Naci, in the second volume of *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, prepared his graduation thesis on the divan of Edirneli Nazmı in 1930 and graduated from the Faculty of Literature year. Fuat Köprülü, the Dean of the Faculty of Literature, made a concession for Atsız before the Ministry of Education, and since he had graduated from the Higher Teacher Training School as a student, he had his compulsory service in high schools forgiven and Atsız was appointed as an assistant. (25 January 1931)

The Turkish History Research Society organised the "First Turkish History Congress" in Ankara in July 1932. Zeki Velidi Togan, who had already expressed a contrary opinion before the Congress against the Society's historical thesis that Turks spread all over the world due to the drought in Central and brought civilisation everywhere and that the ancient peoples of Anatolia were Turks, stated that this thesis could not be accepted at the meeting on 3 July 1932. Dr. Reşid Galip, in a very harsh statement against Togan, said: "Friends, I regret to say that I am very grateful that I was not a student in front of Zeki Velidi Bey's lectern at the Darülfünun... The chair of Darülfünun is not an insignificant position to be occupied with such light knowledge and such clumsy methods". Sadri Maksudi Arsal and M. Şemseddin Günaltay also took the floor and speeches in support of Re- şit Galib. Although scholarly criticisms were expected from Togan and Köprülü, he followed a careful policy by not touching on this issue at all. At the Congress, upon Reşid Galib's unscientific attack Zeki Velidi Togan, which exceeded the limits of academic decency, Atsız, together with eight , sent a telegram to Reşid Galib saying "On the contrary, we are proud of being Zeki Velidi's studentA while later, on 19 September 1932, Reşid Galip became the Deputy Minister of Education. Galib's appointment as Minister, Ali Muzaffer Bey appointed as the Dean of the Faculty of Literature. Meanwhile, Atsız published an article titled "Darülfünunun'ün black, or more accurately, disgraceful list" in the 17th issue of "Atsız Mecmua" dated 25 September 1932. In the article, he that the professors at the University have not even written a proper book, and that the number of works written by Ali Muzaffer Bey, his teacher of seven years, is zero. Upon this, Reşid Galip excuses this article

The new Dean, Ali Muzaffer Bey, had Atsız's assistantship terminated on 13 March 1933:

*After graduating from the Faculty of Literature in 1930, I became an assistant at the Institute of Turkiyat. It was during this time that I got to know the People's Party: In July 1932, the First History Congress, which convened in Ankara, floundered in an atmosphere that could never be accepted by reason and science. While witnessing marvels such as Miss Afet giving a lecture to a well-known professor like Fuat Köprülü and supposedly opening new horizons of knowledge and making new discoveries, a People's Party member accused the famous Professor Zeki Velidi of not knowing anything and said, "I am very grateful that I was not a student in front of Zeki Velidi Bey's lectern at the Darülfünun." This new scholar, who had criticised Zeki Velidi, whose authority on Turkish history was recognised all over the world, was Dr Reşid Galip. Although it is certain that those who start playing the saz after forty will not pay much attention to notation and method, the doctor went too far and angered me and Zeki Velidi's other students, even those who were not his students. Together with seven other people, I immediately sent him a telegram: "We proud to be Zeki Velidi's student". We also sent a telegram to Zeki Velidi: "Congratulations." The telegram to Reşid Galip, in the words of those present at the congress, exploded like a bomb. It was obvious that the People's Party was so cowardly that it mistook small noises for the noise of a bomb. The congress and the telegram had taken place in July. Our bomb must have been lucky because on 19 September 1932, Reşid Galip was appointed as the Deputy Minister of Education. He had to show that he was a revolutionary. Until 13 August 1933, his most important action during his tenure as deputy was to appoint me as a Turkish teacher in Malatya secondary school, undoubtedly out of concern to protect the revolution. (13 March 1933) <sup>5</sup>*

Suspended from the Military Medical School, Atsız works as an assistant teacher at Kabataş High School for three months. This was his first civil service. Later on, he starts to work as an assistant clerk on the Mahmut Şevket Pasha ferry of the Maritime Roads and participates in several voyages between Istanbul and Mersin with this ferry. He left this position when he enrolled in the Faculty of Literature.

His second position was as a Turkish teacher at Malatya Secondary School, where he was exiled after being dismissed from his assistant position at the Faculty of Literature. After working as a Turkish teacher in Malatya for a short time (8 April 1933-31 July 1933), Atsız appointed as a literature teacher at Edirne High School. He describes his exile in Malatya and Edirne as follows:

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*I stayed in Malatya for about four months. My appointment as a literature teacher at Edirne High School was undoubtedly a step up. On 11 September 1933, I started working in Edirne. To be honest, it was not easy to leave Malatya. There were very original teachers there. There was an assistant principal of the secondary school named Rıza, who used to read the newspapers of three months ago and copy some articles into a notebook. At that time, was a three-month lag because he could not keep up with copying day by day. God bless him, if he is still using the same method, he must be the Second World War. However, Edirne was no better than Malatya. It was not a pipe, it was the capital of the Ottomans. Jews and gypsies made up half of the population, and although it was neglected, it was still a flamboyant Turkish city. What about those mosques, what about Selimiye? In the evenings my heart was filled with spirituality.*<sup>6</sup>

Atsız, who stayed in the deputy office for nine months, was appointed as a Turkish teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa (9 September 1934).

Atsız worked as a Turkish language teacher at the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School in Kasımpaşa for 4 years and was dismissed from this position on 1 July 1938. The reason for Atsız's dismissal from this school was also due to the minority issue. According to the regulations of the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School, non-Turks could not be admitted as students. Atsız, who was a member of the commission that examined new students, the candidates who were not of Turkish origin with the questions he asked, and the enemies around him increased because of these candidates who could not be admitted as students. The headmaster of the Naval Gedikli Preparatory School 1937-1938 was of Albanian descent. The principal of Albanian origin removed Atsız from the examination commission and thus non-Turkish students were admitted to the school. Upon this incident, Atsız, who did not salute the Albanian principal, missed from his position at this school in 1938 as a result of a letter written by the principal to the Ministry of National Defence.

Atsız, who was dismissed from the Naval Academy, worked as a literature teacher in private high schools until 1944. From 1937 until the end of June 1939, Atsız taught Literature at the private Yüce-Ülkü High School, and between 19 May 1939 and 7 April 1944 he taught Literature at the private Boğaziçi High School. His assignment at this high school was also cancelled due to the famous Turkism-Turanism case.

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His criticisms against the Marxist cadre- roisation, which intensified during the Hasan Ali Yücel period, led to his dismissal from office and the closure of his journal.

When Prof. Dr. Tahsin Banguoğlu, one of Atsız's classmates, became the Minister of National Education, appointed Atsız as an "expert" to the Süleymaniye Library on 25 July 1949. Atsız, who worked in this position for a while, was appointed as a teacher of Literature at Haydarpaşa High School after the Democratic Party came to power (21 September 1950).

On 4 May 1952, following a lecture he gave at Ankara Atatürk High School on "The Salvation of Turkey", Cumhuriyet Newspaper to publish publications against Atsız, and although he was found innocent in the investigation opened against him by the ministry, he was dismissed from his position as Literature teacher at Haydarpaşa High School and reinstated to his former position at Süleymaniye Library with a "temporary registration" (13 May 1952).

From 31 May 1952 until 1 April 1969, when he asked for his retirement, Atsız worked at the Süleymaniye Library, and this was his longest tenure as a civil servant.





*"No one can call me a traitor because of the rights I think for my nation. I do not deign to return this outrageous slander. History will determine who a traitor and who is a patriot. In fact, it has."*

## **Atsız's Trials and Convictions**

Atsız a person who writes or speaks what he believes and thinks without limiting his beliefs and thoughts to any records. Atsız's criterion for judgement about a movement of thought or a person is the idea of Turkism. He never hesitated to accuse and humiliate people and ideas that he found harmful and contrary to the Turk and the idea of Turkism. For this reason, he was often in trouble with the law and was put on trial.

### **Turkism-Turanism Case**

In the 15th issue of Orhun published in March 1944, Atsız publishes an "open letter addressed to the Prime Minister of the time, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, in order to warn those concerned about the insolence and outbursts communist youth at a conference of İsmail Baltacıoğlu. In this open letter, Atsız describes the increasing activities of communists and states that he will give examples of these extreme activities with documents in the next issue of Orhun. In the 16th issue published in April 1944, Atsız publishes the second open letter, describing the communist activities of Ahmet Cevat Emre from Crete, Pertev Naili Boratav, Sabahattin Ali and Sadrettin Celal, and calls on the then Minister of National Education Hasan Ali Yücel to resign.

This second letter a great national mobilisation in the country. Demonstrations against communism started to be organised many cities, especially in Istanbul and Ankara. Meanwhile, Atsız received letters and telegrams from all corners of the country, the authorities in Ankara uneasy.

Hasan Ali Yücel, who started to be criticised even by his own party due to the communist cadre in the National Education community, terminates Atsız's position as Literature teacher at Boğaziçi High School (7 April 1944). Orhun Magazine is closed down again with the decision of the Council of Ministers. Atsız the reason for writing the letters as follows:

*By the way, let me mention that although Saraçoğlu's brilliant sentences were scientifically incorrect, we Turkists were very pleased with them. The fact that for the first time a Prime Minister had mentioned the issue of blood in nationality was a heartening sign in an age when the minds were clouded by forty kinds of demonstrations against Turkishness. In fact, I had not forgotten that Saraçoğlu, he was Minister of Justice, had me taken to court because of a pamphlet I had written against Nazım Hikmetof. However, since it was common for politicians in our country to turn like a pinwheel, that is to say, to change their minds, it was impossible not to rejoice at the present statement, even if it was temporary.*

*People changed their minds so quickly and defended opposing ideas so skilfully it was impossible not to be surprised. One day, while we were discussing this subject, a professor, who was still an associate professor at the time, argued that it was impossible to remain fixed in the same idea, that change a sign of life, that only the dead could remain in the same state and that "Life consists of evolution." I replied that it was impossible to remain fixed in the same idea, that change was a sign of life, and that only the dead could remain in the same state. I gave the following reply:*

*"Evolution happens on the same line. When an apple seed evolves, it becomes an apple tree. However, it has not been seen that an evolving pumpkin becomes an apple. A development that exceeds its own environment is called degeneration, not evolution."*

*Orhun became the organ of Turkism in a short time. In the magazine, which had very good paper and printing, scientific and national quality articles were published and these articles raised a generation of Turkists. Especially the writings of the late Dr Mustafa Hakkı Akansel and Nejdett Sançar on the ideal of Turkism were very strong. Since Orhun was a magazine that did not flatter anyone and did not ask for help from anyone, Orhun was favoured by nationalist people, hearts were ignited with the fire of Turkishness, and an air of national romanticism was blowing in the country.*

*İsmet İnönü's great offence was that he tried to destroy this romanticism by considering Turkism as an enemy. However, until that time, Turkism was not hostile to İsmet Paşa. It favoured him a little because he was a family man. But he could not understand this. By committing an offence that history will never forgive, he destroyed Turkism.*

*tried to destroy it. Turkists were imprisoned in teams, but Turkism was not destroyed. It was itself that was destroyed.*<sup>7</sup>

Atsız's open letters were with great interest and enthusiasm throughout the country. In the second open letter, Atsız, while explaining the activities of the people he named, called Sabahattin Ali a "traitor", and Sabahattin Ali, with the encouragement of Hasan Ali Yücel and Falih Rifkî Atay, had a defamation lawsuit filed against Atsız. The first hearing of the case, in which Sabahattin Ali confessed to the prosecutor and Conservatory Director Orhan Şaik Gökyay: "*I was not going to file a lawsuit, Hasan Âli Bey wanted it that way*"<sup>8</sup>, began at 10:00 on **26 April 1944**. However, the plaintiff **Sabahattin Ali**, frightened by the large number of participants, jumped out of the open window of the courtroom on the ground floor of the courthouse and escaped. Thereupon, the adjourned session was held in the afternoon of the same day in a larger hall. After the presentation of the first claims and defences, Judge **Saffet** decides to ask the plaintiff "*whether he wants to prove that he is a traitor since the words of insult consist of the words 'traitor'*" and adjourns the hearing<sup>9</sup>

On Wednesday **03 May 1944**, a much larger audience attended the second hearing. Atsız's lawyers' request for "extension of the investigation" was rejected. After the prosecutor presented his final indictment, the hearing was adjourned. Since Atsız lived in İstanbul, he travelled to Ankara by train and arrived at Ankara Station on the morning of Wednesday 3 May 1944. The station was filled with young people. With the same crowd, they first take Atsız to the hotel and then to the courthouse. Meanwhile, the courthouse was also filled by nationalist youth. However, the youth were not allowed into the courtroom and a quarrel with the police started outside. Many young people were detained in these incidents. The trial was postponed to 9 May 1944. The arrests continued the following day. In the following days, as a result of the publications against Atsız by the Ulus newspaper, headed by Falih Rifkî Atay, and the Tan newspaper run by the Sertels, one of Atsız's three lawyers, Hamit Şevket

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8 Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. 2nd ed. with addition. İstanbul; Yağmur Publishing House. 297 s.

9 Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. 2nd ed. with addition. İstanbul; Yağmur Publishing House. 297 s.



On 8 May 1944, announced withdrawal as Atsız's lawyer in a statement to the Ulus newspaper.

Atsız, who stayed in Ankara between the first two hearings of this trial, went to the Faculty of Language and History-Geography on 28 April 1944 to visit Associate Professor of History Dr. **Osman Turan** and assistant **Ahmet Ellezoğlu**. This innocent visit was turned into an incident by the administrators of the period. When Osman Turan's room, where he was a guest, was filled with students who welcomed Atsız, the faculty administration was very disturbed by this attention shown to Atsız. This visit also mobilised the Ministry of Education. The General Director of Higher Education, who had come from the Presidency, inspected the Faculty and **Osman Turan** was placed on "deputy order" on 04 May. **Ahmet Ellezoğlu** also forced to leave the school after a while.<sup>10</sup>

On Wednesday **03 May 1944**, only the Atsız-Sabahattin Ali trial. On the day of the 2nd hearing, the day was marked by the march and demonstration initiated and continued by the large mass of youth and people who filled the Ankara Courthouse and its surroundings to watch the hearing. After the end of the trial, the youth marched en masse. They march to Ulus Square singing national anthems and chanting "Down with the communists" slogans. There they make speeches and sing anthems. The provincial administrators, who suspected that the demonstrators would march to Çankaya, took various measures to stop them in such a case. This situation is interpreted by the Turkist youth as a conspiracy against the Turkists by the trio of Hasan Âli Yücel, Deputy Minister of Education, Faliş Rifkî Atay, editor-in-chief of Ulus newspaper and MP, and Nevzat Tandoğan, Governor of Ankara. When police teams on motorbikes and horses are dispatched to the crowd on the march route, the march turns into a street brawl. The captured youths were taken to the 1st branch of the police. Meanwhile, journalists and plainclothes police officers were constantly taking photographs.<sup>11</sup>

Another event that marked 03 May was the slapping of Sabahattin Ali by **Osman Yüksel**, who would later publish the famous *Serdengeçti* magazine.<sup>(12)</sup> With the effect of this incident, harsh orders were given to detain the participants of the demonstration. The practice of detention and arrest was not a-

10 Sefercioğlu, Necmeddin, "1944-1945 Türkçülük Davası: Results and Effects", *Orkun*, 43

11 Atsız, "1944-1945 Irkçılık Turancılık Davası. *Orkun*, 3-61

12 Atsız, "1944-1945 Irkçılık Turancılık Davası *Orkun*, 3-61; Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Nightmare in Çankaya: 3 May 1944*

The detentions throughout the night and into next day. Among those detained were then law faculty students **Sait Bilgiç**, **Cebbar Şenel**, **Mehmet Irmak**, DTCF assistant **Ahmet Ellezoğlu** and his student **Osman Yüksel**, **Sait Sadi Danişmendgazioglu**, **Cevdet Savgar**.

Many students from the School of Political Sciences were among the 165 people detained. On 04 May 1944, **Osman Gümrükçüoğlu**, President of the SBO Student Association, **Ali Çankaya** and **Ziya Çoker**, who had been detained on 04 May and released on the initiative of the school principal, took action for the release of their friends in custody, and they could not find any other higher authority to turn to, on 06 May 1944 they met with the Chief of the General Staff **Kâzım Orbay** and asked him to help their friends to be released. However, they did not receive a positive response.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the detained SBO students were released little by little over the next few days. The Deputy Minister of Education did not forgive this initiative of the students. ordered the administrators of the SBO to expel them from the school for good. The school disciplinary board, which immediately convened, intervened with the intervention of Principal Prof. Dr. **Zeki Mesut Alsan** and sentenced Gümrükçüoğlu to two years of suspension, Çankaya and Çoker to one year each. Thus, those hardworking and distinguished students of the School of Political Sciences were saved from being permanently expelled from their school.<sup>14</sup> However, the administrators of DTCF could not show the same attitude and prudence for **Osman Yüksel**, who was in his final year and about to take his final exams; they expelled him from the faculty for good.

On 03 and 04 May 1944, Atsız was a guest at the house of Orhan Şaik Gökyay, the Director of the State Conservatory, who was a classmate of his from university, and on Friday, 05 May, he was invited to dinner with them at the house of a mutual friend. In the middle of the dinner, Gökyay received a phone call and was informed of the President's definite request (order). The chief aide telephoned to say that Atsız had been asked to leave the house immediately; if this was not done, force would be used. In other words, Atsız was being expelled from the house where he was a guest by order of İnönü<sup>15</sup>

13 Atsız, "1944-1945 İrkçılık Turancılık Davası. *Orkun*, 3-61

14 Gümrükçüoğlu, Osman, "On the occasion of the publication of the Mülkiye Honour Book, An Interesting Honour Table of Mülkiye and Mülkiyelis" *Türk Yurdu*, 2000 (September),

15 Atsız, "1944-1945 İrkçılık Turancılık Davası. *Orkun*, 3-61

There were many reasons why an ordinary cause and a youth march were turned into a state issue. By using this case and march as an excuse, positive messages could have been presented to the Soviet Union. The İnönü administration, which had arrested members of the leftist and communist movement in order to look favourable to Germany in the early years of World War II, saw punishing Turkists as a political method in order to appear poetic to the Soviet Union, which was understood to win when they saw that the course of the war had turned. Since the Turkists, who gave a lot of space to articles, comments and news about the Turkic world in their publications, had already made the rulers of the Soviet Union, most of whom lived in the occupied territories, uneasy, opening a campaign against Turkism and arresting and punishing the main Turkists was seen as a way to gain favour with the Soviet Union.

Moreover, Hasan Ali, the Deputy Minister of Education, scores to settle with Atsız and his brother Nejdett Sançar, who were seen as the heroes of 03 May: Atsız, in his article titled "Alaylı scholars"<sup>16</sup>, heavily criticised Yücel's book titled *Toplu Bir Bakış (A Collective Overview of Turkish Literature)* and wrote: "*Hasan Âli Bey! Don't go above your boots. I dare to write a book on social sciences?*"<sup>17</sup> and in his last article in *Orhun*, he called for his resignation. Sançar, on the other hand, had not only not welcomed the Minister when he visited the Sivas Teachers' School in 1939, where he was on duty, but also had a tough discussion with him in front of the principal and teachers of the school.<sup>17</sup> Hasan Âli Yücel, who was also for reciting mevlit and aşir to İnönü's mother in those years, and who was able to visit the Presidential Mansion frequently freely, must have immediately conveyed the situation to İnönü and started his activities with his consent to use the Turkists in the orientation towards Russia. It was probably for these reasons that the direction of the investigation was diverted. With this intention, Hasan Ali took precautions in advance and had Atsız's position at the private Boğaziçi High School terminated on 07 April 1944.

On Monday 09 May 1944, at the last hearing, after his lawyers read out their defences, Atsız began his defence by saying: "*As a patriot, I see that Turkey is being dragged towards the abyss of extinction. While communists and those who want to ruin the country support each other and ascend to the highest positions in the country, those who love the country do not have the right to be in the highest positions.*"

16 Atsız, "Alaylı scholars". *Orhun*, 5th issue, 1934 (March)

17 Sançar, Nejdett, *Hasan Âli ile Hesaplaşma*. İstanbul, 1947. Aylık Kurt Publications 44 p.



*It is wanted to be eliminated by all kinds of coups"* <sup>18</sup>. He concluded his words by saying, *"At this point you may expect me to make a demand. I have told you everything in all sincerity, with great peace of conscience and firmness of faith. I am not asking for an acquittal. I am asking you to make a quick decision to return to my family hearth as soon as possible."* <sup>19</sup>

The court does not consider "the expression 'traitor'" as an insult, but it as "swearing". It imposes a penalty according to the act of swearing. The sentence is reduced and postponed.

However, the government was determined to apply a total intimidation and oppression against the Turkists. On 10 May 1944 (i.e. the day after the acquittal), Atsız was arrested at the hotel where he was staying. In the following days arrests and house searches continued and many scholars, officers and cadets detained. The government was openly on the offensive. On 18 May 1944, an official communiqué was issued, stating that Atsız and his friends wanted to overthrow the established order by pursuing "Racism-Turanism".

It clear next day why this communiqué was issued. On the occasion of 19 May 1944 Youth Day, İsmet İnönü the then President of the Republic, the "National Chief", in his speech that went down in history as the 19 1944 Speech, approves the recent actions against the Turkists, and at the end of the speech, he says, "We will defend our promise with might against these new mischiefs" and gives the verdict on the Turkists. Following President İsmet İnönü's speech, which was almost like an "indictment", and the tortures, finally, on Thursday, 7 1944, the "Racism-Turanism" case was initiated against the Turkists at the Istanbul Martial Law Court No. 1 with the charges of establishing a secret society, being an enemy of order, overthrowing the government, etc. In short, on the one hand, the government was taking revenge for calling Sabahattin Ali a traitor, and on the other hand, it was trying to look cute to Stalin as a result of the Second World . Meanwhile, a photograph of İnönü and Stalin together was constantly published in the press.

The houses and workplaces of Atsız and well-known Turkists were searched for this case, which was justified as a political manoeuvre of the state. Some of the letters found,

<sup>18</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

<sup>19</sup> Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. 2nd ed. with addition. Istanbul; Yağmur Publishing House. 297 s.

The writings were taken as evidence and as justification for detentions and arrests. Some young people detained in Ankara were sent to Istanbul. Atsız, who was in Ankara for the Atsız-Sabahattin Ali case, at the hotel preparing to go to Istanbul was sent to Istanbul by train.

**Osman Yüksel**, who was taken to Istanbul by the same train, but was not allowed to approach Atsız, wrote about this journey in detail in his magazine.<sup>(20)</sup> Meanwhile some people, mostly in Ankara and Istanbul, who were working or living in different parts of the country were arrested on the pretext that they had either written letters to Atsız or had participated in the survey opened by *Orhun* magazine. Those who were brought to Ankara and those who were detained later were sent to Istanbul<sup>(21)</sup>

Some of those detained and arrested were civilians and some were soldiers. Those who were civilians were locked up in the Sansaryan Inn in Sirkeci, which was used as the Police Headquarters in those years, and those who were soldiers were locked up in the Military Prison in the Tophane neighbourhood of Istanbul. <sup>(22)</sup> After that, a hell began for those who were brought there and arrested. All of them "banned from interactions"; they were forbidden to meet or see their closest relatives, even members of their families. It was not possible for them to meet, talk or see each other in the single, windowless and lightless cells where they were confined. Therefore, they did not know who had been brought there. However, they could recognise some of them by the voices they could hear when they were talking to the police or soldiers waiting for them in the corridor to convey a request. The first investigation then began. During this period, detainees were forced to sign a pre-prepared "statement"; those who did not sign were subjected to various forms of torture.

Along with the arrests, Turkeys were tortured in cells called "coffins" and the tortures in June and July 1944. Coffins are concrete cavities in the size of a coffin placed vertically. Three lamps of five hundred candles each were lit on top of them, and most of the prisoners were not allowed to go out even for their needs. These torture pits were later also mentioned in Atsız's poems.

20 Yüksel, Osman, "Azap Cells". *Serdenceği*, 1947, 2nd issue.

21 Sefercioğlu, Necmeddin, "1944-1945 Türkçülük Davası: Results and Effects", *Orkun*, 43

22 Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. 2nd ed. with addition. Istanbul; Yağmur Publishing House. 297 s.

After the transfer of the arrested defendants to Istanbul, the team in Ankara, consisting of Hasan Âli Yücel, the Deputy Minister of Education, Falih Rifkî Atay, the writer Falih Rifkî Atay, and Nevzat Tandoğan, the Governor of Ankara, ceased to be in charge of interrogation and torture, and the interrogation and torture work was undertaken by a team **Kâmurân Çuhruh**, the Deputy Security, **Ahmet Demir**, the Chief of Security Directorate Branch I, **Sait Koçak**, and **Kâzım Alöç**, a military judge captain, who were sent to Istanbul to manage the interrogations. The interrogations at Tophane Prison were carried out by military officials.

During the first investigations launched in Istanbul, many different tortures were applied to the arrested Turkists. These tortures were carried out in order to make the prospective defendants sign "statement" texts prepared by the interrogators. These texts ridiculous accusations such as that the accused were racists and Turanists, that they had founded a secret organisation that would stage a coup d'état in order to make the state open to Turanist adventures, and that they had taken an oath to work in this way. They were also asked to verbally confirm these allegations. The important thing for them to sign the fictional statement prepared by the President and the Minister of Education and his supporters without reading it, without objecting to it, and to give a "verbal statement" in accordance with it.

The tortures were not to the accused, but were also applied to the families of some of them. For instance, the wives of Atsız and Nejdîet Sançar, and therefore their families, were also subjected to these persecutions. Atsız's wife, Erenköy High School History teacher **Bedriye Atsız**, was placed under 'deputy order' on 13 May 1944 and arrested on 16 May 1944 without any investigation or reason. Bedriye Atsız had to leave her four-and-a-half-year-old son **Yağmur** in the care of a lady who was at her house to do cleaning work during her detention. Since the house was surrounded by police officers and no one was allowed to enter the house, they remained "prisoners" in the house. Although Bedriye Atsız was released on 26 July 1944, her 'being on deputy order' lasted for 23 months, until she was transferred from the high school where she had been teaching to Kartal Secondary School. A similar practice happened to Nejdîet Sançar's wife, **Reşide Sançar**, a chemistry teacher at Balıkesir High School. On 20 June 1944, she was also placed under 'and-kill order'. He escaped that torture on 20 October 1944 by being appointed as a chemistry teacher at Zonguldak High School without being informed. Both of them



They tried to live on a very small 'deputy order' pension. Sometimes not even that <sup>23</sup>.

The civilian detainees were held in cells in the attic of the famous Sansaryan Inn in Sirkeci, barely fitting a bed and lit by 15-watt lamps. The beds on a wooden bedstead full of dirt and filth. Hordes of insects such as licefleas bedbugs roamed in them. In addition, sometimes a second candidate for defence was brought in and asked to stay with the one inside. Among the later arrivals foreigners and communists.<sup>24</sup> it was not possible for two people to fit into the narrow single bed, one to stay awake while the other was lying down. Going to the only latrine on that floor, which often had no running water, and using the only sink in the corridor were other tortures. Later on, torture of having to keep the door of the only latrine on the floor open all the time, even when they needed to use it. The daily food of most prisoners consisted of a three hundred gram loaf of bread. Food could only be brought in from outside for those who had money, but most of them did not. Not content with these moral pressures, some prisoners were subjected to other material tortures:

One of these was to put the prisoner in the "cemetery cell" in the basement of the Sansaryan Inn. In one of these five places, whose walls were leaking sewage, whose floors soggy and filthy, and whose sleeping place consisted of a stone ledge, Atsız suffered for a week. His hat, which he had with him when he was put in the cell, was mouldy within a week. Another effective method of torture was to cram prospective defendants who made unpleasant statements and/or refused to sign ready-made written statements into cavities in the shape and size of coffins held upright, called "tabutluk" or "mutena cell". These cells numbered 19 and 20 in the penthouse. There were 1500 watt light bulbs on the ceiling and thick chains on the walls. The detainee who was to be brought to the road was taken there standing up, tied by his arms and legs with chains and hung on the wall, and after the door was closed, the light overhead was switched on and the tortured person was kept there until he "gave up" or fainted. The Turkists had to watch those who stayed in these coffins for 48 hours without food or water, or those who were kept there for 48 hours without food or water.

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23 Sançar, Nejdet, *Hasan Âli ile Hesaplaşma*. İstanbul, 1947Ayılı Kurt Publications44 pp

24 Yüksel, Osman, "Azap Cells". *Serdengeçti*, 1947, 2nd issue.

There were some who were hosted several times <sup>25</sup> Thus, one of the most horrible forms of material torture would have been realised. Among the Turkists, **Reha Oğuz Türkkân**, **Orhan Şaik Gökyay**, **Hikmet Tanyu**, **Hamza Sadi Özbek** and **Osman Yüksel**, although he was later released, were deemed worthy of this torture. Another function of the coffins was to serve the purpose of intimidation showing them to the detainees and threatening them that they would be put there if they did not give the desired testimony. Beatings, falaka and swearing were common forms of torture. There were many Turkist defence candidates who benefited from these. One of them **Sait Bilgiç** and another was **Mehmet Külâhhoğlu**, who was later released from the defence. Another form of torture inflicted on **Hikmet Tanyu** was threatening him with a pistol to his head. Dr **Zeki Velidi Togan**'s share of the torture was to clean the cell where he was kept from insects. He was also deprived of food and water for two days. This torture of starvation and dehydration was frequently applied to everyone. <sup>26</sup>

The prospective defendants held in the Military Prison in Tophane were not subjected to such material tortures. However, they also banned from "labour" and reading. Their cells were narrow, airless and single. Their beds, like those in the Sansaryan Inn, were old and filthy to the point of disgust. **Hasan Ferit Cansever** had to sleep on a stool for three days because he could not get into the bed in the cell he was assigned to, until his situation was discovered and a bed was sent from his home. The others, on the other hand, had sleep on those beds because they did not have such an opportunity. **Alparslan Türkeş** described the torture there with the words, "*The dampness of the cell, the lack of light, not being able to see the sun, not being able to read anything, inertia had worn me out.*" <sup>27</sup>

The issue of torture was frequently mentioned both during the hearings of the trial that started on 07 September 1944, during the Öner-Yücel Trial in 1947 and in the following years. In addition, **Hikmet Tanyu**, who determined that 15 types of torture were used during the first investigations of the 'Turkism Trial', succeeded in making torture and persecution the subject of a lawsuit and paved the way for the prosecution of those who committed them.

25 Tanyu, Hikmet. *Türkçülük Davası ve Türkiye'de İşkenceler* Ankara Altın Işık Y - yınları 1950 48 pp.

26 Tanyu, Hikmet. *Türkçülük Davası ve Türkiye'de İşkenceler*; Müftüoğlu Mustafa, *Nightmare in Çankaya: 3 May 1944*

27 Türkeş, Alparslan, 1944 Nationalism Event, Devlet Yayın Dağıtım 1988, 50.s



in a court of law. However, the torturers benefited from the amnesty law enacted by the Democrat Party government in 1950 and escaped prosecution.<sup>28</sup>

The first phase of the Turkism trial began on Thursday, **07 September 1944** at the Istanbul First Martial Law Court, after a four-month-long, torturous interrogation process in which dozens of people were interrogated. The trial was to be held in a building in Tophane. The president of the court was Major General **Yusuf Ziya Yazgan**, the trial judge was Lieutenant Colonel **Cevdet Erkut** and the third member was Colonel **Galip Kaan**. prosecution was led by **Kâzım Alöç**, the prosecutor of the tortured interrogation process. In addition to the usual documents, the case file submitted to the court also contained a report prepared by a committee previously established by the Ministry of the Interior and chaired, for some reason Hasan Âli Yücel. In this report, which was sent to the Martial Law Command with a letter signed by Interior **Hilmi Uran** and requested to be included in the case file, the measures to be taken nationalist-Turkist publications were determined of 47 people known as nationalist-Turkists were listed. It was difficult to understand the relevance of the document to the case. However, it was not difficult to guess that it had been prepared with the suggestion and co-operation of Hasan Âli Yücel, with the aim of providing clues for the "new defendants" that would be needed during the trials. It was clear that the list was meant to be a journal to the Tribunal of these individuals, all of whom were known or would later assume important state duties and services. The report also a typical document showing Yücel's enmity against Turkism. At the end of the investigations, it was decided that 26 Turkists would be brought to court. However, since the files of three of them were separated, the trial started with 23 defendants. The defendants taken to the hearings were as follows in alphabetical order:

**Alparslan Türkeş**

**Cebbar Şenel Cemal**

**Oğuz Öcal Cihat**

**Savaşfer Fazıl**

**Hisarcıklı Fehiman**

**Altan Fethi Tevetoğlu**

28 Tanyu, Hikmet. *Türkçülük Davası ve Türkiye'de İşkenceler* Ankara Altın Işık Y - yınları 1950 1-48 pp.

Hamza Sâdi Özbek Hasan  
Ferit Cansever Hikmet  
Tanyu Hüseyin Namık  
Orkun Hüseyin Nihal  
Atsız İsmet Tümtürk  
M. Zeki Özgür  
Muzaffer Eriş Nejdett  
Sançar Nurullah  
Barıman  
O. Yusuf Kadıgil Reha  
Oğuz Türkkkan Saim  
Bayrak  
Sait Bilgiç  
Zeki Velidi Togan

The cases of **Nuriman Karadağlı** and her husband **Ahmet Karadağlı** from East Turkistan, who were supposed to be defendants but were found to be in Germany, and **Heybetullah İtil**, who could not be contacted because his address was unknown, were separated. **Heybetullah İtil** later joined the hearings and the defendants as the 24th defendant. The fact that **Heybetullah İtil** was in Tophane Prison as the 24th defendant is clearly seen in the list of participants in the article "1944'den Hâtıralar" published in the 24 November 1950 issue of *Orkun*, *which is* mentioned in a memoir about a competition among prisoners. In this respect, the number of those on trial in the case is 24, not 23, as is generally accepted. İtil joined the trial later.

On the first day of the hearing, Prosecutor **Kâzım Alöç** read out the "Final Investigation Decision", an "official communiqué" was distributed to the press, to which this decision was attached, accusing the Turkists. In this communiqué issued by the Istanbul Martial Law Command, it was stated as *"The final investigation taken against the persons, whose investigations were carried out while they were in detention due to the fact that they had attempted treason against the nation and the homeland by establishing a secret 'society' with the endeavours of racism-Turanism, is hereby submitted to the general public in the same way."*

This document, which accused the defendants in advance at the beginning of the trial, clearly indicated how the case would develop and how it would be concluded. The decision attached to this communiqué reads as follows: *"In the investigation conducted by the Command of the Exemplary Administration against the individuals who were found to have established a secret society with the aim of racism and Turanism in order to violate the main features of the Law on the Principles of Organisation; that they have principles that are contrary to our present regime and to the true nationalism of our citizens, and that they have secret societies, programmes of activities, organisations and propaganda organs, and even secret codes and passwords to keep their communications secret, and that in various parts of the country, and especially in all kinds of educational institutions, innocent young people are being taught nationalism, It has been understood that these secret societies have been working in various groups in order to realise their ideologies harmful to the country and that they have been carrying out a continuous and systematic activity in order to gather supporters for themselves by exploiting patriotic feelings and thus to achieve their goals by overthrowing the government. Foreign organisations, which wanted to direct these secret societies against the security of the country according to their own purposes, did not remain inactive, and in this way, the influence and intervention of external elements also appeared in the movements of mischief and treason that emerged from within."* <sup>29</sup> After the introduction, the thoughts and actions of the defendants, which were alleged to be the basis of the case, were explained in the sub-sections allocated to each of them, and then the penalties to be imposed were specified.

In the course of the trial following the first session, which ended with the identification of identities and the reading of the "final investigation decision", frequent and violent arguments between the prosecutor and the presiding judge and the defendants. In the meantime, the Turkists, all of whom had been brought to the Military Prison in Tophane, where the military defendants were previously held, were taken to the courtroom in the same neighbourhood by gendarmes with bayonets. In this trial, which lasted 66 sessions, after tough interrogations and defences, with the verdict rendered on Thursday 29 March 1945, Prof. Dr. Zeki Velidî Togan, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, Nurullah Barıman, Cihat Savaşfer, Nejdîet Sançar, Fethi Tevetöğlü, Alparslan Türkeş, Cebbar Şenel and Cemal Oğuz Öcal sentenced to various prison terms of up to 10 years and exile, while the other defendants were acquitted.

29 Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. 2nd ed. with addition. İstanbul; Yağmur Publishing House. 118-166 s.



In the Turkism-Turanism trial, the defendants defended themselves with the following statements, which will go down in history as an example. Some of them are as follows:

*Prof. Dr. Hasan Ferit Cansever: "It should not be forgotten that injustice and injustice alone are the greatest and most political arson to destroy a nation. I strongly reject the prosecutor's impudent accusations, insult the honour and dignity of a human being and are disgusting for a human being."*

*Nihal Atsız: "No one can call me a traitor because of the rights I think for my nation. History will determine who is a traitor and who is a patriot. In fact, it already has."*

*Orhan Saik Gökay: "History will marvel at the need for the defence of such a movement; but what can we do, history, which has marvelled at the twenty centuries of revolutions that we have packed into twenty years, should marvel at this one."*

*Alparslan Türkeş: "I, along with my other friends, accused of treason. I strongly reject it. I am a Turkish nationalist. I am definitely not a racist."*

*İsmet Rasim Tümtürk: "Turkism is in favour of freedom of thought, freedom of speech and the rule of law without exception instead of arbitrary rule; it believes that no harm can come to the country from a man with personality, individual thinking ability and civilised courage rather than a sheep man, and in these respects, Turkism is separated from communism as well as fascism and national socialism by a gulf so deep that nothing can fill it."*

*M. Zeki Sofuoğlu: "Either we will live and exist as Turks and Turkists, or we will perish as a nation and history under the destructive anger of the redfire stamp."*

*Nejdet Sançar: "I will not say... acquit me... because what has been charged as a crime for me is nothing other than loving this land and this race. If this is a sin, me. I will accept this conviction with pride; I will consider it an honour."*

*Hikmet Tanyu: "I do not believe that the only path suitable for the Turk is anything other than Turkism."*

*Adv. Kenan Öner: "... And finally, while even in the shops and stores of foreign elements, there is not a single Turk employed, we shall assume that those who do not want to use foreigners in important services of the state are criminals."<sup>30</sup>*

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30 Darendelioğlu İlhan Nationalism Movements in Turkey Ist. 1977

Following this decision, the case was taken to the Military Court of Cassation. The Supreme Court overturned this decision of the 1st Istanbul Martial Law Court "on procedural and substantive grounds" and ordered the immediate release of the arrested defendants and the

2. Martial Law Court. This decision was notified to the Istanbul Martial Law Command by a lightning telegram on **26 October 1945** and the prisoners were immediately released. Thus, the ordeal of one year and five and a half months of imprisonment for some Turkists came to an end.

The hearings of the Turkism case at the 2nd Martial Law Court started on **26 August 1946**, Thursday. The president of the court was Major General **Yaşar Yeniceoğlu**, the trial judge was General Şevki **Mutlugil** and the member Lieutenant Colonel **Ömer Köprülü**. Judge Captain **Mehmet Ünlü** was present as the prosecutor. The Nuriman-Ahmet **Karadağlı** couple, who had returned home from Germany and could not be tried by the 1st Martial Law Court because their cases had been separated by the initial investigation decision, also the hearings as "defendants". During the hearings, many new witnesses were also heard, including **Lütfi Kırdar**, the Governor of Istanbul at the time. On **31 March 1947**, at the last hearing, it was decided that "all defendants were acquitted". Although the 2nd Martial Law Court's decision was appealed by the Judicial Administration, the Military Court of Cassation rejected this request and upheld the court's decision, and the subsequent request for a "revised judgement" was also rejected. Thus, **the historical trial, which had cost many troubles and ordeals, was concluded with the acquittal of the Turkists.**

This result, of course, did not please those who "invented" the case and it as an instrument to persecute the Turkists, especially President **İnönü** and Deputy Minister of Education **Yücel**. İnönü showed his resentment by leaving a visit to the Military Court of Cassation, which he had made after the verdict, perhaps especially after the verdict without the courtesy of stopping by the room of its General **Ali Fuat Erden**, who had been his for forty years. In fact, **Erden** Pasha and the other members of the Military Court of Cassation, Major General **Kemal Alkan** and Brigadier General **İsmail Berkok**, retired shortly afterwards. <sup>(31)</sup>Yücel avenged this defeat by preventing the acquitted teachers from returning to their jobs.

the Turkism case resulted in acquittal, Turkists, especially those working in the Ministry of National Education, were not aware of the importance of being a Turkist.

31 Müftüoğlu, Mustafa, *Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944*. ed. with addition. İstanbulYağmur Publisher. 197-201 s.



They continued to pay the price. These costs not being reinstated, being assigned to positions far below their education or service seniority, and being assigned to positions in very remote parts of the country. **Atsız** experienced the most difficult of such practices. He was not given an assignment until 1949. assignment he was given at that time was not as a high school teacher, which was appropriate to his education and profession, but as a librarian. The purpose of this was undoubtedly to keep him away from the students. In 1950, after the change of government, he was appointed as a literature teacher at Haydarpaşa High School, but he could only work there for one and a half academic years. On the pretext of a lecture he gave in Ankara on 04.05.1952 on "The foundation of our State", he was sent back to his exile position in Süleymaniye Library and kept there until 1969, when he retired. **Atsız's** brother **Nejdet Sançar** also subjected to this kind of practice. He worked as a labourer-employee at the Zonguldak Coal Enterprise for a few years. Like his brother **Atsız**, he was appointed as a literature teacher at M. Çelikel High School only in 1949. In 1950, he was sent to Edirne High School. However, he could not stay there for long. On condition that he worked at the National Library, he was appointed as a literature teacher at Ankara Gazi High School and worked there until two years before his retirement. Then he moved to his original position at Gazi High School. However, unlike his brother, he had the opportunity to give lectures at the Police College and Gazi High School while working at the National Library.

Tortures and especially the issue of coffins, which were frequently mentioned in the Turkism case, was one of the main propaganda materials of the opposition in the 14 May 1950 elections. This was one of the factors that led the Republican People's Party under İnönü to lose that election. Especially the Democrat Party, which won the election, exploited this issue in all its propaganda activities. This case, which was opened with great noise and accusations and continued with unreasonable tortures, was won by the Turkists despite wishes and efforts of İsmet İnönü, and it was a complete defeat for those who had unleashed **state terror** against them. With this result, **İnönü** lost the title of "National Chief", which he had used with great pleasure. His party could not come to power "alone" again. He had to leave the CHP, of which he was one of the founders, after a party member he had trained (Bülent Ecevit) defeated him at the Party Congress. **Hasan Âli Yücel**, the leading actor in the process of 03 May 1944 and the Turkism trial, experienced the pain of leaving his position as the Deputy Minister of Education in 1946 and as a deputy in 1950. MP in 1950 elections

Falih Rifkî Atay and Sait Koçak, who were among the other implementers of the state terror against the Turkists, also lost the election. On the other hand, the election resulted in the election of **Sait Bilgiç**, one of the defendants of the case, and many nationalist candidates such as Prof. **Remzi Oğuz Arık**, **Arif Nihat Asya**, Dr. **Cezmi Türk** as deputies.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, **Nevzat Tandoğan**, the famous governor of Ankara, who was one of the main implementers of the state terror after 03 May 1944 and whose name was implicated in an espionage case, committed suicide or was killed.

### Kenan Öner-Hasan Ali Yücel Case

Atsız, together with his friends, found himself involved in a new case after a while. This case stemmed from an accusation made by the then Interior Şükrü Sökmensüer against Field Marshal **Fevzi Çakmak** in a speech he made at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. While answering an oral question in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on 28.01.1947, the Minister had said that Fevzi Çakmak, who was a member of parliament at the time, *had "knowingly or unknowingly participated in communist activities"*. In response to this, the Field Marshal, in a statement he gave to newspapers on 05.02.1947, stating that he was a person who was against communism and fought against it, had said: *"While I was still in office, I warned the government about the actions of a former Minister of National Education in support of this activity. Nobody paid attention and then they talked about the communist nest in the Hamidiye Village Institute"*. Upon this, Hasan Âli Yücel published an open letter addressed to Çakmak in the **Ulus** newspaper and asked, *"Am I that former minister?"*<sup>33</sup> Lawyer **Kenan Öner** responded to this question with an open letter: *"Yes, that Deputy Minister of Education is you!..."*<sup>34</sup> Hasan Âli Yücel responded to this with another open letter on 22.02.1947, in which Kenan

He announced that he had taken Öner to court. This is how the "public defamation case" known as the **"Öner-Yücel Case"** began in which lawyer **Kenan Öner** and **Cemalettin Saracoğlu**, the owner and editor-in-chief of **Yeni Sabah** newspaper, were also defendants.

The trial began on 17 April 1947 at the Ankara 3rd Criminal Court of First Instance. The judge was **Saffet Unan** and the prosecutor was **Abdullah Pulat Gözübüyük**.

32 Tanyu Hikmet. Türkçülük Davası ve Türkiye'de İşkenceler Ankara Altın Işık Y - yınları(1950)

33 Yücel, Hasan Âli "Is that former minister me?" Ulus 08.02(1947)

34 Öner, Kenan "Yes, that Minister of Education is you" Yeni Sabah 11.02. 1950

The trial was like a continuation of the "Turkism trial: Some of the defendants of that trial and some other Turkists were heard as witnesses in this trial. The tortures inflicted on Turkists during the first investigation phase of the Turkism trial also an important role in the Öner- Yücel trial. Kenan Öner, who was granted the "right of proof", submitted to the court a petition consisting of 27 requests to reveal the communist activities and communists patronised by the Minister of National Education, with the wish to ask the relevant institutions about the situation. The court accepted and processed 24 of them. The main witnesses of the Öner-Yücel trial were **Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, Osman Yüksel, Hüseyin Namık Orkun, M. Zeki Sofuoğlu, Adnan Ötüken, Hikmet Tanyu, Zeki Mesut Alsan, Sait Bilgiç, Nejdett Sançar, İsmet Tümtürk, Necdet Özgelen, Selâhattin Ertürk, Ziya İlhan (Zaimoğlu), Nurullah Barman, Halûk Karamağaralı, Sururi Ermete, Ziya Karamuk, Rüknettin Nasuhioğlu, Ali Soylu.** The trial was concluded on the basis of the testimonies of these witnesses and the answers given by the relevant institutions to the questions regarding the events listed in the list submitted by Kenan Öner to the Court. The verdict of the trial, which attracted great interest from the audience and the press, was read on **19 November** 1947 and Kenan Öner and Cemalettin Saracoğlu acquitted. The verdict was appealed to the Court of Cassation, but was overturned on the grounds of some deficiencies during the trial. The court insisted on its decision. After the Court of Cassation overturned the verdict for the second time, during the third trial, since Kenan Öner had died, Saracoğlu was left as the defendant in the case. As he was not interested in the case, the court imposed a representative sentence, postponed it and closed the case.<sup>35</sup>

The Öner-Yücel Trial between the two politicians attracted great public attention, was watched by large audiences and was widely reported in the press. Kenan Öner published *the* books **Öner-Yücel Davası** (İstanbul, 1947. 159 p.) and **Öner-Yücel Davası, 2** (İstanbul, 1947. 250 p.) and Hasan-Âli Yücel published the books *My Case* (Ankara, 1947. 155 p. and *Hasan Âli Yücel'in açan davalar ve netişeleri* (Ankara, 1950. 256 p.).

35 Müftüoğlu Mustafa, Çankaya'da Kâbus: 3 May 1944. 2nd edition with addition. İstanbul, Yağmur Publishing House. 208-268 s



## Ötüken-Exploitation Case

In response to a worker's statement "The administrators give land to Arabs not to us Turks" by the then President Cevdet Simav, who made a trip to Gaziantep, published 6 articles one after the other in Ötüken as of April 1967. In his articles titled "Konuşma- lar I (Issue 40)", "Konuşma- lar II (Issue 41)", "Konuşma- lar III (Issue 43)", "Propaganda for an Independent Kurdish State (Issue 43)", "Perde Arkası in the Eastern Rallies (Issue 47)", "Satatlar-Moskof uşakları (Issue 48)", Atsız touched upon the secret activities of separatist Marxists in Eastern Anatolia and was prosecuted. As a result of the first investigation conducted by the prosecutor's office, no offence could be charged against Atsız.

Following this investigation, a smear campaign was launched against Atsız. The separatist organisations in Ankara worked against Atsız and a senator from the Justice Party made a harsh speech against Atsız. As a result of the investigation opened by the Ministry of Justice, Atsız was taken to court. The Minister of Justice of the period was Hasan Dinçer. Within 6 years of the trial, the memorandum of 12 March was issued and martial law was declared. In the martial law courts, subversives, separatists, communists and anarchists who opposed the unity and indivisibility of the Turkish nation and homeland were put on trial, while Atsız, a Turkish nationalist, was with similar accusations in civilian courts.

After long hearings, the court sentenced Atsız, the owner of Ötüken, and Mustafa Kayabek, its manager, to 15 months imprisonment each. This verdict, in which the president of the court disagreed with the decision and which was given by a 2-1 majority, was overturned by the Court of Cassation upon appeal, but when the same court insisted on its 2-1 decision, the Court of Cassation upheld the verdict. Atsız and Mustafa Kayabek requested a "revision of the verdict", but their request was not accepted by the court.

Atsız, who was hospitalised in Haydarpaşa Numune Hospital due to chronic infarction, high blood pressure and severe rheumatism, was given a report by Haydarpaşa Numune Hospital stating that he "could not be put in prison", but the report was rejected by the forensic medicine and the verdict was "he could stay in a prison with an infirmary". Thereupon, the execution prosecutor's office took Atsız from his home on Wednesday, 14 November 1973.

transferred to the Prison. Placed in the 40-person named criminals ward, Atsız was transferred to Sağmalcılar Prison, which had an infirmary.

Atsız's imprisonment was met with great reaction in nationalist circles. Thus, the Ötüken-State pen war also suspended. Although the Nationalist Movement community had differences of opinion with the top name of the Turkism movement, with a man of idealism who brought the flag of Turkism to the early 70s without dropping it to the ground and without staining it, the nationalists supported this great Turkist in his difficult days.

At the age of 68, Atsız reacted to the advice of his friends who came to visit him in prison that he should "ask for forgiveness from the President due to his old age" and said, "A Turkish nationalist, even if he is faced with an unfair practice in a matter in which he is right and oppressed, does not ask for forgiveness from the oppressors. does not ask for forgiveness."

Despite Atsız's firm stance, amnesty campaigns were launched all over the country under the leadership of the MHP and nationalist organisations. MHP executives the Parliament and faculty members in universities worked feverishly to present signed petitions for amnesty to President Korutürk and telegrams.

The petition sent to President Fahri Korutürk during the campaign launched at Karadeniz Technical University was signed by 44 faculty members. Among these names were KTU Rector Prof. Dr. Saffet Rıza Alpar, Dean of the Faculty of Civil Architecture Prof. Dr. Naci Yüngün, President of the KTU Faculty Members Association Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Özbenli. The campaign grew with the participation of faculty members from Erzurum, Ankara, Hacettepe and Istanbul universities. The campaign, which was of a scale rarely seen in the history of the Republic of Turkey, yielded results in a short time. President Fahri Korutürk used his authority and pardoned Atsız's sentence. Released from prison on 22 January , Atsız spent 2.5 months of his 1.5-year sentence in prison.

*Nihal Atsız's body is about to be laid to his last journey at Osmanağa Mosque. A handful of volunteers are lined up behind the giant of the country to see him off to his final rest. Imam:*

*-For the sake of a man, he calls out.*

*Fethi Germuhoğlu, who was among the congregation, murmurs sadly:*

*-This stone has rarely seen such a man!*



### Character of Atsız

Atsız's life is a story of devotion. He lived his life not for himself but for his nation. Because of this devotion, he made the most violent defences and attacks against the views, thoughts and movements that he considered enemies of his nation. He regarded internationalism such as communism and ummahism, and separatism such as regionalism and sectarianism as traitors aimed at destroying the nation and strongly opposed them. Due to the betrayal of our nation minorities in our midst at the breaking points of history, Atsız adopted the belief that "The Turk has no friends but himself" as a firm belief, and he also exhibited extremes that could be considered hostility to other races. He provided colour and contribution to the Turkish intellectual life with the journals he published, warned the rulers of the state by documenting and publishing the blunders and betrayals, aimed to raise a conscious youth to oppose these blunders and betrayals and succeeded. Seeing that the Turkism movement could not be successful by remaining only in the field of ideas, he carried the movement to the literary field and produced successful novels and poems.

Atsız showed that every aspect of life and every issue could be viewed from a Turkic perspective, and tried to make it a method to interpret everything in the interest of the nation and to use every information and situation for the benefit of the nation. He tried to show the right perspective to the minds blurred by foreign cultures and ideologies with the identity of a "wise person" coming from the depths of Turkish history.

He led all kinds of organisational activities for the spread of the idea of Turkism and was the trainer of the leading cadres of Turkist associations, institutions and parties. Atsız, who is the greatest writer and thinker in the history of Turkism after Ziya Gökalp, introduced the Turkish youth to national excitement with the campaigns he led and exhibited the struggle to equip them with high ideals.

All of Atsız's fields of activity, such as historiography, research, novelism and poetry, revolve around the axis of the ideal to which he was attached. He was a teacher of literature and the national ideal of the nation. He was a historian, a Turkologist, a man of science. He was the epitome of a struggling personality dedicated to his cause. He was a poet, novelist, idea man and thinker.

Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, who is known as a man of thought and action for the cause of Turkism, also represented this cause in the literary field and many valuable works. Turkish history and Turkish literature

Atsız, who is extremely knowledgeable in the literature, has left and continues to leave lasting effects on the generations after him with his scientific and literary works in these fields.

Atsız used the living Turkish language in his works and did not pay any attention to the "invented" words produced by the Turkish Language Institution and its unqualified supporters. Atsız, who was in favour of the development of the language by purifying it, opposed all kinds of movements aimed at breaking away from the past, disrupting the continuity of the language, and tearing us away from our Asian cultural roots. He has been the defender and practitioner of a language policy that has been purified from the heavy and heavy expressions of Ottoman Turkish, but whose tradition and continuity have not been disturbed. He constructed solid sentences and successfully used idioms, terms and vocabulary appropriate to the historical periods he chose as the subject of his works.

He has a fluent and simple style. Atsız, who favours a plain, unexaggerated and unadulterated, but amorous expression in poetry, has not compromised from this attitude in his scientific works. Enthusiastic excitement and a healthy romanticism are the most prominent features of his poems and novels. While he used adjectives and adverbs intensively in his poems, emphasised verbs in his scientific and intellectual writings. His expressions are as sharp as his personality. He has a natural and languagea narrative that is free from ornament and pretence. Although he did not claim to be a poet, his poems, like his novels and intellectual writings, influenced the younger generations.

Atsız's prose writing is more powerful and successful than his poetry. In the field of prose, especially with his articles in *Atsız Mecmua*, *Orhun*, *Orkun* and *Ötüken* magazines, articles written in various encyclopaedias, novels and stories, histories, criticisms, reviews, biographies and bibliographies, he revealed his power in the field of prose.

In all his works, he displayed his mastery of Turkish spelling, vocabulary and syntax, and his ability to construct different and strong sentences. Atsız effective jokes and articles with the consistency of his ideas and the soundness of his logical weave, and took his place in the history of Turkish ideas as a man who, in the words of İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, "wrote violent articles that would knock the horseman off his horse". The fact that he was an expert in the fields he wrote about and the historical periods he fictionalised reinforced the strength of his style. In addition to these, the harshness of his temperament, his scientific knowledge, his poet nature and his imaginative personality also enriched his style.

He is uncompromising in his scientific and intellectual writings. He courageously stands up against falsehoods, lies and even slanders about Turkish history and Turkology.

He fights with institutions. His works of history, literary history, criticism and analysis, which are the works of a Turkist perspective, are among the distinguished examples of Turkish prose. He showed his greatest success in his novels. His novels *Bozkurtlar*, *Deli Kurt* and *Ruh adam* are among the most successful and widely read products of this genre in our literature.

He stayed away from politics throughout his life and supported national policies, not parties. He never favoured any government and showed the courage to confront whoever did wrong. He had neither friends in high positions nor support from foreign states. He lived as he believed. He suffered for his idea. He did not compliment any offer of benefit. He stood against communism with the "Muscovite hatred" of national anger. In the years when he was accused of fascism, he challenged Mussolini with his poems.

There were those who wanted to belittle and even accuse Atsız as a "dreamer". He did not pay attention to such condemnations, and since he knew that great ideals are intertwined with romantic dreams, he always dreamt of the great unions of a few centuries later. He was an idealist in the full sense. That is why he could not be the "acceptable" of any era, he became the "legend" of every era.

Atsız a talented, hardworking Turkological scholar, full of love for Turkishness. While he was still at the first stage of his academic career, he suffered from the tyranny of the Single Party despotism. The exiles, suspensions and arrests he experienced some of the works he aimed to present to his nation to remain unfinished. Atsız his studies outside the university and produced valuable works on Turkish history, Turkish language and culture. His scholarly activity and the works he presented require him to be appreciated as a thinker and whose views should taken into consideration. Atsız holds an exceptional place in the system of ideas of Turkish nationalism with his tireless endeavours, his busy pen, his power of oratory, his perseverance, patience and endurance.

He lived as a hero who used his pen like a sword for the sake of homeland and nation, who feared nothing but God, and did not hesitate to sacrifice himself for the sake of the truth he believed in. had nothing to do with material benefit and personal interest. He did not care that real people depriving themselves of the pleasures of the world and striving for the happiness of those long after them could be labelled as "madness" or "insanity".



He considered people who thought only of "tegaddî" and "tenasül" and cared only about their own comfort outside these two as animalised.

Atsız had a military spirit. Turkish army the apple of his eye. He considered the nation as an army and considered himself as a nameless and horseless soldier of this army. He considered the Turkish Armed Forces as the continuation of the army of the great Turkish Khan Mete and the guarantee of our state. This acceptance did not prevent him from clashing with high-ranking soldiers on the path of Turkism. He considered it a national duty not to hurt the moral personality of institutions while fighting with individuals.

He praised heroism in all his works. He believed that nations that could not raise heroes were doomed to lose in the world, which he saw as a battlefield. He defined himself as a spirit wandering in the victory paintings of three thousand years of Turkish history. He was like a Gök-Türk from the age of "Kül Tegin", but occasionally he admitted that he was also an Ottoman. He believed in the superiority of the Turkish lineage. He put national interests above personal interests. He perceived respecting national sacredness and the past as an ethic of duty. He did not expect reciprocity or appreciation. He did not live to rise; he lived to rise. He saw service to Turkishness as the reason for his existence. He remained loyal to the past and old values. In short, his character was his ideas.

Atsız was a mild-mannered, elegant and gentle person in his private life, he was extremely harsh and uncompromising in matters related to ideology. While defending his views, in the words of a literary historian, he wrote harsh articles "to the extent of knocking the horseman off his horse". For this reason, he was persecuted several times, from his profession and dragged to dungeons. Even those who did not like his ideas and even those who condemned him in this respect could not refrain from appreciating that he was a monument of morality and character.

But he never liked to be praised. He never paid attention to small gains such as being appreciated and rewarded. Even his closest friend and travelling companion İsmet Tümtürk, while writing a foreword for him, said: "It is possible to talk a lot about Atsız. I will not do that here. The reason: Atsız to be praised" <sup>36</sup>

He liked to read stories and novels with swords and fights. He thought it was better to read novels of war and fighting than novels of love and lust.

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36 Turkish Country, İstanbul1956p.3

that it more beneficial for the development of youth. He played backgammon well chess moderately. He did not like card games. Atsız was extremely kind, friendly and tolerant in his private life; however, it should be considered that this is a common and characteristic trait of most of the men of great ideals and beliefs.

It is possible to understand Atsız's place in Turkish intellectual life by recognising his character and being aware of his moods. He is a man of cause who has incurred the wrath of the ruling elites due to his aggressive and harsh nature. He is an austere man who dislikes crowds and cramped places, does not mix with crowds unless he has to, likes and prefers solitude, and is attached to family life. His greatest virtue is the integrity of his personality. There is no gap, deficiency, contradiction or hesitation in his soul, mind and intellectual structure. His reactions, anger, hatred, joy, appreciation, applause, scolding, insults, tolerance are all on the same straight line. He appreciated the action he liked no matter who did it, and he did not hesitate to angrily condemn the action he did not find right, no matter who did it, no matter where it came from.

He did not hesitate to add a self-mocking flavour to his jokes. He stayed away from state administrators. In every speech he would invite people to Turkism and criticise the statesmen who he thought were doing things against Turkism. This distant stance and critical attitude of his continued even when his friends and students reached positions of authority in the state.

The only dream he had for himself in the world was to become a teacher at Harbiye. He dreamt of this not for himself, but to give Turkism education to the army, which was the nucleus of the nation. He had a vast and enthusiastic spirit moulded with national consciousness and national history, and he a temperament that took refuge in the epic and magnificent periods of the past because he hated the pettiness and ugliness of the present. Bögü Alp, Kür Şad, Tonyukuk and Urungu in Bozkurt and Murat in Deli Kurt are the heroes he nurtured with his own temperament. This relationship is actually two-way. Atsız's temperament also includes emulation of these historical heroes. Especially the characters in the novel *Ruh Adam* are completely taken from his life, and the hero of the novel, Selim Pusat, is Atsız himself.



Atsız was, as the old saying goes, a "of a kind" person. Even those closest to him could not fully understand the chills in his soul that lived beyond time and space. Prof. Dr. Dursun Yıldırım records the following memory of Atsız: One day, when Atsız Beğ came to visit my late teacher Ahmed Caferoğlu, I met him by chance at the gate of the Faculty. We greeted each other, I was surprised, I had never of him coming to the school. He asked me about the room of the teacher. I told him that I could take him there, we climbed the stairs together and I accompanied him to the teacher's room. Caferoğlu kept me with them for a while, he ordered coffee for both of us; I sat with them for a coffee. At that time, Caferoğlu asked me the following: *"Do you know this man well? He lives by himself in his own republic; he does not give a penny to anyone. Many people you see around you once moulded around him. Now they do not even recognise us."*<sup>37</sup>

His pen, which he used with the sharpness of a sword for a lifetime, never fell from his hand. He wrote his concerns, expectations and enthusiasms about the past, present and future of his nation without tiring. He glorified those he knew as friends to the nation and fought fiercely with those he knew as enemies without thinking about the outcome. After him, what his friends wrote to describe him was always incomplete. He himself described himself the best: *"I am only a Turk. I swim in Turkish history. I can say that every day I spend in 27 centuries. I know who is our friend and who is our enemy, and that is why I do not love any foreign nation. Those who have a sense of understanding understand that I am not bound by any feeling or principle other than the feeling of Turkishness and national pride. I am a Turk who possesses such national consciousness and pride that I would not stoop to adopt any idea of foreign origin. My political and social sect is Turkism"*<sup>38</sup>

37 Nihâl Atsız in the 100th Anniversary of his Birth, 11. pg.

38 The Most Insidious Danger, Istanbul 1992 pp. 67-68



*Grey Grey Wolves with sky manes, men of  
blessed ideals! Kneel before Atsız Yabgu!*

*D. Cebeci*

## **Related Works and What is Said After**

Atsız is of the most important figures of the last century in terms of his influence on Turkish intellectual and political life. He is the sharpest pen of the Turkist opposition, an effective leader who drags the youth behind him, an artist who excites the youth with his novels and poems.

Although his fame went beyond Turkey and reached all Turkist and Turanist segments of the Turkish World, the number of works prepared about him is quite small. His lovers are disloyal and lazy, the literary world is insensitive because afraid his ideas. It is not surprising that the world of literature and academic life in Turkey, which is parcelled by leftist and liberal pens, ignores Atsız Hodja. Because throughout his life he fought with those who stayed away from and opposed the idea of Turkism and Turanism. He was excluded and pushed aside by every political power. Even his friends of the cause could not tolerate his sharp sides and left him alone in the last years of his life.

Atsız's corpus has not been prepared for publication with scientific analyses, and there have not been enough studies on his novels and poems. Even thousands of young people named after the heroes of his novels do not know him well enough and do not have the chance to read his works. Despite all these unfavourable conditions, there are some writers who have written works in order to show loyalty to Atsız Hodja. The most important of these works are as follows:

1. Atsız Armağanı, *Güngör, Hacıeminoğlu, Kafalı, Sertkaya*
2. Atsız I Know, *Altan Deliorman*

3. Nihal Atsız, *Akkan Suver*
4. Nihal Atsız, *Sakin Öner*
5. Turkish Heroes, *Nejdet Sançar*
6. Atsız from the Pens of Turkists, *R. Köriüklü- C. Yavan*
7. Nihal Atsız, *Osman F. Sertkaya*
8. Letters from Atsız to Adile Ayda, *Adile Ayda*
9. Atsız and Turkish Country, *Cengiz Mete*
10. Letters of Atsız, *Yücel Hacaloğlu*
11. Nihal Atsız in the 100th Year of His Birth, *Yücel Hacaloğlu*
12. Nihal Atsız, *Hayati Tek*

The debates and fights that Atsız was a party to with his "sharp as a sword" style prevented him from being given the value he deserved in the world of literature. Not enough academic studies have been conducted on him and not enough review articles have been written on his works.

Atsız has been denied the attention that should be shown to understand and recognise a writer who was a party to and witness of Turkey's most important debates between 1930 and 1975. The most important reason for this is, of course his extreme ideas, but the efforts of the members of the leftist view that dominated the world of literature to label him with the words "fascist and Turanist" and to push him aside also played a major role in this situation.

Most of those who express negative opinions about him his writings on minorities and religious issues. In his writings in the last period of his life, he insulted the religious and many ethnic origins that are the parts of our nation, which led to a considerable decrease in the number of his fans. also to his being labelled as "irreligious" or "Shamanist".

As a sharp and uncompromising person, he walked alone, lived alone and died alone. The groups and communities that he opposed and fought against throughout his life did not have good words for him. They remembered him with accusations such as "racist", "racist", "fascist", "shamanist", "irreligious".

His lovers criticised his excesses, but they also a truth: He was a man of character. He wrote everything he believed and thought. There was no break in his direction. He had no worldly ambitions such as position and authority, money and property. He was neither afraid of being judged nor imprisoned.



for sleeping with him. He was a "man of the cause" with this strength of character, if not with his ideas.

You may not agree with Atsız's ideas. You may not find his works successful or even dislike them. However, it is the duty of every conscientious person to bow respectfully in front of that monument of character and to recognise his right.

*Nihal Atsız's body is about to be laid to his last journey at Osmanağa Mosque. A handful of volunteers are lined up behind the giant of the country to see him off to his final rest. Imam:*

*-For the sake of a man, he calls out.*

*Fethi Germuhoğlu, who was among the congregation, murmurs sadly:*

*-This stone has rarely seen such a man!*

After Atsız, his friends were expected to write volumes of books and articles. However, his loved ones and friends could not achieve this. The main things said after him are as follows:

*When I heard the news of Nihal Beg's death, I could not believe it and I still do not want to believe it. Atsız was a nationalist Turkist intellectual and writer who served Turkish nationalism and endeavoured to spread national feelings among the youth. Nihal Atsız's death at an early age has overwhelmed all nationalists with grief. I offer my condolences to Turkish nationalists and wish them patience.*

Alparslan Türkesh

*I learnt with deep sorrow the death of Nihal Atsız Bey. The loss of this great man, who devoted his life to the ideal of the Turkish nation reaching the honourable position it deserves, who has made invaluable services to the cause of Captive Turks, has deeply wounded the people of East Turkestan. His services will not be forgotten. The generations that come after him and carry on his cause will see the days when all the World Turks are freed from captivity and rule the continents as they did yesterday.*

İsa Yusuf ALPTEKİN

*Nihal Atsız Beg not only a valuable expert in the fields of literature and history in our scientific life, but also an idealist who produced very valuable works with his strong national novels. The meaning of his whole life was that he was a man who was committed to the path of Turkish nationalism.*

*It was to serve the world of Turkishness. He honourably fulfilled this national duty without expecting any reward and took his rightful place in the true history of the Turkish nation.*

Hikmet TANYU

*Nihal Atsız, as a great Turkish nationalist, has produced valuable works in the fields of Turkish history. The death of Mr Atsız, who rendered great services to Turkish nationalism, has caused us deep sorrow. With the death of Mr Atsız, the Turkish nation lost one of its values. My condolences to the entire Turkish nation and Atsız's relatives.*

Faruk K. Timurtas

*"Turkishness has lost of its greatest sons of the last century, Nihâl ATSIZ.*

*Nihal ATSIZ has always been the unshakable representative of the Great Turkish Country, whose fire has never burned out from the day he knew himself until his last breath, and has always found himself in the power of an army in defence of this ideal.*

*He has always kept this ideal alive in all his writings, poems, novels and historical works, starting from "ATSIZ MECMUA" to "OTÜKEN" which he is publishing today.*

*He has many valuable analyses on our History of History and Literature. Yolların Sonu, Çanakkale Yürüyüşü, Bozkurtların Ölümü, Bozkurtların Bozkurtların Diri- lişi, Ruh Adam, Fedîrneli Nazmi, Türk Tarihi Üzerine Toplamalar, Dokuz boy Türkler ve Osmanlı Sultanlar Tarihi, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Osmanlı Tarihleri 900 Yıldönümü, Türk Ülküsü, Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Takvimler, Türk Tarihinde Mes'eleler. There are works such as Bibliographies of the Writers of the Kanunî Period."*

Orhan Şaik GÖKYAY

*Atsız was one of the flags of Turkish nationalism that no force could lower for half a century. Even death will not be able to lower that flag from its bastion, and from now on that flag will continue to shed greater light on new generations. Atsız is the most boundless idealist thinker raised by our nation. "The Turk was created for a mission, that mission ends when the universe is Turkified" said Atsız, who wanted to draw an indifference and nervousness that opened up to the most impossible for Turkish children to serve the homeland. Turkish nation is ordinary*

*has lost not one of its members, but a great son who came once in centuries. My condolences to our nation.*

Muharrem ERGIN

*"With the death of Nihal Atsız, Turkish nationalism lost another great intellectual and writer. Atsız will always live in the hearts of nationalists with his works that instil excitement and national consciousness in Turkish youth and will be remembered with respect.*

*My condolences to all nationalists for this painful loss."*

Ahmet SONEL

*"Nihal Atsız's death deeply shook me as it shook every nationalist. The feelings of national ideal that the late Nihal Atsız, who fought for Turkish nationalism and its greatness throughout his life, had on me and my friends when I was a high school student, deep. There will be many more Atsızs in our history who will pass on this ideal, which the Turks have taken from their past, to generations."*

Nihat NIRUN

*"Since it is very rare to find a man of thought today, the loss of Mr Atsız as a Turkic man of thought has been very sad. It is not possible to describe him in a few words. I will soon tell about Mr Atsız in an extensive article. We have lost a great man of thought. My condolences to the Turkish Nationalists"*

MEHMET ERÖZ

*Nihal Atsız, who passed away leaving a deep gap in the intellectual and moral fronts of Turkish nationalism, will live forever in the hearts of the idealist youth. He was the epitome of sound thinking and steel will in the cause of the nation. He said, wrote and spread what he knew right throughout his life and established an unshakable throne in the hearts of nationalist youth. I salute with deep respect the great Nihal Atsız, the hero of ideas and morals, who devoted his whole life to digesting this idea into the souls of the youth after Ziya Gökalp, who cadres nationalism.*

Ibrahim KAFESOĞLU

*Nihal Atsız is a Turkist and nationalist writer who gained literary and historical consciousness from Fuat Köprülü and Zeki Velidi Togan. He was subjected to the single party era*

*He is an exemplary man of history and literature who instilled the consciousness of Turkism and Nationalism in new generations without succumbing to persecution. His death is a great loss for Turkey and the Turkish world.*

Şükrü ELÇİN

*Our sorrow is very great. We have lost a great Turk.  
My condolences. My condolences.*

Amiran KURTKAN

*Three great losses came one after the other within a year. Nejdet Sançar, Nurettin Topçu, Nihal Atsız. If we add Peyami Safa, the great loss of the 1960s, to this chain, the gaps in Turkish intellectual life would be appalling. However, there is a shortage of intellectuals in the country... How much we need them in today's Turkey, where both the honourable and the arrogant are called honourable where honour and dignity are equated with arrogance and arrogance, where the term and concept of nation is tried to be replaced with peoples, where the obscene film scandal fills the streets, where brother shoots brother, where the literature of "Down with the enemy" is made on the walls without knowing what and why... At least, if we could at least appreciate what we have left and protect those of our national spiritual values that have not yet been destroyed... For example, if Atsız Hodja had lived in France and died there as a French Nationalist, his statue would have been erected in the Pantheon, he would have been admitted to the Academy in his lifetime and the state would have organised an official funeral ceremony at his death. Atsız, on the other hand, will be honoured by the Turkish nation and his memory be passed on to future generations. generationgeneration at Atsız's funeral gave me such a hope for the future. I walked from Kadıköy to Karacaahmet with more confidence.*

Ayhan SONGAR

*Turkish nationalism has lost another great plane of seventy years. Our pain is of course great, our sorrow is of course deep. Atsız Hoca was one of the three or five brave men who continued the Turkism movement, which was ignited by Ziya Gökalp, with great courage even in the most oppressive period of the CHP. He was the most prominent representative of the rare people of character who continued the ideal of Turkism, which he started as a young man, without making any concessions until the end of his life. Today, all Turkish nationalists under the age of fifty have been nourished by the works of Atsız Bey. I wish mercy to the deceased from Almighty God and condolences to all Turkish nationalists.*

Necmettin HACİEMİNOĞLU



*Nihal Atsız's sudden death has overwhelmed me with sorrow as well as the Turkish nation. Our loss is great. My condolences to all of us.*

Erol GÜNGÖR

*His death deprived us an exemplary idealist and a reliable friend. His pain will be deeply felt in the Turkish world as well as in Turkey.*

Sait BİLGİÇ

*Atsız was a versatile person. He was a man of nationalism. He was a sensitive and strong poet. He was a strong linguist. He was a very strong historian. But above all he was a man of ideals. For a true man of ideal, everything else is at the command of his ideal. Atsız, too, would certainly be pleased that his life and sufferings are taken as an example and lesson for the future struggle of the ideal rather than being praised. God forbid that this nation should live a life like Atsız's. Because that life only possible with the coming together of two elements. A person with a spirit that was undaunted by anything and at the same time deeply loyal to his state, an administration hostile to Turkishness and an indifferent and unconscious public opinion had come together. Without this second element, a life like Atsız's would not be possible. But let me wish this from Allah: Allah grant this nation to see many more people like Atsız who have given their hearts to this nation and who, like Atsız, will not give up the struggle. Let us know well that the survival and survival of the Turkish nation depends on the acceptance of this last prayer.*

İsmet TUMTURK

*The Turkish Nation lost Nihal Atsız, one of its valuable pioneers. On the first day of Eid, we sent him off to his resting place from Osmanağa Mosque... If we need a metaphor, Nihal Atsız was "like the Magnificent at Zığetvar" that day. He was dead, but the conquering armies of the Turkish ideal he inculcated were marching and would march... May Allah have mercy on him. May Allah grant his strength of character to our youth.*

Ahmet KABAKLI

*"The fact that we lost Mr Atsız, one of the most valuable and great representatives of Turkish Nationalism today, before he could finish his "Turkish History", which I believe will shed light on the Turkish youth, deepens the pain in him. In the face of this divine manifestation, can do nothing but express our condolences to the Turkish Nation and Nationalists... What a pain..."*

N. SEFERCİOĞLU

*"Atsız Hodja, who spent his whole life as a man of struggle, was both a man of literature, a historian and an intellectual. He really acted as a teacher in the upbringing of many Turkish Nationalists. Above all, he was the Atsız of his cause. He was also a crusader of virtue"*

Mustafa KAFALI

*"I'm so sorry. There is no way to describe it with words. Atsız was our teacher, our elder. Our duty is to follow his path. May God give patience to all of us."*

Gülçin ÇANDARLIOÇLU

*I was born in 1944. Atsız was in a coffin in 1944. And I went to prison in the spring of 1973. It coincided with the days when Atsız left prison. In other words, an honourable life full of prisons, jails and exiles... A life spent in the custody of the cruelest guards ruled by the cruelest dictators... A detention that is not life but an overwhelming detention... And despite this detention, the struggle for Turkishness despite anti-Turkist governments and anti-Turkist attorneys general... I think this is what Atsız means. And I think the Turkish youth he raised will be such an idealist, such a brave and warrior. Loyalty to him is not crying. It is to go the way he went like an arrow, like a bullet. And to die on that path! Turkishness has lost a great son. Thanks to Turkishness.*

Necdet SEVİNÇ

### **Atsız in Tanrıdağı**

*Here it's condolences, there it's bright eyes;  
there are two different ceremonies in two  
different worlds.*

*There is one among us who, a sublime  
commandment from God, suddenly pitches his  
tent.*

*There, the spirit of the ancestors is in the glory  
Here, there is a boran in the hearts in tamu.*

*One side of us is missing; we are as if we have been hit,  
God forbid, as if there is someone who has broken the  
Bozkurt.*

*Has the sky above collapsed or has the ground below  
collapsed? one has a mouth or tongue; ask with their  
eyes.*

*When we see him off from here, there thousands of  
Alp-Eren welcoming him there.*

*On that day, the dawn of the day in Tanrıdağı,  
they said, "Someone has entered Oguz Khan's  
tent.*

*And in the presence of God-Kut Mete.  
Some people saw Kūr Şad and Kül Tigin kneeling together.*

*It is customary; what comes and goes, the rising day  
sets, God forbid, the state, religion and the QUR'AN  
exist.*

*Although unbearable, the pain of being Atsız  
Thank God Almighty, there is toy again, there is Turan.*

Niyazi Yıldırım GENÇOSMANOĞLU

## **Doubling**

*Grey Grey Wolves with sky manes, men of blessed  
ideals! Kneel before Atsız Yabgu!*

*A clean clear spring filtered by three thousand  
years Either Üçok or Bozok, he is of us,*

*He flew away to Heaven, to the floor of the right  
Yalavach, from there there is no other destination,  
neither forward nor backward.*

*His departure is not the departure of a  
mortal, it is as if Tanrıkut's expedition on  
Hutay...*

*We have lifted the nine bricks and directed them  
to the exact target. Let the stars bear witness,  
these December skies!*

*Those divisions marching with Ilgar are his...  
The wrists are solid pulat, the claws are ...*

*His cry still echoes in the opposite  
mountains, sword and sword, galloping, this is  
Chichi's soldier...*

*It is a Ural air over the Turkish provinces, it will  
be breathed the chest for a thousand years.*

*Grey Grey Wolves with sky manes, men of blessed  
ideals! Kneel before Atsız Yabgu!*

Dilaver Cebeci



"Let neither ambition nor envy find a place in your heart. You are the property of our country with all your being. You are not a human being; you are neither bone nor flesh; you must remain eternal like a statue of bronze."

## **Atsız's Struggle**

Atsız's childhood and youth were the most unfortunate years of Turkish history. All our states collapsed, all our homelands were occupied. The Ottoman Empire, which was the last stronghold of resistance, was also dying. Worst of all, the non-Turkish elements, with whom we had lived together for centuries, whom we had protected and protected, whom we had breathed under the shadow of our state tunic, took advantage of our bad days and exhibited their treachery. The betrayal initiated by non-Muslim minorities has gradually expanded and spread non-Turkish Muslim nationalities and communities.

When Atsız was a child of 7-8 years old, he encountered the definition of enemy through fights with Italian children in Suez, where his father was stationed. When they return to Istanbul, the same fight continues with the Greek children at the French Mek-teb. These fights did not leave any favourable impressions of foreign nationals in the mind of Atsız, whose personality was still forming. During his first years of youth, when he enrolled in the Military Medical School, taking sides against the minority nationalists was his first serious questioning of his identity. The second factor that exacerbated this questioning was the rapid spread of the idea of Communism among the youth, spread and imposed from Russia. The Muscovite, which had been enshrined in young Atsız's mind as the national enemy, was attempted to be introduced into the Turkish homeland under the guise of ideology. When Atsız becomes a supporter of violent fights, he is expelled from the school. This process sharpens Atsız's Turkist and genealogist side.

The actual beginning of Atsız's Turkist struggle was in 1931. In the year he graduated from the Faculty of Literature, Atsız, who had a strong writing staff

Mecmua, forming the basis of his struggle. While researches on Turkish culture were published in this magazine, an effective intellectual struggle against communism was being waged on the other hand. Especially in the Sertels' magazine *Resimli Ay*, the most violent resistance to the defamation campaign against Turkist artists and thinkers, which was initiated under the leadership of Nazım Hikmet, came from Atsız.

His studies on Turkish literature and history attracted the attention of his teacher Fuat Köprülü and he became Köprülü's assistant. In these years, Zeki Velidi Togan stood against an unscientific history thesis that was beginning to dominate the state with a Turkic sensitivity and very tough debates were taking place. Atsız sided with Zeki Velidi despite his teacher Köprülü. This attitude him to be dismissed from his assistantship.

Atsız, who was removed as an assistant and exiled as a teacher first to Malatya and then to Edirne, continues his struggle by publishing *Orhun* magazine. Due to his articles in the magazine criticising the work published by the Turkish Historical Society and taught as a history book in high schools, the magazine is closed down and he is suspended. Atsız, who stayed at the Ministry for nine months, was appointed to the Naval Reserve Preparatory School. Due to his uncompromising stance on the implementation of the regulation stating that "non-Turks should not be admitted to the school" in the school entrance examinations, he comes into conflict with the principal of the school, who has a minority consciousness, and is dismissed from his position. Exile and expulsion, far from discouraging Atsız, further reinforced his Turkist and genealogical convictions. continues his struggle by rejecting all kinds of positions and benefits.

Atsız's main fight against the communists who had infiltrated the state.

In the social and psychological environment created by the World War II, Atsız is a single-handed crusader against the communists who increased their activities and raised their voices. He opposes communism both intellectually and with a national hatred against the Muscovite because it is an idea supported by Russia. He considers it his duty to expose the communists infiltrating the state, especially in the national education cadres. The arrogant behaviour of the famous scientist İsmail Baltacıoğlu, who stormed the hall during the conference of the famous scientist İsmail Baltacıoğlu and prevented the conference by making an outburst, was the last straw.

Atsız wrote two open letters to the prime minister of the time, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, and published them in *Orhun*. When this letter, which was published in the 15th issue of *Orhun*, was not taken seriously by the addressees, it was published in the 16th issue.

He writes the second open letter with a sharp tone. In the letter, he mentions the names Sabahattin Ali, Pertev Naili Boratav, Sadrettin Celal and Ahmet Cevat and claims that these names are communists and traitors.

The second letter enumerated all the activities of the communists and even informed about their secret activities. After the publication of the letter, thousands of letters and telegrams were sent to Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of National Education, protesting against it, and Atsız was dismissed from his position at Boğaziçi High School.

Sabahattin Ali files a defamation lawsuit. Atsız travels to Ankara for the trial and is greeted by an enthusiastic crowd at the railway station. The first hearing is eventful. When young people who love Atsız demonstrate against Sabahattin Ali, no spectators are admitted to the second hearing held on 3 May 1944. The demonstrations of young people who loved Atsız, which overflowed to the streets of Ankara, transformed the trial from a fight between Nihal Atsız and Sabahattin Ali into a fight between Turkists and communists. Atsız was arrested on the pretext of the demonstrations. On 9 May 1944, at the third hearing, Atsız is sentenced to prison. Due to provocation, the sentence is reduced to four months and converted into a fine. Atsız, who should have been released, is arrested by the order of National Chief İnönü. As of 14 May 1944, the houses of all Turkists searched.

On 18 May 1944, with the official communiqué published, Atsız and his friends were accused of pursuing the cause of "Racism and Turanism" and establishing a secret organisation with the aim of overthrowing the established order. President İsmet İnönü, in his speech at the Youth Day ceremony on 19 1944, heavily accused Atsız and his friends and took sides in the case.

After this unfortunate speech, a nationwide hunt for nationalist-Turkists was launched. Many nationalist youth were subjected to severe torture. Anyone who had anything to do with Atsız, especially those who had written letters to him, were arrested. The list of Turkish nationalists who were put in cells called coffins with tortures is as follows: Zeki Velidi TOGAN, Hasan Ferit CANSEVER, Nihal ATSIZ, Hüseyin Namık ORKUN, Necdet SANCAR, Fethi TEVETOÇLU, Alparslan TÜRKÜŞ, Reha Oğuz TÜRKKAN, Hey- betullah İDİL, İsmet Rasim TÜMTÜRK, Cihat Savaş FER, Muzaffer ERİŞ, Zeki SOFUOÇLU, Hikmet TANYU, Sait BİLGİÇ, Cemal Oğuz ÖCAL, Cebbar ŞENEL, Hamza Sadi ÖZBEK, Nurullah BARIMAN, Fehiman ALTAN, Fazıl HİSARCIKLı, Saim BAYRAK, Yusuf KADIGİL, Osman Yüksel SERDENGEÇTİ, İlhan Egemen DARENELİOÇLU, Şevki ERSOY, Ziya ÖZKAYNAK, Mehmet KÜLAHLIOÇLU and Necdet ÖZGELEN.



The trial, which went down in history as the Racism-Turanism Trial, began on 7 September 1944. The trial lasts 65 hearings in three sessions a week and is completed on 29 March 1945. When Atsız is sentenced to 6.5 years, he does not give up the struggle and the case. The Military Court of Cassation overturns the verdict and Atsız is released on 23 October 1945.

He's persona non grata. He's unemployed for two years. He suffers from financial difficulties, but he does not give in. Atsız, who fought with the National Chief and his party tirelessly, exhausted the advance he had given to the Democratic Party early. Atsız, who criticised the government that came to power with the votes of nationalist and conservative masses of people but remained silent against separatist and separatist minority movements, was dismissed from his teaching position on the pretext of a speech he made and was awarded the position of library officer. Atsız, who does not care about convictions, dismissals and exiles, does not care about this either. He clings to his cause with an increasingly stronger will and faith.

He knows that it is his duty to warn the rulers of the state about the dangers and betrayals. In 1967, when he revealed the harmful activities of Kurdish and Communist organisations in the east with a series of articles in Ötüken Magazine, he again the wrath of leftist and Kurdish circles. The Ministry of Justice takes Atsız to court. Atsız is sentenced to 15 months. He is imprisoned despite his advanced age and illnesses. When the request for amnesty submitted to the President by his students and friends in absentia is accepted, he is released.

With the exception of his childhood years, Atsız every moment of his seventy years of life for his cause. His cause was Turkism and Turanism. Atsız, who defended the idea of Turkism and Turanism with racist extremism and turned this extremism into a defence mechanism against the betrayals of minorities, lived intoxicated by his boundless love for Turkish history and the Turkish nation. Throughout his life, he warned the rulers of the state and was the flagbearer of the nation's struggle for honour against the enemies of the nation. To understand his struggle, perseverance and determination, it is enough to look at his defence in the 1944 trials:

*In conclusion, I say the following:*

*I-I am a Turk. Turkism is nationalism. Racism and Turanism also included in its scope. The country will either rise or fall on these two foundations. Racism and Turanism are not contrary to the Constitution. It is clearly stated in the Penal Code.*



*No one can be accused of an act that is not written to be an offence. The state is openly racist by its actions and Turanist by annexing Hatay.*

*2- It cannot be claimed that I publicly insulted the government on the basis of the letters known only to those who sent them and my will, which is unknown to everyone. These obtained as a result of a search conducted by the police for another matter. No complaint or denunciation has been made that I have insulted the government. God knows how many thousands of people written such letters or prepared such wills. According to the Constitution, I am free to think as I wish, because I am a citizen of a land of free citizens where equal justice prevails.*

*3- I did not organise the demonstration in Ankara. This demonstration was a mass and national movement that broke out from the heart of the nationalist youth, encouraged by the parliamentarians and instigated by Sabahattin Ali. It was Hasan Ali and Falih Rifki, my personal and irreconcilable enemies, who portrayed it as a movement against the government.*

*In concluding my remarks, I cannot help mentioning a historical example: When the Prophet Jesus was asked for his opinion about a prisoner to be stoned to death, he did not say anything at first. When they insisted, he replied, "Whoever among you is without sin, let him cast the first stone".*

*If you do not think as I do, if you are not convinced that I am always telling the truth, good or bad, you can decide as you wish. Since you, the judges, are human beings, you may make human mistakes. But time, which is the infallible judge, that is to say, history, will make the most just decision about all of us, and if I am convicted for being a racist and Turanian, this conviction constitute the greatest honour of my life.*<sup>39</sup>

In the years when Atsız's Turkist struggle was shaped, Turkey had to be content with the lands left behind from a huge empire and a country of people whose national pride was hurt. Following the victory in the national struggle that transformed this wounded pride, the winds of Turkism began to blow in the country, and those of Turkish descent used as the main element. This situation was also reflected in the laws enacted. With the laws enacted, the right to form scouting organisations in schools and outside the schools was conditional on being Turkish, and civil servants were required to be of Turkish descent. Ethnic and religious minorities were prohibited from establishing associations. Only those of Turkish descent could own newspapers and magazines. It is possible to multiply these examples as much as possible.

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39 Turkism (Racism-Turanism) Trial Defence 19 February 1945

If Atsız's world of thought is understood independently of these conditions, it would be difficult to understand his excesses and sensitivities.

Atsız's unjust dismissal from the university unfortunate both in terms of his scholarly career and in the sense that it prevented him from expressing his ideas in more favourable environments. When Köprülü had Atsız expelled from the university, he prevented him from being invited to Atatürk's assemblies, probably thinking that he might take revenge on him. However, Atatürk was a leader who liked young talents and honoured them by inviting them to his council. The fact that Atsız did not have the chance to be close to Atatürk created extremely harmful situation for Turkish historical science. Atsız, who was legitimised by Atatürk and reinstated to his scientific life at the university, would not have had to fight to express his ideas. This would have saved the idea of Turkism from falling into opposition in the forties, but it did not happen.

Despite his soft and quiet temperament, Atsız fought with many famous names of the period as a necessity of the idea of Turkism. His fights with penmen of different views went beyond discussions of ideas and turned into pitched battles. Who is not those whom Atsız single-handedly declared war against? Nazım Hikmet, Vala Nurettin, Nurettin Topçu, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Hasan Ali Yücel, Ali Fuat Başgil and after the sixties a series of eastern MPs and senators who tried to sow the seeds of separatism...

Atsız's intellectual struggles be categorised under three headings. He did not hold back from fighting with the minorities who lived in the Turkish homeland but were not subject to the Turks and took a stance against them, with the internationalist and Marxist left, with the political ummahist and Anatolian right, and declared war all of them with his sharp and extreme style:

Atsız; It is possible to determine Turkey's agenda between 1925 and 1975 by looking at his articles published in magazines such as Adsız, Altın Işık, Atsız Mecmua, Yurt Bilgisi, Büyük Doğu, Çınaraltı, Ergenekon, Gözlem, Halk Bilgis, Tarih Mecmuası, İstanbul Journal Kızıl Elma Kopuz Kür Şad Orhun Orkun Ötügen, Özleyiş Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi Şarkiyat Mecmuası Tanrıdağ, Turan Kütüphaneciler Birliği Bulletin Türkiye Mecmuası Türk Sazı, Türk Yurdu. He was more concerned with the cultural and political issues of the country than writing what he believed to be the truth.

did not hold back. Especially since the 60s, he has fearlessly marched against ethnic separatism, which started to exhibit daring behaviour.

In those years, Atsız, who pointed out the inaccuracy of the concept of turkey-ness, which is reheated in today's Turkey, and the danger of missionary activities, and accused those who were tolerant of these activities of treason, was often left alone by his own friends and even by the Turkists he trained.

Atsız fought with every person, mass and idea that attempted to take a stand against the Turk and Turkism. For him to be hostile to an idea, the fact that it is anti-Turkism is reason enough. Atsız continued his fight against Communism, Anatolianism, Political Ummahism, Freemasonry, Kurdism and Nurculuk and the organisations established in the context of these ideas until his death. He was left alone in many of his fights and by his travelling companions. But he never gave up.

### Atsız's Struggle with Communism and Communists

The internationalist and cosmopolitan approaches of the left, which ignored the reality of the nation, kept Atsız in a quarrel with this group as well. The fact that Marxism was confronted with the identity of "Muscovite" further sharpened his stance against it. Atsız appears as the voice of the national conscience against Nazım Hikmet, who intimidated the literary world with his efforts to discredit the great artists and intellectuals raised by the Turkish nation with his "We Destroy Idols" campaign. Although he paid a heavy price for his fights with Vala Nurettin, Sertels and Hasan Ali Yücel, he never gave up or shut up.

*Today come to light that Nâzım Hikmet and his comrades lackeys who wanted to bind Turkey to Moscow. It is also treason to try to have a traitor of the homeland recognised as a patriot. His treachery is another matter, but it is also futile to resist on the grounds that he is a great poet. Only people with bad taste like the old Hurufî poets enjoy listing trite rhymes. Those who point to his writing verses of longing for Turkey as a witness to his patriotism should remember that just as the fact that a prostitute of forty years has mentioned chastity once in her life does not mean that she is an honourable woman, the fact that a traitor who has sold his homeland looks longingly at his birthplace cannot be evidence of his patriotism.*<sup>40</sup>

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40 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43



Atsız sees communism as the greatest and most imminent danger for the Turkish nation. He believes that the claims of communists are immature dreams that will never come true. Stating that many discourses of communism seem to be impressive and endearing and affect the masses, Atsız thinks that the real face of communists is different from these discourses:

*The communists claimed unite the whole world and establish a new order. In this new order, everyone would work, everyone would be insured in all respects, no one would exploit anyone, war would be abolished, in short, a very happy and advanced world would be established. Even the so-called government would be abolished and people would be governed by co-operatives. However, although it seemed to be successful at the beginning, this idea was nothing but a utopia, or as the ancients used to call it, a "dream-crude". Because it was strongly contrary to human creation and psychology.* <sup>41</sup>

Atsız is against communism's views on spiritual values rather than its economic goals. He sees the structure of communism based on the denial of God, family and nationality as very dangerous for Turkishness and Turkism.

*He did not accept God, denied the family, and even wanted to abolish money. It had already condemned itself to failure by denying the spiritual and moral aspects of man. However, among the people who were tired of the disasters and frustrations brought about by the First World War, thoughts such as "what, let's try this" were quite widespread. Communism could only gain a foothold in 1918 in a backward country like Russia, whose people were oppressed in every respect. This was achieved through coups d'état and communism could only survive by killing masses of people.* <sup>42</sup>

We do not know whether Atsız would have been hostile to communism if it had remained only an economic doctrine and emerged far away from our geography, and whether he would have fought against it so relentlessly. But is known is that the main and main reason for Atsız's hostility to communism and communists is that it appeared before us as "Muscovite Imperialism":

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41 Communism is doomed to collapse, Observation, 20 March 1969

42 Communism is doomed to collapse, Observation, 20 March 1969



*Communism has ceased to be an economic idea or a social order for the whole world and especially for us. Communism today means only Muscovism.* <sup>43</sup>

The fact that communism is disguised as "Muscovite" is reason enough for Atsız to oppose it. According to him, the hatred between nations, which are enemies of each other due to history and geography, is among the indispensable tools of the struggle between nations. The Turkish nation has been struggling with the Russians for three centuries, first in Turkestan and then in Turkey starting from the Caucasus. Russians an imminent danger for all Caucasian and Asia Minor nations. For this reason, Atsız thinks that leaning towards communism is synonymous with "treason":

*According to Turkism, Muscovy is our irreconcilable enemy. History, destiny and geopolitics have created this enmity. This enmity cannot be removed by politics and lies. Therefore, we are in favour of nurturing the enmity of Muscovy, which is already hidden, in the nation as one of the executive factors in the life of the Turkish race. Enmity, like love, keeps nations alive and standing. Turkish foreign ministers may be friends with Muscovites. To think such a thing for the Turkish nation is to think against national interests. the Muscovites are our enemies, communism, which is the imperialism of the Muscovites, is our most dangerous enemy. Since communism has become the property of Muscovites, supporting it is treason. Communists, who are the lowest traitors in terms of Turkism, must be destroyed.* <sup>44</sup>

According to Atsız, most communists are Muscovite spies. He thinks that Russians lure the children of other nations with the "myth of social justice" and turn them into voluntary spies for their imperialist goals. He believes that communism has degraded humanity as never before in history:

*In no other era of history the human spirit been so degraded and so many traitors emerged. Communism is a Muscovite imperialism with thousands of spies, degenerated in spirit and character. It is a crude and Muscovite imperialism that has no limits to its ambitions, that wants to reach the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, and that dreams of conquering the whole world.*

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43 Irreconcilable Enemies of History, Orkun, 1950, 5th issue

44 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

*imperialism... All this insatiable ambition is based on the myth of bringing social justice to the world...<sup>45</sup>*

In those years when the Russian occupation of Turkestan continued, it was natural for Atsız to see communism, which meant "Muscovite imperialism", as the biggest obstacle for the goal of Turan. Russians persecuted the Turks in Turkistan. Despite this persecution, communists, who live in our country like Russian spies, tell the lie that Russians are developing and building Turkistan. This is enough reason for Atsız, who devoted his whole life to the Turan ideal, to be hostile to communism:

*They claim that the Muscovites are developing the Turks there. America is an imperialist, but Russia is not. Nazım Hikmet is a great national poet, etc... To believe that the Muscovites have improved the Turkestan Turks is the same as believing that the butcher fattened the lamb he fed for slaughter because he liked the lamb. In 1926 Why the Kazakhs, who were 4.000.000, became 3.500.000 in 1966, 40 years later, is not explained. The Turks of Turkey, who were 13,500,000 in 1927, became 32,000,000 in 1967, that is, they increased by 135 per cent in 40 years. At the same rate, the Kazakhs would have been 9,500,000, but they have fallen to 3,500,000 people. Here is a shining example of high communist culture and communism's endeavour to develop nations..<sup>46</sup>*

According to Atsız, it is against the nature of things for a person to be both honest and a communist. The fact that Marx, the founder of communism, was a Jew is enough reason not to believe in him. The sincere communists are stateless vagabonds who sold their souls to Marx. The number of these is already small, most of the rest are not sincere. They tell lies to deceive the children of the nation. They deny religions, nationalities and homelands. It is unthinkable for Atsız to make peace with communists who claim that the sense of nationality is a means of exploitation invented by those with full stomachs:

*A communist is a stateless vagabond who has sold his conscience to the Jew "Marx". He thinks that where a labour dictatorship is established, heaven has been reached. Sometimes he is a fool who is sincere in this belief. Sometimes he is not sincere, he says this to deceive. Then he is a treacherous person. The communist thinks that he has come up with the idea of solving the legal disparity between the boss and the labourer in the world.*

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45 Irreconcilable Enemies of History, Orkun, 1950, 5th issue

46 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43

*It says. The first thing he does for this is to deny religions, nationalities and homelands. The communist endeavours to explain all the issues in the world with "stomach". According to him, "nationality" is a trap used by those with full stomachs to use those with empty stomachs. If nationalities are abolished, the world will be a paradise.*<sup>47</sup>

For Atsız, the most important reason for being hostile to communism was that almost all of the first communists in Turkey belonged to minorities and other ethnic origins. For Atsız, who considered the fact that a person living in these lands did not belong to the Turkish lineage as a potential danger, this reason alone enough for communism to be seen as a destructive minority movement:

*Most of the communists in Turkey are not Turks. They are mongrels or non-Turks who have lost their original nationality and have become Turks. Their participation in any movement that would uproot the Turkish nationality can be explained by the "hatred against the Turk" that lives in their imagination.*<sup>48</sup>

Atsız thinks that some of the communists are deviants who seek sexual freedom and want to take advantage of communism for this purpose. He believes that the other part of the communists are broke people deceived by enemy money:

*Some of the communists are broke. They have plunged into this bottomless path because they could not see any other way to be equal with others. Some of them are also scoundrels who have made a mistake in their sexual life. The thought of finding women easily in the communist society has led them to this path. Some of them are bullies who receive money and ranks from communist centres. Some of them are fools. They embarked on this business without knowing, understanding or seeing. But in any case, a communist is a traitor. In Turkey, where only one thousandth of the population is labourers and where other classes of people are oppressed more than the labourers, the pretext of coming forward to defend the interests of the labour class is ridiculous. Their real aim is to enslave us in communist centres. Centres which are systematically destroying our race...*<sup>49</sup>

There are two major communities that have accepted and implemented communism as a political and economic system: Russians and Chinese. These two nations are the two imperialist countries that occupy Turkestan, the main geography of the Turan ideal.

47 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43

48 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43

49 Communist, Jew and Sycophant, Orhun, 1934, Issue: 5



They are our historical enemies. The future of the Turan ideal depends on our defeat of these two nations. For this reason, for Atsız, both these two nations and communism, the political and economic system they use, are our enemies.

*Will today's quarrel between the Russians and the Chinese lead to a war tomorrow? Of course it will. War is an eternal and everlasting law. Even those who have come forward to abolish it cannot be excluded from the provisions of this law. Therefore, the Chinese and Russians will definitely clash. However, this struggle will end first with the uprising of the European satellites and then of the nations of the Soviet Union and China, and communism will pass away, leaving its place to a moderate and civilised socialism, as in Yugoslavia, according to the most conservative estimate. Russia and China are two hostile nations that exploit millions of Turks and occupy Turkestan, the homeland of Turks.*<sup>50</sup>

### Atsız's Struggle with Anatolianism

Atsız's fight with the right was harsher and harsh. The attempts of the Anadoluculuk movement to separate Turkey from its "Turanian" roots and to tear it apart subjected to Atsız's anger. In this context, we see two important names who received their share from Atsız's sword-like pen: Ali Fuat Başgil and Nurettin Topçu. Başgil's sentences explaining the nation in Anatolia as a mixture of ka- vims angered Atsız. Atsız published a pamphlet and directed very harsh criticism at Başgil. On the same plane, Nurettin Topçu's that pushed the Turks of Istanbul and Rumelia and non-Sunni Muslims out of the nation and his calling Timur "Kahpe Timur" were not expressions that Atsız could tolerate. He Turkish history and Turkish nationalities as a whole:

*The historical thesis of Turkism is a national view within the framework of science, completely far from the comedy of considering the ancient nations and especially those living in Anatolia as Turks: Turkish history begins in Central Asia in the XIIth century BC with the "Shu" or "Chu". This history is a homeland stretching from Manchuria to Crimea. It lasted until the XIth century, and in the XIth century, a second homeland was established in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Khorasan, which we call Turkey. Aksak Temür - Yıldırım Beyazıt quarrel in terms of Turkism,*

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50 Communism is doomed to collapse, Observation, 20 March 1969



*It is a fraternal quarrel. In terms of Turkism, the history of Turkey is the history of the Seljuk, Ilkhanid and sovereignties now the history of the republic*<sup>51</sup>

The view of "nevyanism", which found adherents among writers and poets in Turkey as a literary orientation, spread among nationalist poets and writers with Yahya Kemal and found adherents under the name of "Anatolianism". Its basic thesis is the cultural fabric of Anatolia was formed as a result of mixing with the indigenous peoples of Anatolia and that the share of the Turkish ethnic phenomenon in this identity is not as great as exaggerated. The proponents of this view went so far as to say that the Turks of Turkistan and the Turks of Turkey were not the same nation, and were drawn to Atsız's pen, which he wielded like a sword.

*In order for the Turks to become a nation, there is no need for unity of destiny or unity of history. The Turks of Turkey and the Turks of Turkestan have had separate destinies for a long time. This does not mean that they are separate nations, they will one day become one nation with the same destiny. Anatolian and Azerbaijani Turks also lived separately for a long time. Anatolia, Turkestan and Idyl-Ural, Idyl-Ural and Turkey (i.e. Ilkhanids and Golden Army) sometimes clashed violently. Especially the clashes of Anatolian and Azerbaijani Turks due to sectarian quarrels were very painful. However, all this does not prevent Turks from becoming one nation. Just as the fact that the Anatolian Turks, who no one doubts that they are one nation today, struggled for centuries as Ottoman-Karaman and Ottoman-Akkoyunlu did not prevent them from finally uniting as one nation, the unification and fusion of Turkey with other Turks tomorrow is a historical necessity that no one can prevent.*<sup>52</sup>

Atsız strongly criticised those who started the history of Turkishness in Turkey with Malazgirt, considering those who see Turkishness in Anatolia as consisting of a small number of oğuz masses mixed with ancient Anatolian tribes as "mentally ill people" who took shelter behind such a lie because they did not come from Turkish ancestry. Pointing out the lack of historical consciousness of those who cannot understand the difference between dynasties and states, Atsız stated that Turks established two states, one in Asia and the other in Turkey.

51 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

52 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

He underlines the fact that the formations described as states were successive dynasties:

*There is also the delusion of considering Anatolia as a glass, the people in it as a cocktail, and the Turks as the last drink added to this cocktail with the non-national consciousness that comes from not being of Turkish descent, whose adherents consist of some mentally ill people. Those who start our history with Malazgird or the capture of the city of Iznik should ask: What were those who made Iznik the capital or won the battle of Malazgird before? Where were they? The eleventh century is a century under the spotlight of history. It immediately reveals where and what these men were. Thus, it becomes clear the so-called Turkish States were successive Turkish dynasties, that they were in fact a single state that was divided into two or three in times of conquest, and that this extended as far back as Tanrikut.*<sup>53</sup>

The common opinion of the proponents of Anatolianism was that Turanism was an adventure and a dream. The biggest reason for this conviction was Enver Pasha's action on the Caucasus Front. Atsız underlines that Enver Pasha was not only a Turanian but also an Islamist, and states that adventurism is the common character of all the great achievements of history:

*The idea that Turanism was an adventure originated from the failure of Enver Pasha's actions on the Caucasian front in the First World War, which ended in failure and great losses. Just as spring does not come with a flower, judging the wrongness of an idea with one failure is not the result of sound logic. It is now well known that Enver Pasha was a brave soldier, but an incompetent commander. Furthermore, it is also wrong to consider Enver Pasha as a pure Turanian. The Unionists were both Turanists and unityists. They wanted to take both the Caucasus and Egypt. Moreover, the untimely Caucasian offensive not made with the idea of Turanism, but in order to lighten the burden on our ally Germany. As for adventurism, this word be considered carefully and seriously. Not every adventurism is a mistake, nor every necessity a prudent behaviour. The history of mankind is full of adventures in politicsmilitary and science. Christopher Columbus' attempt to reach India by travelling westwards an adventure. So was crossing the Atlantic on a raft. If we look at our own recent history, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's landing in Samsun was also an adventure. The fact that many disagree with this is not because they are not patriotic,*

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53 Turanism, Ötüken, 1973, Issue: 6

*They did not see any possibility of success. However, since he knew how to calculate well, he brought to a brilliant conclusion an undertaking which others opposed as an adventure that would sink Turkey.* <sup>54</sup>

Atsız believes that those who call themselves both Anatolian and nationalist, and those who identify the Turkish nation only with Sunni Islam are the enemies of Turkism.

*Today, even a group that considers the Turkish nation to consist of Sunni Muslims living in Anatolia and calls themselves "Anatolians" claim to be nationalists. In reality, Turkishness and Anatolianism are two incompatible and even hostile ideas. For this reason, it is out of the question for Turkists to hide behind the word nationalism.* <sup>55</sup>

Atsız thinks that seeing Turkish tribes as separate nations does not fit Turkishness and Turkism. He wants it to be known that being separated from each other at the breaking points of history and living under the nationality of other states will not eliminate the unity of the nation. He warns those who want to disrupt the unity of the nation by underlining our differences by giving various examples from history and underlines that all Turkish nationals are one nation by underlining our commonalities:

*Similarly, it fit into reality, history, reason, logic, conscience and especially Turkishness and Turkism to consider those, those, other and other Turks, with whom we lived as one state yesterday, the day before yesterday, the day before yesterday, the day before yesterday and the before yesterday, as separate nations? even the separation of long periods of time and distances remove the parts of a nation from being one nation? If so, where did these Israeli Jews come from? For two thousand years, neither language nor homeland nor race nor tradition... They nothing in common, only their national religion and national beliefs remained intact. Why is it that these and languages of Jews from Ireland France Bulgaria Turkey Syria and Yemen are one nation, but I am not one nation with Tabriz or Genceli, who speak language, why am I not one nation with Crimean or Kazan, Tashkent, Kashgarli or Kulca, and why am I not one nation with Altai or Siberian? Why is it that Kazakh Magjan, who wrote a poem for us during the Sakarya struggle, "To my distant brother", or that cries for the memory of the martyrs of Kunuri with a mawlid?*

54 Turanism, Ötügen, 1973, Issue: 6

55 Great Mistakes of an Encyclopaedia, Ötügen, 1975, Issue: 4



*Tatars in Japan are not my nation, but the Devshirme remnants in Anatolia are?* <sup>56</sup>

Atsız accuses Başgil of ignorance for saying "we are a fused state of various races" analysing and understanding the historical facts sufficiently and reminds that the Seljuks were the continuation of the great Turkish states in Asia and that the Turks had reached the consciousness of being a nation before coming to Anatolia. He states that it is the policy of the Russians to show the Turkishness of Turkey and the Turkishness of Turkistan as separate nations:

*Moreover, this nation did not come to Anatolia in the same way as the Franks came to Gaul. The Franks were primitive Germanic tribes and in Gaul they were struck by the high Roman culture. The Turks, on the other hand, came with their state organisation and tradition, strong customs, literary language, epic, culture and art, and considered the two indigenous nations he encountered in Anatolia, namely the Armenians and the Greeks, so inferior that he did not deign to take anything from them. If there had been the fusion of races and cultures that Başgil claims, the words in our language belonging to the culture of the 11th-12th centuries would not have been entirely Turkish. Faruk Sumer, one of the most valuable scholars of Seljuk history, has pointed out these characteristics in his various writings and enlightened our arrival in Anatolia in terms of history and culture. If Başgil, without knowing any of this and without realising which state the Seljuks, the head of the Turkish state, were the continuation of, asserts "we are a fused state of various races", he would not be telling any historical truth, on the contrary, he would be committing a historical blunder and, moreover, he would be playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks. This is the same propaganda that the Bolsheviks have been using for forty years to disassociate the Turks of Central Asia from us.* <sup>57</sup>

Stating that no community in the world can be defined as a nation if what the Anatolians say is accepted, Atsız accuses those who say that Anatolian Turkishness is a mixture of many ethnicities boiling in the "Islamic cauldron" of dividing the nation. As a matter of fact, he states that it is an unacceptable mistake not to count the Alevis, who are outside Sunni Islam but who participated in the conquest of Anatolia, as our nation:

*If one accepts the assertion of the Ordinary and concludes that the nation in Anatolia (which can no longer be called the Turkish nation) is a mixed nation-*

<sup>56</sup> The Exorbitant Mistakes of the Ordinary, Istanbul 1961

<sup>57</sup> The Exorbitant Mistakes of the Ordinary, Istanbul 1961



*If we come to the conclusion that this nation was formed in which century, it will be a very difficult matter to answer. Since this mixed nation, this Anatolian nation is a nation born from the boiling of Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Greeks, Iranians, Romans, Arabs, Kurds, Oghuzs, Mongols and some other unpredictable communities in the cauldron of Islamic culture, it must have become a nation only recently. Because, since a few hundred thousand Circassians, Abaza and Chechens from the Caucasus joined this cauldron in the 19th century and started to boil, the work of being made into dough has only just been completed and the Kizilbash (= Alevi-Tahtacı-Çepni etc. Turks, whose number is estimated to be 8-10 million and who did not boil in the Islamic cauldron despite their participation in the conquest and defence of Anatolia, do not belong to this mixed nation. This is the conclusion drawn from the claims of the Ordinaryus.<sup>58</sup>*

Atsız's pamphlet titled "The Exorbitant Errors of the Ordinarius" is a refutation of the idea of Anatolianism from beginning to end. Atsız summarises his objections to the Anatolians under six headings:

*1- The Turks of Turkey and the Turks of Central Asia are the only nations with the same physical and especially spiritual structure.*

*2- The Turks of Turkey were not formed in Anatolia, but came to Anatolia as formed.*

*3- The elements that inevitably melted into the Turkish community due to invasions and raids do not disturb its racial identity.*

*4- There is no doubt that there are some differences between Turkey and Turkestan. However, there are also some essential differences between the Turks of Turkey, for example, between individuals belonging to the eastern and Aegean regions, which do not necessitate being "non-Turks".*

*5- The Turks of Turkey and Turkestan belonged to the same political community in many periods of their history, and the cultural exchange has always continued. Let the Ordinary think for a while with a clear mind about the great meaning of the recognition of the Ottoman sultan as the sultan by the Ancestor Gazi Yakub Khan, who established an independent state by expelling the Chinese from East Turkistan during the reign of Sultan Aziz.*

*6- Communism is the force endeavouring to disintegrate Turkishness. Those who, with the delusion of scientific opinion, assert that Turks are separate nations, knowingly or unknowingly serve communism.<sup>59</sup>*

<sup>58</sup> The Exorbitant Mistakes of the Ordinary, Istanbul 1961

<sup>59</sup> The Exorbitant Mistakes of the Ordinary, Istanbul 1961

Atsız believes that the idea of Anatolianism is reasonable on the one hand and absurd on the other. The reasonable side of this idea is to consider Anatolian Turkishness, which is the basis and backbone of all Turkishness, above all else. Atsız agrees with this sensitivity of the idea of Anatolianism. He states that the destructive and deviant idea of Anatolianism, which does not consider the Turks outside Anatolia as part of our nation and even sees them as the enemy of the Turkishness in Anatolia, is the enemy of Turkism. In his article titled "Mistakes of a Philosophy Teacher", he criticises Nurettin Topçu:

*In addition to reasonable Anatolianism, which means thinking of the Anatolian Turks, who are the backbone of all Turks, first and foremost and developing them, there is also a destructive Anatolianism, which is to write off the Turks outside Anatolia and even to be hostile to them; Nurettin Topçu is the flag-bearer and philosophy teacher of this "so-called ideal", which has recently shown a tendency to expand. According to this philosophy teacher, there is an "Anatolian nation" composed of Sunni Muslims. The greatest enemies of this nation, whose national history began with the 1071 Malazgirt victory, are the Shiites and Turkestanis as a human group and Turanism as an idea. The exemplary figures of the Anatolian nation in the last period are Namık Kemal, Mehmet Akif and Hüseyni Ayni. Temir is a traitor. Turkestanis are the descendants of Temir. Turanists are Dön Quixotes who think that they can go to Turan with the stroke of a spur. Turanism is the antithesis of nationalism, etc...*<sup>60</sup>

Atsız considers all heroes of Turkish history untouchable. He thinks that those who speak ill of them are speaking ill of the nation. For this reason, Nurettin Topçu's calling Timur, the great Turkish jihadist, a "bitch" made Atsız lose his patience:

*Although Nurettin Topçu is a staunch Muslim, he spends his life undermining one of the main principles of Islam: According to Islam, aren't all Muslims Then what is the meaning of his resentment against the Muslim Turks of Turkestan? If this resentment arises from the fact that he considers them the descendants of Aksak Temir, in other words, if he ignores the 500-year statute of limitations and wants to blame the ancestor's crime on the descendant, he is the one who will be harmed. Because Nurettin Topçu is from Eğin. The people of Eğin and all the Turks of Eastern Anatolia fought against the Ottomans of Yıldırım Bayazıd in the ranks of the Temir army in the Battle of Ankara. Probably, Nurettin Topçu's ancestors of that time were among these Turkmen horsemen shot arrows and swords against Bayazıd. By calling Temir a bitch,*

60 Mistakes of a Philosophy Teacher, Orkun, 1964, Issue: 23

*Doesn't Nurettin Topçu accept being a descendant of those who served in a whore's army? But let him not worry. As Temir was not a whore, Topçu's grandfather in the army of Temir was not a soldier of a whore either. It is a great fortune to be a private in the most disciplined and valiant army like Timur's army, which has never been defeated in the history of the world. I congratulate Nurettin Topçu for having such a grandfather.*<sup>61</sup>

Nurettin Topçu's view, like all other Anatolians, that the Turkish nation was born out of the mixture of nomadic Turks and other indigenous peoples who came to Anatolia and was shaped by being kneaded with the dough of Sunni Islam is an unacceptable heresy and betrayal for Atsız. He emphasises that it is meaningless to tie the name of the nation to geography and to condemn the history of the nation to interruptions:

*I know that it is futile to tell Topçu that the Turks of Turkistan are at least as Turkish and as honourable we are, that the country they live in is called Turkistan, and that we come from Turkistan, our original homeland. Because he does not accept "Turk", "Turkey" or "Turkeli" as a national name, but Anatolia, a Greek word. And he takes a morbid pleasure in creating an "Anatolian nation" that emerged from the mixture of Byzantine Muslims and Turks from the east on Hittite ruins. It is a strange nation founded on sectarian and political borders, whose history begins on 26 August 1071 out of the blue, and whose greatest enemies not Muscovites and others of that kind, but Turkestanis and Shiites.*<sup>62</sup>

Atsız's Turkist anger reduces Topçu, who denounced Turanism, the main goal of Turkism, as a fantasy and sophistry, to the same level as the likes of "Faliḥ Rifkî, Hasan Ali and Ahmet Emin". The only criterion in Atsız's relations with people is Turkism. Anyone who opposes the idea of Turkism, even if he is his friend of half a century, is scratched with a pen and ignored:

*Why is it that Topçu's wish to establish a hybrid and freak Anatolian nation by rejecting Turkishness is not a fantasy, but Turanism, that is, the ideal of uniting all Turks, is considered delusional? Why is it Anatolian nationalism to exclude Shiite Anatolian Turks, the descendants of the founders of Turkey and the conquerors of Anatolia, from the nation in one fell swoop, but thinking of Turks outside our political borders the antithesis of nationalism?*

61 Mistakes of a Philosophy Teacher, Orkun, 1964, Issue: 23

62 Mistakes of a Philosophy Teacher, Orkun, 1964, Issue: 23



*enemies. I congratulate him. In this field Falih Rifka agrees and sides with the likes of Hasan Ali and Ahmet Emin.* <sup>63</sup>

### Atsız's Struggle with Political Ummahism

Political Ummahism emerged in our culture under the name of Ittihad-ı İslam (the politics of Islamic unity). It was also called Panislamism. In general, the ideal that this idea focussed on was the policy of the unification of all Muslims. This idea, which was tried to be turned into the official ideology of the state by Abdulhamid II, was also used in the War of World War I and the War of Independence as an effort to use the office of the caliphate more effectively. According to Atsız, Islamism is an idea that should be honoured as the ideology of the Ottoman Turks, but it is no longer valid today:

*Islamism was the strongest character and the highest ideal of yesterday. Islamism of yesterday was what Turkism is today. In fact, Islamism was the national ideology of the Turks. Since the fourteenth century, no Muslim nation other than the Turks, neither Arabs, Persians, Persians nor Indians have pursued Islamism* <sup>(64)</sup>

Among the intellectual currents that emerged during the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Turkism and Islamism were the ones that fought each other the most. These two ideas, which were fused with each other in the cultural fabric of the Turkish people, became the field of mutual accusations and relentless intellectual fights between politicians and intellectuals. While Islamists accused Turkists as heretics deceived by Jews and led to ideas Turkists defined Islamists as ignorant, reactionary and minority discriminators. Atsız had a deep disagreement with the Islamists on two issues and fought with them until his death. The first of these was that Islamist pens labelled Turkists as irreligious the other was that intellectuals belonging to minorities expressed their resentment against the Turkish nation by hiding behind the idea of Islamism:

*Some fanatical ummahists cannot tolerate Turkism. They dream of uniting all Muslims into a single state. They do not even realise that the Arabs cannot even unite among themselves, but they do not see that the Arabs, who are the result of different historical formations and who are not at all similar to each other in terms of lineage and culture*

63 Mistakes of a Philosophy Teacher, Orkun, 1964, Issue: 23

64 Mehmet Akif, Kızılçelebi 26 December 1947 9th issue



*they are trying to unite great big nations. Just the communists' dream of turning the world into a single state. In this respect, we agree with the MP who calls them Green Communists.*<sup>65</sup>

Atsız is of the opinion that the realisation of the concepts of Islamic unity and brotherhood in the political sphere but a dream and a delusion. He shows with examples that this unity could not be realised even in times when religion was the main element:

*Islamic unity and brotherhood are delusions. It has not been realised even in times when religion was the main element. It will never be realised from now on, after so much betrayal and enmity has intervened. The unity that will be realised will not be Islamic unity Turkish unity the Sea of Islands to beyond the Altai. The theoretical Muslim brotherhood could not have the slightest effect on the bloody wars. Because the traditions of centuries are stronger than religion and historical destiny is a terrible thing. In spite of this, religious fanatics in our country are still intoxicated with the delusion that an Islamic brotherhood can be established fallen into the perversion of denying their own past great ones*<sup>66</sup>

In various writings, Atsız stated that religious fanaticism was not a thing of the past, that those who dealt with religious issues were raised far away from positive sciences and that this meant ignorant religious officials, and accused Islamists of being ignorant of positive sciences:

*During my 16 years of service in the Süleymaniye Library, I have seen muftis who did not know what a millimetre was, sheikhs who heard for the first time that Venezuela was a state, and "graduates of the Faculty of Theology who claimed that people had ribs on their left side because our mother Eve came out of the left rib of our father Adam But they all belonged to the older generations.*<sup>67</sup>

He strongly condemns those who prefer Arabic to Turkish and the events and heroes of Arab-Islamic history to Turkish history and heroes:

*The important case for them the Ali-Mu'awiya case, the murder of Hussein. Arabic should be the official language. Turkish is not a language anyway. Mete, Atila, Chengiz, Hülegü are infidels. They were blood-drinking tyrants. There should be no law other than Sharia. For children*

65 Yobazlık against Turkism, Ötüken, March 1970, Issue: 75

66 The Delusion of Islamic Unity Ötüken 1964 Issue 4

67 Yobazlık against Turkism, Ötüken, March 1970, Issue: 75

*Giving primitive names such as Iron, Stone, Rock, and especially animal names such as Arslan, Pars, Bozkurt, Doğan is blasphemy. Islamic names should be given. Islam has made Turks a man. It is only thanks to Islam that we were able to establish great states*<sup>68</sup>

The main factor that kept Atsız away from the idea of Islamic unity and made him fight fiercely with the supporters of that idea was the fact that Muslim elements, like non-Muslim minorities, exhausted us in the World War and the National Struggle. This conviction, which is common to all Turkists, is sharp enough for Atsız to look at the non-Turkish Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire with resentment and suspicion.

*Weren't the Albanians who committed total treason in the Balkan War and the Arabs who committed total treason in the First World War Muslims? Weren't the Muslim Arabs who attacked the Turkish soldiers defending Medina together with the British after receiving the gold from the British spy Lavrens? Weren't these Arabs headed by the Sharif family, the descendants of the Prophet, that is, the men who later took the thrones of Iraq and Jordan? Today's generations do not know this because they have not read it in history books: At the end of the First World War, when the Turkish army broke down on the Syrian front, it was these Arabs, our brothers in religion, who killed Turkish prisoners and sometimes disembowelled living Turks, thinking that they had swallowed gold. Even more tragic, when the members of the Sharif family, who had betrayed the Turkish sultan, the Islamic caliph, entered Damascus, these Arabs slaughtered Turkish prisoners sons of Anatolia, as if they were sheep, and sacrificed them to their chief, a descendant of the Prophet* <sup>(69)</sup>

In the first and second parliaments that established the Republic, the ideas of Turkism and Islamism fought like power and opposition. Turkism, as the will that established the Republic, was the victorious side of this fight, while the idea of Islamism was dragged into an attitude such as opposing all the actions of the Republic accusing of blasphemy with this defeat. Since Atsız knew this struggle of the foundation years well, he considered Islamic discourse that emerged under various names as dangerous for the state. The fact that the people who pioneered these movements were not of Turkish descent inflamed Atsız's racist vein and him to take a very sharp stance against them.

68 The Delusion of Islamic UnityÖtüken1964Issue4

69 The Delusion of Islamic UnityÖtüken1964Issue4

*First of all, a weirdness called "Ticânîlik", which was not recognised as a sect or a sect, emerged, and their only action save the country was to break Atatürk busts. Nurculuk came out from behind. An ignorant Kurd named Saîd-i Kurdî wrote some rubbish called Nur Risâlesi and his disciples that this man had only studied in a madrasa for three months and swallowed all sciences and sciences. Then Suleymanism emerged and suppressed the others. They have gone so far astray as to consider the students of Imam Hatip Schools as infidels. In addition to these, some other groups called Biberiye and Kameriye went as far as murder.*<sup>70</sup>

The main issue that angered Atsız was the defamatory and humiliating articles published in Islamist journals about Turkists and the idea of Turkism. Atsız, who accepted that religion was an important value for the life of a nation, was of the opinion that its political exploitation was both wrong and harmful as it would erode values. Therefore, he never approves of political Islamists. Atsız wrote articles disregarding the rules of courtesy against Islamist writers who attempted to portray Turkists as those who served the Jews, and even wrote articles that put him in difficulty in terms of faith in religious matters:

*Every noble idea in the world has been subjected to infamous abuses. In the First World War, Britain, the world's first state with 200 Muslims among its subjects, exploited Islam while fighting against Turkey, the state of the caliph, propagandised that it was put forward to save the caliph from the pagan Unionists. Its famous spy Lavrens deceived Hussein, the Sharif of Mecca, who was a descendant of the Prophet, with British gold coins and raised him the Turks and the Caliph. Hussein's sons and grandsons followed the same path, and finally King Abdullah of Jordan died by assassination, King Ghazi of Iraq died by drunkenness, and King Faisal of Iraq and the regent Abdullillâh died by revolution. The only one of them who remains today is King Husayn of Jordan. Can it be said that "The Prophet was unaware that his own progeny would take up arms against the Turks defending Islam. Similarly, if Ziya Gökalp's Turkism was exploited by the Jews, what can be his fault in this? Moreover, Turkism has not been abused by the Jews. These words are rhymes that have come to life in Hasan Bağcı's imagination and have no basis in fact."*<sup>71</sup>

70 Yobazlık against Turkism, Ötüken, March 1970, Issue: 75

71 Yobazlık against Turkism, Ötüken, March 1970, Issue: 75



### Atsız's Struggle with Freemasonry and Zionism

The history of Freemasonry in Turkey dates back to the late 18th century. Since this century, it is known that there were many English, FrenchGermanItalian, Scottish and Irish Lodges in the Ottoman lands. These lodges, which were initially composed of only foreignersbegan to accept Turks among them in time, and Turks who reached a certain number began to establish their own lodges. In 1861, the Şûra-î Âlî-i Osmanî (Ottoman Supreme Council) was founded and the president of the lodge was Prince Mehmet Abdülhalim Pasha. There is strong evidence that the military coups against Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876 and Sultan Abdülhamit II in 1908 were planned in this Masonic Lodge.

After the Second Constitutional Monarchy, these Turkish lodges, which multiplied in a short time, reached a sufficient number and started to form their own grand lodges, and in 1909 they founded the first Turkish Grand Lodge, which is known today as the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. The names of Mehmet Talat Bey (Talat Pasha), Mehmet Cavit Bey, Rahmi Bey, Mithat Şükrü Bleda, Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı, Nesim Mazlıyah, Mişel Noradunkyan, David Kohen, Osman Adil, Asim Bey, Mehmet Arif, Fuat Hulusi Demirelli, Mehmet Galip, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Osman Talat, Sarım Kibar, Katipzade Sabri, Emanuel Karasu, Mehmet Ali Baba and Faik Süleyman Pasha, all of whom were 33rd degree, have survived to the present day.

Freemasonry is a secret belief and doctrine whose beginnings are variously dated and rumoured. It is an organisation whose activities are open only to its own members. Freemasons all over the world trace their roots to the workers of the Temple of Solomon, which was built in the 10th century BC. The fact that Freemasonry was anti-nationalist and associated with Zionism enough for Atsız to be hostile to this concept:

*We also consider Freemasonry as an enemy. Freemasonry is a secret society with its roots abroad and is anti-Turkist organisation used by those who are incompatible with nationalism. Initially, it was founded to protect the national interests of the Jews in secret, but in time it became an inter-national organisation. The fact that Freemasons belonging to two nations at war are obliged to help each other, even if it is against their own states, has led this group to oppose all nationalisms, and in the meantime*



*It shows that it is also hostile to Turkish nationalism. They secretly try to seize every place and succeed in doing so.*<sup>72</sup>

Zionism is an international Jewish political movement in favour of re-establishing a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. The area in question is the land referred to in the Torah as the Land of Israel. Zionism is based on the historical geography and religious traditions that define Judaism. Initially one of many Jewish political movements offering alternative responses to assimilation and the situation of Jews in Europe, Zionism grew rapidly and became the dominant force among Jewish political movements after the Holocaust. The political movement was officially founded by Theodor Herzl in the late 19th century, following the publication of his work *The Jewish State*. The movement, which aimed to encourage Jewish immigration to the "Land of Israel", modified its goal after the establishment of Israel to support Israel through Jewish lobbies and to seize the rest of the promised land. Atsız is of the opinion that Zionism is an anti-human idea that seeks the happiness of the Jewish race by exploiting other nations. The fact that Zionists shot our army from behind on the Palestine Front and acted as spies for the enemy is a sufficient reason for Atsız not to trust the Jewish race until the end of time:

*Zionism is an organised and anti-humanitarian idea that seeks the comfort and happiness of the Jewish race at the expense of the unrest of the nations of the world. Its endeavour to present itself as the national ideal of a state is to conceal its imperialist aspirations. The horrible reality revealed by the Zionists in the First World War who, disguised in all kinds of disguises, attacked our army on the Palestinian front from behind and spied for the enemy, has forced the Turks to be always vigilant and cautious against this movement. Communism, Zionism and Freemasonry are all enemies of the Turks in Turkey.*

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Atsız is a complete antisemite in every sense of the word. As it is known, antisemitism is anti-Semitism or anti-Semitism. The enmity against the Jewish religion, race, culture or nation was born in Europe and spread to the Islamic geography from the 19th century onwards with the intrigues of the Jews for the return to Palestine. When the Jews shot the Ottoman army from behind on the Palestine Front, the people

72 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

73 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

It also became widespread among the Jews. As in every subject, Atsız expresses his opinions about Jews with sharp expressions:

*No one in the world loves the creature called the Jew except the Jew and the corrupt people. This is because humanity has always worshipped strength, heroism and goodness, whereas the Jew has always been an example of weakness, cowardice, wickedness and lack of character. In our language, expressions such as "like a Jew", "don't be a kike", "kike bazaar", "resembling a synagogue", "one who buys an egg from a Jew cannot find the yolk in it" show the value our race attaches to this vile nation. Even in France, which was hospitable enough to accept Jews expelled from Germany, our friends who have travelled there say that the simplest compliment about Jews is the expression "dirty Jew".<sup>74</sup>*

*We know the ill-fated economic and moral role of the Jews in the country. In fact, we have not forgotten that among the British, French, American, Italian, Greek, Greek and Armenian flags that adorned Istanbul during the Armistice years, there was also a Jewish flag<sup>75</sup>.*

The justifications for Atsız's anti-Semitic attitude, which he expresses without concealment or equivocation, are the personality traits of people belonging to the Jewish nation, which have been the subject of literary works all over the world. Atsız believes that people belonging to the Jewish nation, without exception, have qualities such as being fond of money, stooping so low as to sell their homeland and honour for money, being hostile to the country where they live and eat their bread, changing their forms according to the conditions they find themselves in, cowardice, lying and evil:

*The second enemy is the Jew. His God is money. He is a dishonourable merchant who does not hesitate to sell the flag under whose shadow he lives in order to put a few coins in his pocket. He is the enemy of whichever country he lives in. However, he does not do so openly, but with a smile and a cheek. A Jew is like a liquid. He immediately takes the shape of the container he is in. The Turkification societies established from time to time are the result of this miserable policy. With this, they want to make us forget that they spied for our enemies in the world war and insulted Turkishness in the armistice. They even go further and themselves Turkish names.<sup>76</sup>*

Atsız maintains the same hostile attitude towards the Jewish converts, a reality of Turkey from the imperial period. Reality

74 Necip(İ) Sons of Musa should know that, Orhun, 1934, Issue: 7

75 Necip(İ) Sons of Musa should know that, Orhun, 1934, Issue: 7

76 Communist, Jew and Sycophant, Orhun, 1934, Issue: 5

He believes that Jews and these converts are no different from each other, that they all have the same bad qualities:

*There are two kinds of Jews. One is the original Jew, recognised by his language. One is a Jewish convert. This cannot be recognised by his language. In order to recognise him, one must look carefully at the Jewish features of his face. There is no difference between a Jew and a Jewish convert. If one says "we Jews", the other "you Turks".*<sup>77</sup>

### Atsız's Struggle with Nurculuk and Nurcular

Atsız is the person who directs the sharpest criticism to superstitious religious approaches that are contrary to progress and science, to the minds that cannot distinguish Islam from Arab culture, and to the communities that wage war on national integrity by using religion as a mask. However, he does not sift and scrutinise while doing so. According to him, minorities who do not look at the Turkish lineage with the consciousness of belonging to it, whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims, the result does not change: They will eventually betray. In particular, he fought fiercely with Nurculuk, which he claimed to be acting together with the Kurdish movement. He was accused of being "irreligious" and "Shamanist" because of his style in these discussions and some of his comments on religious issues:

*What is Nurculuk? Who are the Nurists, the disciples of the Nur pamphlet, who appear in the newspapers every now and then? Nurism, which includes all kinds of people the common people to intellectuals, engineers, lawyers and doctors, is an ignorant herd following an ignorant Kurd named "Saîd-i Nursî", and the students of Nur pamphlets are a pile of poor people who gather and read the pamphlets written by Saîd-i Nursî in his complicated and ignorant Kurdish Turkish as if they were reading atomic physics and Einstein's theories. The man called Saîd-i Nursî is a Kurd from the Şafîî sect who used to publish a number of pamphlets called Saîd-i Kurd-î, who does not know Turkish, and who does not even know where to use a full stop and a comma. During the Armistice years, he paraded around the streets of Istanbul dressed as a national Kurd. This swaggering Kurd called himself "Bedîüzzaman" and his disciples used this name as if it was an honour and glorified their sheikh with this name. Bedîüzzaman means "marvel of the time". Kurd Said is indeed a marvel of the times. In a time like the twentieth century, with his ignorance and primitivism, and with the brazenness with which he comes forward, the wonder of the time is no more than that.*

77 Communist, Jew and Sycophant, Orhun, 1934, Issue: 5



*and his success in mobilising tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Turks behind him is truly a marvel of the time.* <sup>78</sup>

Atsız sees Nurcu as an ignorant herd. He despises them as a herd of losers following an "ignorant Kurd". His opposition to Said Nursi is twofold. Firstly, he thought that Said Nursi's real aim was "Kurdishism". According to Atsız, his real aim was to spread Kurdish nationalism and he used as a veil for this purpose. The second is that he thinks that Said Nursi's Turkish is very bad and that this indicates his ignorance:

*Kurd Said is actually a Kurdish nationalist. Just as the Muscovites, in order to overthrow the Turkish, come forward with the principle of social justice and seem to have adopted the cause of the poor, Kurd Said forward with the cry of Islamism and brotherhood. he could not openly pursue the cause of Kurdishism, he put as Islamism and Nurism the ideas that would destroy Turkism. He forbids his disciples, or as he calls them, Risâle-i Nur followers, to marry. Because if they got married and had children, there a possibility that those children would be bad and irreligious. Of course, the Kurd in the mountains will not be aware of this great and divine command, he will marry and Kurds will multiply. The pure Turks, who believe everyone's word, will not marry on the command of the great Murshid, thus the Turkish lineage will diminish, and what Kurdish Sheikh Said could not do in 1924, Kurdish Mullah Said (i.e. Bedüzzaman) will do forty years later.* <sup>79</sup>

Those who love and follow Said Nursi consider him to be a mujaddid who tried to keep the Islamic faith alive against the positivist denialism of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, Said Nursi, in his various treatises, made explanations trying to reconcile scientific truths with beliefs. While making these explanations, he used metaphors and similes to reconcile scientific concepts with the belief worlds of the young people attending his lectures rather than scientific expressions. Atsız attributed such metaphors and similes to his ignorance and strongly insulted him:

*I was once sent one of these deliriums. In one of them, which I was able to read with difficulty, Kurd Said was talking about the radio, explaining the fact that a word spoken from one end of the world could be heard from the box by the angels in the box. Here is the level of Kurd Said, who was the sheikh and piri of the lower classes as well as doctorsengineers and lawyers, whom they referred to as "sirendi hazretleri"*

78 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötüken, 1964, Issue: 109

79 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötüken, 1964, Issue: 109



*This is what it is. A bigot, who knows nothing about physics, vibration, and does not even pass the edge of positive science, thinks only this much about radio. But that ignoramus, who is incapable of understanding his ignorance, does not hesitate to draw conclusions against the Turks, regardless of his utter ignorance.*<sup>80</sup>

In Islamic sources, there is some information of Israelite origin that has been repeated for centuries. Among these, the most insulting information about the Turks is the one that describes them as a savage tribe called Ye'jjj and Me'jjj, who are believed to destroy the world. The fact that this information is also found in Said Nursi's treatises is considered by Atsız as a proof of his being a Kurdishist:

*In one of his treatises Nur wrote that the horrible creatures called Ye'jjj, Me'jjj, who would destroy the world, were "akvam-ı vahşîyye" (i.e. wild tribes) such as Uzbeks, Tatars and Kyrgyz. The literacy rate among Uzbeks, Kyrgyz and Tatars is 90 per cent, and there are hundreds of scholars and experts in every branch of science, including atomic scientists.*<sup>81</sup>

It is a widespread belief that Said Nursi was involved in the Kurdish movement during his youth. Atsız underlines his views in a treatise he wrote in his youth and uses them as evidence for his Kurdishism. Said Nursi wrote a biography criticising the Said of his youth and that he had renounced his views of this period. However, Atsız's genealogist side is fuelled by the idea that those belonging to minorities will eventually betray them, and he never trusts those who are not of the Turkish race:

*There is a work of Kurdish Said published in 1327 (= 1909) at the İkbâl-i Millet printing house in Vezir Khan in Istanbul. Its title is: "Two Mekteb-i Musibetin Şahâdetnâmesi Yahut Divan-i Harb-i Örfî ve Saîd-i Kurd-î". In this work, in which he confirms that he is Saîd-i Kurd-î (Kurdish Said), he presents himself as "Bedülzaman" as the author of the work. The editor of the work "Kurdîzade Ahmed Ramiz". In other words, it is a complete work. The "hâtîme" section (pages 44-48) of this 48-page work is very interesting in terms of showing the inner face of Kurd Said. I am taking it verbatim and translating it into plain Turkish because it is written in a colloquial language: ...*

*...It can be seen that Kurd Said is a Kurdish nationalist to such an extent that he makes the poor Kurds follow the imaginary leadership of the ancient Assyrian and Iranian armies, and calls on the Kurds to unite around Kurdish nationalism with his confusing novice expression....*

80 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötüken, 1964, Issue: 109

81 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötüken, 1964, Issue: 109

*is. There is no interpretation or exegesis of this. Those who have no evil thought in their minds and hearts, after this clarification, are obliged to accept that he is not an Islamista Kurdishist.*<sup>82</sup>

### **Atsız's Struggle with Kurdism and Kurds**

Minorities are communities and societies with which the Turkish state tradition has never been able to establish healthy relations in history and today. Atsız is not at peace with any minority due to the fact that minorities, who were in a stronger position than us in social life when we were strong, and who rose to the upper echelons of the state due to the weakness of our bureaucratic tradition, attempted to dominate our nation when we were weak, opened the ownership of our homeland to discussion, and went to the extremes of not recognising our sovereignty rights. He has no doubt that minorities will repeat the mistakes they made in the past and will repeat them in the future.

Atsız is against the thesis of some Turkist historians that Kurds are Turks. He says that Kurds are not Turanian but Iranian. He believes that the fact that they have lived in the Turkish state tradition for more than a thousand years is not enough for them to be included in the Turkish nationality:

*Kurds are not Turanians or Turks. They are Iranian like ice. The language they speak is a broken, primitive Persian. So are their types. The fact that there are a few Turks mixed among them or that most of the words in their language are Turkish does not change this fact. Just as most of the words in English are French, as a remnant of the Norman invasion, does not make the English, the words that nine centuries of Turkish rule have filled Kurdish does not make them Turkish. The family of a language is measured not by its words, but by its structure. In this respect, Kurds are some Persians who remained in the western mountains. We are the ones who united these communities, who already speak with four or five dialects that cannot understand each other and who divide themselves into two groups, Kirmanç and Zaza, as "Kurds".*<sup>83</sup>

Atsız that Kurds are not a nation, they are a mountainous and primitive branch of the Persian nation and that the desire for a Kurdish state is unwarranted:

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82 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötüken, 1964, Issue: 109

83 Speeches I, Ötüken, 1967, Issue: 40

*There could not be a Kurdish state. Because Kurds were not a nation. They were a mountainous and primitive branch of the Persians. The Kurds were to the Persians what the Yoruks were to the Turks. The difference was that the Yoruks were too superior to the Kurds in terms of social level. "Yörük Ali Efe" and "Demirci Efe" had emerged from the Yoruks. Just like "Çakırcalı Efe" came out before... These were heroes. The first two had fought against the Greeks the older third had fought against the Albanians in the service of the government. And who came out of Kurdish? Koçero, Hamido, Hakimo or Fox Selim. In other words, downright despicable bandits, murderers and thieves...<sup>84</sup>*

Atsız is aware that the efforts to turn the Kurds, who are not a nation in reality and are scattered in Turkey, Iran and , into a nation are very old. He says that the imperialist countries with ambitions in the Middle East lured educated and rich Kurds to the idea of establishing a Kurdish state in this geography:

*The Kurds are a very backward and primitive branch of the Persians, spread throughout Iran Turkey and Iraq, and their aspirations to become a state and a nation are very old... This movement, which started among the Kurds, as in all primitive societies, with the instigation of foreign states, has gained favour not among the Kurdish majority, but among their wealthy agha class and the educated. Because they were the ones who would benefit from an independent Kurdistan. In the Kurdistan to be established, there will be a ruling and upper class. The "Kurdish Theological Society", which emerged at the end of the First World War, was founded by Kurds whom the Ottoman State had recognised as its own and placed in high positions. Its magazines were published.<sup>85</sup>*

Believing that the eastern part of Turkey is indisputably a Turkish homeland, Atsız states that as long as Kurdish is spoken in that geography, the provocations of foreigners will not end and presents teaching Turkish to the people of the region as the first step for the solution of the issue:

*As long as there are Kurdish-speaking people in the Turkish East, foreigners will not lack malicious intentions, and they will provoke the Kurds and cause trouble for Turkey. The fact that the friendly (!) Americans asked for permission to publish the Kurdish alphabet they had prepared for scientific experimentation (!) at the time the M.B. government was formed shows what we have to deal with.<sup>86</sup>*

Atsız thought that teaching Kurdish to the people in the region would not be enough to solve the problem, and that the Turkish population should be shifted to the region.

84 Speeches I, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 40

85 Propaganda for an Independent Kurdish State, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 45

86 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43



he writes. He emphasises that immigrants from the Balkans and Caucasus should be settled in the East, not in Western Anatolia:

*The remedy for this is to Turkify the eastern provinces, which are essentially Turkish, one hundred percent at a great speed. There is no other solution but to settle Turkish immigrants from the Balkans in the east in a planned manner, instead of unconscious behaviour such as settling them in Istanbul or Western Anatolia direct the excess population of provinces such as Kastamonu, SivasKonya, Trabzon, which send a large number of people to Istanbul, to direct this excess population to the east, to send intellectuals and workers from the west in masses through large industrial establishments, and to take the necessary propaganda measures to spread the Turkish language.<sup>(87)</sup>*

Atsız has no tolerance for any minority that is not subject to the Republic of Turkey and resists not to be included in the Turkish identity. According to him, this country consists of the lands that Turks won from Georgians, Armenians and Greeks and belongs to Turks. The only way for those who do not accept this is to leave this country. Otherwise, the Turkish state tradition will teach a lesson to those who discuss their sovereignty rights:

*Yes... If Kurds insist on staying Kurdish, if they want to speak in their primitive language of four or five thousand words, if they want publish, if they want to establish a state, they can leave. We took these lands by shedding blood, by rooting out Georgians, Armenians and Greeks, and we defended them against the warrior knights of the Crusaders by shedding blood again. Kurds did not even do military service until 1839. While the blood of the Turkish race flowed like a fountain everywhere from Vienna to Yemen, they herded their goats in the mountains and villages where they lived and lived by stealing and looting whenever they had the opportunity. When they came to us in our wars with Iran, they always looked for an opportunity, and in the battles where the Turkish army was defeated, they did not hesitate to unite with Iran and shoot it. If the Armenians, who betrayed us completely in the First World War, had not finished the settled Turkish people with a savage resentment and if the Kurds living in the mountains and steep villages had not survived this resentment, they would continue to remain minorities in the provinces where they are the majority today. But even if they were a hundred per cent majority, their dream of establishing a state in any part of Turkey would remain a dream. Just like the dreams of the Greeks to establish Byzantium and the Armenians to establish Greater Armenia... Therefore, they should leave before they cause trouble for the Turkish nation and before they themselves perish. Let them go wherever their eyes see, their hearts desire. Let them go to Iran, Pakistan, India, Barzani. They should apply to the United Nations and ask for a homeland in Africa. The Turkish race is an extreme*

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87 Speeches III, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 43



*They should learn from their fellow Armenians that they are patient, but when they are in a hurry, they cannot be stopped, so that they may come to their senses.*<sup>88</sup>

Atsız, who thinks that the Turkish state must take firm and harsh nationalist measures against Kurdism, complains that the state is not nationalist enough:

*Now let us think together: What should be the attitude of the "Turkish State" towards Kurdism? A state undoubtedly takes the measures required by reason and consciousness against a danger that threatens its future. These measures must be one hundred per cent "nationalist" measures. Because the only way for nations to keep themselves separate and superior to others and to protect themselves is nationalism. The Republic of Turkey is not a racist state. Although he claims to be a nationalist of culture, this is not the case and he is content with nationalism of subordination.*<sup>89</sup>

### **Atsız's Relations with Türkeş and MHP**

Until the 1944 trial, the Turkists did not even entertain the idea of a political programme despite the state. Ziya Gökalp had significantly transformed the idea of Turkism into the founding ideology of the state, and Mustafa Kemal Pasha had his place in the hearts as the implementer of the idea of Turkism. From the thirties onwards, Turkism, which was excluded from the state, fell into opposition. Until the 1960 revolution, it is difficult to talk about a definite difference of opinion among Turkish nationalists. After this date, both politically and intellectually, they began to part ways. Atsız's relations with Alparslan Türkeş were carried out within the framework of the definition of friendship until 1960. After the 1960 revolution, the process and the developments that followed caused Atsız part ways even with Türkeş, on whom he had pinned his hopes for the cause of Turkism and Turanism. It is not right to approach such an issue with the aim of determining who is right and who is wrong. This parting of the ways is the result of a difference of opinion and then a clash of political goals. It was such a resentment that Türkeş did not even attend Atsız's funeral.

Türkeş and Atsız were tried together in the 1944 Racism-Turanism trial. Their friendship and friendship for many years. Atsız, with his speeches, magazines and books he published during the difficult days, was the leader of the Turkism movement.

<sup>88</sup> Speeches I, Ötüken, 1967, Issue: 40

<sup>89</sup> Kurds and Communists, Ötüken, 1966, Issue: 28

He was a man of science, thought and art who made great service to the spread of Turkism. was the teacher of Türkeş and the people who were devoted to the Turkism movement. The events and process that caused Atsız to part ways with Türkeş and MHP can be summarised as follows:

The idea of Turkism began to spread among the masses with Turkish Nationalists Association founded in 1952. Atsız supported the Turkish Nationalists Association. In the association, which grew rapidly and opened branches all over the country in a short time, nationalists of various shades, such as Remzi Oğuz Arık and Nurettin Topçu, with whom Atsız would part ways in later years, took in addition to Atsız. Atsız attended almost every meeting of this association as a speaker.

27 May 1960 a turning point both in Turkey and in Atsız's life. Atsız found the revolution necessary. The reason why Atsız thought the revolution was necessary was that minority movements disguised as religious movements had started to organise in various forms with the Democrat Party. Atsız was extremely happy that Alpaslan Türkeş, with whom he had been tried in the Racism-Turanism Trial, was included in the revolutionary cadre. The work programme called "Unity of Ullu and Culture", which was created with the knowledge of Türkeş, increased Atsız's joy even more because the "Turkish Cultural Associations" opened within the framework of this programme was a project that would make Atsız happy.

Türkeş and his friends were purged from the revolutionary committee with the coup d'état of 13 November, which was known as the "14s Incident" in our history. The course of the revolution changed; the power passed into the hands of CHP members. In this new period, the "Turkish Cultural Associations" were first turned into branches of the CHP and then transformed into Halkevleri.

Like all nationalists, Atsız was very saddened by this situation and was waiting for the day when Türkeş and his friends, who had become the political leaders of Turkism, would return from exile.

In the meantime, Atsız received an offer from the Justice Party, which was founded to replace the Democrat Party that was shut down by the coup d'état of 27 May 1960, to be a candidate for the 1961 elections. Many friends of Atsız, who did not accept the offer and thought that he would better serve his cause by staying out of politics, became candidates for deputy and senator.

Staying out of politics, Atsız published a pamphlet in response to an article written by Prof. Dr. Ali Fuat Başgil in those days. This pamphlet

The pamphlet opened a new front to Atsız's political struggles. The pamphlet titled "Ordinar- yüsün Fahiş Yanlışları" (Exorbitant Mistakes of the Ordinar- yüsün) turned the arrows of reaction of the Justice Party, which was founded as a continuation of the Democrat Party towards Atsız. The reason for the publication of the pamphlet, in which serious criticism was directed at Prof. Dr. Ali Fuat Başgil, who was a senatorial candidate from AP, was an article written by Başgil in those days. Turkist and nationalist circles criticised Atsız on the grounds that the timing of the publication of the pamphlet was not chosen well and a tactical mistake was made. Atsız refused to accept the criticisms and accused those who said that a tactical mistake had been made of being enemies of Turkism and of ummahism. Atsız's criticisms against Başgil were not limited to the brochure during the election campaign. Başgil, who was elected as a senator from AP, was nominated for the presidency by his party while he was in Switzerland. Upon this, Başgil returned to Turkey and ran for the presidency, but was openly threatened by General Sıtkı Ulay, a member of the National Unity Committee. Ulay said that Cemal Gürsel, who had led the coup and was still the President of the Republic, would be elected President. As a result of the pressure, Başgil resigned from both his senatorship and his candidacy for the presidency and returned to Switzerland. Upon his action, Atsız once again took up the pen and attacked those who found him wrong. This debate was the first sign of the parting of the ways.

On 16 September 1962, Atsız founded the "Association of Turkists" and served as its chairman for a period. The association's failure to develop rapidly enough to meet the expectations soon led to internal debates. The disputes between the management of the association and İsmet Tüm- türk, the publisher of the journal Milli Yol (National Path), grew bigger and bigger. The main reason for these discussions was Atsız's attitude towards Milli Yol Magazine and some of the articles published in the magazine. An article on "Nurculuk" published in Milli Yol further inflamed the debate. Atsız claimed that the magazine was harmful to Turkism. As the debates continued, Tüm- türk from the Association of Turkists, of which he was a member. Atsız was in favour of an uncompromising Turkism, while Tüm- türk and his supporters were in favour of "reconciling Islam and nationalism". The debates on Islam and nationalism had become the main reason for the parting of the ways.

Atsız's criticisms against Nurculuk did not stop. In his article titled "Nurculuk Denen Delirium" published in the 7 March 1964 issue of Ötüken, Atsız described the Nurists as "an ignorant herd following an ignorant Kurd named Said-i Nursi" and criticised the students of the Nur



He also them as "a pile of losers who gathered and read the treatises written by Sait-i Nursi in his complicated and ignorant Kurdish Turkish as if they were reading atomic physics and Einstein theories". Publishing another article "The Delusion of Islamic Unity" Atsız argued that communism and Islam were no different in terms of Turkishness. In his article, Atsız stated that "Islamic Unity", which he considered to be a delusion, had not been realised even in the periods when religion was element was of the opinion that the only way for Turkists was "Turkish Unity".

These writings of Atsız were met with reactions by nationalists who were looking for a compromise between Turkism and Islamism. They thought that the essence of Turkish nationality was formed by Islamic beliefs and convictions, and who accepted that a nationalism that was religious and reconciled with religious acceptances was the right attitude. Necati Bozkurt, Nihat Bozkurt, Mustafa Kafalı, Fahri Ersavaş, members of the Founding Board of the Association of Turkists, resigned. In his article titled "Yorulanlar", Atsız accused those who resigned of "getting tired halfway" and "not being a man of the cause."<sup>90</sup>

While all these discussions were taking place, Türkeş was in exile. Türkeş's return from exile was eagerly awaited by all nationalists. As a result of this expectation, shortly after the return of Türkeş and his friends to Turkey, Türkeş was elected as the chairman of the Republican Peasant Nation Party at the Republican Peasant Nation Party Congress in 1965. Atsız supported this party and its chairman Türkeş until the convention in 1969 to change its name and emblem. He spoke highly of Türkeş and CKMP in his articles in *Ötüken*. In the 63rd issue of *Ötüken* dated March 1969, an article addressed to Türkeş was published under the signature "Kocakurt". The article, published under the title "Two Open Letters Address to Mr Başbuğ", called for the party's name be "National Unity Party" and its emblem be "Bozkurt".

Atsız's attitude changed after the Adana Congress of CKMP in 1969. The name of CKMP was changed to MHP and its emblem was changed to three crescents. Atsız, who thought that the new image and intellectual structure of the MHP was not compatible with Turkism, distanced himself from the party. The Istanbul branch of the Turkists Association also broke away from the MHP together with Atsız. Atsız and his friends were of the opinion that the MHP had compromised from Turkism and adopted a religious outlook.

<sup>90</sup> Yorulanlar, *Ötüken*, 1964, 6th issue



First Ötügen, then Atsız's books and then Atsız himself were banned in MHP. Thus, the Nationalist Movement continued its path without Atsız. Starting from 1972, the paths diverged and undesirable events took place. In his letters to his friends, Atsız showed an attitude against Türkeş and MHP. His words in a letter to O. Nuri Kurt Beğ summarise the situation:

*"The MHP's situation, as you have written, is in a mess... Some immoral parasites in Türkeş's circle leading him to wrong actions with lies and deceit. They send circulars here and there in the name of Türkeş, saying that Ötügen should not be read and that we are irreligious. Türkeş overwhelmed and confused, he does not know what to do. By giving contradictory orders, he alienates the true Turkists from his side. Now there are almost no genuine Turkists left with him. There are only impostors pretending to be Turkists. The rest consists of some bigots. Under these circumstances, there is no hope for this party anymore. It will be wiped out in the first election. Today Türkeş is detached from us. He rejects Turkism in conferences. In a conference he gave in Germany last year, he said: 'We are not anti-Semites. Because we have never fought a war with the Jews', he the Turkists. He also told Nejdett Sancar that 'the only unifying element of this nation is Islam and announced that he was now heading in a completely religious direction. In particular, the fact that the owners of the newspaper 'Devlet', who were his most trusted men, spoke against us everywhere and turned a blind eye despite all warnings, his attitude towards us. Thus, our relations have been severed." <sup>91</sup>*

During the campaigns before the 1969 General Elections, the MHP's policies were met with great sympathy in Anatolia. Atsız, who visited Germany in those days, published an article titled "Travelling to the 68th Province" on his return home. In his article, Atsız described his observations about Germany and also evaluations about Turkish politics. Using a sarcastic tone about Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti, who made a radio speech on behalf of MHP, Prof. Dr. Osman Turan, who switched from AP to MHP and became a candidate from Trabzon, and Ahmet Er, Atsız wrote the following about Ahmet Er's radio speech

*Ahmet Er's speech, which I had the good fortune not to listen to among the radio speeches, a precautionary measure in terms of losing votes for his party. He said, "We will establish nizâm-ı Muhammedî in the country". Look at the rascal! Ayol,*

91 Hacıoğlu Yücel; Letters of Atsız

*the order of Muhammad is already in force. Mosques full to overflowing. The adhan recited from the minarets with loudspeakers wakes up the people from sleep. Those who go on pilgrimage are not told not to go. Our pilgrims even earn money by selling the Zamzam water they bring. What more do you want? If you want to put women in a cage and say that we will take four of them again, you must have been beaten by Mrs Yenge at home first.*<sup>92</sup>

Atsız's most "disturbing" outburst on religious issues was the article "Bunları Biliyor Muydun?" published in November 1969 in the magazine "Oku" (Read), a publication of the Turkish Imam Hatip Alumni Association in Konya, under the signature of Hasan Bağcı. Atsız reacted harshly to this article and published two articles in which he made statements that exceeded his intentions: "Yobazlık against Türk- çülüğe (Ötüken, 1970, 3rd issue)" and "Yobazlık Bir Fikir Müstehasesidir (Ötüken, 1970, 11th issue)". In these articles, Atsız did not content himself with answering Hasan Bağcı's unseemly accusations about Turkism and Ziya Gökalp. He also criticised the fundamental views of Islam. This attitude of Atsız initiated an important debate in the nationalist community: Islam and Nationalism. Atsız's racist rhetoric and his overstated statements on religious issues caused a rift between him and Türkiye. The late Türkiye said the following about those roses in an interview with journalist Hulusi Turgut before his death:

*Mr Nihal Atsız and I had been together since the 30s, we used to meet and talk all the time. I used to go to visit him. In the 70s, a magazine called 'Oku' was being published in Konya. In one issue of the magazine, were articles against Mr Ziya Gökalp. Nihal Atsız Bey was very angry with this article. He replied to the preacher who wrote the article in Ötüken Magazine and wrote very contrary things. In this reply article, Mr Nihat Atsız said of Hz Mevlana: "Mevlana was a homosexual, a pervert"; and of Yunus Emre: "He is an internationalist tramp". Then he writes about the Holy Qur'an, The Holy Qur'an is not the word of Allah, it is Muhammad's own instruction' and so on. And he says that he is a racist, Turkist, Tiranian. When I was in Konya on the occasion of a party activity, held a press conference; the journalists also (Atsız's) reply to the Oku Magazine. I: I do not accept those views, I do not agree with them, they are his own views, they do not bind us. Ötüken Magazine is not the organ of our party. They are his personal opinions. We do not agree with him and we do not adopt him." Nihal Atsız was very offended and offended by this answer of mine. Later, in Ötüken Magazine, Atsız published two articles*

92 68. Travelling to Vilayete, Ötüken, 1969, 12th issue

*published an article. The magazine was not published much, but it influential in circles that were considered nationalist. Atsız criticised me in those articles. He said that racism, Turkism and Turanism were inseparable. Of course, he criticised me because I had always rejected and racism and did not find it right. He also criticised me again, referring to the incidents that took place among young nationalists in Ankara. He said that I had left Turkism and shifted towards Shariaism and religionism, and made accusations. These articles published by Atsız led discussions among the young nationalist youth. They were divided into groups as Turkists and Muslims. I started to advise these young people, and in various speeches I told them the following: We are all Muslims, but Turkishness also expresses our nationality. We are all Turks and Muslims* <sup>93</sup>

Another approach of Atsız, which caused controversy in the nationalist-ulkist community, was his claim that "Kurds were not Turks" and his use of harsh expressions that would hurt our citizens who believed that they were of this ethnic origin. Türkeş's evaluation on this issue was as follows:

*In the conferences I gave, I emphasised the Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood. Atsız, on the other hand, said the following against my ideas: 'No, Kurds are not Turks at all; Kurds are Persians. They are an uncivilised, mountainous and savage part of the Persians.' In the meantime, Atsız published an article insulting Kurds in Ötüken Magazine. Because of these articles, Atsız to court. He was convicted and went to prison. Our friends a petition for his release. It is not possible for me to agree with Atsız's opinion. Because it is contrary to my thoughts. I am of the opinion that the majority of Kurds are of Turkish descent. My researches and the documents I have identified lead me to this conclusion. For this reason, Atsız and I had a falling out. According Türkeş, who claimed that Atsız and his supporters had established an Istanbul Shamanists in Kızıltoprak, Istanbul, Atsız was saying "Muslim isreligion, the national religion of the Turks is Shamanism". Those who thought like Atsız, on the other hand, were of the opinion that "Türkeş's Islam is useless for us, we are Turkists and the national religion of Turks is Shamanism."* <sup>94</sup>

After that first problem, the relationship between Türkeş and Atsız never improved. In fact, a relentless pen fight broke out between the newspaper Devlet, the publication organ of the MHP, and Ötüken, published by Atsız. The struggle was not limited to this; at the congress of the Association of Turkists on 3 June, Galip Erdem, who had been a member of the association since 1963, was elected president of the Association of Turkists.

93 Turgut, Hulusi; Şahinlerin Dansı, 1995, ABC Publications

94 Turgut, Hulusi; Şahinlerin Dansı, 1995, ABC Publications



İsmail Yılanlıoğlu, who had served as its president Sadi Somuncuoğlu, who had been the general secretary of the association in 1966-68, and İbrahim Metin, the owner of the Devlet newspaper, were dismissed. When a statement condemning these expulsions was published in the Devlet newspaper, the following statements were made in the 8th issue of Ötüken published in August 1972:

*"Those who have revealed their true thoughts with their behaviour against the Turkists until today have shown what kind of people they are by calling our association, which has been struggling since 1962 despite all kinds of impossibilities and has not lowered the flag of Turkism, 'the so-called Turkists Association'. Aside from the fact that they have so far co-operated with Nurists, Ummetists, Anatolians, Multipliers and unknown men, this last act of theirs will not be forgiven. The fact that they bothered the left and right to find out the reasons for their dismissal, without thinking that they would be asked to account for their previous actions in this world, is a separate lack of good manners."*

In his article titled "Turkism and Politics" published in the same issue of Ötüken, Atsız used the following expressions declaring that he deleted MHP and Türkeş from the record of the Turkism cause:

*Today, Turkists can only support parties with a Turkist character. No party that deviates from Turkism or makes concessions will or can be favoured by the Turkists. Since it is clear what Turkism is, no party with its present attitude is a Turkist party.<sup>95</sup>*

In the 11th issue of Ötüken dated November 1972, it was announced that Cezmi Bayram, Acar Okan, Galip Çaka, Haluk Karamağaralı and Necdet Özkaya, who continued their relations with the Devlet newspaper and the MHP, were expelled from the Association of Turkists. With these expulsions, the pen fights between Ötüken and Devlet continued intensify. Türkeş and Atsız parted ways, never to cross paths again. Türkeş did not even attend Atsız's . For this reason, Türkeş received reactions from his own close circle. Yücel Hacaloğlu, one of Türkeş's advisors in 1975, describes those days as follows:

*I told Mr Türkeş that Atsız had passed away, we should definitely attend his funeral. Türkeş said, 'No, I will not attend. I said, "No, sir. Even though some coldness has come between you, I believe in your past friendship."*

95 Turkism and Politics, Ötüken, 1972, 8th issue



*and you should attend because of your friendship in the cause', but he sent me to the funeral*  
96

The pen war between the state and Ötüken continued with heavy accusations against each other November 1973. Upon President Cevdet Sunay's declaration that "Everyone living in Turkish lands is a Turk", Atsız published 6 articles one after the other in Ötüken Magazine starting from April 1967. "Speeches, (Issue 40)", "Speeches, II (Issue 41)", "Speeches, III (Issue 43)", "Propaganda for an Independent Kurdish State (Issue 43)", "Behind the scenes at the Eastern rallies (Issue 47)", "Sell-outs-Moskof Servants (Issue 48)" Atsız, who had been on trial for 6 years for these articles, sentenced to 15 months in prison. The same fate awaited Mustafa Kayabek, Ötüken's managing editor. Atsız, applied to Haydarpaşa Numune Hospital because he was suffering from chronic infarction, high blood pressure and severe rheumatism, was a report stating that he "could not be put in prison". The Forensic Medicine, which did not accept the report, changed the statement in the medical report to "he can stay in a prison with an infirmary". Accordingly, Atsız was taken from his home on the morning of Wednesday 14 November 1973 and to Töptası Prison. Put in the 40-person "ordinary criminals" ward, Atsız was transferred to Sağmalcılar Prison, which had an infirmary.

Atsız's imprisonment was met with great reaction in nationalist circles. Thus, the Ötüken-State pen war was also . Although the Nationalist Movement community had differences of opinion with the top name of the Turkism movement, with a person of idealism who brought the flag of Turkism to the beginning of the 70s without dropping it to the ground and without staining it, the nationalists supported this great Turk in the difficult day of this great Turk.

At the age of 68, Atsız reacted to the advice of his friends who came to visit him in prison that he should "ask for forgiveness from the President due to his old age" and said, "A Turkish nationalist, even if he is faced with an unfair practice in a matter in which he is right and oppressed, does not ask for forgiveness from the oppressors. does not ask for forgiveness."

Despite Atsız's firm stance, amnesty campaigns were launched all over the country under the leadership of the MHP and nationalist organisations. MHP executives were organised under the roof of the parliament and academics were organised in universities.

They worked feverishly and presented signed petitions for amnesty to President Korutürk and sent telegrams.

The petition sent to President Fahri Korutürk during the campaign launched at Karadeniz Technical University signed by 44 faculty members. Among these names were KTU Rector Prof. Dr. Saffet Rıza Alpar, Dean of the Faculty of Civil Architecture Prof. Dr. Naci Yüngün, the KTU Faculty Members Association Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Özbenli. The campaign grew with the participation of faculty members from Erzurum, Ankara, Hacettepe and Istanbul universities. The campaign, which was of a scale rarely seen in the history of the Republic of Turkey, yielded results in a short time.

Atsız and Türkeş on the content of the concepts of Turkishness and Turkism. Atsız, in his sharp style, "wrote everything he thought". Türkeş, besides being a man of thought, was also the leader of a political movement. The difference first manifested itself in styles. When it was necessary to fill the content of the concepts of Turk and Turkishness, two different interpretations : Atsız defined the nation in terms of race. Türkeş believed that the nation existed with the unity of consciousness and culture. When this fundamental difference of opinion was reflected in the political struggle, Atsız severed his relations with the MHP and Türkeş. MHP also decided to continue on its way by ignoring Atsız.

Altan Deliorman, as a close witness, makes the following comment about Atsız's writings on religious matters that exceeded his intentions:

"In the background of the articles that brought Atsız into confrontation with the nationalist-ulkist community, "Turkism was attacked and religion abused by using Islam as an excuse. Atsız was very angry about these two issues."<sup>97</sup>

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97 Deliorman Altan, 1978, Toker Publications p.270

"One day, impelled by a common feeling, we held a meeting and talked about publishing a nationalist magazine. Most of the teachers from the three schools were present. The name of the magazine was discussed. One or two people said "Meriç". Suut Kemal, the high school principal, came up with the original idea of "İçten". Others liked "Düşünce". Reşat Tardu, the principal of the Boys' Teacher Training School, a joke of it: "Can't we have a sincere thought from the edge of Meriç?" Well, there racism and Turanism. A Turanist proposal is also from me: Orhun! And then a pompous defence..."

## Atsız's Magazines

From the mid-1930s, when the Turkism movement fell into opposition, to the present day, not enough work has been done on the Turkist-nationalist journals published in our country, and the poems, stories and articles in these journals have not been carefully scanned. The most proper study on this subject is Feti Tevetoğlu's unfinished series of articles.<sup>98</sup> Necmeddin Sefercioğlu's *Türkçü Dergiler* (Turkist Journals) can be added to this study.<sup>99</sup>

Atsız started magazine publishing along with his academic life and published *Atsız Mecmua*. The journals of Atsız, who devoted his life to the ideas of Turkism and Turanism, did not last very long. As in every aspect of his life, Atsız as an emotional man of heart in magazine publishing. Since he had no interest in making money, none of his publications long.

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98 Tevetoğlu Fethi, *Turkist Journals*, Turkish Culture, 296, 298, 301, 303, 304, 306, Numbers 308, 311, 318 and 321.

99 Sefercioğlu Necmeddin, *Türkçü Dergiler*, 2008, Türk Ocakları Ankara Branch Publications: 27

Atsız's journals were weak publications, which were mostly published by small groups of nationalists with the small capital funds they collected among themselves. They had neither a professional manager or staff, nor an organisation that supported their publication. They were published as the product of purely amateur endeavours.

The thoughts and views defended by Atsız were never in line with state policy. Atsız's magazines lived in times when the freedom of the press was not even a concept yet. The first magazines faced arbitrary closure decisions. very striking examples of this during the single party periods. For instance, the beginning of the state terror against Turkism, the publication of Turkist magazines that were being published in 1944 was stopped and other nationalist magazines forced to keep silent.

Like all Turkist and nationalist journals, Atsız's journals also problems in distribution and reaching readers. The dealers to whom they were specially sent usually kept the magazines under the counter, preventing them from being seen and sold. If some were sold, they would not be willing to pay for them, nor would they be willing to send the unsold ones to the publishers. For this reason, the already limited magazine capital would melt away in the hands of newspaper-magazine sellers.

The first three of Atsız's journals (Atsız Mecmua, Orkun and Türk Sazı) were closed down by political decisions. Orkun suspended its publication due to differences of opinion among Turkists. Ötüken lasted the longest until close to the time of Atsız's death, when he became increasingly ill.

Atsız articles in many magazines and newspapers other than the magazines published by himself. The main ones of these magazines and newspapers are as follows: Altınışık Bozkurt, Büyük Doğu, Çınaraltı, Devlet, Ergenekon, Gözlem, Gurbet, Kızılme, Kopuz, Kür Şad, Mefkûre, Millî Yol, Ocak, Özleyiş, Tanrıdağ, Türk Yolu, Türk Yurdu, Türkiyat Mecmuası, Yücel,<sup>100</sup>

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100 Sefercioğlu Necmeddin, Turkist Journals, 2008, Türk Ocakları Ankara Branch Publications: 27



### Atsız Mecmua (1931-1932)

The first magazine published by Atsız was *Atsız Mecmua*. It was published for 17 issues between 15 May 1931 and 25 September 1932. The logo on the cover of the magazine featured a large 'wolf with a moon' emblem and Ziya Gökalp's statement "*There is no me, you, him; we exist*".

Hüseyin Nihal (Atsız) was the 'owner and managing director' of *Atsız mecmua*. The magazine the writings of about 70 people, who were young people of those years and well-known intellectuals and literary figures of the following years. The main contributors were A. Ziya (Karamuk), Abdülbâki (Gölpınarlı), Abdülkadir (İnan), Adnan Cahit (Ötüken)Ali Fethi (Tevetoğlu)Fevziye Abdullah (Tansel), Hüseyin Nihâl (Atsız)MFuad (Köprülü)M. Halit (Bayrı), Mahmut Ragıp (Kösemihal), Mehmet Şakir (Ülkütaşır), Nihad Sami (Banarlı), Orhan Şaik (Gökay), Pertev Nailî (Boratav), Sabahattin Ali (Ali), Sadettin Nüzhet (Ergun), Şerefeddin (Yaltkaya), Zeki Velidî (Togan).

The *Atsız periodical* influenced the intellectual, historical, linguistic, literary and folklore circles of the years it was published. After 17 months of continuous publication, the magazine had to cease publication with the October 1932 issue, which was published in 80 pages, due to Atsız for sending a protest telegram to Reşit Galib, who had insulted Zeki Velidî Togan, and for slapping the dean of the Istanbul Faculty of Literature, who had insulted him, at a meeting

### Orhun (1933-1944)

It is a Turkist journal that **Hüseyin Nihal** (Atsız) started to publish one year after the closure of *Atsız Mecmua*, while he was a literature teacher at Edirne Boys' High School. Its publication life was divided into two due to some unfavourable circumstances.

#### 1. period (1933-1934)

The monthly magazine *Orhun*, which was described on the cover of its first issue as "the continuation of Atsız's magazine" and "with the ideal of great Turkism" was only able to publish 9 issues between November 1933 and July 1934 during its first period in Edirne. At that time, the magazine was printed in Istanbul, as Edirne did not have sufficient printing facilities. On its cover, besides its logo, it also displayed a wolf emblem with a moon and the words "There is no me, you or him; we exist".

It carried the rhetoric. Starting from the 6th issue in April 1934, the cover layout changed; sentences taken from Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt) were placed on the cover of that issue, and maps showing captive Turkish homelands were placed in the 7th and 8th issues,

In issue 9, a couplet quoted from Z. Gökalp was included.

owner and managing director of the magazine Hüseyin Nihal (Atsız). Among its writers were Atsız, Nihat Sami (Banarlı), Fevziye Abdullah (Tansel), Orhan Şaik (Gökyay), Suut Kemal (Yetkin), Ahmet Yekta, Ahmet Özdemir, Ali İhsan (Sâbis)Atsıza Yoldaş (Fethi Tevetoğlu)Tolunay (Bedriye Atsız), Zâhir Sıdkı (Güvemli)etc

The journal published research on the Turkish language, , literature and folklore, as well as interesting articles and poems introducing Yuluğ Tigin, Kür Şad and Moyuncur Kagan. Orhun was closed down indefinitely by the Council of Ministers after its 9th issue in July 1934 because it supported Zeki Velidi (Togan), who opposed the Turkish history thesis adopted at the First Turkish History Congress, criticised the four-volume Turkish History published by the Institution and published a letter by Ali İhsan (Sâbis) Pasha. Its re-publication was only possible after a ten-year interval.

Atsız tells the story of Orhun's publication and closure as follows:

*One day, impelled by a common feeling, we held a meeting and talked about publishing a nationalist magazine. Most of the teachers from the three schools were present. The name of the magazine was discussed. One or two people said "Meriç". Suut Kemal, the high school principal, came up with the original idea of "İçten". Others liked "Düşünce". Reşat Tardu, the principal of the Boys' Teacher Training School, a joke of it: "Cant we have a sincere thought from the edge of Meriç?" Well, there racism and Turanism. A Turanist proposal is from me: Orhun! And then a pompous defence... Our meeting ended with a behaviour similar to that of the then National Assembly: Unanimous acceptance. I was to be the owner of the magazine, Ali Oğuz, one of the teachers at the Boys' Teacher Training School, was to take care of the finances, and it was to be printed in Istanbul. Suut Kemal, Reşat Tardu, Ali Oğuz... I guess writing these names was something of a revelation. What if the People's Party came to power in 1962 and those who collaborated with the fascist Atsız... Since I have already written it once, I cannot go back. I abhor any kind of return. Then it is up to these three friends to look after themselves. The first issue of Orhun was published on 5 November 1933. I started to publish the notes I had been collecting for a long time about the earliest Turkish history under the title "Collections on Turkish history". In the preface of this issue, I criticised the four-volume history taught in high schools at that time. This was the second issue.*

*It was a bombshell. To tell you the truth, I should have studied atomic physics and chemistry, not literature... It dawned on Suut Kemal and Reşat Tardu. The first the principal of the high school, the second the principal of the male teachers' school. Principals, or translators, as the People's Party once called them. The translators could not destroy their schools, which they had been properly running, with a hydrogen bomb. There were no atomic or hydrogen bombs then, but there was dynamite. And the dynamite was exploded by owner of the magazine they were partners in. Fear waits not only for the mountains, but also for the offices of the editor-in-chief... They called me and spoke to me. They said "illâ". I said "lâ" and at the end I ended the discussion with Yavuz Sultan Selim-like words: "Even if you leave, I will publish the magazine on my own!" Mercy to your soul, great Yavuz! Even imitating you silences others. At the end of December, I came to Istanbul on a few days' leave as followed by an official paper from the high school dated 23 December 1933: "You have been notified, sir, by the telegram of the Ministry of Education dated 27.12.1933 that you have been placed under the Ministry's order."<sup>101</sup>*

## 2. period (1943-1944)

Orhun, which had been closed down in July 1934, was resumed in October 1943, with the permission obtained ten years later. The issues started from 10, as a continuation of the 9 issues published in the previous period. During this period, the magazine was printed and published in Istanbul. The logo on the cover of the magazine, which was also monthly, was now with the slogan "All Turks are one army". Each issue was published in 28 pages (the 14th issue was published in 36 pages).

Its 'owner and managing director' was Atsız again. Orhun's family of writers at that time was also quite large. Main authors: Atsız, Mustafa Hakkı Akansel, Mehmet Sâdik (Aran), Fahriye Arık, Besim Atalay, Bedriye Atsız, Nihat Sami Banarlı, Abdülkadir İnanYusuf KadıgilMehmet Hâlit BayrıOrhan Şaik (Gökyay)Elmas Yıldırım, Azmi Güleş, Bekir Berk, Muharrem Doğdu (Mercanlıgil), Külâhlioğlu, Hamza Sâdi Özbek, Cemal Oğuz Öcal, Nejdet Sançar, Tevetoğlu, Zeki Velidî Togan, Cezmi Türk, Yılanlioğlu İsmail Hakkı, Osman

Yüksel, Zâhir Sıdkı (Güvemli), etc.

The importance of the seven issues published in this period stems from the fact that they drew attention to the leftist activities that increased during World War II.

101 Crusade Against Turkism



Atsız's "Open Letters to Prime Minister Saracoğlu Şükrü", published in issues 15 in March 1944 and 16 in April 1944, played an important role in the fate of both Orhun and those associated with the magazine and its owner, and thus in the fate of Turkists and Turkism.

In those "letters", examples were given of communist activities that had gained momentum in recent years, and of communists being placed in important positions and assuming active roles in state institutions, especially in the Ministry of National Education, and these were to be prevented. Sabahattin Ali, who was one of those accused and whose stories were also published in Atsız Mecmua, filed an 'insult lawsuit' against Atsız with the encouragement of Minister of Education Hasan Âli Yücel. At the end of the second hearing of this case on 3 May 1944, the youth of higher education in Ankara and marched on a scale unprecedented until then. The incident mobilised İnönü and his government, which towards the end wanted to sideline Russia, which was in the process of winning World War II.

That demonstration and march was considered as an excuse to declare war on Turkists and Turkism. condemned Turkism and Turkists in advance in his Youth and Sports speech on 19 May 1944. Some of the participants of the march in Ankara and Turkist youth who were close to Atsız and Orhun were detained in different parts of the country and taken to Istanbul, which was under martial law at the time. At the end of interrogations there under various tortures, a lawsuit was filed against twenty-four of them at the Istanbul Martial Law Court for committing the offences of "overthrowing the government and attempting to establish a Turanian state". At the end of this trial, which was called the "Racism-Turanism Trial", some of the Turkists who were tried under arrest were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In the "appeal" phase of the case, the Military Court of Cassation overturned these verdicts against all the Turkists and released the detainees who had been in prison for more than a year. Later, at the end of the retrials held at the Martial Law Court II, the sentences of all the 'defendants' were cancelled. Orhun, which was closed down in April 1944 due to these events, could no longer be published. However, the "open letters" it published, despite the unimaginable material and spiritual tortures inflicted on the Turkists, led to the beginning of a new "milestone" in the Turkism movement and 3 May to be considered "Turkism Day".



### Turkish Sazı (1943)

It is a Turkic magazine that was attempted to be published in order to break the "compulsory silence" that lasted for ten years during the first period of Orhun, but only one issue was published. In order to fill the gap left by Orhun, which was closed down and not allowed to be published in accordance with the press laws of that period, the first issue of the magazine, which was published on 15 May 1943 with the concession of **Reşide Sançar**, a teacher at Balıkesir High School at the time, was closed down on the grounds that a chemistry teacher could not publish an opinion and art magazine. However, the real reason was that **Atsız** had stated in the editorial titled "presentation" written by **Atsız** in the first issue of *Türk Sazı* that it was the continuation of *Orhun*.

*Türk Sazı* was a magazine with the same dimensions as Orkun. On the cover, there a logo, a wolf emblem with a moon, a table of contents, an indication of the issue, the date of issue and the sale price. In this single issue, besides **Atsız's** editorial, there were articles by **Mustafa Hakkı Akansel**, **Nejdet Sançar**, **Besim Atalay**, **Şakiroğlu Canip Sıtkı**, **Nazif Danışman**, **Şadan Akyol**, **Zeki Velidî Togan**, **Mehmed Halid Bayrı**, **T. Bayımlı** (**Atsız**) and translations by **Orhan Şaik Gökyay** and **Abdülkadir İnan**.

### Orkun (1950-1964)

Orkun is the third magazine in which **Atsız** is mentioned as the founder. This magazine published in two periods. The first period consisted of 68 issues published between 1950 and 1952. The second period was published between 1962-1964 and reached 30 issues.

### Orkun-I (1950-1952)

It is the third of the magazines published by **Atsız**. It was published on 14 May 1950 after the change of government. A characteristic feature of the magazine is that it was published with the material and moral support of many Turkish people. The first page of the magazine, which was published as 16 pages in 28x21 dimensions, served as the 'cover'; after the logo printed in large, large and red letters, a separate line was printed with the statement "*All Turks are one army*", followed by the 'Table of Contents' in a frame the issue designation printed in large and large numbers, the date of publication and the sale price of '25 kuruş'. The magazine maintained this cover layout until the 53rd issue, and starting from the 54th issue, the covers were presented with illustrations.

began to be published. In this case only the name, aphorism and 'issue' were included in the cover design. The magazine was published once a week on Fridays, and its concessionaire and editor-in-chief was **İsmet Tümtürk**, "on behalf of the Orkun family". **Atsız**'s name was presented as "editor-in-chief".

In 68 issues of *Orkun*, articles and poems of more than 250 writers and poets were published. **Atsız**, Çiftçioğlu Nejdett Sançar, Sofuoğlu M. Zeki, İsmet Tümtürk, Hikmet Tanyu, HFethi Göz- ler Faik Gözübüyük, Hocaoglu Selâhattin Ertürk, Lütfi Önsöy, Mehmet Kaplan, Yılanlıoğlu Namık Zafer Alparslan Cumalıoğlu Fehmi, M. Şerif Korkut, AKazganoğlu (Alparslan Türkeş) were the writers whose articles were published the most.

Poems and/or verses also an important place in the magazine. The second page of *Orkun* was usually devoted to Turkic poems, the third page to editorials, and the remaining pages to articles and poems. The last page, which we can call the back cover, was usually titled "Ülküdaşlarla başbaşa" (alone with fellow Ulcultists) and responses to letters from readers, announcements of the magazine, and news about Turkishness and Turkism. On the (mostly middle) pages "Voices from Orkun", short articles reflecting events in a humorous manner, were presented. These jokes, which were unsigned were usually written by **Nejdett Sançar**. Another service of the magazine the series of articles titled "1944-1945 Racism-Turanism **Trial**", which reflected the state terror suffered by Turkists in 1944-45. This series of articles, the text of which was written by **Atsız** and **Nejdett Sançar**, was published at short intervals, from the 3rd issue to the 62nd issue. The information contained in the series is a solid source for research on the events mentioned. Unfortunately, it was left unfinished. In the last issues, articles and poems of old and famous Turkists were published under the title "**Voices from Yesterday**".

*Orkun* also analyses and introductory articles on 32 "Turkish intellectuals and artistic figures". In the 67th issue of the magazine dated 11 January 1952, a "fihrist" covering issues 1-67 was published and it was announced that the 68th issue would be the last issue. The articles and poems in the last 32-page issue published on 18 January 1952 were, course, not included in the index.

The last issue an article by **Atsız** titled "Farewell". In this article **Atsız** gave unforgettable advice to young Turkists. **İsmet Tümtürk**'s "Orkun is closing down" explains why the magazine was closed down, also gives advice for a successful publication.

what needed to be done. It is necessary to dwell briefly on this closure event. **Atsız** describes the closure of *Orkun* as follows: "*Orkun, which was published with the material and spiritual help of many Turkic people, is closing down due to the fatigue of those who manage it. The pain of those who made this decision is great. After long discussions, debates and consultations, this conclusion was reached because there was nothing else to be done*" <sup>102</sup>.

**Tümtürk**, on the other hand, wrote the following on this subject: "*Orkun* is not being closed down because of a current or foreseeable government intervention. *Orkun* is not closing down because of a shortage of money either. In terms of money, *Orkun* had been self-sufficient, and had even begun to make a profit. The reason for the closure of *Orkun* was the lack of friends who would spend the time and effort necessary for the publication of a weekly magazine. misfortune for *Orkun* that our main nationalists were bound to places Istanbul by their duties, and especially that Atsız could not work in the magazine due to his long-standing undiagnosed." <sup>(103)</sup>

It was later realised that these were not the real reasons for the closure. The real reason was realised years later, when **Atsız's Letters** <sup>104</sup> were published. In a letter sent to Yılanlıoğlu İsmail Bey, the late Atsız had asked for the closure of *Orkun* because of his anger at the publication without his knowledge of an article defending and praising someone he did not consider a Turkist.

### Orkun-II (1962-1964)

It was a monthly Turkist magazine published in Ankara under the initiative and ownership of **İsmail Yılanlıoğlu**. **Atsız** was also considered as the "founder" of this magazine. Published for 30 issues, the magazine varied in size and number of pages. In the first issues, the cover had a logo, the phrase "*All Turks are one army*" and a list of authors. Starting from issue 5, the covers were published with colourful designs. In the 9th issue, the first discourse was replaced with "*If the world collapses, the Turk will not give up*", and in the 11th issue "*God bless the Turk*"; then the first discourse returned.

102 Veda, *Orkun*, 1952, 68th issue

103 Tümtürk İsmet *Orkun* is closing down *Orkun* 1952 issue

104 Hacıoğlu Yücel, *Atsız'ın Mektupları*, *Orkun* Publications



The owner was İsmail Yılanlıoğlu the editor-in-chief was Işıksal Baltacı in the first issues starting from issue , Yalçın Oker Nejdēt Sançar in issues 10-11, and M. Zekeriya Kürşad in issues 12-15. In later issues Göktürk Mehmet Uytun was the owner and Yavuz Bülent Bakiler was the editor-in-chief.

The following names among the writers of the magazine: Atsız, Nejdēt Sançar, M. Zeki Sofuoğlu, Hikmet Tanyu, Tahsin Ünal, H. Fethi Gözler, Refet Körüklü, Arif Nihat Asya, Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, Galip Erdem, Abdülkadir İnan, Fethi Tevetoğlu, İ. Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu, Karamağaralı Halûk, Şinasi Siber, M. Fahrettin Kirzioğlu, Basri Gocul, Mehmet Orhun, Aziz Alpaut, Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, Göktürk Mehmet Uytun, Zekeriya Kürşad, Ziyaettin Babakurban, Mustafa Kafalı, Ali Rıza Özer, M. Zihni Hızal, Mustafa Hacıömeroğlu, Fahriye Yılanlıoğlu, Hocaoğlu Selahattin Ertürk, Şinasi Sükan, Fahri Ersavaş, Necdet Kürşad, İsmail Devletkuşu, Mehmet Altınsoy Bahri Ulaş Fevziye Abdullah Tansellihan E. Darendelioğlu, Kâmil Turan, Ziyaeddin Babakurban, Şkür Turan, Kemal Fedai Coşkun, Abdurrahim Karakoç, Bahattin Karakoç, Aclan Sayılan, A. Fuat Azgur, Hayrani Ilgar...

Another characteristic of the magazine that it frequently published 'special issues' and included political articles. The "Development Programme Atsız published in the first issue was the source of the list of principles called "9 Işık", which would be circulated for years as the skeleton of the MHP's programme<sup>(105)</sup> nine principles set out in this article were listed as follows (1) We are Turkists (2) We are purified Turkists (3) We are legislators (4) We are socialists (5) We are traditionalists, (6) We favour democracy, (7) We are moralists, (8) We are scientists, (9) We are technicians

### Ötüken (1964- 1975)

Atsız Mecmua is a "monthly Turkist magazine" which is considered as the continuation of Orhun and Orkun magazines. It was published for 143 issues between January 1964 and November 1975. The magazine was generally published on 8 pages. Depending on the density of writing, some issues were published in 12, 16, 20, 24 and 32 pages. On the first page of the cover, under the logo printed on a coloured background, the phrase "All Turks are one army", the emblem of a wolf with a moon, an aphorism

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105 National Development Programme, Orkun, 1962, 1st issue



and the number marker, the month of issue and the price included. A picture representing Ötüken, whose colour was changed in each issue, was placed in the last issues. Some issues published in 1969 were printed in Ankara.

The owner was Atsız. The editor-in-chief was Mustafa Kayabek, and Erdoğan Saruhanoğlu was the editor-in-chief of the last issues. The magazine included articles and poems on the ideals and ideas of Turkism as shaped by Atsız, and commentaries on daily events, as well as articles on language and history. Among its authors were Atsız, Nejdett Sançar, M. Zeki Sofuoğlu, Refet Köroklü, Muzaffer Eriş, Mehmet Orhun, Fahri Ersavaş, Mustafa Kayabek, Aydıll Erol, Hayranî İlgar, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, Mirat Özçamlı, İbrahim Güleç, Murat Çetin, Suphi Saatçi, Mustafa Tanı- rer, Osman Üçer, Mevlüt Yılmaz UluğtekinAbdurrahman KeleşAtillâ DemiralNihat Yücel.

The most interesting incident encountered during the publication of Ötüken was the 15-month imprisonment sentence given to Atsız and the editor-in-chief M. Kayabek for the articles they wrote to draw the attention of the government authorities to the Kurdish separatist activities in South Eastern Anatolia and published in the April-July 1967 issues of the magazine. The justification for the sentence was the accusation that they "separatists". Kayabek the entire sentence by staying in prison in his hometown; Atsız, after being kept in prison for a while despite being ill, was freed with the pardon of Fahri Korutürk, the president of the time, upon the intense application of his fellow countrymen.

Another service of the magazine that it was instrumental in the establishment of the Turkmen Association, which was later renamed the 'Union of Nationalists of Turkey' with the participation of the Turkist youth gathered around it.

Ötüken magazine has been a party to one of the most important debates in the history of Turkish nationalism. The debates between the Devlet newspaper and Ötüken magazine to the formation of a distinction symbolised as "crescentists" and "bozkurtists". This debate, which was partially closed after Atsız's death, as two different nationalist veins continued to exist within the Ülkücü community. The first of these two veins is the idea of pure and unadulterated Turkism defended by Atsız. The idea of Turkism, pioneered by Atsız, is the line that explains the nation with the membership to a single race and defends the unity of all Turks. The second vein, on the other hand, seeks a compromise between the ideas of Turkism and Islamism.

It is a nationalist thought that thinks that Islamic and acceptances constitute the essence of nationality and reconciled with religious acceptances.

The magazine had to cease publication in November 1975 with due to the sudden death of Nejdett Sançar, who had made great efforts to publish the magazine even while he was on duty in Ankara, and who had prepared and printed many issues there or sent them to the printing house in Istanbul, and Atsız's which aggravated the magazine.

*"One has friends one dislikes and enemies one likes. For example, when I saw Falih Rifka's phrase "We Turkists..." in one of his articles, I was devastated with laughter and I liked Falih Rifka. Being together with Hasan Âli for an hour is equal to going to Muammer Karaca, I assure you. So, did I become their friend by liking these two? Not at all!... Some of them are to me what Moskof was to the Ottomans..."*

## **Atsız's Wit**

Atsız fought for his beliefs and the values he believed in all his life, he was put on trial for this, he was dismissed from his job many times, but he never gave up and never acted politically in the face of any difficulty. expressed what he thought in every condition and ground, and all kinds of sacrifices for the sake of the values he believed in. Those who accuse him of "extremism" are refuted by the identity debates in which our country is trapped. Almost every issue that Atsız pointed out and urged those concerned to be cautious with the sharpest expressions has been and continues to be a problem for our nation today.

Great scholars and intellectuals are not only those who produce solid scientific works, but also those who engage in the struggle of ideas by foreseeing the events that will take place at least fifty years later. Those who underestimate the people and events that Atsız fought against by paying attention to them should apologise to him and apologise to his spirituality when they look at today's Turkey.

The fights Atsız fought because of his national consciousness his witty personality. He had a very playful side in his private life. This side shows its face when the background of his serious style in his works is well understood. He smiled at life with a resilience that could have fun even in the worst conditions, did not lose hope and did not fall into pessimism.

Although many people thought he was stern and unsmiling, he was affectionate, playful and witty with his friends.

He also a strong sense of humour. It was to sense this characteristic in some of his writings and poems, and to see examples of it in many of his letters. He was also a good writer of 'satire'; his works titled 'Night of Sycophants' and 'Vitamin Z' are typical examples of this. Atsız, who produced very successful witticisms in his humorous satirical writings, also made fun himself in daily life by measuring skulls with a "hafsala device" he took in his hand during the days when he was accused of skullism.

Criticising cowards, sycophants and traitors throughout his life, he sometimes used his castle like a sword, and sometimes satirised his interlocutors with his irony-intensive narrative from the tales of meddah. It is enough to look at a few selected witticisms from his works in order to better understand this side of him, which is mixed with humour and wit:

## Uncle

*The world is full of people who have drunk a thousand and one kinds of milk. Every human being has also drunk cow's milk to a greater or lesser extent. In other words, every human being a mother and a cow's milk mother. Of course, every cow an ox brother. This means that every human being has an ox uncle. Isn't it understandable why people act beyond intelligence and humanity? Every human being is the nephew of an ox. They say that a boy takes after an uncle and a girl takes after an aunt. Probably some people are too much like their milk uncles. This is the cause of the world's unrest.*<sup>106</sup>

## Training

*Although I am a Gök Türk from the era of "Kül Tegin", I sometimes Ottoman. I use Ottoman written language. There are a few mistakes in the above Ottoman phrase, but how will today's youth, who speak Armenian with "me" and "you" and call Galatasaray "Gaasaray" and Beşiktaş "Beştas", understand it? Today's young people are more concerned with "training" than with such matters of opinion, and they shout on trains and ferries in honour of their team, which won against the Hungarians, who were playing a tremendous game on the ground, with the goal of their national hero Lefter.*<sup>107</sup>

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## Loose

*Until the events of 1944, I a nature that believed in people. "In 1944, I realised that people were neither Indian cloth nor American nylon, after I saw that those who were called great men were as small as microbes, my belief changed. Now, if they say, "The camel has chewed the cud," I don't believe them, because people chew the cud."*<sup>108</sup>

## Academic Career

*I knew Fevziye Abdullah. She was a very modest, reclusive and reserved teacher who devoted herself to science. By the way, let me inform the Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Celal Yardımcı, that this Fevziye Abdullah is a scholar who should not be left in high school, but made a professor. She is the greatest expert on literature of the Tanzimat era and after. If Mr Celal Yardımcı uses his authority and power to appoint her as a professor of this chair, he will be doing a great service to the country and our literature. Fevziye Abdullah cannot be appointed to this chair through an examination. Because there is no one who can put her to the test. He can teach those who will test him for many more years. I will be asked how I know these virtues of Fevziye Abdullah. Let me tell you that too: When I was an assistant at the Turkiyat Institute, Fevziye Abdullah was a literature student. Since our master Köprülüzade was busy with important scientific discoveries "completely unaware" of Barthold, he would often not come to class, but would phone and say, "Nihal, you look after the class". That's when I got to know Fevziye. He was serious and hardworking. She would not leave a point she did not understand until she learnt it. These systematic studies did not delay in yielding their fruits. The books and articles she published after her graduation are the most excellent ones written on those subjects. Some of his works doctoral theses and associate professorship theses. Among today's professors, there are few whose works are in his calibre. For this reason, I consider it a matter of national interest that he should be appointed to the chair of Turkish literature of the last epoch. If Mr. Yardımcı does not accept my proposal, let me inform him that this will be the first thing I will do if one day I become Deputy Minister of Education. They will say, "Can you also be the Deputy Minister of Education? Why not? After İsmet İnönü becomes President, why should I not become the Deputy Minister of Education?"*<sup>109</sup>

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## Enemy

*One has friends one dislikes and enemies one likes. For example, when I saw Falih Rifka's phrase "We Turkists..." in one of his articles, I was devastated with laughter and I liked Falih Rifka. Being together with Hasan Âli for an hour is equal to going to Muammer Karaca, I assure you. So, did I become their friend by liking these two? What the hell!... Some of them to me what Moskof was to the Ottomans...*<sup>110</sup>

## Luxurious Life

*Since there were no asphalt roads or street lights in Maltepe at that time, it was quite a feat to go out in the pitch darkness on winter days and find the station before sunset. Since our mansion was old and wooden, it was very airy. Sometimes mysterious winds would blow in the rooms. One day, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, God rest his soul, said to me in his characteristic manner: "My dear Atsız" he said. "What keeps you vigorous and energetic is this troublesome life, living in this uncomfortable and distant house, surrounded by enemies. If you lived in a heated apartment in Şişli and earned a thousand liras a month (Ortaç was talking about the thousand liras of that time), you would become a man of the world and lose your energy". Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, who was a genius of humour with his speech rather than his writings, was not thinking correctly. Because he did not know how much time uncomfortableness wastes for those who want to write. If he had been right in his opinion, wouldn't the People's Party have allocated me a luxurious apartment and paid me a salary of ten thousand or even a hundred thousand liras from the "Hidemat-ı unpatriotic" scheme?*

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## Youth and error

*It is seen that there are great mistakes in the behaviour of the National Chief. It is true that a servant cannot be without mistakes. Then why show this wrongdoer as the nation's only hope? Do you think he has come of age and won't do wrong from now on? I don't believe it... He is still very young... Young people are created to do wrong.*<sup>112</sup>

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## Compliment

*Since some aspects of my life had attracted the curiosity of the People's Party and had been scrutinised in this respect, I gradually came to believe that I was an important person. People are strange. They quickly believe what they like. If you tell a woman that she is beautiful, she pretends not to believe it, but immediately it. If you tell an ordinary man that he is a scholar, he will think he is a scholar.* <sup>113</sup>

## Aesthetic Level

*First of all, the word "literature" has a terrible meaning among the people and intellectuals. "Doing literature" means "talking nonsense". Today's literary works, on the other hand, go beyond nonsense and take on a form, or more precisely, a formlessness. Starting from the diamond titled "Pity, Süleyman Efendi" to the Bolshevik poems (!) in Bolshevik metre called "free verse", poems with natural swearing and swearing, and prose masterpieces (!) written in the palikarya's mouth called deviated sentences, the wonders of art that are listed in rows show how many kilometres the aesthetic level is below sea level.* <sup>114</sup>

## Literature and seriousness

*If literature and its common form, the novel, were serious, would all women read novels? Then you may ask whether all these specialists in the history of literature are working in vain. No, not in vain. Just like those who are engaged in the history of mental illness, those who are engaged in the history of literature illuminating an aspect of human society.*

<sup>115</sup>

## First place

*Don't think that I condemn literature so much. I once thought I was the first among literature teachers, but my faith was shaken one day when a woman teacher, without asking me, said that I was the best literature teacher. I didn't because I didn't like verbal arguments. 's not like a great literature teacher to lie... So he was the first. I was*

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<sup>114</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

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*While I was trying to accustom myself to this second place, a news report given by Muharrem Ergin, a Turkology assistant, things upside down. Muharrem told the story of a male teacher who had fallen down the stairs and was hospitalised, and who had said, "The world is losing its greatest literature teacher". Since he was not going to lie, I fallen to the third place. Rather than go to the second division like the Beşiktaş football team, dropping one grade every year, I decided to withdraw from the door of literature with İzzet ikbal and returned to my original profession, which was a divine gift<sup>116</sup>*

## General

*The first female students of the medical school were also in our class. Suat Hanım, one of today's well-known doctors, and Müfide Hanım, an internist, were my classmates. Among my male classmates, Süreyya, Fahri, İhsan Müslim and I think Hilmi and Rüştü became generals. I mean pasha... A few years ago, when I read in the newspaper that Süreyya and Fahri had become pasha, I felt the need to boast and said to my wife: "Look, my classmates have become pasha. If I had stayed in the profession, would have become a pasha. Today, you would be considered a pasha's harem." While I was expecting appreciation from her, wouldn't she ask, "What is your salary"? At that time, my original salary was 40 liras. That is, the salary of a senior lieutenant... Our generalship had fallen through.<sup>117</sup>*

## Football

*Some time after I entered the Military Medical School, we had a match with the second class. We were an unorganised class that did not know each other, did not know who played football. One or two people who knew football formed a team, and Süreyya Cemil, the class sergeant of the first semester (now a general), wanted to be the goalkeeper. Süreyya was my classmate from Kadıköy Sultanate. Although he knew me, he did not know that I was a first class goalkeeper. There was no opportunity for him to know. When Süreyya wanted to be the goalkeeper, Salih, the tallest in the class, who was born in Antakya and came to the Medical School from Konya Sultanate, asked: "Well, but do you know how to do the plonjon?" Süreyya, who was tall, after looking at Salih, who was looking over his head, hesitated, considering his height, which was close to the distance between the two goals, and the fact that he used a purely scientific expression such as plonjonnot object to Salih being in goal, thinking that Salih was a first-class goalkeeper. Sey-*

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*In this historic match, which I arrived a little late, I actually saw Salih making one plonjon after another, but I think he had an inky astigmatism in his eyes. Because every plonjon he made was not to the side he came from, but to the side he didn't come from, and every raid of the second class ended in a goal. Even the second grade class was upset by this situation. The aces of our team took Salih out and me in goal. Then things changed. Salih didn't ask me if I knew how to play plonjon when he left the goal to me. He was in no mood to ask. I never any plonjon either. The opposition's shots always came to me by chance, and the onlookers thought I was an excellent goalkeeper who knew how to keep his place. Just some people thought that İsmet Pasha was a goalkeeper who successfully defended the state castle... I became a famous goalkeeper because the ball accidentally fell into my palm without me having to make a plonjon towards the ball. Someone from the other side said to ours: "Why didn't you put this boy in goal in the first place?". How strange! Again there was a similarity between İsmet Pasha and me: In his memoirs in "Akis" magazine, Mr Pasha writes that he first played football when he was a major. I wonder what he played? Was he a goalkeeper? If he was a goalkeeper and his skill as a goalkeeper was the same as in the state administration, he must have conceded many goals. If he played as a fullback instead of a goalkeeper, he scored his own goal; if he played as a centre forward, he always passed to the opposing players. If he played as a striker accidentally scored a goal against the opposing goal, it handball without showing it to the referee. I wonder there is any correlation between our National team's continuous defeat and the fact that the National Chief once played football<sup>(118)</sup>*

### Political Prudence

*One day, the three of us, together with the late Nejat and İhsan, now a general, went to give Köse Teyfik a visa from the boneBoth of my friends were more knowledgeable and prepared than me. Nejat entered the lecturer's room first, greeted that he had come for a visa. The two of us waited in front of the door. Köse Teyfik opened the mark sheet and asked: "What is your number?" Nejat's number was 33. The questions started. Nejat knew it well because he was well prepared. But suddenly, instead of saying "muhaddep" (convex), he mistakenly said "mukaar" (concave). The only political prudence I have shown in my life was that I did not take the bone visa that day.<sup>119</sup>*

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### Bektashi's Prayer

*My exams were similar to the story of Bektashi: Bektashi, exhausted from hunger, came to the front of the crowded bakery, handed over his only penny, and asked for the fragrant fresh bread. Since he did not know the queuing procedure at that time, everyone at once rolled towards the clerk and called out: "Erenler! One bread for me..." The shopkeeper either didn't see the coin or didn't care because he was a shopkeeper in the full sense of the word, and the poor Bektashi's coin was lost in the crowd. After the crowd had dispersed, he was reprimanded for his claim that he had given the money in advance, and as he walked on, he saw a second bakery. The same fresh bread and the same crowd... He was tempted, but there was no money so he could buy it. With the thought that suddenly came to his mind, he sneaked into the crowd. He came to the front of the counter. When he looked left and right and realised that no one saw him, he to shout with a rage and hit the counter: "Man! Where is my bread? You both took the money and still distribute it to others and don't give my bread!" The baker believed this outburst. He apologised and offered the bread to Bektashi. Our father, the virtuoso, retreated to a corner and after eating the fresh bread, he looked up to the sky and said: "O Lord! You know the truth of the matter and are capable of everything. Take my money from that baker and give it to the other one"<sup>120</sup>*

### Uniform

*I left the Military Medical School, but the memory of him remained in my mind. Years later, when I was working as a literature teacher in that building, now Haydarpaşa High School, I was filled with memories. Corridors and classrooms would tell me stories of the old days. After all, what is life but a few memories? The magnificent spirit of that imposing castle had disappeared. The people in it now were strangers to that old spirit. They were a bunch of dead people who looked forward to the beginning of the month and were not interested in anything other than the salary account, with the children trying to get five numbers from the teacher. The real living ones were the military medical students who had there, talked, joked, worked, fought and, above all, suffered. Now there were sparrows in the hawks' nest. I had never had any love or interest in being a doctor, but being a doctor was one thing, and being a military medic was quite another. The hardest thing for me taking off the military uniform. It is strange: Among civilian clothes, the neckerchief annoyed me the most. After many years, the collars of the officers were opened and they also wore neckerchiefs.*

*I am so incapable of adapting to the environment that I still haven't got used to it. I have turned into a religious fanatic whose temples have been destroyed and whose religion has been insulted. I couldn't digest it. I still can't digest it and I am waiting with hope for a new dress code to be issued that will cover the collars of the officers, make them wear belts around their waists, turn mintans into jackets, berets into caps and caps into beanies.*<sup>121</sup>

## Prostitute

*After the proclamation of the Republic, a group of medical students travelled to Romania and there for a few days. After showing our students around, the Romanian students wanted to treat them by taking them to their brothel, which was their pride and honour. A few weeks or months later, the Romanians this visit. Ours showed the Romanians around and entertained them. Of course they were not going to be inferior to them in hospitality... They also took the Romanians to the brothels of Beyoğlu. The head of this caravan was member of the class above us and someone who knew French well because he came from Galatasaray. That was when a masterpiece was. An extraordinary work that would moisten the eyes of anyone who thinks about today's conditions... The brothel women, you know, the women whom we insulted as "prostitutes" in the most polite terms, said "Are you bringing us giaour?" and kicked that friend and the Romanians out with a slap on the wrist. Think about this and today's prostitutes without a licence, who are called society women, and please that yesterday's prostitutes were as clean and dignified as the Virgin Mary, compared to these bitches who were caught with American black sergeants and whose names were publicised.*<sup>122</sup>

## Voyeur

*was no longer any ambiguity. The judge my words. However, in order to avoid committing an offence himself along with me, he omitted the word "dog" and wrote it as "I insulted a person who opposed the government". Then the article on inciting the youth to crimes. This Saraçoğlu was indeed a great voyeur. He understood what was in my heart, albeit from the wrong side. Undoubtedly, I was not going to accept an offence I had not thought of. I vehemently refused. The first session ended. After I left the hall, several journalists surrounded me. One of them asked a question about the state of mind at the time:*

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"Did you call Nazim Hikmet a dog?" "Yes!"

"How can that be? He's a poet!" My answer was very precise:

"But the communist..."

The journalists understanding in any case. They left. <sup>123</sup>

## Evolution

People changed their minds so quickly and defended opposing ideas so skilfully it was impossible not to be surprised. In fact, one day, while we were talking about this subject, a professor, who was still an associate professor at the time, argued that it was impossible to remain fixed in the same idea, that change was a sign of life, that the dead could remain in the same state and that "Life consists of evolution." I replied that it was impossible to remain fixed in the same idea, that change was a sign of life, and that only the dead could remain in the same state. I the following reply: "Evolution takes place on the same line. When an apple seed evolves, it becomes an apple tree. However, it has never been seen that an evolving pumpkin becomes an apple. A development that exceeds its own environment is not called evolution, but degeneration." <sup>124</sup>

## "Translator"

I started to publish the notes I had been collecting for a long time on the earliest Turkish history under the title "Collections on Turkish History". In the preface of this book, I criticised the four volumes of history taught in high schools at that time. This the second bombshell. To tell you the truth, I studied atomic physics and chemistry, not literature... It on Süut Kemal and Reşat Tardu. The first the principal of the high school and the second was the principal of the male teachers' school. Principals, in other words, as the People's Party once called them, translators... The translators could not destroy their schools, which they had been properly running, with a hydrogen bomb. There were no atomic or hydrogen bombs then, but there was dynamite. And the dynamite was exploded by owner of the magazine they were partners in. Fear waits not only for the mountains, but also for the offices of the editor-in-chief... They called me and spoke to me. They said "illâ". I said "lâ" and in the end, I ended the discussion with a word like Yavuz Sultan Selim.

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*I've finished: - "Even if you leave, I'll the magazine on my own!" Mercy to your soul, great Yavuz! One silences others even by imitating you.*<sup>125</sup>

### Tatar Agha

*When I became a bad person, the teachers who had helped Orhun with money, that is to say, my ideal partners, cut their ties with me and notified me of this in a multi-signed letter. I looked like a Tatar Agha on foot, but it was not unbecoming. After all, I was a Turanian.*<sup>126</sup>

### Details

*When I was placed under the ministry, that is, when I was dismissed, I came to Istanbul and started publishing Orhun on my own. The landlord asked me why I had come to Istanbul. "Well, congratulations!" he said. He thought I had been promoted. After all, he was a flat owner. He wasn't going to bother with details.*<sup>127</sup>

### Arbitrary Administration

*really like the term martial law. "Administration of martial law" and then "exemplary administration" didn't make much sense. It would have been more accurate if they had called it "arbitrary administration" instead of "exemplary administration". However, martial law an energetic and harsh meaning... It is really inconceivable, almost marvellous, that within the mechanism of the People's Party there should be someone who could invent such a beautiful invention as martial law... But as a matter of fact, this martial law was nothing more than a lax administration.*<sup>128</sup>

### Wheat

*The unnaturalness of my not being an official teacher caught the eyes of many friends. After Hasan Âli became a minister, they made attempts for me to become an official teacher. Hasan Âli did not say "No, no" to them. He was only saying this:*

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- "Yes, sir, yes. But because he wrote against the Historical Society, he was placed under the order of the Ministry. It is enough if he writes me a letter and gives the Institution a dressing down..."

Look at Hasan Âli!... I didn't know he was such a joker, and on behalf of a third person, a spiritual person, the Historical Society... I think Hasan Âli was afflicted with the disease of grandiosity, he thought he was the Historical Society. I have heard many stories about people who think they are something other than what they are. One of them is very nice. The story is as follows: A very smart, tidy man a small abnormal side. He thought he was wheat. After a long treatment in the hospital, he finally realised that he was not wheat, but a man, and he said goodbye to the doctors and left, joking that he once thought he was wheat. But before a few minutes had passed, they saw him running back, out of breath, and asked him what he had come for. Excitedly: "Chicken". The doctors, saddened to see that their long labour had been in vain, said: "I thought you knew that you were no longer wheat but a man". The man's answer was: "I know it, but let's see if the chicken knows it too." Hasan Âli undoubtedly knew that he was not an "institution", but he wanted this style because he was not sure that others knew it. Of course, this a philosophical joke. <sup>129</sup>

## Resignation

Let me also say that I am not at all pleased that Hasan Âli became a member of the Historical Society. I don't know if I have a subconscious jealousy that he became a member and I didn't, but I find Hasan Âli's being a member of the Institution contrary to Turan's constitution while there are history celebrities such as Zeki Velidiler, Akdes Nimetler, Faruk Sümerler. I think that he should have been subjected to an examination by me at least when he entered the Institution. For example, if I ask Hasan Âli who was the first ruler of the Ottoman dynasty, can answer? Does he realise which dynasty ruled in Turkey? he list the main sources of Ottoman history? Look, I am still in the Ottomans, what I go back a little further? But he can rest assured: I had invited him to resign when he was the Deputy Minister of Education and I was a teacher, but I will not make the same offer now when neither of us is anything. <sup>130</sup>

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## Evolution

*The Chief Humanitarian was excitedly explaining to the Ministers:*

- *"With the law we will pass in the parliament tomorrow, we will both set a shining example of civilisation to the world and save our fish ancestors from extinction. As you know, His Holiness Darwin proved that man is descended from monkey, monkey from , monkey from dog, dog from dog, dog from cow, cow from cow, cow from mole, mole from mole, mole from butterfly, butterfly from mosquito and mosquito from fish. In other words, fish is our ancestor. Respect for ancestors is the honour of humanity. You know that those who deny and despise their ancestors are bastards, degenerates. As for our ancestors before the fish, I don't want to tamper with it and enter into dangerous hypotheses, since it to the prehistoric age. This is not in accordance with scientific prudence. But do you know, my dear Ministers, how sad it fills one with sorrow that there are still unlit points in the darkness of the past? I wonder which fish was my ancestor?"*<sup>131</sup>

## Basharistan

*Ahmet Emin Yalman stood up:*

- *"Dear Human Chief! My great leader of mankind! The dream of human beings reaching maturity will be realised in your era and thanks to you. Now you are a Human Chief! It seems a bit reactionary to call a country where a Human Chief reigns, that is, rules, Turkey. What is a Turk? A small part of humanity... Then I wonder if there are any Turks. Are there any Turks left? was once a Turkish race. But in time this race disappeared by attacking one another and mixing with other races... Calling a part of humanity Turkish is to revive Turkish racism and fascism, which neither America, EnglandIsrael, Russia, Israel, Russia, nor other states can agree to. In fact, does the Torah, the oldest and highest book, write that human beings have one origin? Calling our country Turkey hurts our citizens of Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Negro, Gypsy and other origins and disrupts national unity. Therefore, I propose to change this name and call it Basharistan!"*<sup>132</sup>

## Human

*Falih Rifka Atay, Minister of National Education, took the floor:*

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- "Dear Chief! First of all, I will object to Mr Yalman's proposal agree with him in essence and principle: Turkey should be Basharistan. However, I do not find the "istan" in the new name of our state correct. The elite team knows that this is a Persian suffix. However, we, the Turkists of culture, have been dealing with the issue of language assimilation for a long time. We cannot keep our language under the cultural domination of neighbouring Iran. Therefore, the name of our state should not be Basharistan, but Bashareli. Having stated this, I come to the revolution in the field of national education for the 21st century: Since the word "national" carries a reactionary meaning, we will henceforth use the term "Humanitarian Education" instead of "National Education". We will adjust the teaching of history in schools according to the new principles and we will remove the parts of national history that create hatred between nations. We can achieve this without sacrificing scientific facts. For example, we will write the Battle of Malazgirt, which has so far been described in history books in a glowing manner, as a political relationship between the Ottoman Sultan Kılıç Arslan and the Byzantine Emperor Diogenes, the famous philosopher Diogenes, which began as enmity but ended in friendship. As for the capture of Constantinople, we will show it as Sultan Selim the Conqueror's acceptance of Byzantine civilisation and the unification of Turkish and Greek nations under a single administration. Otherwise, the siege of Istanbul, bloody battles and deaths will lose their flavour. We cannot appear before the twenty-first century by praising an invasion movement. In fact, Sultan Selim the Conqueror was a twenty-year-old boy when he captured Istanbul. When I was twenty years old, I could not go out on the streets at night. He probably took Istanbul in such a moment of childhood. Therefore, we will rewrite history, human events, especially the laws of our ancestors, the Hittites, the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations, the Republic and the 1961 movement in detail. Furthermore, with a new law, we will make secondary education compulsory and introduce ballet and aesthetic dance classes. In order to save the state the expense of building new schools, we will turn all the public baths in the cities into schools. We will open a music institute so that music, which expands the human spirit, will become a blessing that every citizen can benefit from, and we will establish this institute in the Süleymaniye Mosque, which is very favourable in terms of acoustics. I would especially like to ask the Honourable Humanitarian Chief to give the inaugural lecture here with his violoncello. Finally, we will bring here the great experts and all the hidden and unknown sides of science. I believe that I am doing a high and honourable duty when I ask the Human Chief to give a name to this new university." <sup>133</sup>



## Şengül University

*Falih Rifkî Atay was already prepared. He took out a piece of paper from his pocket and started counting the professors of Şengül University:*

- "Professor Behçet Kemal Çaplar will fill the chairs of literature, folklore, poetry, nursery rhymes and coal engineering; free lectures will be given, especially on mevlit genres. He is unemployed professor who received his primary education in Zonguldak Mining School, his secondary education in the streets of London, and his higher education in the corridors of the National Assembly. He writes a volume of poetry every month. Professor Hamit Ongunsu will teach history courses. He will particularly focus on the history of Crete and Turkish-Byzantine co-operation. His lecture was the only one at the ceremony held at Istanbul University, and Patriarch Athenagoras was pleased with it. He is a very valuable and bookless scholar. Professor Nihat Erim will fill the chairs of the Law of States, the Law of Liberty and the Law of Shawl. He is one of our most democratic professors. How to establish an ideal democracy with a single party? He is the author of a work titled "The Kishmir Shawls and the Statue of Liberty in America" and a doctoral thesis. Professor Nadir Nadi will fill the chair of administration. He is specialised in this course, in particular in the field of public administration. Professor Metropolitan Yakavos will teach Islamic religion, jurisprudence, tafsir and hadith thus giving a new direction to the theological knowledge, which had lectured and the hands of the softies until now. In his immortal work "Nurlu Ufuklar" he proved with irrefutable proofs that Jesus is both God and the son of God. Professor Hamdullah Suphi would teach aesthetics, rhetoric, Bursa tiles, Greek and Armenian law, Jewish law, and would serve as the Patriarchate's representative at the university. He was a friend and acquaintance of His Holiness Athenagoras. He defended the "soup nation" theory against racists. Professor Moiz Tekinalp will open new horizons in the history of our science with his chair on economic nationalism. Although he was the author of a book called *Turan*, he thought this was a printer's error, and that while the title of the book should have been *Tevrat*, due to the confusion in the old letters, one point of the letter "te" at the end was dropped, so that it became "nun" and *Turan* was read. Professor Halid Edip will fill the chairs of American literature and the sexology of women in childhood, youth, maturity and old age with unprecedented merit and will publish his works, all of which are based on his own experiences, in a corpus.<sup>134</sup>

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## Flag

*It was the turn of Karabet Öztürk the Interior:*

- "Dear Chief! We must enter the twenty-first century with a very advanced, very civilised and very human face in every respect. The blood colour of our flag is not compatible with high human ideals. Turning it into a pink or red colour will prove to the whole world how advanced we are. Why we have one star when America has 49 stars? I propose that 149 bright yellow stars be added to our flag to indicate that we are more fortunate than they are, and that the moon, which is a sign of apostasy, be removed."

*The Humanitarian Chief also welcomed this offer:*

- "It's a bright and inspiring idea... But how do we get the public to accept it?"

*Falih Rifka Atay, Minister of Human Education, took the floor:*

- "Mr Chief! The remedy for this is simple and as certain it is simple. That is to say, if our dear friend Ahmet Erim Yalman makes a statement about the beauty and nobility of our present flag, the nation will immediately dislike that flag. In order to disgust the nation with something, it is a one-to-one measure for my dear friend to praise that thing..."<sup>135)</sup>

## Blood

*On 1 January 2000, in the evening, all the countries gathered in the laboratory of the Chanakya Pavilion and the Minister of Health, Dr Pavalaki, and the leading members of the Medical Council prepared to inject the Chief Humanitarian.*

*The Human Chief had ordered that this historical moment be broadcast to the world by television and had directives to make a film in order not to deprive future generations of this honour. The Council of Ministers also present at the ceremony.*

*One cubic millimetre of blood was to be given. Deputy Prime Minister Ahmet Erim Yalman has been appointed:*

- "Of course you wish the noble blood of Israel to be given first, my dear chief."

- "No, no! First I want a syringe of friendly Muscovite blood. I continue to sympathise with my dear friend Stalin. As this friendly blood enters my veins.

*Read the sentences written by Falih Rifka Atay, Minister of Human Education, about me and his friend Stalin! At the same time, a message of friendship should be sent to Stalin. Let my Prime Minister Hasan Ali Zaro Yücel write this message."*

*While the Minister of Health was giving the first injection to the Human Chief, Falih Rifka Atay was reading the following immortal lines from his article in Uluşt dated 16.01.1994 with a sad voice and crying:*

*- "Although Lenin and Atatürk are dead, two chiefs, İnönü and Stalin, who only carried out, advanced and elevated their works, are still at our head.*

*While the injection was being carried out with great success, the presidential band in the next hall played the Soviet anthem as a tribute and Patriarch Athenagoras took out a cross and blessed the Human Chief.*

*Then Greek, Israeli, British, American, French, Armenian, Chinese, Arab, Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian, Gypsy, Hotanto, Pygmy and many other bloods were given respectively. The Chief Humanitarian was mixing these bloods with his own with great civilised courage and good humour. There were five or six more tubes left on the table. When the Minister of Health, Dr Pavlaki Özoğuzer, took the first one of these and injected it into the Human Chief with his well-known mastery, there a joy and an expansion in the Chief:*

*- "My lamb Pavlaki, what blood was that?"*

*- "Kurdish blood, my dear chief!"*

*- "Oh, yeah? Kirmanji zoni? I like this blood. It gave me strength and cheerfulness. Will you make another one of these?"*

*- "Dear Chief! We didn't prepare a second tube because we didn't think you would like this blood so much. However, we have Zaza blood which is similar to it. If you order, let's inject it now..."*

*Zaza blood was also made on the orders and request of the Chief. There was no end to the joy of the human chief. He wanted to dance and sang a song in which only the words "varalo" were understood.*

*When his excited joy calmed down a little, he looked at the last remaining tubes and asked:*

*- "My lamb Pavlaki! What blood in these remaining tubes?"*

*- "Dear chief! These are Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Kazakh, Bashkir and Tatar blood."*

*This answer infuriated the Chief Humanitarian:*

- "What!... How dare you mix the blood of these vile savages with my noble blood? Isn't this Turanian blood? What does humanity to do with these barbarians? Quickly, the blood!"

- "Yes, sir!"

Dr Pavlaki took the tubes, trembling with fear. He was walking towards the door with quick steps. The chief shouted:

- "Where are you going?"

- "To destroy these, my dear chief."

- "How will you destroy it?"

Pavlaki was surprised and stammered:

- "I'll throw him in a deep hole and cover him with lime and earth!"

- "No way!... I know that wild blood. Even if you bury it in ten metres of earth, it will still come out of there, create armies and drown the world in blood. Have these tubes thrown into the Atlantic Sea by aeroplane immediately! "

- "Yes, my dear chief!" <sup>136</sup>

### Who's Bigger ?

When Hasan Ali Yücel took his seat, he looked at his friends and opened the unexpected matter:

- "My fellow ministers! Today we have to settle a matter here. We have to solve history. We will put the question by open vote and secret ballot: Is Atatürk the greatest or the Human Chief?"

The ministers looked at each other for a moment and then recovered their composure. Ahmet Emin Yalman, Deputy Chief Minister, the matter to the root:

- "The time to settle such a matter was long . There is no doubt that the Human Chief is greater than Atatürk. Because Atatürk only defeated the Greeks and won the Battle of Dumlupınar. We can also look at it as a brotherly quarrel. However, the Human Chief destroyed the racists in the Battle of Ankara Ulus Square. If these barbaric racists, Turkists, Turanists, the descendants of Attila, Chengiz, Timur, and the cruel Murad IV, had captured Ankara, what would have become of us? They would immediately bring a Kyrgyz from Central Asia and make him the ruler.



*They will abolish the civilised costume and wear kalpak and boots, they will ban champagne and liquor, close down the taverns which are the resting places of civilisation and drink ayran and koumiss instead of liquor, they will put swords on the waists of our civilised and polite children and make them parade in front of the tombs of the sultans with a goose step, they will immediately declare war on Russia and, God forbid, destroy the Soviet Union, they will send our Jewish citizens, the most distinguished element of humanity, to Israel, They would hang His Holiness Athenagoras by his blessed beard in the Fener Patriarchate, they remove jazz music, which is food for the soul, and replace it with crude military marches and Zeybek airs, they would discipline our high schools and our children under strict tyranny and torture, they would erect statues of great blood drinkers such as Fatih and Yavuz, they would rename the name of Basharistan as Turkeli and Istanbul Mehmetkent. As if these were not enough they were going to divide Basharistan into a thousand and one parts by making racial discrimination. With his victory against them in 1944, the Humanitarian Chief saved the whole Humanistan, even the world, even the universe from extinction. Had the Turkists come to power, they would probably have consumed the fish with their insatiable appetite. Now I ask you: there be a greater man than the Chief who achieved such a decisive victory? Of course not!"<sup>137</sup>*

### **Skull Measurement with the Mortise Instrument**

*"In the "news" in question, a chapter from my book "The First 65 Years of My Life" was taken as evidence that Atsız was a "skullcaster". To summarise: "Atsız was a terrifying skullcaster. He would measure the skulls of almost everyone, let alone his close circle, to determine what percentage of Turks they were, and sometimes even write reports to those who came from far away for this purpose." The real dishonesty begins here. Because I then add that Atsız did this in order to make fun of those who slandered him as a "kafatasist". This is the part omitted by "Habertürk". In other words, it separates my "ironic" sentences from the whole and gives them the impression that they are "serious". However, in the rest of the article, I say that Atsız found such an amusement for himself because he was annoyed by these slanders, and he used to measure the skulls with a "pestle device" inherited from Dr Rıza Nur. In the early 20th century, this device, which has now been replaced by much more modern methods, was used to measure the pelvic bones of pregnant women to determine whether they could give birth easily. The foolishness of determining "race" from the skull was popularised in Hitler's Germany, and in Turkey*

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*It was only seriously applied by Prof. Afet Inan. Despite some of his extreme views, Atsız did not believe in this nonsense, nor in the possibility of determining ancestry from "blood analysis". It is also possible to find that Atsız did not deviate from such paths of folly by opening the "Nationalism" volume of the "Türkiye'deki Siyasi Akımlar" (Political Movements in Turkey) series of "İletişim Publications" and looking at the article "Nihal Atsızthere. The authors of that text, moreover, are all researchers from the left wing of the political spectrum." <sup>138</sup>*

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138 Yağmur Atsız, Star Newspaper, 11 October 2009 Sunday

*"Turkism does not necessarily need to establish a party in order to come to power. Once Turkism has settled in the minds and hearts with consciousness, it can be achieved without a party. Racist Turkists have separated friend and foe by bowing to the judgements of Turkish history. We know those who are hostile to our race and those who are not, those who have eyes on our lands and those who do not. Our friendship and enmity are based on these principles. No one can condemn us for being hostile to those who are hostile to us. Since racist Turkism is not a political joke, racist Turkists nothing to do with daily politics. Our ideals and causes are centuries-old and national."*

## **Atsız's View of the World**

Although he studied literature, Atsız is better known as a historian due to his focus on Turkish history. He the person who popularised Turkish history with his novels, analyses and biographies, and brought the consciousness of history to young generations as the most important element of national identity. It is an important loss for our culture that his work on Turkish History, which he was writing in the last years of his life and even finished, according to some of his friends, did not come to light.

Atsız believed that science was responsible for contributing directly or indirectly to the life of society. Since he thought that history was the most functional branch of science in the education of the individuals of the society, in the acquisition of citizenship consciousness, in the development of national feelings and in the development of cultural identity, he concentrated on history and thought that it would be possible for a youth educated with the stories of victory and heroism of Turkish history to establish the future. According to him, history is a treasure trove of information from which data are collected and lessons are learnt in preparing the society of the future.

Atsız had the philosophy of an uninterrupted Turkish state. He perceived history as a whole and perceived the dynasties and periods of Turkish history as parts of a whole. He strongly criticised partiality between the periods and dynasties of history and read the past based on a national history thesis. The main point he emphasised in all his works is that the dominant element of the state should be the Turkish lineage. Just like Atatürk, who founded the Republic of Turkey on the basis of Turkishness, constantly advised that we should be proud of being Turkish. Those who opposed Atsız because they thought he was being hamasacist and condemned him as a racist could not see that he was actually instilling self-confidence in the Turkish people. However, this is the main strategy of psychological warfare between nations. In order to understand Atsız, it would be enough to concentrate on what is happening in our country and geography today. After Atsız, Turkishness has been intimidated by psychological attacks in our country, which has not been able to raise new men of ideas and causes who will continue the lines of Atsız and Ziya Gökalp, and unfortunately, being Turkish has almost no charm left. Turkishness has remained only in the basic laws of our Republic, which was founded on Turkishness, and even that has been pushed out of life with theses such as constitutional citizenship, federation and regime debates.

Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, one of the strongest defenders of Turkism and Turanism movements, is also an important man of ideas and ideals. He produced new ideas on various subjects and a great influence on new generations. His influence was not only limited to Turkey, Atsız's ideas in all geographies of the Turkish World.

There is no contradiction between Atsız's words and actions. His world view carries a line of complete determination and stability. His direction is the same in both his literary and scientific works. There are no gaps in his way of thinking. has a simple and unpretentious way of thinking. Unlike many intellectuals, he did not leave anything in a vacuum both with his struggle and his discourse, and he did not spare his word from condemners and prohibitionists, and his eyes from imprisonment and unemployment. In his own words; "The fundamental issues in Turkism certain. The issues that can be discussed are details."

He had a personality that "compiled" his ideas and his life. wordsİbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, Atsız, who "wrote fierce articles that would knock the horseman off his horse" was a calm, polite, mild, witty and humorous person in his private life, despite his fiery and sharp style.



He was recognised. Atsız Bey, who combined his dignity and humility in his own identity without contradiction, was like a "Turkish Bey" coming from the depths of Turkish history. Throughout his life, Atsız has been fought against. Each time, those who tried to deal with him were defeated. The defeated ones were replaced by new ones, but they could neither intimidate Atsız nor defeat his "ideal". Atsız was defeated only once in his life, and that was against death.

Travelling in the world of thought of a writer or poet should not be understood as going to extremes such as putting him/her in the ground or raising him/her to the seventh floor of the sky. It would be easy to criticise an idea without understanding the time and environment in which it is embodied. Atsız, who was subjected to the sharpest criticism and praise for his ideas, says the following in one of his writings:

Even if the ideas and ideals of those who lived in the past seem contrary to us, when we consider them in the conditions of time and space, we should not fall into the humiliation of not recognising their rights.<sup>139</sup>

Atsız thought that Turkey had lost its claim to be a great state after our defeat in 1918, and he believed that in order for the state, which had closed inward with the Republic and lost its claims outside its borders, to grow again, we as a nation should turn towards great ideals. According to him, Turkey's development is the cause of becoming a great state again. He summarises Turkey's national development plan in nine articles. The nine principles of the Committee of Union and Progress took a new form in Atsız. This programme also forms the basis of the doctrine of Nine Lights, which was later proposed by Alparslan Türkeş to the nationalists:

1. We are Turkic
2. Purified Turkish
3. We are legislators.
4. We are socialists.
5. We are national traditionalists.
6. We are in favour of conscious democracy.
7. We are moralists.
8. We are scientists.
9. We are technicians.

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139 "Mehmet Akif" Kızılirma 9th issue

Atsız's world of ideas is quite simple. He did not deal with the philosophical depth and social explanations of the subjects he dealt with, and by filtering the subjects he wrote on through the filter of history, took sides with those he found useful for the Turkish nation and fiercely opposed those he found harmful.

The intellectual priorities that Atsız took sides and used his pen with the sharpness of a sword against everyone when necessary can be grouped under the titles of Ul- kücülük, Turkism, Genealism, Turanism and Spiritualism.

### Nationalism

Idea, which literally means "distant goal", of the distinguished words that establish Atsız's idea weave. An idealist is a person who has an ideal, who is committed to an ideal and strives with all his/her being to realise it. According to Atsız, the ideal is the executive force that makes the nation alive and strong. Human communities form unity thanks to their ideals and march in the same direction.

*The belief in national superiority is the desire to grow, that is, the national ideal. National ideals are the creative force of communities. Like all creative forces, it has the ability to eliminate contradictions. The Turkish creative power, that is, the Turkish ideal, is an idea that has been a principle for centuries, for which battles have been fought, and which has been realised several times. Those who call it a dream are those who have relaxed and become lazy in their dreams. If it were a dream as they say, would it have ever been realised?*<sup>140</sup>

Nations with ideals shape the world and history. Ideals cannot be formed from small goals such as material welfare and peace. Ideals are a cause of growth that excites all members of the society. According to Atsız, a nation cannot be directed towards goals aimed at saving the day and maintaining its daily life with prosperity. All members of the nation need holy goals that will make them dream and drag them along:

*Ideals are a cause of greatness. For this reason, nations that want to grow and run after greatness an ideal. A Nepal, a Panama or a Switzerland cannot have an ideal. The last step of their national cause is, finally, peace and prosperity. Peace and abundance, on the other hand, do not qualify as an ideal. Because*

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140 Turkic Country, Red Flag, 1st Issue

*the desire for peace and abundance does not excite nations. It cannot bring them to a state of ecstasy. It cannot drive them to sacrifice up to death.* <sup>141</sup>

The ideal of the Turkish nation is to grow and dominate the world. The ideal of the Turks is the Red Crescent. Kızıllema is the horizon to which the state aims to carry the nation. According to Atsız, our Red Crescent in this age is Turan:

*The Turkish nation is one of the happy societies with an ideal. Throughout its entire history, it has pursued the ideal of greatness, fought wars of unity and conquest, and always been the owner of a great state until the end of the First World War. Today, we see that the ferment among the Turks is called as Kızıllema, Turanism, Ulug Turkistan or Great Turkic. This means "grow and unite" or "I want to unite and grow"* <sup>(142)</sup>

The disease of materialism has ashes the Turkish ideal. This state is temporary. The Turkish nation has to get rid of this temporary defeat in a short time and become victorious again against the West as in history. For this to happen, it is necessary to embrace the Turkish ideal as a nation and make it the driving force of our lives. For this purpose, it is necessary to put distant and difficult goals, which are adorned with a sweet dream on one side, in front of the nation and to unite the members of the nation behind this ideal:

*The idea of preserving existing borders and becoming rich can never be an ideal. An ideal is a distant, difficult goal mixed with a little dream. The ideal is a blessed and sweet thought that keeps the members of the nation, who are ignited with that ideal, alive in excitement. Ideals are fed with blood, sacrifice and heroism. A nation sheds blood like rivers and spends masses of lives to reach its ideal. Ideals are reached with blood, sword, fight, national hatred. An ideal requires hearts of steel, iron wrists, unshakable wills and high morals. The ideal is a religion. It demands heroes and martyrs. Amidst today's vulgar materialism, the Turkish ideal seems to have turned yellow, a little ashen. When the disease of materialism passes, it will shine again. Therefore, we are obliged to cling to the Turkish ideal. Every nation wants to grow up and spread throughout the world, to dominate the earth. But as it spreads, it encounters the resistance of other nations. Thus, a war starts between them. In the end, the strong win. Since human communities, i.e. nations have reached a high level of consciousness, the struggle for life between them does not only continue within the laws of nature. It is called human*

141 The Country of Greatness, Büyük Türkeli, 2nd issue, 25 April 1962

142 The Country of Greatness, Büyük Türkeli, 2nd issue, 25 April 1962



*The system and method of consciousness are also added. From this, national ideals are born. There are three periods in national ideals from less to more: Independenceunityconquest.*<sup>143</sup>

According to Atsız, it is a betrayal of both the past and the future to asphyxiate the nation's desire for growth, to weaken national anger with tales of peace and friendship, and to disrupt the nation's warrior yeast. He believes that it is necessary to analyse the genealogies of politicians, teachers, writers and poets who do this and to be cautious.

*When life is a war and in order to win it must attack, to cry out the ugliness of an attack on the path of national ideals is either ignorance or treason. Those who are in responsible positions in states may say such words out of political courtesy or interest. But if those who address the youth of the nation, i.e. teachers, poets, journalists and scribes, want to make us swallow the opium of peace, a search of their genealogies and the secret documents in their homes will again confirm the immutable truth of history, especially Turkish history.*<sup>144</sup>

## Turkism

The concept of nationality does not have a common and valid definition for all nations. It is difficult to agree on a general definition of the concept of nation, since each nation defines this concept according to its own structure, interests and historical formation process. This means that the concept of nation many definitions that vary from nation to nation:

For the French, the nation is a unity of culture. The French nation consists of the fusion of Gol, Latin and German nationalities in a common homeland and a common history. Therefore, French history is the history of a homeland, and French nationality is the cultural unity formed in that homeland over the course of a thousand years. The same definition cannot be valid for Germans. For Germans, nation means the unity of lineage. The most important basis for the German nation, which lacks historical integrity, is the unity of lineage. For the Austrians, who share a common ancestry with the Germans, the main line of nationality is Catholicism, which distinguishes them from German Protestantism. The common past of the English is the history of the state. It is not possible for a society consisting of Celts, Germans and Saxons, who mixed with the Normans, to express itself in terms of genealogical unity. For this reason, the idea of nationality is also based on language.

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143 Countries are aggressive, Orhun, 14th issue, 1 February 1944

144 Countries are aggressive, Orhun, 14th issue, 1 February 1944



and can be defined in terms of politics. Similarly, for Americans, nationhood can only be defined in terms of nationality.

It is possible to continue these examples for all regions of the world. The wisdom of these interpretations, which vary from country to country and society to society, should be sought in the historical conditions and processes. The repercussions of this difficulty of definition in our culture have caused quite complex discussions. This difficulty of definition led to the formation of multiple perceptions of Turkism. These conflicts of definition and interpretation among Turkists sometimes turned into hostile attitudes and a healthy perception area could not be created.

Every healthy and prudent person is a nationalist. However, since the nation does not have a common meaning for everyone, differences in perspectives, interpretations, acceptance and determination have created opposing views. For this reason, while the idea of Turkism was developing in our country, some made definitions based on race, some on language, some on culture, some on history, some on faith. Differences in definitions and interpretations within the idea of Turkism have caused great debates and differences of opinion. These differences have led to different approaches such as "Turkism", "Anatolianism", "Turanism" and "nationality".

According to the doctrine that links the definition of nationality to natural law (citizenship), everyone who lives within the borders of the country and is bound to the state by citizenship is a member of the nation, regardless of race, religion, culture and language. Accordingly, a person who is not of Turkish descent, who does not speak Turkish and who does not adopt the values of Turkish culture is considered a Turk because he/she is a citizen of Turkey, whereas individuals living in Cyprus, Kirkuk, Skopje who are of Turkish descent, who are within the Turkish cultural circle and who speak Turkish are not Turks.

According to those who attempt to define nationality with Turkishness or Anatolianism, the main value that binds individuals together and gathers them around common values is geography. Anatolians define the Turkish nation as a community formed by the mixture of Turks and other elements in Anatolian lands after Malazgirt. This definition was strongly criticised by Turanists for separating the Turkish nation from its racial compatriots in Asia. This is also a second interpretation, which we can call "neo-Greekism", that gives life to the Anatolianism movement: This interpretation is based on the idea that the Turkish nation

It is based on the perception of Anatolian civilisations as a mixture of Turkish and Muslim masses.

Hüseyin Nihal Atsız the Turkist-Turanist line. He is one of the most extreme figures of the line that explains the nation by belonging to a race and defends the unity of all Turks. The idea of Turkism, which was systematised by Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, was put into practice to a great extent by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but after the thirties, it was derailed due to the corruptions caused by the Single Party rule, and was separated from the nation with top-down and imposing interpretations. It was during these years that the Turkism struggle of Atsız and his friends began to diverge from the official view. In one of his writings, Atsız summarises the historical development of the valley of Turkism, to which he himself was a party, as follows

*There are 4 great figures of contemporary Turkism: Ali Suavi, Süleyman Pasha, Ziya Gök Alp, Rıza Nur. Ali Suavi was both an intellectual and political Turkist. He was a hero who, out of his concern for Turkism, raided the Çırağan palace by organising a revolution in order to prevent the acceptance of a bad peace such as the Ayastofanos peace, but failed and was martyred for this cause. Süleyman Pasha was a scientific Turkist. Ziya Gök Alp had turned the ideal of Turkism into a system. Rıza Nur practised political, intellectual and practical Turkism.*<sup>145</sup>

According to Atsız, who accepts and summarises the line of the Turkism movement in Turkey that has reached him, the Turkism movement emerged from four sources and merged to a big river:

1. *Nationalism, which has ancient roots and has been living in subconscious of Turkish tribe for centuries;*
2. *After the Tanzimat, a nationalist movement that wanted a populist movement similar to the nationalisms in Europe to be implemented in our country;*
3. *The reaction arising from the betrayal of foreign elements within our state;*
4. *The great suffering of the Turks for 200 years.*<sup>146</sup>

Atsız distinguishes himself and those who think like him from other nationalist movements by calling them Racist Turkists. According to him, Turkism is non-political. It does not get involved in daily politics. It is an enemy to the nation's enemies and a friend to its friends:

145 The Most Insidious Danger, 1 August 1943

146 Turkism, Orhun, 10th issue, 1 October 1943

*Turkism does not necessarily need to establish a party in order to come to power. Once Turkism has settled in the minds and hearts with consciousness, it can be achieved without a party. Racist Turkists have separated friend and foe by bowing to the judgements of Turkish history. We know those who are hostile to our race and those who are not, those who have eyes on our lands and those who do not. Our friendship and enmity are based on these principles. No one can condemn us for being hostile to those who are hostile to us. Since racist Turkism is not a political joke, racist Turkists nothing to do with daily politics. Our ideals and causes are centuries-old and national.*<sup>147</sup>

According to Atsız, Turkism is the effort to unite all Turks under a single state and to make the Turkish nation advanced and superior to all nations.

*Turkism is the ideal that all Turks unite in a single state and become advanced and superior to all nations in every respect. This has two unchanging elements: Genealism and Turanism.*<sup>148</sup>

Among the ideologies existing in the Turkic world, only Turkism is national. All other idea currents, ideologies and world views are of foreign origin:

*Among the intellectual movements in Turkey, Turkism is the only one that is indigenous and national. others, whether beneficial or harmful, have come from abroad: Communism was transferred to us from Russia and has become a betrayal of the homeland. Freemasonry, an international Jewish tool, entered Turkey through the Balkans. The homeland of democracy, which is in favour today, is England, then France. Economic liberalism and statism, which have many supporters, also have foreign roots. Fascism, whose supporters were once seen in newspapers and in the Parliament, was born in Italy and Germany. Even Islam, which today has been adopted by the Turks and has become nationalised, does not actually have Turkish roots.*<sup>149</sup>

He does not mind those who call him "fascist". The only title he deems himself worthy of is Turkishness and Turkism. He is a lover of the nation who spends his whole life among the leaves of Turkish history, identifies with Turkish heroes and lives in the past. He loves the Turk and considers him superior to every nation. He also states that this feeling does not mean humiliating other nations:

*However, I am not a fascist, I am only a Turk. I swim in Turkish history. I can say that every day I spend in 27 centuries. Who told us*

147 Turkism and Politics, Ötügen 104th Issue, February 1970

148 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 68th Issue, 18 January 1952

149 The only thought that did not come from outside, Orkun, 13 October 1950



*I know who is a friend and who is an enemy. That is why I do not like any foreign nation. But this feeling does not prevent me from seeing some virtues of some nations. Because love is one thing, appreciation another...*<sup>150</sup>

He is aware that defining the nation cannot be based on unchangeable principles. Each society defines itself based on its own values. Atsız also accepts that a nation can be defined as a unity of language, history, culture or geography, and sees the unity of lineage as an indispensable principle:

*If we accept race as a basis for nation, the French and Americans are not a nation; if we accept language and culture, the Belgians and the Swiss and even the Chinese if we accept nationality, the Jews are not a nation. Then what is a nation? Here we must first accept the following: In our opinion, there is only the Turkish nation. For this reason, it is necessary to define it only. It does not matter whether others fit within the framework of this definition or not. For Turks, nationality is first and foremost a matter of blood. In other words, the man who says he is a Turk must belong to the Turkish generation. The Turkish generation is the Turks who are known and famous from history.*<sup>151</sup>

Atsız's Turkism is based on being cautious against the tribes and communities that have been hostile to our nation in recent history, on the assumption that their hostility will never end, and on the precaution of not giving the affairs of the nation and the high offices of the state to those who are not of Turkish descent. He considers all those who do not belong to any other race, who have internalised their membership to the Turkish nation, and who have demonstrated this with their words and actions as Turks. Despite this acceptance, warns the necessity of being cautious against those of other descent with the warning not to forget the examples in history:

*Those who are enemies of Turks and openly say so are not so dangerous for Turks. The real danger is foreigners who are Turk-like. They cannot be distinguished from Turks because they speak Turkish well and often do not know any language other than Turkish. But they either know or perceive that their blood is different. That is why I call them Turcommies. They are sycophants and liars. They laugh to the face. Ideas harmful to Turkishness are popular among them. Since they are not Turks, they do not hesitate to join ideas and organisations that do harm to Turks from within for the sake of a small personal benefit. We can give hundreds of examples of how Turcommunists, when necessary, do evil to Turks. It is easy to prove this with historical evidence: Wasn't the reason for our defeat to the Serbs in the Balkan War the betrayal of the Albanians? Why did our army of 40 thousand men in Thessaloniki resist?*

150 The Most Insidious Danger, 1 August 1943

151 Turkish Race=Turkish Nation, Orkun, 16 July 1934, Issue: 9



*without surrendering the Greeks? Because Tahsin Pasha, the commander of that army, was an Albanian. On the other hand, our army of 12 thousand men in Edirne held out for months with a heroism that brought tears to our eyes. Because the commander of Edirne, Şükrü Pasha, was a Turk. Why did Abdullah Cevdet try to destroy the two strong pillars of this nation, nationality and religion? Because he was a Kurdish nationalist. He realised that it was impossible to destroy Turkishness through Kurdishness, so he tried to destroy it through nationality and science. Why Rıza Tevfik betray the country? Because he was a mulatto whose father was Albanian and mother was Circassian. Why did Ali Kemal work for the enemy? Because his grandfather was an Armenian convert. Why did Etem, a gangster, unite with the Greeks in the War of Independence because of a small matter of interest? Because he was a Circassian. Why did Ahmet Cevat write in newspapers against Turkism during the armistice years? Because he was from Crete...*<sup>152</sup>

Atsız distinguishes between Turkism and nationalism. While he considers nationalism as a partiality towards the nation and the state that every common-sense citizen should have, he considers Turkism as a more advanced and relevant stage. According to him, a person who is not interested in and concerned about "Foreign Turks" can never be a Turkist:

*Turkism is Turkish nationalism, but not every nationalist Turk is a Turk. Nationalism is a very general expression. Every normal person is more or less a nationalist. To be concerned about the integrity and security of Turkey and to be loyal to the Turkish nation is undoubtedly nationalism. However, among such nationalists there are many people who have no interest in Foreign Turks, who are even ignorant of their existence, who do not know that there are Turkish countries outside the political borders, who consider the war to be fought for the liberation of a captive Turkish country as an invasion.*<sup>153</sup>

According to Atsız, Turkism is socialist. However, the society proposed by Turkism consists of individuals with personality. Individuals respect when they gain personality. Ordinary individuals have no value in the face of society:

*Turkish morality has been socialist since the earliest times. In other words, Turks the interests of society over those of individuals. However, strong personalities have always been respected and have been beneficial to society. Turkish morality, which does not value individuality, has respected personality.*<sup>154</sup>

Atsız considers Turks who believe in the superiority of the Turkish lineage, who prefer national interests to personal interests, and who have high morals and respect for sacred values to be Turkists:

152 Turkish Race=Turkish Nation, Orkun, 16 July 1934, Issue: 9

153 Turkism and Politics, Ötüken 104th Issue, February 1970

154 Turkish Morality, Çınaraltı, 7th issue, 20 September 1941

*A Turkist is a person who believes in the superiority of the Turkish race. He knows that whatever is backward and bad today is only a symptom of a temporary illness, and that all the virtues that have led us forward in the past, that have led us from victory to victory, live hidden in our blood, in our soul, in us, and are looking for opportunities and opportunities to appear. A Turkist is a person who puts national interests above personal interests, respects national sacredness and the past, a high sense of duty, and is fearless in the fight against injustice.*<sup>155</sup>

### **Genealogy (Racism)**

It is an undeniable fact that the great genus called man consists of branches/races. It is one thing to accept the existence of these branches, and quite another to accept that one of these branches is superior to the others. The understanding that believes that one of the races is superior, and that does not recognise the right to life of other races by deferring this belief is racism. The equivalents of the term race in our language are the words soy and uruk.

Since the earliest periods of history, various criteria have been used to determine race. The most common of these are biological elements such as colour, height, head, eyes, blood; psychological assumptions such as intelligence, feeling, temperament, mentality; sociological facts such as language, dress, customs, production and consumption styles. In more general terms, the human genus has been divided into branches and named with morphological, aesthetic, physiological, psychological and ethnographic facts.

Despite its long history, racism was systematised as a social theory in the nineteenth century. In this century, which is considered to be the golden age of racism, Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution, although he himself was not a racist, formed the basis for the development of scientific racism. Social Darwinism argued that the human race had passed through various stages of evolution over time and that the European white race represented the highest stage of human social evolution.

Gobineau argued for the superiority of the white race and that the Aryan race among the whites had reached the highest level of civilisation. One of Gobineau's followers, the British-born Houston Stevvart Chamberlain, argued in Germany that the tall/fair-skinned and long-headed Teutons were the superior race/the Jews, although physically indistinguishable from the Teutons, morally inferior to them. Gobineau and Chamberlain

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155 Who is a Turkist, Orkun, 3rd issue, 20 October 1950

The views of Nietzsche, Max Weber, Werner Sombart and other thinkers formed the basis of Nazi racism in Germany. Adolf Hitler received the "scientific" foundations of the racism aspect of his political philosophy from these thinkers.

Atsız's genealogy does not incline towards the perversions that were born in Germany and that cause human shame:

*It is evident from documents that there is no connection between German racism against Jews and Turkish racism, which is put forward as a principle of protection against all nations, and that Turkish racism is much older than German racism. The objection that a national ideal was instilled in the Turks by a foreign nation is too flimsy to merit further consideration. Genealogy is first of all a means of national defence. It is a protection measure against the consciousness of lineage, which the minorities in Turkelia secretly carried out among themselves. While the Thessaloniki returnees in Turkey have been taking secret measures for centuries in order not to be Turkified, while some small nations and communities with no culture and history hide even their own surnames despite the certainty of the Surname Law and genealogy, while Jews prove in ways that Israel is their true homeland, Turks, as the true owner of the state, are undoubtedly justified in taking certain measures<sup>(156)</sup>*

Racism is a theory and view that defends the natural superiority of a certain race. It originates from the belief that there is a cause-and-effect connection between inherited physical characteristics and personality, intelligence and cultural traits. Racism has a long history in human history. In ancient Greek, Roman and Egyptian societies, sovereign nations believed in their natural superiority and regarded nations other than their own as second-class human beings and therefore as communities created to be slaves and servants. In some societies, such as the Israelites, racism had acquired a religious character. The Israelites, who believed that they were the chosen nation, did not accept the prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (s.a.s) at the time Islam was preached, simply because he was not from their nation. Racism has no sociological and psychological substructure in Turkish history. Atsız is aware of this situation and in many of his writings he states that he does not base his view, which he calls "ancestry" in some of his writings and "racism" in others, on discrimination:

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156 The only thought that did not come from outside Orkun, 2nd issue, 13 October 1950



*In short, these devshirims were enemies, not opponents, of racism. They endeavoured to discredit those who did not count us as their seven cousins because they did not accept Turkishness. They did not want to listen to the fact that we considered those who did not have a foreign nationality consciousness as our own. Especially, they were ignorant of the fact that we did not care at all that his mother was a non-Turk, and that we considered Yildirim Bayezid, whose mother was not a Turk, as a national hero and boasted of him. Of course, we were not going to deal with fools who were incapable of understanding our clear words despite all the repetitions. We were leaving those crows free to sing with their beautiful voices and minding our own business.*<sup>157</sup>

In the history of the Turkish nation, there are no tendencies that can be considered racism in the Western sense. This situation caused our nation to be abused by other nationalities to whom it opened its heart, embraced and protected in times of strength. Turkish history is full of betrayals by minorities living with us in our homeland, living under the shadow of our military genius and organisation. The last three centuries of our nation have been characterised by the exploitation of the state, our army and our resources by non-Turkish elements. Atsız, who shaped his intellectual fiction under the most intense influences of these adverse conditions, shouted in his sharp style the necessity of being cautious and vigilant against those who feel belonging to a race other than Turkish:

*A Turkist is a person who believes in the superiority of the Turkish race. He knows that whatever backward and bad things we see today are all symptoms of a temporary illness, and that all the virtues that have taken us forward and led us from victory to victory in the past times live hidden in our blood, in our soul, in us, and are looking for opportunities and opportunities to appear. Where the national consciousness is awake, the nation does not recognise the foreigner as one of its own. Those of foreign descent, even if they are citizens and subjects, are still considered foreigners. They cannot be trusted. Foreigners cannot be married. Especially in the high strata, this marriage is never seen. Laws are made only to protect the national interest and to raise the nation. History is considered only in terms of national glory and honour. The past is not cursed. Foreign nations and persons are not included in the national cadre.*<sup>158</sup>

Atsız believes in the superiority of the Turkish race. He believes that the mixing of the Turkish race with other races would lead to degeneration and degeneration. However, his racism is not an aggressive racism. It is an expression of his intention to love, superiority and protection of his nation:

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157 Crusade Against Turkism

158 National Awareness Vigilance, Kızılirma, 2 January 1948, Issue: 10



*Race a group of people or animals coming from the same root. The Turkish version of this Arabic word is "uruk" in Eastern Turks and "soy" in Western Turks. "Soy" means nobility in our language. "Noble" means noble, noble. "Soy- suz" is the opposite of this. The degeneration of something is "degeneration". As there are hereditary characteristics in families, are also hereditary characteristics in races. In high races, these traits are positive traits. These positive traits can only deteriorate as a result of mixing with lower races. High races deteriorate very quickly. It is a natural law that clean and superior things deteriorate quickly. If a spoonful of sea water is enough to spoil a glass of pure water, a drop of filth is more than enough. This is what racism is.*<sup>159</sup>

Atsız's view of the nationalities that have taken place among us as the remnants of the empire is not positive. He underlines that non-Turkish elements have mostly betrayed us in history, although they have done very little service, and says that this betrayal is still being done today and that we should be vigilant:

*Turkish history is a history of betrayal foreigners, which is full of thousands of betrayals in return for a few services. It is a history of betrayals with thousands of cases, from the Chinese princess who poisoned the Turkish sultan who was on a campaign to China, to Sharif Hussein, Circassian Ethem and Kurdish Sheikh Sait. The children of the country did not wait for high positions in order to serve. Everywhere, at all times, under all circumstances, they have served quietly, without showing off, and they have paid blood and life taxes.*<sup>160</sup>

Atsız's view of foreign elements is straightforward. He thinks that minorities enemies and that they will betray the country at every opportunity they find. Atsız, who sees it as an inevitable end that those who are bound to the country they live in only by the bond of citizenship, those who do not have blood ties in their membership, will betray the nation in times of weakness, says that minorities should not be brought to high positions of the state as a precaution against this situation:

*Since the foreign element does not consider itself bound to that homeland by blood ties, it pursues only its own private interests within that nation, as it harbours a grudge against the nation that forced it to give up its original nationality. He does not hesitate to betray whenever he finds the opportunity. The greatest empires in history, the Roman, Abbasid and Ottoman Empires were destroyed by the mischief of foreigners within them.*

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159 Atsız's Defence in the Turkism (Racism-Turanism) Trial 19 February 1945

160 Atsız's Defence in the Turkism (Racism-Turanism) Trial 19 February 1945

*and they were destroyed due to their taking high positions. When a state was strong, there were always foreigners serving it. Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, a Croatian convert who was the Ottoman Grand Vizier in the sixteenth century, was a Turanist, and Lord Bikonstfeld, a Jew who was the British Prime Minister in the nineteenth century, enacted anti-Semitic laws in England. But these are incidental. The history of Turkey is a history of example, which overflows with thousands of betrayals by foreigners in return for a few services* <sup>161</sup>.

Atsız's genealogy is not the same as the colonialist racism developed in Europe. As a son of a nation that had been deceived and stabbed in the back by minorities in every period of history, Atsız, in the days when the wounds of betrayal had not yet scabbed over, had made some aggressive outbursts and developed an attitude of not complimenting those who were not of Turkish descent.

*Ancestry does not mean determining to which nationality people belong by subjecting them to measurements and laboratory examinations, as those who do not know what ancestry is or who pretend not to know what ancestry is claim. Almost every lineage is mixed with other lineages. Nothing can come out of this. This is because nature cleans up hybridity after a while. But if a lineage continues to mix with other lineages, after a while it will degenerate, never to recover.* <sup>162</sup>

Atsız curses those who see the Turkish nation as a mosaic with the most intense anger of his heart. Atsız is not in favour of excluding other nationalities who mingle among us for geographical and religious reasons. However, he made this tolerance conditional. Those who have been accepted into the fabric of the Turkish nation must cease to carry other nationalities:

*After long and bitter trials, we have realised that passport citizens are useless. People who are not bound to this land by the blood, language and tradition of their ancestors do not hesitate to betray when they see the slightest benefit. That is why we are racists. There is also the delusion, which is based on the non-national consciousness of not being of Turkish descent, of considering Anatolia as a glass, the people in it as a cocktail, and the Turks as the last drink added to this cocktail, whose adherents consist of a number of mentally ill people.* <sup>163</sup>

It strongly condemns groups that ignore our national existence and ignore Turkish culture. It is against everyone and everything hostile to Turkishness and the Turkish flag:

161 Atsız's Defence in the Turkism (Racism-Turanism) Trial 19 February 1945

162 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 68th Issue, 18 January 1952

163 The Most Insidious Danger, 1 August 1943

*In Turkey, there are three groups hostile to Turkishness and therefore to the Turkish flag: Muscovites, Kurds and Political Ummahists.* <sup>164</sup>

Atsız is an antisemite. He is hostile to Jews. He never hides his anger the Jewish nation. While he applauds the Jews' re-establishment of a state after two thousand years of statelessness as a success, he believes that many of their characteristics are harmful to humanity and Turkishness:

*No one in the world loves the creature called the Jew except the Jew and the corrupt people. Because while mankind has always worshipped strength, heroism and goodness, the Jew has always been an example of weakness, cowardice, wickedness and lack of character. His God is money. He is a dishonourable merchant who does not hesitate to sell the flag under whose shadow he lives in order to put a few coins in his pocket. He is the enemy of whichever country he lives in. However, he does not do this enmity openly, but with a smile on his face, with humility. A Jew is like a liquid. It immediately the shape of the container it is in. The Turkification societies established from time to time are the result of this miserable policy. They want to make us forget that they spied for our enemies in the World War and insulted Turkishness in the Armistice. They even go further and themselves Turkish names. There are two kinds of Jews. One is the original Jew, recognised by his language. The other is a Jewish convert. This is not recognisable by its language. In order to recognise him, one must look carefully at the Jewish features of his face. There is no difference between a Jew and a Jewish convert. If one says "we Jews", the other "you Turks".* <sup>165</sup>

As a historian, Atsız identifies the enemies of the Turkish nation and recommends caution against these communities. The extremism in this enemy identification constitutes his repulsive side. He even places Kurds, Circassians, Abaza, Bosniaks, Albanians, Albanians, Pomaks, Lezgis, Georgians and Chechens, who are part of our social race, in the enemy ranks with such extreme outbursts that he disregards commonality of culture and religion. His will written on the eve of the Second World War is a document of this extremism. he ignores the contributions of KurdsCircassiansAbazaBosniansAlbaniansPomaksLezgisGeorgians and Chechens, who are our social race, our history and culture and underlines only their treachery constitutes the deficiency of Atsız's perspective. The fact that he based the definition of nation on "lineage" a perceptual disconnect such as not seeing the importance of other commons.

<sup>164</sup> Kurds and Communists, Ötüken, 28th issue, 30 April 1966

<sup>165</sup> Necip(!) Sons of Musa should know that, Orkhun, 7th Issue, 1934



The most obvious example of this misperception is his will, which was also used against him in the Turanism case:

*The reason I wrote a will was this: I believed that a war with the Germans in Thrace would be very bloody and fierce. The German armies had destroyed Poland in 17 days, France in 17, Yugoslavia in 10, and Greece in 16. Turkey had massed an army of more than half a million men in Thrace. A division was to guard every kilometre. Since this army was very primitive in terms of weapons and equipment compared to the Germans, it was certain that it would suffer terrible losses. In the face of unprecedented attacks by German tank divisions and air forces, the Turkish army could not retreat across the Straits into Anatolia. There would be unprecedented battles between the frontier and the city of Istanbul. Perhaps German tanks would penetrate as far as the Straits, but the surviving Turkish infantry would battles that would overshadow the Dardanelles battles in order to prevent the German infantry from crossing. It have been a great fortune to survive in this frenzy, and a great optimism to think of surviving. Of course, the wills were not about how the apartment blocks, business centres and farms would be divided between my wife, my son, my non-existent cat and my canaries. Even if I became a billionaire, I could not be as ridiculous and foolish as the American who left a fortune to his dog. These wills consisted of national and political advice. In the meantime, they also contained my opinions about the notables of the republican era.* <sup>166</sup>

This much-discussed will of Atsız contains the following sharp statements It takes:

*Rain, my son!*

*You're a year and a half today. I've finished the will, I'm closing.*

*I leave you a picture of me as a souvenir. Follow my advice, be a good Turk.*

*Communism is a profession hostile to us. Remember this well. Jews are the secret enemies of all nations. Russians, Chinese, Persians, Greeks are our historical enemies.*

*Bulgarians, Germans, Italians, British, French, Arabs, Serbs, Croats, Spaniards, Portuguese, Romanians are our new enemies.*

*The Japanese, Afghans and Americans are our enemies tomorrow. Armenians, Kurds, Circassians, Abaza, Bosniaks, Albanians, Pomaks, Laz, Lezgis, Georgians, Chechens are our enemies within.*



*He must be well prepared to fight so many enemies.  
God you!*<sup>167</sup>

In spite of all this, his genealogy is more oriented towards defence than discrimination. Rather than racial discrimination, his view is Turks should return to themselves against those who live among us and consider themselves separate from us. He considers everyone whoitises national interests over personal interests, national sacredness and the past, a high sense of duty ethics, and is fearless in the fight against injustice to be a Turk and a Turkist. In addition to this, he emphasises the necessity of allocating important positions in the state and politics to Turkish descendants:

*Racism, which is the internal cause of Turkists, is the principle that Turks should dominate the destiny of Turkey and that Turks should be present at key points. Reading about the treachery of the Arab officers in the Ottoman army during the First World War and listening to the accounts of those who fought in those wars is a lesson that will never be forgotten by those who are sane. After seeing the total betrayal of the Albanians in the Balkan War and of the Arabs in the First World War, and while the Arabs were demanding a Hatay from Turkey, is it right or wrong to train the local Fellahs of Turkey as officers by taking them to the Military Academy, to make them governors by taking them out of the Civil Faculty, and to elect them from the party lists to the Ministry?*<sup>168</sup>

## Turanism

Turkey, the Caucasus, North and South Azerbaijan, all the surroundings of the Caspian Lake, East and West Turkestan, Afghanistan and East, South and West Siberia, the Saka Country and the entire territory from the centre to the west of today's Mongolia is called the "Turkic World". Within the Turanian land, which we refer to with the upper name Turkeli, seven independent republics, namely Turkey, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and seven autonomous republics, namely Tatarstan, Chuvashia, Bashkortostan, Khakassia, Tuva, Sakaeli and East Turkistan. Oghuz, Kipchaks and Karluks, the main branches of the great Turkish tree, live in the region. The ideal of the Turkists is to unite the Oghuz, Kipchaks and Karluks in language, literature and culture under the name of Turan, and not only that, to unite the Turkic world.

<sup>167</sup> Atsız's Testament, 4 May 1941.

<sup>168</sup> We Know What We Want Ötügen 1966 Issue: 26

to establish political unity. Turanism is the most determinant idea that establishes Atsız's idea pattern. Like some Turkists before him, he was against interpreting Turanism only as a cultural unity. According to him, Turanism is a supreme unity that will gather all Turks under the roof of a single state:

*It is empty and wrong to understand Turanism as uniting all Turks only in the field of culture. It is a social law that cultural unity is born only at the end of political unity. it possible to unite Turks under the domination of nations hostile to Turks in culture? Would the foreign nation allow this? By what force, by what method can you unite Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tatar and Bashkir, whose alphabets were separated in the Soviet Union and whose local dialects were turned into literary languages, in a single culture? If you have that much power, it is already in your hands to march your armies and save those countries. Then you can convene a congress for cultural unity, otherwise you will never be able to establish cultural unity.<sup>169</sup>*

Atsız exposes the misconceptions of those who confuse Turanism with imperialism, and that the Turkish nation no eyes on anyone's land, but that it is the right of our nation to make every effort, including war, to liberate their captive homeland:

*First of all, it is a great mistake to confuse Turanism with imperialism. Imperialism means the domination of other nations by one nation. Then, why is Turanism, which means the unification of Turks, Turkish imperialism? Is it imperialism for a Turkic community to liberate other Turks from foreigners by force of arms and unite them into a single state? All nations of the world armed and unarmed wars in order to unite their kinsmen under the domination of foreign states. If we had been forced to accept the Peace of Sevres and had left Thrace and Izmir to the Greeks would our struggle to liberate them fifty years later have been an imperialist<sup>170</sup>*

According to Atsız, Turanism is not the name of any ideology or any system. Ideologies exist to try the unlive, and if the end of the experiment is good, to continue it. Turanism is a national ideal outside all ideologies. Turanism is not a new goal, but a reality that has been realised and existed several times throughout history.

*The most blessed goal for us is Turanism. What can be more blessed than devoting oneself to an ideal that we will unite as we were united in the past? It is our right and duty to unite all Species. To take back what was taken away from us by force*

169 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6

170 Turanism is not a Romantic Dream, Ötüken, March 1968, Issue: 3

*is to fulfil justice. Turanism is an idea of greatness. The idea of greatness is a noble idea.*<sup>171</sup>

Underlining that the idea of Turanism frightened the non-Turkish elements within the Turkish nation, as well as the fact that it was quite natural that it disturbed many nations who feared the growth of the Turkish nation, Atsız reveals the inner face of the smear and accusation campaigns against Turanism:

*Since the reunification and rise of the Turkish nation, which is antipathetic to almost the whole world due to its history, wars and conquests, frightens many nations, since some states will disappear or shrink as a result of this rise, and even since the interests of the world's great trade partnerships will be undermined, the ideal of Turanism is met with great resistance, propaganda and intellectualisation of this resistance are made, and this propaganda also effective for Turkey.*<sup>172</sup>

The cheapest accusation that enraged Atsız and turned his already sharp pen into a sword was that Turanism was seen as an adventure that would sink the state. He thinks that the attacks on Turanism, which use the First World War and Enver Pasha's unfortunate defeat as an excuse, are intended to leave the Turkish nation without an ideal. Atsız excuses those who participate in this attitude due to lack of knowledge, but does not tolerate those who carry intentions against the nation:

*I do not pay attention to the opposition of those who fear that Turanism will overthrow Russia because they are Muscovite lackeys. First, let us consider whether Turanism is an adventure: The idea that Turanism is an adventure originated from the failure of Enver Pasha's actions on the Caucasian front during the First World War, which ended in failure and great losses. Just as spring does not come with a flower, judging the wrongness of an idea based on one failure is not a work of sound logic. It is now well known that Enver Pasha was a brave soldier, but an incompetent commander. Furthermore, it is also wrong to consider Enver Pasha as a pure Turanian. The Unionists were both Turanists and unityists. They wanted to take both the Caucasus and Egypt. Moreover, the untimely Caucasian offensive not made with the idea of Turanism, but in order to lighten the burden on our ally Germany. As for adventurism, this word be considered carefully and seriously. Not every adventurism is a mistake, nor every necessity a prudent behaviour. The history of mankind is full of politicalmilitary and scientific adventures. Christopher Columbus travelled westwards to India.*

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171 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6

172 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6



*an adventure. So was crossing the Atlantic on a raft. If we look at our own recent history, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's landing in Samsun was also an adventure. Many did not join him not because they were not patriotic, but because they did not see the possibility of success. However, because he knew how to calculate well, he finished his venture, which others opposed as an adventure that would sink Turkey, in a brilliant way. In our older history, not Babur's plunge into India with 10,000 men and Yavuz's entry into Egypt by crossing the desert with 30,000 men adventures? Yes, Napoleon's and Hitler's Moscow campaigns were also adventures, but just because they ended in failure, that diminish their value? Isn't the establishment of the State of Israel by the Jews in what is now the Arab homeland anadventure? Those who want to live without danger should commit suicide. Life and the universe are full of dangers. Danger exists for individuals, nations and lands. A terrible earthquake can submerge Anatolia under water in a few hours. The suffocating gases of a comet passing close to the Earth can destroy several nations at once. An asteroid large enough to dislodge the earth from its orbit could hit our globe and bring about the apocalypse of the world. A few nations can unite and launch 500 hydrogen bombs on Turkey one night and then send their soldiers in special clothes into our country.<sup>173</sup>*

Turanism in Atsız is a national ideal. Those who denigrate it are either ignorant or traitors. Those who attempt to reject Turanism on the grounds of Anatolianism are characterised by Atsız as ignorant and foolish:

*In order to denigrate such a blessed ideal as Turanism, which accelerates the nation and is based on morality and virtue, one must either feel that the blood in one's veins is foreign, or be a communist, that is, a traitor, or be ignorant and foolish enough to start national history from Malazgird.<sup>174</sup>*

## Spirituality

Atsız's views on the concept of religion, especially Islam, have always been debated. His enemies judged him to be un-Islamic by underlining his aggressive sentences, while his fans ignored his mistakes in religious matters, which stemmed from both his lack of knowledge and his argumentative temper. Those who have spoken about Atsız's attitude towards religion, his piety, his Muslim-ness, and many other issues have said that they are talking about what kind of a person they are talking about.

173 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6

174 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6



They should not forget. Atsız has never been a hypocrite of any subject, any idea and any belief. His ideas and character are straightforward. All his works and his acquaintances testify that if he had any of the ideas or beliefs that are tried to be attributed to him, he would have said so without fear of anyone or any institution. He would not only say it, he would write and publish it with his pen, which he used like a sword. He was of the opinion that the field of religion and belief was outside the sphere of knowledge:

*For today's civilised people, religion is a matter of individual conviction and belief. Even in countries where religious parties are organised and religious universities exist, all religious beliefs of individuals are respected. Belief has no logic. Everyone is free to believe whatever he wants.* <sup>175</sup>

Atsız's use of insulting language against religion and the religious in writings as a result of his debates with the ummahists and Kurdish-Islamist separatists, and his occasional use of words that could be considered as denial, should be seen as an incidental situation. Such excesses, which stemmed both from his lack of knowledge about religious sciences and the crisis of loneliness he fell into in those years, can be considered as the unconscious delirium of his temporary state of mind. Atsız, who saw religion as a value that elevates national life, establishes national morality, human beings and ennoble society, carried out a sharp-style criticism against the abuse and corruption of religion for political or commercial purposes, and sometimes words that exceeded his intentions during these criticisms. It is understood from all of his writings on the subject he longed for a pure religious life free from superstitions.

*Science has recognised that religion is a need of the soul. It is also a well-known fact that people have had religions since the times when their intelligence was very primitive. With the rise of intelligence and science, religions have also risen, the age of religions came to an end with the monotheistic religions, and after terrible wars and resentments for the sake of religion, religion has taken refuge in the conscience of individuals in the civilised world and has gained a respectable place as an opinion. Religion is no longer discussed among civilised people. Only the studies of scholars are published about religions, not the writings of the common people. A civilised person respects the religious beliefs of others. He does not call anyone to his own religion through propaganda.* <sup>176</sup>

Atsız is intolerant of two things in religious matters: Firstly, "Arabism in the name of Islam and the presentation of Arab culture as a religion.

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176 Nurculuk Denen Delirium, Ötügen, 1964, Issue: 109

is the second and even more frightening one. Secondly, and more frighteningly, separatist and separatist centres insult the Turk and Turkism by using Islam. According to him, many groups and minorities who are unable to openly hostile to the Turkish nation use religion as a mask to fulfil this purpose. Leaving aside his quarrel with these two deceitful groups, it will be seen that Atsız considers religion among the essentials of the nation:

*Since religion is one of the elements that make a nation, we are obliged to dwell on the religion of the Turks. There is no doubt that the religion of the Turks is Islam. This religion, which has become a Turkish Islam by taking some elements from our old religion of Shamanism, been our national religion for ten centuries. However, it is not necessary to be a Muslim in order to be a Turk. Because there a few hundred thousand shamans, a few hundred thousand Christians and even a few thousand Jewish Turks (Karayımlar) among today's Turks. We have no right to exclude them from Turkishness because of religious differences. In fact, the Gagauz, who are Christian Turks, settled in Turkey have mostly become Muslims. They did this because they considered it indispensable condition of Turkishness. It seems that if a Turkish unity is realised, all these shaman and Christian Turks will become Muslims. Therefore, there is no necessity to force them in advance.*

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According to Atsız, Islamism is the millennium-long historical vision of the Turkish nation.

From the 14th century onwards, the whole Turkish world has taken Islam its goal fought with the whole world to make it victorious. Therefore, Atsız has no quarrel with the idea of Islamism itself.

*Islamism was the strongest character and the highest ideal of yesterday. Islamism of yesterday was what Turkism is today. In fact, Islamism was the national ideology of the Turks. Since the fourteenth century, no Muslim nation other than the Turks, neither Arabs, Persians, Persians nor Indians have pursued Islamism.<sup>(178)</sup>*

In many of his writings, Atsız underlines that the Turks are the nation the most and most sincere service to Islam. According to him, the Turkish nation gave Islam than it received. Unlike the expectant and hypocritical attitudes of other Muslim nations, the Turks have been the protector of Islam all over the world with an expectation-less and hypocritical attitude. Atsız argues that the important role of the Turkish nation in Islamic history and civilisation

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177 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 68th Issue, 18 January 1952

178 Mehmet Akif, Kızılelma 26 December 1947 9th issue

is aware of this. In many of his writings, he underlines that the Umayyad's efforts to Arabise Islam and the Persian's efforts to introduce their own culture into the religion were prevented by the Turkish nation becoming Muslim. He thinks that the Turkish nation, which was the protector of Islam in the past, was in a privileged position:

*The Turks, who became Muslims as a nation in the middle of the tenth century, unwittingly saved this religion by foiling therevolution prepared by the Iranians to abolish , and from the middle of the eleventh century until the end of the War of Independence, they alone became the leader and defender of the Islamic world. It was only the Turks who protectedkept alive and glorified Islam. Had it not been for the epic defence of the Seljuks against the Crusaders, the crowded, fanatical and daring Crusader armies would not have left a single Muslim on earth. The Ottomans, on the other hand, not only stopped the Crusaders but also went on the offensive and represented Islam alone in the midst of Christianity for centuries.<sup>179</sup>*

Stating that their attachment to Islam with a pure and expectation-free faith constitutes the most important reason for the Turks' status as the leading nation in Islamic culture, Atsız also underlines a mistake peculiar to us. This mistake is related to our involvement in "religious and sectarian quarrels". Atsız draws our attention to the fact that the sharpness of sects and creeds to the point of breaking up the national culture has caused great losses throughout history.

*Whether it was because they defended Islam alone against many nations, or because they unconditionally believed in the Qur'an, the meaning of which they did not understand, the Turks were the only nation to accept Islam with a single-mindedness. Just as there was solidarity between Muslim and Christian Arabs, Albanians, who became Muslim much later than the Turks, have never been seen to fight a religious war with their Christian brethren. Bosniaks, i.e. Muslim Serbs or Croats, also lived without religious conflict with Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. When it comes to the Turks, things have changed. This custom of the Karakhanids, who started to fight with the Buddhist Uighurs as soon as they became Muslims in the tenth century, has continued throughout history, and not only that, but the Sunnism-Shi'ism feud has prevented the Turks from clashing in two armies for centuries, both wasting national energy and preventing the realisation of political Turkish unity. Even today, when religious fanaticism has given way to tolerance in every corner of the world, Christian, Shamanic and*

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*The so-called enlightened fanatics who are so desperate that they do not consider Jewish Turks, or even Shiite-Alawite Turks as our own, not few among us.*<sup>180</sup>

Atsız underlines that religion is a social need. He also considers religion as one of the most important elements of identity. This is a very courageous attitude for the 40s. However, like many of his contemporaries, he could not escape from being a prisoner of secularist and positivist approaches. Atsız's world of emotions and ideas is far from understanding the role of religion in social life. Atsız lacks the philosophical depth to see that religion is the first phenomenon that establishes the inner world of the individual and maintains social harmony, and to carry this perception to his intellectual system. He is even unfamiliar with the fact that religion is the founding force of civilisation. However, despite this deficiency, Atsız is aware that religion is an indispensable institution:

*Science has recognised that religion is a need of the soul. It is a well-known fact that people have had religions since the times when their intelligence was very primitive. With the rise of intelligence and science, religions have also risen, the age of religions came to an end with the monotheistic religions, and after terrible wars and resentments for the sake of religion, religion has taken refuge in the conscience of individuals in the civilised world and has gained a respectable place as an opinion. Religion is no longer discussed among civilised people. Only the studies of scholars are published about religions, not the writings of the common people. Civilised people respect the religious beliefs of others. He does not call anyone to his religion with propaganda. For today's civilised people, religion is a matter of opinion and belief of individuals. Even in countries where religious parties are established and religious universities exist, all kinds of religious beliefs of individuals are respected. Belief has no logic. Everyone is free to believe whatever he wants.*<sup>181</sup>

Atsız embraced secularism, but complained about secularist despotism and single party practices. He points out the wrongness of leaving the religious sphere empty and attempting to eliminate religious abusers through prohibitions. He opposes any action that would mean the intervention of religion in law, the state and institutions, but he defines the teaching of the true religion and the raising of modern clergymen as the duty of the state. He is aware of the fact that secularism applied with wrong attitudes and behaviours causes multifaceted damages in cultural life, from aesthetics to national spirit, from social structure to national ideals. He states that the two extremes abusers and secularists, injure religious life and reminds the state of its responsibilities:

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181 Delirium Called Nurculuk Ötüken, 7 March 1964, Issue: 109



*The wrong attitude towards religion in Turkey has to bear fruit. The fools who boasted of building cities without temples did not think that ugly ruins could be turned into temples. If, at the beginning of the Republic, when the Arabist and Arabist sophists, who were no longer of any use, had been purged, a religious school had been opened to train modern clergymen in view of the spiritual needs of the nation, today the provincial and district centres would be filled with clergymen who had attained the rank of doctors, who would control the villages and prevent bigotry, and the idiots who forbid forks and radios in cities like Istanbul would not be able to preach to the people. These newcomers, who come up with such mind-boggling claims as to claim that there is no need for any other school when the Qur'an is available, are of the opinion that engineers, doctors, chemists, etc. are unnecessary, and they are striving for the principle of working only for the hereafter to prevail. The religious force to oppose these wretches, who have nothing to do with religion and yet they have taken religion into their own hands, is the Imam Hatip Schools and the Faculty of Theology or institutes. When, as in the West, we have clergymen who speak several languages and have a doctorate in philosophy, mathematics or biology, the Nurcu, Süleymanî, Biberici and Ka- merci crews will disappear by themselves and it will be understood that religion is a matter of faith and conscience.<sup>182</sup>*

Atsız complains about the use of Islam and Islamism as a mask against Turkishness and Turkism. He thinks that many minorities, who do not have the courage to take a stand against Turkishness with their own identities, attack the Turkish nation and Turkists by using Islam as a mask and expresses this thought in very sharp sentences. The main theme in his positioning of himself against religion and religious people is the betrayal of minorities against the Ottoman Empire. Atsız, who finds the betrayal of non-Muslim minorities understandable and natural, approaches the betrayal of Muslim minorities with great anger. The anger in his approach and the harshness in his style him to use wrong expressions and therefore to be misunderstood. Atsız, who could never forgive the Arab, Kurdish and Albanian rebellions that stabbed us in the back in the worst times we experienced as a nation, humiliated and condemned the societies that exhibited this betrayal without distinguishing any period.

*Were not the Albanians who committed total treason in the Balkan War and the Arabs who committed total treason in the First World War Muslims? When they took the gold of the British spy Lavrens, they betrayed the Turkish soldiers defending Medina.*

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182 Yobazlık against Turkism, Ötüken, March 1970, Issue: 75

*Were it not the Muslim Arabs who attacked together with the British? Weren't these Arabs headed by the Sharif family, descendants of the Prophet, that is, the men who later succeeded to the thrones of Iraq and Jordan? Today's generations do not know this because they have not read it in history books: At the end of the First World War, when the Turkish army was defeated on the Syrian front, it was these Arabs, our brothers in religion, who killed Turkish prisoners and sometimes disembowelled Turks alive, thinking that they had swallowed gold. More tragically, when the members of the Sharif family, who had betrayed the Turkish sultan, the Islamic caliph, entered Damascus, these Arabs slaughtered Turkish prisoners of Anatolia, as if they were sheep, and sacrificed them to their chief, who was a descendant of the Prophet. All these atrocities were committed in the name of Arab nationalism. These murders against the Turks, who never regarded the Arabs as different from themselves, who valued them superior because they were the descendants of the Prophet, were committed by men who were desperate to become kings, by our co-religionists Arabs with British gold. Today, Turkophobia has become generalised in the Arab world. Arab nationalism is founded on the idea of enmity against the Jews who took Palestine from them and against the Turks who did not help them when the Arabs were beaten by the Jews. Turkophobia is inculcated in their schools. If, despite this, there are still some idiots who pursue the delusions of Islamic brotherhood and Islamic , real Turks should know that such people are traitors of the nation, whether intentional or unintentional.<sup>(183)</sup>*

Atsız's pen is like a gardener's scissors. He waves his scissors fearlessly while fighting weeds and sometimes chops roses and fruit saplings instead of weeds. So much so that he did not refrain from making many statements that evoke such extremes as to link the *raison d'être* of Islam to the revival of Arab culture:

*Islam, which emerged in the seventh century, is a sociological struggle of the Arabs to become a nation. crowded tribe, which was living a disorganised life in the form of hostile tribes and uruks even though they spoke the same language, bound to form a unity with an internal or external influence. The principles laid down by the Prophet first and foremost ensured this and tried to instil in the Arabs, who were wallowing in ignorance, immorality and filth, a high religious and moral consciousness and the idea of national unity. The Prophet was able to achieve this thanks to his powerful and sympathetic personality and his superior ability to speak,*

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some of his staunch friends also supported him and seemed to lay the foundations of a strong union.<sup>184</sup>

His anger and defence instinct sometimes made Atsız say things that exceeded his intentions. It is an understandable stance to be angry at the abusers of religion and to oppose their destruction. However, Atsız was not satisfied with this stance, and in some of his writings, where his anger overcame his reason, he compared the issues of Islamic history with the issues of Turkish history made the mistake of preferring one phenomenon over the other, which were not alternatives to each other:

*It time to get rid of these delusions and return to ourselves. The Ali-Mu'awiya quarrel and the killing of Hussein is not even an issue for us. It is the internal affair of the Arabs, and for us it is just one of the thousand and one subjects of foreign histories. For us, not the death of Hussein in Karbala, but the death of Kur Shad in China, Young Osman in Istanbul and Osman Batur in Altai are more interesting more tragic and more glorious. For us, it is not the fall of Andalusia, but the loss of Kazan, Crimea, Turkestan and Azerbaijan. Mete, Attila, Chengiz and Hülegü are law-making and order-building heroes. Their total destruction is nothing compared to Caliph Omar in Iran and Egypt. Because they destroyed cities that resisted, betrayed and were taken by war. Omar, on the other hand, had the works of Iranian civilisation destroyed and the great Library of Alexandria burnt down because they were the works of infidels<sup>(185)</sup>*

Atsız perceives the idea of Turkish unity and the idea of Islamic unity as two rival views. This perception is not unique to Atsız. Unfortunately, as a quirk of history, these two views have clashed with each other since the day they emerged, and both sides have failed to grasp the fact that the unity cause of the Turkish and Arab nations is the idea of the construction and revival of a civilisation that will support each other. This situation seems to be partly due to the inability to define the concepts of civilisation and culture correctly. Atsız interprets Islamic unity as a dream and emphasises that it would be impossible. The source of this emphasis is actually a reaction to the nations by those who advocate Islamic unity. Atsız, who made the fact that even the Arabs were not yet united the main reason for his objection, unfortunately overlooked the fact that the unity of the Turkish and Arab nations in their own inner worlds would make Muslims stronger, so that national unity would also mean religious unity for these two nations. This

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The reason for this blurring of attention is based on a valid reason in terms of Atsız's intellectual identity. That reason is that Ummetists accept the concept of ummah as an international unity to be formed by denying nationalities and cultures:

*Some fanatical ummahists cannot tolerate Turkism. They dream of uniting all Muslims into a single state. They do not even realise that the Arabs cannot even unite among themselves, but they are trying to unite huge nations, which are the result of different historical formations and are not similar to each other in terms of lineage and culture. Just the communists' dream of turning the world into a single state. In this respect, we agree with the MP who calls them Green Communists. It is not necessary to steal military secrets and sell them to the enemy for money in order to be a traitor to the nation and homeland. the enemies of one's own nation, following their cause and denying one's own culture and history are also traitors. Islamic unity and brotherhood is the foundation. It has not been realised even in the ages when religion was the main element. It will never be realised after this, after so much treachery and enmity has intervened. The unity that will be realised will not be Islamic unity/Turkish unity from the Sea of Islands to beyond the Altai<sup>(186)</sup>*

Atsız, who has many good examples in his life such as planning to reopen Hagia Sophia for worship, cleaning Fatih's tomb with his own hands, Abdulhamit II "gök sultan", whom all historians remember with insults, and glorifying true piety and religious morality, is brave in his intellectual discussions and is not afraid of being misunderstood. So much so that when he expressed his anger at the behaviour of Arabs and Albanians in the last fifty years of the Empire, which was unbecoming of the "Brotherhood of Religion", he spoke harsh words that would disturb the faith of all Muslims. However, the addressee of his words is not the true religious and the Islam he lived, but the mentality that was exploited and used as a shield to betray the Turkish nation by the minorities who collaborated with the imperialists in the process of the liquidation of our Empire:

*The merchant of religion is afraid of the truth of religion. During my 16 years of service in the Süleymaniye Library, I have met with "muftis" who did not know what a "millimetre" was, sheikhs" who heard for the first time that "Venezuela" was a state, "graduates of the Faculty of Theology" who claimed that people had 11 ribs on their left side because our mother Eve came out of the left rib of our father Adam.*

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*But they all belonged to the old generations. Now, when a new era has been opened, when Imam Hatip schools and faculties of theology have been established which are quite good according to the means of the country, it is still a very primitive mentality to talk about Turkism in such a derogatory way.*<sup>187</sup>

Atsız's anger was directed against the views and groups that were active against Turkism. Atsız did not have any attack against the views that did not have a quarrel with Turkishness and did not attempt to interfere with the Turkish nation and its sovereignty.

*Did you talk about Turks in other dominions? Türedi is right in front of you. He will accuse you of imperialism. You spoke of the superiority of the Turkish race, did you talk about the treachery of the minorities? He will call you a skullcatcher. Did you say tradition, history, religion are necessary? He will label you reactionary.*<sup>188</sup>

In particular, those who perceived Islamism as the opposite view of Turkism and Turkish nationalism tried to reduce his influence by seeing and showing Atsız as un-Islamic. Yes, many of Atsız's assessments on religious issues are shallow, incomplete and contain errors in knowledge. However, his criticism is not of religion and piety itself, but of its exploitation. He believes that religion is one of the most indispensable values of the individual and society, and that the Turkish nation was founded on two fundamental principles: religion and language.

*The belief in God, and therefore religion, is an indispensable spiritual and moral foundation for both the individual and the nation. For this reason, we believe that the Islamic religion, which constitutes one of the two fundamental foundations on which today's Turkish world rests, is an inseparable part of our national existence.*<sup>189</sup>

Atsız does not refrain from strongly condemning the circles that condemn or ridicule religion and pious Muslims:

*People can make humour and jokes. But there are some subjects that can never be joked about. It is a human obligation to be serious there. You cannot mock the flag, you cannot make fun of national history, you cannot make the Koran a subject of humour, you cannot disregard family honour. These are national sacred values. A nation without national sacredness is not a nation but a herd of animals.*<sup>190</sup>

187 Fears, Ötüken Magazine, 8 December 1972, Issue: 12

188 Social Facelessness, Ötüken, 14 November 1964

189 Turkish Nation Call, Örkün, 1st issue, February 1962

190 The Limits of Freedom, Ötüken, 1968, 52nd issue

## Shamanism Appellation

The first claim about Atsız's beliefs and religion is the widespread slander that he was a "Shamanist". Those who know a little bit of history, those who read the history of religions know that Shamanism is not a religion.

Many things have been said by scientists on the belief system of the Turks in the periods before Islam. While trying to reveal the oldest and most rooted belief system of the Turks, concepts such as Sky Godism, nature and ancestor culture, Shamanism, Totemism have been brought to the fore.

Approaching the issue based on the oral and written products of the Turkish society, information about the Turks in the written sources of foreign nations, and most importantly, mythological data, researchers have that the oldest and most national belief system among the Turks is Sky Godism. In addition to this, the cults of nature and ancestors have also existed among the Turks in an extremely widespread manner surrounding this belief system.

The most sound and plausible view today is that the Turks did not change from a polytheistic to a monotheistic belief system, but on the contrary, since ancient times they have believed in a single God, the Sky God, who created mankind and will judge them on the Day of Judgement.

Shamanism is not a religion. Shamanism consists of folkloric material with spiritist and magical phenomena seen in many societies in Siberia, Central Asia and North America. Atsız expressed this in one of his conversations and summarised his view of Shamanism by saying "Is there a religion without a book?". Despite this, he was accused of being a "Shamanist".

It is obvious that this accusation has nothing to do with reality and is devoid of morality and mercy. Because Atsız never made any statement that he was a "Shamanist" in any of his discourses in any period of his life. However, there have always been always will be, those who try to portray Atsız as a Shamanist and beyond that as an enemy of Islam. It is a well-known fact that in recent years he has fallen out even with the nationalist-ulkist circles. During this period, many rumours based on misunderstandings emerged, and claims that Atsız was a Shamanist were widely voiced.

Abdülhaluk M. Çay, who was in Atsız's close circle and was a member of the central staff of the Turkic Association in 1971-73, says the following about the accusation of shamanism against Atsız:

*"Atsız far from being a devout Muslim. He was definitely not a shamanist as claimed, and he had nothing to do with it. He was only against the abusers of religion. Moreover, I have never witnessed any statement or event in any of Atsız's writings or in his life that would indicate that he was a Shamanist."*<sup>191</sup>

The evaluation of Ramiz Ongun, one of the youth leaders of the period, on the subject is as follows:

*"In those days, some people with weak beliefs who were in Atsız's circle were wannabe shamans and they used to hang out with each other as such. These people were also travelling to and from the Istanbul branch of the Association of Turkists, which Türkeş claimed was the Association of Shamanists. This may why Türkeş made these accusations against Atsız and his circle."*<sup>192</sup>

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191 Öznur Hakkı; Ülkücü Hareket, Ank. 1999, Alternatif Publications p.31

192 Öznur Hakkı; Ülkücü Hareket, Ank. 1999, Alternatif Publications p.31





*"For today's civilised people, religion is a matter of individual conviction and belief. Even in countries where religious parties are established and religious universities exist, all kinds of religious beliefs of individuals are respected. Belief has no logic. Everyone is free to believe whatever he wants."*

## **Anti-Islam Allegation**

The claim that Atsız was Islam and Islamism is based on sentences from his works. It should not be an Islamic to judge that Atsız is "un-Islamic" by magnifying sentences that should be read within the integrity of an article or within the flow of a discussion. Especially using poems and novels, which are the songs of an enthusiastic spirit, as evidence in this regard should be considered the shallowness of souls who are far from understanding art and the artist.

Atsız is a Muslim by his own declaration and the confession of his friends and associates. This is the outward appearance that we can know. On the Day of Judgement, it is up to the "owner of the Day of Religion" to decide who is a Muslim and who is a disbeliever.

If Atsız's religious preference in a personal sense is left within a private sphere, it is seen that he at least "saw and loved Islam as the religion of his nation". His fight with political Islam and the ummahists cannot be considered as a reason for irreligion. He requested that Yasin be recited over him at his death and he breathed his last by affirming that his soul was at peace with the recitation of Yasin.

The fact that he has a brave heart enough to oppose the wrong secularism practices of the single party period is as clear as anyone who is familiar with all of his works can see. He is sensitive enough to clean Fatih's tomb with his hands and conscious enough to attempt to reopen Hagia Sophia for worship.

The fact that political Islamism chose Turkism as a rival and that political Islamist and ummahist pens criticised the leaders of Turkism mercilessly and ruthlessly caused Atsız to fight with them fiercely. In these fights, Atsız, who lacked the knowledge and equipment to distinguish between superstition and religious truths, sentences that grossly exceeded his intention by considering many provisions of religion as superstition. Atsız's lack of knowledge can be explained by the fact that he did not receive a religious education, but it cannot be shown as evidence that he was out of religion or anti-religious.

Nevertheless, his words in the struggle with the ummahists offended all Muslims and *Ötüken* Magazine was protested even by the Turkist youth. So much so that the unintentional words he uttered in these discussions caused Atsız to quarrel with *Türkeş* and the two Turkist leaders remained estranged until Atsız's death. In the years when a synthesis between the views of Turkism and Islamism began to emerge, was unfortunately left out of this synthesis due to his irritable nature and the attitudes of the ummahists who ignored the nation and national culture.

The debate in which Atsız hurts Muslims begins when Hasan Bağcı, the writer of the "Ok" magazine in Konya, declares Ziya Gökalp a heretic. When the writer of the magazine claimed that Turkism was an anti-Islamic view and wrote that it was an idea system formed with Jewish patronage, Atsız's anger and rage reached its peak his language became even more sharp.

His article, which is a reply to Hasan Bağcı, expressions contrary to many clear provisions of religion. It is not possible to excuse or show these statements. It is incomprehensible that a writer, who in many of his other writings had stated the necessity of Islam in terms of social order, would make such outrageous statements due to a debate. I think this situation can be seen as a result of the loneliness and depression Atsız was dragged into in those years.

It is often observed that those engaged in sciences such as archaeology, cultural history and folklore have difficulties in understanding the "knowledge based on revelation" which is the basis of religion. The reason for this difficulty in perception is that the information about "God" and "creation" in the ancient myths and mythologies of nations seems to be quoted from each other.

After the discovery of the Sumerian tablets, this disconnect of interpretation increased and all religious knowledge was attempted to be linked to Sumerian memories. The fact that the similarities of what religions say are also found in those tablets has made it difficult for some researchers to distinguish "knowledge based on revelation" from the rumours that have been told since ancient times. However, for a Muslim who takes the Qur'an as a reference, the explanation of these similarities of information is quite simple. Because the information provided by the Qur'an itself shows that many myths and mythologies are actually remnants of the teachings of a prophet sent to that people.

Atsız's biggest deviation and inexcusable mistakes in religious matters are partly due to this kind of misperception. However, it should not be overlooked that the crisis of loneliness he fell into in the last years of his life also had a share in this.

In particular, Atsız's quarrels with the ummahists and political Islamists led to his complete isolation. Because in these debates he used words that hurt not only the ummahists and political Islamists the faith of all Muslims.

It is clear from all his writings that these words he uttered were not his true views on religion. Nevertheless, it is not possible to excuse or show these words. The fact that the separatist and separatist minority movements against the nation used religion as a shield for themselves brought the sword of Atsız, who looked more like a warrior than a thinker, against that shield.

When his lack of knowledge on religious matters was added to this confrontation, Atsız had difficulty in distinguishing between the definitive provisions of religion and superstition. In the selection below, I present these unintentional remarks without comment:

## Bigotry

*Bigotry is an international disease. It is green as well as red. Since they are not at the level of respecting and discussing ideas and jurisprudence, they are always ranting, swearing and slandering, and since they are incapable of speaking within the realm of science and logic, they always us with verses and hadiths. They believe that human beings descended from a single Adam and Eve, that Adam lived for 1050 years, that Eve gave birth to twins every year, one male and one female, and that these brothers and sisters*

*to marry each other. The flood and Noah's ark, which originated from a Sumerian tale, is a historical fact. It is also a fact that a couple from each kind of animal could fit in the market boat built by Noah, who is not certain which Technical University he graduated from, and that they sat well without eating each other for 40 flood days, and so on...* <sup>193</sup>

## Islam and Turks

*Islam lived and rose thanks to the Turks. Islam did not glorify Turks, Turks glorified Islam. We were great even before Islam. the miracle was in Islam every Muslim nation would have risen. Especially Iran which was a great state before Islam, as we have repeated several times, would not have fallen to its present state after Islam* <sup>(194)</sup>

## Colonialism

*"There is no colonialism in Islamic thought. Because in the Islamic tradition, all humanity is one ummah." This is in agreement with the words of today's communists. But it is not the truth. There is colonialism in Islamic thought. Conquering a country and making it subject to tribute is nothing colonisation, and all mankind is not one ummah.* <sup>195</sup>

## Adam and Eve

*As various advances in science have developed, it has been proved that the universe was not created in six days, as written in religious books, but that this creation took place over billions of centuries, especially that human beings did not descend from an imaginary Adam and an imaginary Eve created 6000 years ago, and science has now reached the level of creating living cells, albeit short-lived. After all this, unless religion is accepted as a system of morality and conscience, it will be doomed to bankruptcy in the face of science, and the absurdity of thinking of God as a being who interferes in the daily affairs of human beings revealed by itself.* <sup>196</sup>

193 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

194 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

195 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

196 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11



## Knowledge of the Prophets

*Today's religious scholars explain it differently and that God inspires the hearts of some people, namely prophets, through revelation. They also explain the historical and scientific mistakes in the books of religion by the fact that the inspirer was a human being. If this were not the case, religious books would be full of truths that would not change until the end of mankind, they would explain the future of mankind and the dangers in the future, and for example, alcohol, which has relatively little harm, would be forbidden, while the ten times more dangerous species, especially heroin, would not be silent. Did God not know that one day people would find and use tobacco and heroin and that this would a great disaster? Why was the apocalypse billions of years in the future foretold, but the poison a few centuries later was not mentioned? Because religion, even if divinely inspired, is a social institution, and every prophet has laid down regulations and prohibitions to the extent of his knowledge and experience.*<sup>197</sup>

## Israeliyat

*It is not necessary to be a bigot, to believe in some fairy tales, to accept divine truth the beliefs that came from ancient Sumer and Egypt and were on to other nations through the Jews as divine truth, in order to see and understand that the Prophet saw the moral corruption in his environment and sought remedies, that he retreated to the mountains to think of precautions and that he opposed Arab idolatry by accepting the idea of "one God", which was passed on to the Jews from ancient Egypt, with his reason and emotion. In particular, it is a national crime to inculcate Jewish kings as prophets to the Turkish nation and to put forward the Israelite system as a system of life and morality by forgetting the national heritage.*<sup>198</sup>

## God

*God is beyond human comprehension. The Qur'an is the instruction of Muhammad. There are many evidences for this. One of them is that in many places oaths and vows are made to the moon, the sun, the sunrise, the fajr, and the horses' muddy mouths. Who an oath? Man swears and swears in the name of a being superior to himdoes swear? Since there is no being superior to God, why should he swear by the moon and the sun that he created? It can be seen that these oaths were taken from Muhammad's heart and brain.*

197 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

198 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütehasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

*and is even practised among the Arabs in the ways and customs of pre-Islamic times<sup>(199)</sup>*

### **Praise**

The Qur'an begins with "I praise God, the owner of the worlds". Obviously, this statement is also Muhammad's. For God does not praise Himself. Although the commentators have interpreted that God meant to say "say so", would God not have thought of adding a "say, say" at the beginning of the Qur'an, in the small periods at the end of the Qur'an?<sup>200</sup>

### **Kaaba**

*But, O Turkish Youth, I ask you: After you have left the me- zar of the Arab Muhammad, is your Kaaba not Çanakkale, Sakarya and Dumlupınar? <sup>201</sup>*

### **Religion and Race**

*Islam does not recognise race or colour. Neither does communism. Neither does the American constitution, but in reality this difference has always existed. The times when Islam did not recognise race or colour are gone for good. We have not forgotten our Islamic brothers, the Arabs, united with the British and shot the Turkish armies in the back during the First World War. At the head of this Arab treachery were the Sharifs, descendants of the Prophet, and the memories of one of them are being published in Hayat Tarih Mecmuası<sup>(202)</sup>*

### **Religion and Colonialism**

*There is colonialism in Islamic thought. Conquering a country and making it subject to tribute is nothing but colonisation, and the whole humanity is not a single ummah.<sup>203</sup>*

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199 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

200 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

201 Çanakkale War - Atsız Mecmua, 1932, Issue: 17

202 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

203 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

## God and Supply

*God is neither in human form as described in religious books, nor on a throne somewhere in the heavens. It is impossible to know how it is and what it is. If it were possible, religious scholars would not have been at odds for centuries.*<sup>204</sup>

## Sumerian Origin of Beliefs

*It is not necessary to be a bigot, to believe in some fairy tales, to accept as divine truth the beliefs that came from ancient Sumer and Egypt and passed on to other nations through the Jews from ancient Sumer and Egypt as divine truth in order to see and understand that the Prophet, seeing the moral corruption around him, sought remedies, retreated to the mountains to think of measures, and opposed Arab idolatry by accepting with his reason and emotion the idea of "one God", which was passed on to the Jews from ancient Egypt.*<sup>205</sup>

## Jewish Kings

*It is a national crime to put forward Israeliyyat as a system of life and morality by inculcating Jewish kings as prophets to the Turkish nation and forgetting the national heritage.*<sup>(206)</sup>

## Arab Nationality

*In terms of sociology, Islam, which emerged in the seventh century, was the Arabs' struggle to become a nation.*<sup>207</sup>

## Islamic Union

*Islamic unity and brotherhood are delusions. It was not realised even in the ages when religion was the main element. It will never be realised after this, after so much treachery and enmity has intervened. The unity that will be realised will not be Islamic unityTurkish unity from the Sea of Islands to beyond the Altai*<sup>(208)</sup>

204 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

205 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

206 Yobazlık Bir Fikir Mütahasesidir, Ötüken, 1970, Issue: 11

207 The Delusion of Islamic Unity Ötüken17 April 1964Issue4

208 The Delusion of Islamic Unity Ötüken17 April 1964Issue4

## Yunus Emre

*Let us ask now: Did the jaws that chatter like storks every day about Atatürk's Turkey and Atatürk's nationalism find the perverted-minded, sick souled Yunus Emre in the entire Turkish history to make his jubilee?* <sup>209</sup>

## Mevlana

*For example, it would be a great service to the profession of Sufism if they could enlighten us by explaining the scientific and Sufi meaning of these halvahs of Mevlana with His Holiness Shamsi Tabrizi, how and why His Holiness Shamsi Tabrizi disappeared, and on which floor of the sky he now resides. Furthermore, if they could explain the wisdom of Mawlana's writing poems to His Holiness Shamsi Tabrizi in the manner of a beloved woman, and what it means to call a little boy with his appetiser...* <sup>210</sup>

Atsız's errors of knowledge and interpretation on religious matters are well known to the experts. But let us not forget that these statements are the products of his debates with those who accuse all Turkists of blasphemy, and the total of these debates does not exceed five or six articles. Each of these writings are the products of fierce debates with those who declared Turkism

With the exception of this discussion, which was limited to a few articles, Atsız repeatedly reiterated that religion, morality and spirituality were indispensable for individuals and societies, and wrote and said that Islam was the religion of our nation and the basis of our national morality.

His strength of character prevented him from concealing his beliefs on any subject. Even if he had adopted a religious belief other than Islam, he could say so without fear of anyone. Because if one were to look for a characteristic that would never suit him, the only answer would be "hypocrisy".

In this study, we have never aimed to defend Atsız and to make him appear different from what he was. We also wanted to help the reader to form a free opinion by exemplifying his much discussed ideas with headings. Nevertheless, I have analysed all his works, I see him as a monument of morality, he is a symbol of my national excitement.

209 Spiritualising Nations - Ötüken, 1971, Issue: 10

210 Religious and Mutaassıp Hacı Bayanın Türklüklük Hakaretleri  
- Ötüken, 1969, Issue: 64



I believe that Atsız, whom I loved as the author of books that instilled in me a sincere belief in Allah and died as a Muslim.

Those who were with Atsız in his last days and hours testify that he died as a Muslim.

His son Yağmur Atsız, in a somewhat frivolous manner, also mentioned words about his father that contradict this opinion of his fans:

*"Atsız could not be defined as a Muslim. I think his position in this regard best be described as 'lá-dini'. Yes, he was not very fond of the 'Abrahamic religions', but he was not a 'godless/atheist' either. Even if he believed in a power that created the universe, he did not believe that this power intervened in 'events' after the creation of the universe."*<sup>211</sup>

*"Atsız's conversion to Islam towards the end of his life, presumably by being 'converted' to Islam, is a lie. First of all, this is against Atsız's character. Those who knew him at all know that even if it had crossed his mind, he would not have done such a thing just to avoid being said 'he sensed the approaching death and frightened and deserted'. Those who put this nonsense into circulation are probably those who want to capitalise politically on the name 'Atsız'."*<sup>212</sup>

*"My mother Bedriye Hanım, who was a religious person and sometimes, but who was sometimes accused by Atsız of 'veiled idolatry' (!) for organising the Zechariah Table (a woman whose wish is granted makes 40 kinds of food and shares it with women), defended the thesis that her husband had sinned. One summer afternoon, when a plate full of large tomb plums was brought to the table, Atsız, inspired by these plums, teased my mother with the words 'Plum-cheeked Allah'. When my mother said, 'Nihal, you're going to get a stroke!', this unforgettable response: 'Allah has nothing to do, but He has to deal with me, who is nothing? If that's how much he values me, I'm happy! Then I am content, let him strike me!'"*

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211 Atsız Yağmur, Atsız'a Dáir, Star Newspaper, 12 May 2009 Tuesday

212 Atsız Yağmur, Aksiyon - March 2008

213 Atsız Yağmur, Aksiyon - March 2008



*"Since socialists and communists were known as "leftists", it was customary to call their opponents "rightists". From an economic point of view, those who were non-statist, liberal and conservative were considered right-wing. Since the left mostly denies religion, religious people have also been labelled as rightists. But these definitions are incomplete and sterile. In recent times, like everything else, these terms obsolete, and the right and the left have become confused."*

## **Wandering in Atsız's World of Ideas**

It is unnecessary to look for philosophical depth and sociological consistency in Atsız's ideas. He does not argue; he either preaches or accuses. For him there are two colours: black and white. He does not respect intermediate colours. The one who is Turkish and in favour of the Turk is white. Non-Turks, who are not in favour of Turks, are black.

Sharp as a sword, he did not swing his pen at any person who was not against the Turkish nation, the Turkish state, the Turkish lineage and the idea of Turkism. However, he did not remain silent against anyone who spoke against these concepts and values. He did not calculate the bill that would be imposed on him by any fight he engaged in. He said and wrote what he thought. answered for everything he wrote and said "valiantly".

At the centre of Atsız's ideas are his ideals. His most important defining characteristic is his idealism. Atsız, who says, "The cosy bride called country wants glory in the soldier / It wants great blood to establish a great state", that the condition of being a great state is the ideals that are pursued, for which life is given and blood is shed when necessary. Atsız, who considers ideals as the driving force of the nation, underlines that a nation without ideals would be just a heap without a purpose. According to Atsız, who accepts that the history of humanity consists of the "struggle of nations" the idea of protecting the existing and becoming rich can never be an ideal.

Atsız, who defines the ideal of Turkism as the desire for the Turks who dominate the Turanian geography to be advanced and superior to all other nations, is a pure and uncompromising Turkist. His idea based on a holistic approach. He sees Turkish history as a whole. He is proud of every era of Turkish culture and civilisation. He is uncompromising in his acceptance of one homeland, one state and one nation.

Atsız emphasises that the ideal of uniting all Turks is the sine qua non of all Turkism and says "The most blessed goal for us is Turanism". Describing the ideal of the unification of all Turks on earth as a "noble thought", Atsız that the desire to establish this unity only in the cultural field is empty and wrong. Underlining the fact that cultural unity can only be possible with political unity, Atsız finds the nationalism of those who oppose the Turan idea incomplete.

Atsız taught historians to look at Turkish history as a whole. Defining Turkish history as an uninterrupted whole, Atsız warns those who cannot distinguish between households and the state. He refutes the claim of "16 Turkish States" on the presidential for- pose.

Atsız strongly opposes the accusations and insults against the Ottoman dynasty, which built one of the most brilliant periods of Turkish history. Atsız, who considers the fact that the Ottoman dynasty is one of the longest-running ruling dynasties in the world as an occasion of pride for Turkishness, condemns with all his anger the denigration of the members of the Ottoman dynasty or the characterisation of them as traitors.

Believing that any kind of intellectual deviation that would create a sense of admiration for European nations would shake the sense of national self, Atsız emphasises that the culprit is not the Turkish tradition and culture, but the rulers who do not understand the Turkish state tradition. According to him, he emphasises that the national self cannot be preserved in the hands of administrators who are not idealists, who do not defend the ideal of Turkishness, who do not wish for the realisation of the Turan ideal and who do not see Turkish history as a whole.

Atsız, besides being a good artist and historian, is a "moral monument". According to him, "sound morality is the basis of the idea of Turkism. He believes that morality originates not from geography or other factors, but from lineage. In his perception, morality is socialist. The interests of the society are always superior to the rights of the individual. Strong personalities and heroes care more about the social benefit than their own interests.



Pointing out that Turkish morality respects not "individuality" but "personality", Atsız identifies himself and the youth he wants to raise with the great heroes raised by Turkish morality.

The prescription offered by Atsız as a solution to all problems is very simple: You will love your own lineage. You will protect your language. You will respect the traditions you inherited from your ancestors. You will think of the society you belong to rather than yourself. You will embrace and cherish your tradition and past. You will lead a life equipped with a solid morality. You will closely follow all kinds of technical developments and be equipped with the knowledge to develop new technologies. You will be in favour of democracy, provided that fair measures are adhered to.

More than forty works and hundreds of articles left to us by Atsız are like the academy of Turkism. Among these writings, are sentences that we wish had not been written, as well as determinations about our nation and history that will guide today's scholars. Some of the articles written by Atsız, especially in *Ötüken* magazine published in 1964, carry expressions that would hurt all Muslims. In addition to these, his comments on some communities and Kurds are far from being scientific. These determinations do not mean to deny the value of Atsız and the existence of his words for the present of Turkish nationalism.

It is like a river without a horse. When it overflows, it knows neither vineyard nor garden. It is a duty that Turkish nationalists should never be ashamed of, to benefit from him without getting caught up in his flood, by weeding out his anger and obsessions. Staying away from Atsız, ignoring him Turkish nationalism of an enthusiastic voice. It is necessary to make sense of him within his own conditions and to recognise his merits without hiding his excesses.

Atsız has no sociological and philosophical depth. This is partly his conscious choice. With the exception of history, he does not filter the issues he deals with from a multifaceted and critical point of view. He looks at the issues straightforwardly and reaches certain conclusions in his own way. Each of his conclusions may be correct individually, but the generalisations he draws from them must be filtered by science and reason.

The Turkish nation has many enemies. The number of these enemies reaches a higher number in Atsız's world than in reality. It is possible to think that he exaggerated the subject of enemies, but today's penmen are also unaware of the enemies of the nation. In Atsız's world of an academy

With this measure, the works should be enriched with the events and person names of the period and presented to the Turkish youth again.

Since we do not have the opportunity to present all of his writings to our readers, we are limited to presenting a selection of his views on the concepts, events and people underlined in his works:

### **National Heroes of the National Struggle**

As for our new history, if we take only the period of the War of Independence and consider which national heroes it has produced, our judgement will be the following without any hesitation. The two national heroes of the War of Independence are Kazım Karabekir and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who believed that even in the darkest days this work could be accomplished. One of them defeated the well-armed Armenian army with a force half the size of the Armenian army, and the other won Sakarya, a war of epic proportions, and Dumlupınar, the best example of the war of annihilation, and received this honour. The effects of these wars on Turkish and global life are still . <sup>214</sup>

### **Revolution**

The police chief asks Atsız:

-Are you in favour of the republic?

-Of course, wouldn't I be in favour?

-Are you a populist?

-Of course

-Are you secular?

-No doubt

-Are you a statist?

-Yes

-Are you a revolutionary?

-No. Maybe an idea can last forever and its essence cannot be corrupted. But revolutionism cannot continue forever. Because if revolutionism, which means changing the existing order, will continue

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214 Who is a National Hero? Ötüken, 11 March 1974, Issue: 3

When there is nothing left to change, it would be necessary to change what has already been changed, which would be nothing but a disruption of the revolution. Therefore, the revolution must stop. There is nothing left to be changed" <sup>215</sup>

## Democracy

Not confronting wrongdoers with their wrongdoings leads to the continuation of wrongdoings. Some become spoilt, some crazy. In the end, the nation suffers. I think the only part of the meat of the bird called democracy that can be eaten is this "criticism" side. The biggest flaw of democracy is that it replaces talent, intelligence and quality with the crowd. Democracy is the most difficult administrative system. In democratic governments, spiritual stability and moral seriousness are required from citizens. Democracies without spiritual stability and moral seriousness can produce results more unimaginable than monarchies. <sup>216</sup>

## Ownership of the Country

A country belongs to only one nation. It shall be governed according to the wishes and interests of that nation. Minorities have the right to live in justice in that country only on condition that the national rights of the original owners are respected. And in no way can they assert their own special and national conditions. In particular, they cannot make any wish against the rights and interests of the original owners of the country. In this case, they would be committing treason. <sup>217</sup>

## Muscovite

As long as life exists, everything continues to be understood with its opposite. Just as there can be no life without death, there can be no love without hatred. If you want to make great humanitarian moves, if you want to pursue national ideals, you will definitely put hatred next to love. If you are talking about the national ideal of the Turks, you are obliged to place "hatred of the Muscovite" alongside "love for the Turk". You must realise that to love the Turk is to be hostile to the Muscovite, that the worship of Turkishness includes

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215 3 May 1944 Events Police Interrogation

216 Crusade Against Turkism

217 The Only Thought That Did Not Come From Outside, Orkun, 2nd Issue, 13 October 1950

There is no need for deep knowledge and thought to know that hatred against Muscovites will also take place. It is enough to look at the history and the map. <sup>218</sup>

## Communism

Communism (and its moderate form and mother, socialism), on the other hand, is a fictitious profession which was put forward ostensibly to protect the rights of the oppressed people, but which has fallen into the blunder of denying some fundamental elements such as nationality, individual property and religion, and which has been completely corrupted by including in its structure self-interestists who do not adhere to any belief. One of the greatest mistakes of this profession is that it has attempted to apply its system on a world scale. It does not need to be explained that not all human societies can be governed by the same conditions, principles and laws. <sup>219</sup>

## Language

A nation can lose its army. It can also lose its independence. But as long as it keeps its language, that nation is alive. A nation that loses its language is considered dead. Nevertheless, if a nation has lost its language due to compelling reasons, but has a national consciousness, that nation, despite the foreign language forced upon it, knows its true identity and one day, thanks to this national consciousness, it will relearn its own language and return to its true self. The best example of this is the Turks of Poland. Although they have forgotten Turkish for centuries and speak Polish, they have not forgotten their Turkishness and one day they will speak Turkish. <sup>220</sup>

## Turkish

One of the conditions of being a great state is to have a rich and powerful language. It is a cause that cannot be neglected to transform our strong language, which has not developed due to national negligence, into a great language of science and art. Neither the hybridised old language nor the fabricated language called Öztürkçe can be a language of great science and literature. Producing terms from Turkish roots, using Turkish or Turkicised Turkish in spoken language

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218 Irreconcilable Enemies of History, Orkun, 5th issue, 3 November 1950

219 Three Regimes 29 İlkanun 1941, Maltepe

220 National Awareness Vigilance, Kızılme, 10 Issue, 2 January 1948



We are in favour of "Purified Turkish", which is the basis of selection. language of the nation is what the heart of man is. This valuable asset should be protected by an academy composed of real values and by specialists and artists with a national consciousness. <sup>221</sup>

## Right and Left

Since socialists and communists were known as "leftists", it was customary to call those who opposed them "rightists". From an economic point of view, those who were non-statist, liberal and conservative were considered right-wing. Since the left mostly denies religion, religious people have also been labelled as right-wing. But these definitions are incomplete and sterile. In recent times, like everything else, these terms have become obsolete, and the right and the left have become confused with each other. Religious people who call themselves "sacredists" are considered nationalists and rightists, while extreme socialists and communists have been seen to claim themselves as "nationalists". If the terms "right" and "left" are roughly analysed, the Turanists and the supporters of Islamic unity are united on the right, and if only social justice is considered, the Turks must be aligned with the socialists. In other words, it is necessary to explain the right and the left well and to put them forward by saving them from deficiencies and sterility. Because the right and the left should be evaluated not only in terms of economic or social aspects, but also in terms of national consciousness. The most accurate definition of right and left for Turkey can be made in terms of nationalism. A party is rightist to the extent that it is nationalist. Since national traditions are important in nationalism, such parties are conservative in terms of national morality. However, since nationalism means the rise of the nation as a society and as an individual, a nationalist party may be close to the ideas of socialists in terms of justice and the distribution of wealth. In other words, the terms "extreme right" or "right" are misused. Since "right" represents nationalism and "left" represents internationalism in terms of ideology, there are Turks on the right internationalists on the left. All ideas that do not put Turkishness at the head, neglect or ignore it, whether they world internationalist or internationalist, are leftist. Being economically statist, socialist or communist has nothing to do with the right or the left. <sup>222</sup>

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221 Turkish Nation Call, Orkun, 1962, 1st issue,

222 Who is a Rightist? Ötügen, 50th Issue, February 1968

### **Turkism and Politics**

Turkism is an ideal, politics is a tactic to come to power. For this reason, although the ideal, which is a main belief and main thought, never changes, politics, that is, tactics, always change. People work by establishing parties in order to come to power. Since it is possible to come to power by winning votes, they endeavour to gain the opinion and favour of the voters. In order to achieve this, they make concessions; they make propaganda; they try to make themselves liked and a lot. even slander their rivals. For today, Turkists can only support parties with a Turkist character. Any party that deviates from Turkism or makes concessions cannot favoured by Turkists. Since it is clear what Turkism is, no party Turkist with its present attitude. In the future, when the conditions are ready if one of the legitimate parties becomes a Turkist party or a Turkist party is established, then Turkism will have entered politics. It should not be forgotten that Turkism does not necessarily need to establish a party in order to come to power. After Turkism has settled in the minds and hearts with consciousness, it can be done without a party.<sup>223</sup>

### **Turkism and Nationalism**

Turkism is Turkish nationalism, but not every nationalist Turk is a Turk. Nationalism is a very general expression. Every normal person is more or less a nationalist. Being concerned about the integrity and security of Turkey and being loyal to the Turkish nation is undoubtedly nationalism. However, among such nationalists there many people who have no interest in Foreign Turks, who are even unaware of their existence, who do not know that there are Turkish countries outside the political borders, who consider the war to be fought for the liberation of a captive Turkish country as an invasion. Turkism rejects all such incomplete and false nationalisms. For Turkists, there is no difference between the war to liberate Izmir and the war to liberate Cyprus. Because the Turkish nation is a whole, Turkism adopts as its ideal a cause of nationalism which includes all Turks. Turks, on the other hand, are the community of individuals who are descended from Turks, who have become Turks as much as those who are descended from Turks and who have attached themselves to that lineage, and who have no foreign racial ideas in their minds.<sup>224</sup>

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223 Turkism and Politics, Ötüken, February 1970, Issue: 104

224 Turkism and Politics, Ötüken, February 1970, Issue: 104

### **Turanism and Turanism**

Turkism is the ideal that all Turks unite in a single state and become advanced and superior to all nations in every respect. This has two unchanging elements: Genealism and Turanism. Genealogy is first of all a means of national defence. It is a protection measure against the consciousness of ancestry, which is secretly carried out by the minorities in Turkelia among themselves. While the Thessaloniki converts in Turkey have been taking secret measures for centuries in order not to be Turkified, while some small nations and communities with no culture and history hide even their own surnames despite the certainty of the Surname Law and genealogy, while Jews prove in ways that Israel is their real homeland Turks are undoubtedly entitled to take measures as the real owner of the state. The second element of Turkism, Turanism, is the idea of the unification of all Turks. Today, there are perhaps 60, 65, maybe 70 million Turks in the world. These Turks, spread over a vast homeland, are a mobile, talented nation that played a great role in the past. What could be more justified and rational than the idea of gathering Turks, who had fallen under the domination of other nations for reason, into a single state? While all the nations of the world aspire to liberate their compatriots who are under foreign domination, why should not the Turks pursue the same wish? For Turks, who are state-builders by nature, it is not a dream to establish and maintain such a great state. Even in times when there were no trains, automobiles, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones and radios, Turks established great states and kept them alive for centuries.<sup>225</sup>

### **Turkism and Turanism**

"Turkism" is the Turkish ideal, i.e. the idea that Turks are superior to all nations in every field; "Turanism" is the political aim of Turkism, i.e. the unification of all Turks in the world into a single state, as in the past.<sup>226</sup>

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225 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 68th Issue, 18 January 1952

226 Great Mistakes of an Encyclopaedia, Ötüken Magazine, 11 February 1975, Issue: 4



### National Awareness Vigilance

In places where national consciousness is awake, doctors do not give false reports. Students who do not come to school do not lie that they were sick. Where there is national consciousness, lies are never told. Women and men do not prioritise love over the feelings of nation and homeland. The flag is celebrated and respected. National colours are glorified everywhere. The flag is not touched even for folding. Animals do not graze on the graves of ancestors, especially prostitutes and those with foreign blood are not tolerated to commit fornication there. The younger does not speak against the older, the student does not speak against the teacher, the officer does not speak against the superior. Women are respected, women do not become coquettish. Students a heart full of national excitement. But they are serious and disciplined. Teachers do not show favouritism. Students do not cheat. Everyone is satisfied with their rights; those who started school yesterday do not claim to be masters today. Duty is held sacred.<sup>227</sup>

### National Continuity

Turkish history is a whole. The objects called states are separate rulers and dynasties. In this way, the tale of 16 Turkish states collapses by itself and the unity of Turkish history shines before us with dynasties that are the continuation of each other. No one thinks about the destructive effect of the division of Turkish history into parts under the name of states on national psychology. It is not taken into account that anyone who does not believe in the national continuity of the past will also despair of the national continuity of the present. However, those who have a little logic and understanding can automatically realise that Turkish history is a continuous whole.<sup>228</sup>

### History Lessons

O Ministry of National Education! If the word "national" at the beginning of your name is true, and if it has no other meaning that we do not understand, then first you should tremble and come back to yourself, prepare a national history book for the schools, and find one or two distinguished members who understand Turkish history and seat them in the Department of Education and Training. Teach Turkish history to Turkish children instead of Greek, Roman and Byzantine history.

<sup>227</sup> National Awareness Vigilance, Kızılelma, 2 January 1948, Issue: 10

<sup>228</sup> 16 State Tale and Fabricated Flags, Ötügen, 65th Issue, 1969



and ensure that the consciousness of national history is imprinted in the minds of tomorrow's generations by printing the only history book in accordance with the Turkish ideal, instead of today's competitive (!) books, which are printed on muddy paper and leave no pleasure in reading <sup>229</sup>.

## Youth

Youth all over the world has a personality. This is not a badge or a rank. It is a characteristic of youth as a whole. It is not bestowed by laws and orders. Democracy is the most difficult administrative system. In democratic administrations, spiritual stability and moral seriousness are required from citizens. Democracies without spiritual stability and moral seriousness can produce results more unimaginable than monarchies. We do not only need young people who know how to dance, dress well, woo and fall in love. We need a youth who will work tirelessly in his profession today and die without blinking an eye on the frontier tomorrow. We need a youth. It should not have ignorance on its foundations, riya on its walls, and sycophancy on its ceilings. <sup>230</sup>

## Adventure and Caution

As for adventurism, it is necessary to think well and seriously about this word. Not every adventurism is a mistake and not every caution a prudent behaviour. The history of humanity is full of adventures in politicsmilitary and science. Christopher Columbus' desire to reach India by travelling westwards an adventure. So was crossing the Atlantic on a raft. If we look at our own recent history, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's landing in Samsun was also an adventure. Many did not agree, not because they were unpatriotic, but because they saw no prospect of success. But because he knew how to calculate well, he brought to a brilliant conclusion an undertaking which others opposed as an adventure that would sink Turkey. <sup>231</sup>

229 16 State Tale and Fabricated Flags, Ötüken, 65th Issue, 1969

230 Bize Bir Gençlik Lazımdır, Atsız Mecmua, 15 April 1932, Issue: 12

231 Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6

## Culture Union

It is empty and wrong to understand Turanism as the unification of all Species only in the field of culture. It is a social law that cultural unity is born only at the end of political unity. Is it possible to unite Turks in culture under the domination of nations hostile to Turks? the foreign nation allow this? By what force, by what method can you unite Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tatars and Bashkirs, whose alphabets were separated in the Soviet Union and whose local dialects were turned into literary languages, with us in a single culture? If you have that much power, it is already in your hands to march your armies and save those countries. Then you can convene a congress for cultural unity, otherwise you will never be able to establish cultural unity.<sup>232</sup>

## Morality and Duty

The ideal of Turkism demands from us a relentless ethic of duty. the officer goes through his six-hour drill without getting tired, if the teacher does his job of teaching without getting bored, if the civil servant continues to facilitate the public without getting angry, if the doctor is concerned first and foremost with the health of his fellow citizens, if the student tries to learn his lessons first and foremost, and if all duties and ranks are distinguished by neither ostentation nor pretence, If harmony is established without sycophancy or indifference, if those below do not regard the commands of those above as arrogance, and those above do not resent the righteous warnings of those below, if in all mutual affairs, meetings and conversations there is neither hypocritical politeness nor rude harshness, then what duty demands of us will have been done.<sup>233</sup>

## Regimes

People with high morals and intellectuals are still free and happy even if they are governed by absolutism. Backward people are miserable and captive no matter what they are governed by. The time has come to speak openly about what the political regime of the Turkish nation should be. Regimes are not ends, but means for the happiness of nations. For this reason, nations have sometimes changed regimes throughout their history. In a way, the regime is the

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<sup>232</sup> Turanism, Ötüken, 30 April 1973, Issue: 6

<sup>233</sup> Turkism, Orhun, 10th issue, 1 October 1943

is the dress. Like individuals, nations also wear clothes according to time and place. Just as a linen dress with an open chest, which is very suitable for hot regions, can cause the death of a person in cold climates, this or that regime can sometimes prepare the collapse of a nation. According to the political and social conditions we are in today, the most appropriate social dress, that is, the regime, is democracy. This is the regime of our allies, with whom we are obliged to act together, as idea is becoming established and rooted in our nation day by day. However, our determination to remain in a democratic regime cannot prevent us from honouring our non-democratic past history and the heroes who made us proud. Because a nation which despises its past can only be a community of dishonourable people. We must also bear in mind that the success of democracy is proportional to the strength of national consciousness in society.<sup>234</sup>

### Homeland

How many thousands of Mehmet Sergeants does this soil hide in its silent bosom? This is why we love the soil. Our ancestors, our blood, our history, our everything is there. Soil!... Our land!... What is our land?... Is it the land stretching from Edirne to Sarıkamış? No... Wherever the Turkish voice, wherever the Turkish heart beats is our land... All of Central Asia is ours. Whose else but ours can the sources of the God Mountain, which not only overflows with raging rivers but also the most heroic armies of the world, which raises nameless braves? The dream-like body of "Alp Er Tunga" is there... The heroine "Tomiris" also lies there... Isn't there the earthen body of "Mete"? Is not the glorious "Tolun", the great "Bumın" and "İstemi", the genius "Tonyukuk" buried there?... Doesn't "Kül Tigin", who laboured for Turkish unity and died for this cause, lie in Central ?... Isn't "Moyunçur" one of the soldiers who grew up in this land?... Is the secret tomb of "Chingiz" and the great mausoleum of "Temür" also located in the same soil?... Are "Tugrul" and "Alp Arslan" nothing but orphaned sons of that soil?...<sup>235</sup>

234 Üç Rejim, 29 İlkanun 1941, Maltepe

235 March to Çanakkale, 1933

## Mazi

Mazi... We are attached to you with all our hearts... Because you show us not only the past but also the future, and give us speed and faith for the days to come... O glorious past!... O epic of victory written in history by our great ancestors! It is not that degenerate dogs who curse you do not grow here... But they are wretches who do not belong to this race, this land... They say "there is no yesterday, there is today" ... Because bastards have no yesterday. Because their yesterday is black... The wretches who want to start our history from Lausanne also come out and recognise the period before Lausanne as Ottomanism. However, what is Lausanne?... Any leaf of the great Turkish history!... <sup>236</sup>

## Lausanne

O lawyers!... O law professors, O law students! Lausanne is not the most glorious page of our history... If you do not know our history, be ashamed of your ignorance... If you know it but deliberately change it, blush for your sycophancy... You gather every year on the day of the signing of the peace of Lausanne, celebrate the day with a Jewish convert as your head, and shout that it is the first treaty signed on equal terms with Europeans... You are lying! Lausanne is not the first treaty signed on equal terms with Europeans! How quickly have you forgotten the treaties we signed by taking lands from Europeans, by making their kings pay tribute, by making their commanders kneel before us? Lausanne is of great value only when it is compared with "Sevres"... Otherwise, Lausanne, taken by itself, never a victory... <sup>237</sup>

## Canakkale

Turkish youth! You can expect the state to open schools, build roads and smoke factory chimneys in your country! However, when it is necessary to honour the great dead, the state must lag behind you. Every year a mass of people get up in Istanbul

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236 March to Çanakkale, 1933

237 March to Çanakkale, 1933



How travelling on foot to Çanakkale, visiting the bloody battlefields and taking a lesson in chivalry there? <sup>238</sup>

### Surname Law

First of all, let me say that I am not in need of a surname bestowed upon me by the state; let the degenerates think about that. The Surname Law adopted by the state, that is, the People's Party at that time, was wrong. Because in Turks, the surname comes before the name, not after it. This is the structure of the language. Putting the surname last in order to be like Europeans is the product of a sense of inferiority that is imprinted in the subconscious. We are not Europeans at all. We are ice-cold Asians and above all, we are Turks... Do you understand, monsieur? Being European is not a virtue and being Asian is not a defect. Don't forget that Albanian is European but Japanese is Asian. When the Surname Law was enacted in Turkey, ninety-five per cent of Anatolian Turks had surnames, and these surnames often ended with "son". Çapanoğlu Ahmet, Kadioğlu Mehmet, Göcenoğlu, Mızrakoğlu, etc. There were plenty of such surnames in our history: Osmanoğlu Murat, Aydınoğlu Umur, Karamanoğlu İbrahim and others... Was there any point in abandoning these names, which are now customary and appropriate to the structure of the language, and calling them İbrahim Karamanoğlu, Murat Osmanoğlu? There was not, but happened... <sup>239</sup>

### Alphabet

Also, why these 12-year-old letters were considered Turkish, but the other 1000-year-old letters were considered non-Turkish. That one was Arabic, this one Latin. When we investigated the origin, both of them came from the same root. Both Latin and Arabic letters came from the same Phoenician alphabet. <sup>240</sup>

### Freemasonry

But Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a bully. He was not the type to pay attention to the howling of the world newspapers. Just as he had Cavit hanged, he did not hesitate to close the Masonic lodges. This was one of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's

<sup>238</sup> March to Çanakkale, 1933

<sup>239</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

<sup>240</sup> Crusade Against Turkism

It is one of his positive actions. Because in these lodges, Jews, Greeks and Armenians learnt the most secret affairs of the state in the name of the Masonic brotherhood, and since all of them were foreign spies, there were no state secrets that were not known to our enemies.<sup>241</sup>

### **Nazım Hikmet**

When the traitor Nazım Hikmet returned from Russia, he was welcomed here as a national hero and recognised as a great poet... So much so that even Köprülü Zade Fuat, who was supposed to be a serious scholar, referred to him as "the young and mighty poet" in his notes on the history of Turkish literature, which he had us write in the 1929 - 1930 academic year, and as a result of this general ignorance, the literary taste of the country was completely degenerated and the masquerade poetry we see today was created. Even the most serious people with the most national character began to write national epics in Bolshevik verse. It was at this time, when the society was so shapelessformless and viscousNazım Hizmet, who did not have a drop of Turkish blood in his veinssent to Turkey to carry out subversive activities with orders from there, after having learnt a good deal of Muscoviteism in Moscow, and he was welcomed as a national hero by our impersonallow-grade, and unprofessional intelligentsia. This sold dog was bringing the Muscovite poetry in spirit and form. In an instant, he was surrounded by a mass of mutant monkeys and entered our poetry in order to mould Muscovite poetry. Comrade Nazım Hitmetof was conquering Turkey with his rhymes, which he called poetry. After he satirised Ahmet Haşimi, Yakup Kadri and Hamdullah Suphi in verse, general horror began. This meant that people were really no different from monkeys. They were afraid of this vile Muscovite henchman with an unconscious and completely animal fear. Otherwise, a sword would have been more enough to silence that red punk...<sup>242</sup>

### **Sense of Inferiority**

When a sense of inferiority begins in a community, everything that comes from outside is looked upon with admiration. When a nation's intellectuals, professors and journalists are all sycophants and hypocrites, a community will be unable to recognise truth and right.

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241 Crusade Against Turkism

242 Crusade Against Turkism

If he is unable to sacrifice martyrs for the sake of his cause, there will be no more bankruptcy to be imposed on him.<sup>243</sup>

## Women and Men

Every social structure is a whole that has come into existence through the mutual fulfilment of the two genders we call men and women. These individuals, who cannot be considered alone, gain a creative power together. When a man is with a woman, he is obliged to be more brave, more virtuous and wiser. A woman, in union with a man, is more noble, more subtle and more sincere.<sup>244</sup>

## Retrospective

Even if the ideas and ideals of those who lived in the past seem contrary to us, we should not fall into the humiliation of not recognising their rights when we consider them in the conditions of time and space.<sup>245</sup>

## Nationalism Monopoly

Turkists: "Do you have a monopoly on nationalism"? Of course it is. If everyone was a nationalist, Turkey would not be floundering in today's difficult conditions. Party quarrels, class enmities, gain and profit cases, of course, cannot be nationalism. These can only lead a nation to bankruptcy. Especially in our age when the concepts of words are misused to the utmost, when the enemies of Turkism write "we Turkists", when Moscow henchmen talk about nationalism, Turkism will of course be the monopoly of a small group of people, and when it becomes Turkism, it will inevitably lead to racism as the most normal result. This racism is not about measuring heads, blood, counting seven ancestors, as some charlatan charlatans claim. Racism is based on blood and race, but it is the cause of being conscious of Turkishness and not having the consciousness of a foreign race.<sup>246</sup>

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243 Crusade Against Turkism

244 Call to Our Young Girls

245 Mehmet Akif, *Kızılalma*, 9th Issue, 1947

246 We Know What We Want *Ötüken 1966 Issue: 26*

### Case of Turkists

Racism, which is the internal cause of the Turkists, is the principle that Turks should dominate the destiny of Turkey and that Turks should be present at key points. Reading about the treachery of the Arab officers in the Ottoman army during the First World War and listening to the accounts of those who fought in those wars is an unforgettable lesson for those who are of sound mind. After seeing the total betrayal of the Albanians in the Balkan War and of the Arabs in the First World War, and while the Arabs demanded a Hatay from Turkey, is it right or wrong to train local Fellahs of Turkey as officers by admitting them to the Military Academy, to make them governors by taking them out of the Civil Faculty, and to elect them from party lists to the Ministry?<sup>247</sup>

### Justification of Racism

Atatürk's statement "The Turkish nation should pay attention to the essence in the blood of the people it puts in charge" clearly "Do not put people who are not of the Turkish race in charge". This statement is not mere boasting or pomp, but a fact born out of bitter trials, a lesson learnt from the disasters brought about by foreign descendants. I remind this to warn those who pretend to be Atatürkists but are enemies of Turkism. Otherwise, if Atatürk had not said this, we still be racists. We would have been racists because our intellect commands us to learn from the great ones, because history does not forgive those who do not benefit from their lessons, and because our national consciousness and pride, which honour us by coming from centuries behind, demand it. Societies that do not attach importance to the issue of honour end up in slavery and animalism. Because honour is a feeling that only humans have.<sup>248</sup>

### War Favouritism

War cannot be judged as good or bad in absolute terms. Wars that are fought without a good calculation of the strength of the nation, without preparing the nation for war, and that end in defeat are bad. However, wars fought in order to liberate the uruktas living in captivity in the hands of foreigners, to the nation richer and stronger, to spread an ideal or a religion are bad.

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247 We Know What We WantÖtüken1966Issue: 26

248 We Know What We WantÖtüken1966Issue: 26



Wars, wars that end in victory are undoubtedly good. There is no nation in history that has grown without war. Great states and great civilisations are always established after wars. Those who live passively are deprived of offensive capability. The ability to attack is necessary even for defence. Because the best defence is offence.<sup>249</sup>

## II. Abdulhamid

Sultan Hamid is not a red Sultan, but a "Sky Sultan". In order to compare Sultan Hamid with his enemies, the liberationists, one need only look at this point: The heroes of freedom (!), destroying freedom and hanging hundreds of innocents, fled like thieves when the state they had led into war was defeated. Gök Sultan, after sustaining the state for 33 years by overcoming the most terrible political difficulties without carrying out a single political execution, rejected the invitation of the Muscovite Tsar to Russia when he was deposed, and the invitation of the German Emperor when he travelled from Salonika to Istanbul on German ships, and preferred to live as an exile and a prisoner in his homeland. Turkey was a house with fires on its four borders, and Sultan Hamid a defender who ran quickly to sprinkle water, pour sand and cover the fire with felt in order to prevent the fires from infecting the house. If he knocked down one or two children in his rush, the blame was not his. Because the fires around the yurt were rising to the sky and Gök Sultan was trying hard not to let the flames inside. And he didnt... What can we say? he rest in heaven...<sup>250</sup>

## Turkish

In our time, when Turkification of Turkish and corruption of Turkish are confused with each other, what we see is the elimination of reason, logic and knowledge. The principle to be pursued while cleaning Turkish of foreign and unnecessary words was to first take words from Turkey Turkish, then from other Turkish languages, and in the absence of these, to derive words on the condition of complying with the rules, laws and language taste of Turkish. This was not done. Now everyone uses the language as they wish. This use of the language as they wish is not only confined to individuals, but also extends to official offices. It is not only a matter of making up words. The structure and grammar of Turkish is also deteriorating

<sup>249</sup> Anti-war, *Orhun*, 1943, Issue: 12

<sup>250</sup> Abdulhamid Khan (Gök Sultan), January , 1956, 11th issue

and the Ministry of National Education to sleep with a sweet sleep that would make Yemliha jealous. One of the conditions of being a great state is to have a rich and powerful language. It is a cause that cannot be neglected to turn our strong language, which has not developed due to national negligence, into a great language of science and art. Neither the hybridised old language nor the fabricated language called Öztürkçe can be a language of great science and literature. We are in favour of "Purified Turkish", which is based on producing terms from Turkish roots and choosing Turkish or Turkishised Turkish in spoken language. The language of a nation is what the heart of man . This valuable asset must be protected by an academy composed of real values and by specialists and artists with a national consciousness.<sup>251</sup>

### **The Beginning of Turkish History**

Those who start our history with Malazgirt or the capture of the city of Iznik should ask What were those who made Iznik the capital or who won the battle of Malazgirt before? Where were they? The eleventh century is a century under the spotlight of history. It immediately reveals where and what those men were. Thus, revealed the so-called Turkic States were successive Turkic dynasties, in fact a single state, which was divided into two or three in times of conquest, and that this extended as far back as Tanrıkut. In order to denigrate such a blessed ideal as Turanism, which accelerates the nation and is based on morality and virtue, one must either have foreign blood in one's veins, be a communist, that is, a traitor, or be so ignorant and foolish as to start national history from Malazgirt.<sup>252</sup>

### **Mustafa Kemal Pasha**

Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a great commander and, above all, a brilliant politician. There was no scheme he did not resort to, no mould he did not enter in order to liberate disorganised and occupied Turkey as a united nation. Just as a skilful chess player or a chess checker can see and think ten, fifteen or even twenty moves ahead and move pieces accordingly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was able to determine how many troops the Greeks could raise, how far Britain would support how far France and Italy would support them.

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251 Bozulan Türkçe, Ötüken, 1968, Issue: 11

252 Turanism, Ötüken, 1973, 6th issue.

He accurately predicted when he would secretly work against British interests, he knew how many rifles and ammunition Turkey had in its warehouses to arm its troops, and he calculated how to take advantage of the emerging communism against Britain.<sup>(253)</sup>

### **National Country Deficiency**

Remove the common ideal from a community and you will see that people have become animals. In a community without a common idea, everyone thinks only of his own interests and pleasure. In such a community, there is no sacrifice, respect and courtesy. Selfishness, rudeness, bribery, favouritism and dishonesty over. Would a materialised person die for his homeland? Will a selfish person help the needy? a man who does not believe in his nation not collaborate with foreigners? a person who finds virtue ridiculous not steal and cheat? The Red Crescent is the spiritual food of the Turkish nation. Just as the hungry useless, harmful and even poisonous objects when they cannot find food, the Turkish nation reaches out to harmful and poisonous ideas such as Marxism and Cosmopolitanism because the "Red Crescent" is forbidden to it.<sup>254</sup>

### **Stages of the National Country**

The first stage of the national ideal is to gain independence. Those who are not independent seek to gain their independence, and those who have gained it seek to preserve and consolidate it. The second stage of the national ideal is unity. In other words, it is the unification of all members of a nation into a single state under a single flag. The first task of every nation that has won its independence is to seek ways of liberating its tribesmen whounder foreign domination. Or, if a nation is politically independent in the form of several separate states, it is to carry out political and military activities for their unification. The third stage of the national ideal is conquest. Because nations that have completed their national unity are obliged to make invasions and conquests in order to spread and dominate their own lineage on earth. In fact, a nation can sometimes start a conquest even before completing its national unity. For example

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253 Crusade Against Turkism

254 Red Apple, Red Apple, 19471st issue, 1947



Before the Ottomans had completed the Turkish unity in Turkey, they had made extensive conquests in Europe. <sup>255</sup>

### **Empowering Minorities**

A country shall be governed by only one nation and according to the wishes and interests of that nation. Minorities have the right to live in justice in that country only on condition that they respect the national rights of the original inhabitants, and in no way can they assert their own special and national conditions and interests. In particular, they cannot make any wish against the rights and interests of the original owners of the country. In this case, they would be committing treason. In Turkey, to try to prevent the ninety per cent from practising Turkism because the ten per cent might be offended is to establish the moral dictatorship of the ten per cent. Such an idea has nothing to do with morality and law. It is not an acceptable principle in any kind of logic. <sup>256</sup>

### **Jahan Dominance**

National unity and the domination of the world after national unity is an ideal that lives in the subconscious of the nation. This desire in the subconscious comes to consciousness from time to time. If the time is well chosen, it will be victorious. If it is well chosen, it is the source of the nation's speed and morality. Like a person who suffers for a goal, but willingly endures it, nations endure and have endured incalculable sacrifices for their national ideals. Nations walking on the path of ideals both frighten and other nations. The nation that walks on the path of ideals has thrown away its sense of inferiority towards other nations. Since it believes in itself and is not afraid of anything, it the abundance and technique of its enemies. Life opens its arms to nations that love death. Thus, the national ideal will one day be realised. <sup>257</sup>

### **Nation or People ?**

Communists always use the word "people" because they do not accept the nation and afraid this word. Extreme socialists also

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<sup>255</sup> Countries are offensive, Orkun, 1944, Issue: 14

<sup>256</sup> The Only Thought that Did Not Come from Outside, Orkun, 1950, 2nd Issue,

<sup>257</sup> Turkish Union, Orhun, 1934, 8th issue,



same tendency. However, these two words do not have the same meaning. Şemseddin Sami explains the word "halk" in his important work "Kaamus-i Türki" as "people", cem'iyet-i beşeriyye, umum, cemaat, güruh, "crowd". In today's literary language, this word is used in the sense of "a part of the nation" or "the lower stratum". When we say "People of Istanbul" "People of Central Anatolia, we understand people born in Istanbul or Central Anatolia or people living there, and the terms "raised from the people" have the same meaning. If Halk=nation, there would be no need for the terms "raised from the people" and "stratum of the people". Since everyone is already raised from the nation, such words would have been unnecessary. Furthermore, "people" is a community that exists only for that moment. "Nation", on the other hand, exists at all three times and "nation" is the expression of a "consciousness of existence".<sup>258</sup>

### Genealogical Register

Turkists are slandered as people who search for genealogical records up to seven or even twenty generations ahead. These fallacies, which have no practical application and no possibility of research, are only the fabrications of Muscovites and other enemies. Let us repeat the examples we have always given: The mother of Yıldırım Bayazıd, one of the greatest Turks, was not Turkish. Which Turkist has or can remove him from the cadre of Turkishness? Although the Mehmet Akif, the poet of the National Anthem, Albanian his ideal was ummahism, which is contrary to Turkism, which Turkist said that Mehmet Akif was not a Turk? The issue is to be as Turkish as Yıldırım Bayazıd or Mehmet Akif. When the national spirit is high in a nation, foreigners mingling among them have influence. The national spirit melts any foreignness. However, when the national spirit becomes purified, when admiration for foreigners begins, everything turned upside down. Nationality is denied.<sup>259</sup>

### Unpatriotism

To think only of eating and drinking and to live only for today, without any ideal behind it, does not give any honour to human beings. Animals do this much. Humanity living for an idealmaking sacrifices for this cause

258 Türk Halkı Değil Türk Milletiyiz, Ötüken, 1969, 61st issue

259 Türk Halkı Değil Türk Milletiyiz, Ötüken, 1969, 61st issue

is to die. Animals also flee from death. Man is a creature who knows how to die for honour and for a cause he considers great<sup>260</sup>

### **Disciplined Millet**

Turkism is in favour of a "disciplined nation". A disciplined nation means a nation that has accepted a system of mutual rights and duties in which individuals will not harm the state and the state will not harm individuals. In a disciplined nation, there is no tyranny and tyranny, and there is no intoxication of freedom. In a disciplined nation, nothing contrary to the morals, traditions, honour and wishes of the nation can be done. A disciplined nation a nation with a certain concept of life, sacredness, pleasure, feast, sorrow and even its dress and calendar.<sup>261</sup>

### **Freemasonry and Zionism**

We also consider Freemasonry as an enemy. Freemasonry is a secret society with its roots abroad and is an anti-Turkist organisation used by those who are incompatible with nationalism. It was initially established to protect the national interests of the Jews in secret, but in time became an inter-national organisation. The fact that Freemasons belonging to two nations at war are obliged to help each other even if it is against their own states shows that this group is hostile to all nationalisms and, in the meantime, to Turkish nationalism. They secretly try to take over every place and succeed in doing so. Zionism is an organised and anti-humanitarian idea that seeks the comfort and happiness of the Jewish people from the unrest of the nations of the world. Its endeavours to present itself as the national ideal of a state are meant to conceal its imperialist aspirations. In the First World War, the terrible reality revealed by the Zionists, who, disguised in all kinds of disguises, attacked our army on the Palestine front from behind and spied for the enemy, forced the Turks to be always vigilant and cautious against this movement.<sup>262</sup>

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260 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

261 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

262 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

## History Awareness

All civilised nations have made a final and definite decision about their own history. That is to say, they know where their history began, which epochs it is divided into, who is included in their history, and they unchanging opinions on the spelling of the names of the people who fill their history. As for us, as in all other matters, are in a pathetic confusion in understanding our history. We do not have a common idea about where our history began. The periods into which our history is divided vary according to everyone's taste. Personalities considered national heroes by some are national enemies by others: Like Chengiz Khan... There is no unity among us in writing the names of historical heroes and personalities. The system of history, which started to be confused after the Constitutional Monarchy, completely deteriorated after the Republic and took its present pathetic form with the first works of the Historical Society.<sup>263</sup>

## Primitive Community

First of all, the nation in this homeland is not organised. Organised means a community which has accepted and adopted some main principles, which is disciplined within those principles, and which has certain value judgements. Which main principles have the people of this homeland accepted and adopted? None! Republicanism, Kemalism, secularism, Islam, Nurism, socialism, communism, Turkism, Anatolianism, democracy, fascism and whatever else there is, this nation is not gathered around a single one of them. What about value judgements? too... What is morality? What is immorality? What is freedom? What is pleasure? It is not clear... That is why Turkey shows a carnival scene. When everyone acts according to their own principles and value judgements, there is no discipline. An undisciplined society is a primitive society.<sup>264</sup>

## Moral crisis

Turkey is in a moral crisis. The first reason for this is that democracy is the reason for its development and increase. Because the press in a democracy

<sup>263</sup> Yeni Sabah, 29 November 1948

<sup>264</sup> Speeches, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 40



Because freedom is always abused, it is a major factor in the spread of immorality. People imitate what they see. It is because of this law of imitation that those who grow up around decent people become decent and those who grow up around bad people become bad. The factors that influence people are not only the people around them also what they read, see and hear. One of the reasons why the Turkish nation was once very brave and self-sacrificing was that the books in the hands of the people were only books of heroism. What is there today but novels of prostitution and adultery, delusions written in the language of a bully? In all newspapers, besides the stories of prophets, there are lewd sketches, in films there are disgusting scenes, in theatres there are works that ruin everything in the name of morality and sacredness, on the radio there are fornications of some international prostitutes under the name of the loves of artists.<sup>265</sup>

### **Press Ethics**

Freedom of the press does not mean disclosing news that should be kept secret, writing about events that will cause moral damage, misinterpreting a news item out of malice, and especially not writing lies to discredit an enemy. The press is a very powerful weapon. In the hands of immoral, unscrupulous and sell-out writers, this weapon becomes a core weapon that will collapse the moral structure of the nation. With very few exceptions, everyone is familiar with the sell-out writers of the low-level and unprofessional community called the press, who change direction according to their interests, the facts, and appear to defend what they do not believe in. It is certain that people who live by reading them for years will eventually become poisoned and unable to understand the truth. The duty of the press is to publicise what it considers wrong according to its own beliefs. It is not to take a drop of truth and create a world of lies around it.

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### **Those Who Want to Establish a Kurdish State**

We took these lands by shedding blood and rooting out Georgians, Armenians and Greeks, and defended them against the warrior knights of the Crusaders by shedding blood again. Kurds did not even do military service until 1839. From Vienna to Yemen, the blood of the Turkish race is everywhere.

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<sup>265</sup> Speeches, Ötüken, 1967, Issue: 41

<sup>266</sup> Speeches, Ötüken, 1967, Issue: 41



While the water flowed like a fountain, they herded their goats in the mountains and villages where they lived and lived by stealing and plundering whenever they had the opportunity. When they came to help in our wars with Iran, they always looked for an opportunity, and when the Turkish army was defeated, they did not hesitate to join forces with Iran and hit it. If the Armenians, who betrayed us completely in the First World War, had not finished the settled Turkish people with a savage resentment and if the Kurds living in the mountains and steep villages had not survived this resentment, they would continue to remain minorities in the provinces where they are the majority today. But even if they were a hundred per cent majority, their dream of establishing a state in any part of Turkey would remain a dream. Just like the dreams of the Greeks to establish Byzantium and the Armenians to establish Greater Armenia... Therefore, they should leave before they cause trouble for the Turkish nation and before they themselves perish. Let them go wherever their eyes see, wherever their hearts desire. Let them go to Iran, Pakistan, IndiaBarzani. Let them apply to the United Nations and ask for a homeland in Africa. As can be clearly understood, these lines were written against the traitors who want to divide Turkey and establish an independent Kurdistan in our eastern provinces. Those who are loyal to Turkishness and those who consider themselves Turkish not be offended by this. The only ones who are offended are the traitors I mentioned in that article, who want to dismember the homeland. These traitors, in their guilty psychosis, resorting to the methods of bitchiness and mugalâta, in their broken Turkish and ignoring the beginning of the passage I have quoted above, and only saying "Let them go away before they cause trouble for the Turkish nation and before they themselves perish."<sup>267</sup>

### Life and death

Life and death... Both of these are beautiful. But death is the real and eternal one. The other is as temporary and deceptive as a dream. To lie in the bosom of the great and mysterious universe... This is our lot. What more honourable than to give ourselves to an idea as eternal as death in the short dream world before we receive our share, and to lose ourselves in such a high ideal as to spend ourselves for the sake of that idea? This death will bring us to our goal, to the spirits of our ancestors waiting on the God Mountain and to God Himself.

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267 The Fuss of the Red Kurds, Ötüken, 1967, Issue: 42

is a death. Contemplating the beauty of this death and the ugliness of life in drink and lust will help to understand the truth. <sup>268</sup>

### **Akif**

Akif is important as a poet, patriot and man of character. No one can dispute his poetry. Among his many verse works, there are such pieces that among the immortal verses in the history of Turkish literature. Akif is unique in terms of being a man of character. He is not a liquid or a viscous halite that always takes the shape of the container it is in; he is a solid body that maintains its shape in heat, cold, storms and hurricanes. They claim an Islamist is a defect. Islamism was the strongest character and the highest ideal of yesterday. In Akif, who was an Ottoman poet, the national ideal had reached its perfection, but since it coincided with the birth of a new national ideal, it seemed backward and contradictory. Even if the ideas and ideals of those who lived in the past seem contrary to us, when we consider them in the conditions of time and space, we should not fall into the humiliation of not recognising their rights. The poem he wrote for the martyrs of Çanakkale is enough. It does not need any other words... Akif was human, he did not turn back and he died like that. <sup>269</sup>

### **National Hero**

Heroes have been respected in every era of history; heroes have always been raised everywhere. Heroism is the highest of human virtues. It is a well-known fact that nations gain prestige and endurance in proportion to the number of their heroes. However, there is a difference between being just a "hero" and being a "national hero". A "national hero" is a person who shows his/her influence on a larger scale, future centuries and leaves unforgettable traces. National heroes shape the life of nations. It is not necessary to hold a high position to be a national hero. <sup>270</sup>

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268 Important Issues of Turkism, Orkun, 1952, 68th issue

269 Mehmed Akif, Kızılçelebi, 1947, Issue: 9

270 Who is a National Hero, Ötügen, 1974, Issue: 3

## Arabic Names

According to the supporters of Islamic unity Turks should take Muslim names because they are a Muslim nation. It is wrong un-Islamic to take the names that Turks used before Islam. There cannot be a more wrong and primitive idea in the world. The so-called Islamic names are Arab names. Almost all of them have been used among the Arabs since the time before Islam. In other words, they are from the time of disbelief and ignorance. There is no material or spiritual gain for us in attaching words with unknown meanings to our children. On the contrary, lose in terms of national spirit. Especially among Muslim names, can names such as Moses, Jesus, Suleiman, Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Aaron, David, which were passed from Jews to Arabs, be compared with our Turkish names? What do those who object to Bozkurt, Alparslan and Ertuğrul because they are animal names say about Muawiyah meaning "howling female dog" and Osman meaning "snake cub"? In Arabs, not only individuals but also tribes named after animals. For example, the name of a tribe is "Beni Kelb", that is, "The Sons of Mutton". Women's names are the same: Aisha means "alive", Fatma means "weaned", Hadice means "born before her time", Zaynab means "plump".<sup>271</sup>

## National Self

We observe that the national sense of self is shaken in many people who come into contact with the twentieth century civilisation and European nations. Undoubtedly, every civilised person with high senses feels admiration mixed with appreciation and respect for the high science and fine technology of Europe and America. However, many do not stop there; they also admire their religious, political, social and economic morals and all human qualities and begin to disregard our own nation and national identity. Among these people, are those who say "where are they, where are we?" with a deep sigh, and there are also those who worship Europeans and Americans with ecstasy and forgetting everything, and those who fall into deep denial and even weep when they return to their homeland to take up a position after spending a few years in foreign countries. It is impossible not to pity people who are dazzled by the splendour of these advanced civilisations and lose their national identity. But pity alone is not enough.

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271. The Delusion of Islamic Unity Ötüken Magazine 1964 Issue 4



It is not. If the Turkish nation is wretched, miserable, poor and backward compared to the nations of the West, the blame lies neither with them nor with us. However, it is in the external and internal policies, in the evils and finally in the treaties and in the intellectuals that have chained and dragged this nation in the past times.<sup>272</sup>

### **Fascist**

"Fascist" means the Italian nationalist of a certain period. This adjective, derived from the Italian word "facio", was to the members of Mussolini's Italian nationalist party, and Italian nationalism was called "fascism". The Germans used the word "Nazi" (an abbreviation from National Socialist), the Spaniards "phalangist", the Belgians "rexist", the Romanians "gardist". Since this disciplined and anti-communist nationalism first in Italy, it became customary to call them all together "fascism". Since fascism and communism came to power in Italy and Russia at about the same time, communists started to call their enemies, all nationalists and gradually all non-communists fascists. In our country, the events of the 1970s have once again demonstrated that communists call everyone who is not one of them fascists. In other words, what the communists in Turkey call fascists are those who are against communism, especially Turkish nationalists.<sup>273</sup>

### **Yesterday and Tomorrow**

To go forward is not to break the link with the past. living and non-living being is the present result of the past. The backward is not always bad. As a matter of fact, forward is not always good either. Whether good or bad, the "back" and "forward" that cannot be destroyed are us as a whole. Denial of this does not gain anything; it simplifies, degenerates and animalises the denialist with the denial of the hard truth. Backward and forward, that is, yesterday and tomorrow, will always exist. Billions of yesterdays and tomorrows are links in the chain of time. It is essential to know yesterday in order to grasp tomorrow. Grass and insects do not know yesterday. Even higher class animals have the ability to remember and know what happened a few days ago.

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272 National Self, Atsız Mecmua, 1931, Issue: 7

273 Fascist, Ötügen, 1974, Issue: 4



the range of grass and insects. People cannot be brought down. The one who descends is the one who wants to descend.<sup>274</sup>

## Fears

Fear is perhaps the first human emotion. Superstitions are born out of fear. Civilised people are more courageous because superstitions are overcome with intelligence. Today, everyone, every group, every community, every nation fears different things. The type of fear varies according to character, ideals, creation and soul structure. A Turk (but a real Turk, i.e. Turkist) fears dishonour. He is afraid of gaining advantage through lies and slander. He is alien to the struggle whose weapon is dishonour. For this reason, Turks have always suffered losses in conflicts with dishonourable people. Those with a lowly spirit are afraid of greatness and rising. Every glimpse beyond the present political borders is a dream that will have dire consequences for them. Devshirme and communists are afraid of Turkishness and Turkism. It is against every movement, every behaviour, every work, every law in favour of Turkishness.<sup>275</sup>

## Union of Interests

The issue of unity of interests in Turkish nationality is unspeakable. After rejecting the idea that "those who lick from the same bowl one nation", the unity of interests is nothing. What is the unity of interests between a Kazakh and a Konyal? However, they are the children of one nation. There is no unity in the interests of a person from Erzurum and a person from Izmir. Although some Marxists have the Jewish idea of explaining the War of Independence as an economic movement, the death of the soldier from Erzurum for Izmir is not due to the concern of losing , which is the export port of their own products. This is entirely a matter of emotion; it is a matter of blood.<sup>276</sup>

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274 Yesterday and Tomorrow, Ötüken, 1974 Issue: 9

275 Fears, Ötüken, 1972, Issue: 12

276 Turkish Race=Turkish Nation, Orkun, 1934, Issue: 9

## Turkumsular

Those who are enemies of Turks and openly say so are not so dangerous for Turks. The real danger is foreigners who are Turk-like. They cannot be distinguished from Turks because they speak Turkish well and often do not know any language other than Turkish. But they either know or perceive that their blood is different. That is why I call them Turcumsü. They are sycophants, liars. They laugh to the face. Ideas harmful to Turkishness are popular among them. Since they are not Turks, for the sake of a small personal benefit, they do not hesitate to affiliate themselves with ideas and organisations that do harm to Turks from within.<sup>277</sup>

## Constitution

In April 1965, on the occasion of the centenary of the Magna-Charta, speeches made on our radios and professors' speeches. On 1 April, at 1940 hours, the following Englishman was the most summary of the whole ceremony. He said: "The constitution of a nation is a dry thing unless it is embellished with historical legends". How beautiful, how true this was. The Constitution was the basic organisation of a nation. It to be the essence of traditions and customs, it had to live in the soul of the nation. Is there such an element in our Constitution? Did the professors who drafted the Constitution think about this? the Turks know their history and national legends? Undoubtedly, they did not fulfil any of these conditions. They had only made a composition from the constitutions of other nations that they had read and learnt, and they believed that they had found the best example by trying to choose the best of all. What they did was a translation, a quotation, adaptation or plagiarism. No matter how perfect it was, it was not Turkish. If Goethe's Faust, a literary genius, could not be a Turkish work by translating it into Turkish, this constitution, which had been adapted and transferred from other constitutions, could not be national either. Which of the professors thought of a Turkish constitution? And finally, was a constitution not only a matter of law? Wasn't it also the result of historical development? Then why was the opinion of historians not asked when this constitution was being prepared? It had to be asked. Because while the position of our jurists in the world market was only to be a man of the queue, the international fame of our historians was to be a man of the world.

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277 Turkish Race=Turkish Nation, Orkun, 1934, Issue: 9

and there a place for it. This was not done. Because it could not be done, it was recorded that the Turkish state was a "social" state. It was not registered that it was a "Turkic" state. That is why I said "no" to this constitution.<sup>278</sup>

### Imam- Hatipler

In Turkey, the community worthy of the title of student exists to some extent in Imam Hatip Schools. Since they retain an old Turkish upbringing along with religious belief, a superiority is immediately noticeable in these children. After they are trained by learning modern sciences along with religious knowledge and begin to address the public, the landscape of Turkey will change. The old teachers were so ignorant that they did not know what "millimetre" and "Venezuela" were. They did not know Arabic either. It would be great for the country if the students of Imam-Hatip Schools were trained by distinguished and nationally conscious teachers. If Atatürk had opened a Higher Islamic when he closed the madrasahs and dervish lodges, thousand enlightened clergymen who would have been trained by now would have been at the head of the Religious Affairs Department and would have held their positions, and thousands of ignorant Turks would not have followed ignorant bigots like Kurd Said, who said, "There are angels inside the radio; it is they who speak."<sup>(279)</sup>

### Şarkli

We know many people who look at this country from a French point of view of their own invention, and try to explain all the charlatanism, hypocrisy and evil they see and even do by saying that they are Orientals.<sup>280</sup>

### Skull

*Anthropology is used to recognise some nations, whose language is certainly not Turkish, as Turkish. When any tribe or people is brachycephalic, without any hesitation, its Turkishness is judged. It is evident that this is also a wrong and defective method. Because all people on earth are divided into brachycephalic and dolichocephalic in terms of skull. Just because Turks are brachycephalic does not mean that all brachycephals are Turks.*

278 Speeches I, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 40

279 Speeches I, Ötügen, 1967, Issue: 40

280 National Morality, Red Apple, April 1948



*It has never been considered that this could lead to brachycephalic behaviour. Since Armenians, Albanians and Bosnians are also brachycephalic, they not be equally justified if they claimed that all brachycephals are Armenians, Albanians or Bosnians? It can be seen that attempting to prove Turkishness with mere brachycephaly is a claim that has no scientific value.<sup>281</sup>*

### Vatan Ownership

*The Hattites, i.e. Hittites, who have no relation with the Turks in terms of language, anthropology, law and custom, are presented to us in this history as the ancestors of the Turks of Turkey. How can the short, short-necked, shapeless Hattis with bushy and curly hair and beards be related to us? Their writings were read and it was understood that they were not Turanians. Their laws were found and published. They do not conform to the Turkish laws, customs and traditions of the known periods. It is even doubtful that they were brachycephalic. Because I was told by Köprülüzade Fuat that two Hatti heads unearthed from the ground were destroyed by an anthropological expert because they were not brachycephalic. The aim pursued by recognising the Hatti as Turks, which we understand from their laws to be a very immoral nation, must be the idea that we have been living in Anatolia as indigenous people since ancient times. But this is also an empty, baseless and unwarranted idea. No nation is the oldest inhabitant of its present homeland. According to a theory of Kablettarihistorical studies, the first homeland of the Arabs and all the Semites is western Europe. But does this give the Arabs any rights in Europe? Furthermore, we have been in Anatolia for 1000 years. For 900 years we have existed as a state without interruption. this not enough? It should not be forgotten that when other nations are strong enough to conquer Anatolia, they will not look at either historical right or national heritage. The right to live over countries is not based on heritage, but on the sword.<sup>282</sup>*

### Sabatay Sevi

*In Istanbul, there is a daily newspaper bearing the sacred name of "Vatan and the editorials of this newspaper are written by a man with a Turkish and Muslim name, "Ahmet Emin Yalman. Many gullible Turkish readers think that this man is a Turk and sometimes believe him because he writes reasonable and correct articles. We regret to say that Ahmet Emin Yalman is a Turk and a Muslim.*

281. TürkTarihineBakışımızNasilOlilmeli,Çınaraltı, 1941, Issue: 1

282. TürkTarihineBakışımızNasilOlilmeli,Çınaraltı, 1941, Issue: 1



is not. His connection with this country and nation consists only in carrying a Turkish passport and being a Turkish subject. Ahmet Emin Yalman belonged to a secret racial-religious sect called "Jewish Dönmesi" or "Salonika Dönmesi", founded in the late seventeenth century by an adventurous and vagabond Jew named Sabatay Sevi. This crazy Jew, who claimed to be the Messiah and claimed to perform miracles, was summoned to his presence by the Turkish Sultan Sultan Mehmed the Fourth Avci Sultan and said: "I will have you shot, show us the miracle of not dying and we will all believe in you", he fell at the feet of the Sultan with the cowardice characteristic of all Jews and a Muslim. This hypocritical Jew, who falsely converted to Islam and took the name Mehmet in order to save his life, travelled in various regions of Turkey, taking on the high and religious duty of supposedly converting all Jews to Islam, and like all the false prophets of the last centuries, he became entangled in the immorality of Rasputinism and laid the foundations of the community we call "Dönme" today. At the time of Sabatay Sevi's death, 200 Jewish families in Thessaloniki been initiated into his secret religion. This community, which is very closed to the outside world, has survived to the present day with strict solidarity. They marry only among themselves. In addition to their overt Muslim names, they bear secret Jewish names. Unlike Muslims, they are circumcised in the Jewish style. They bury their dead in separate graves and perform secret Jewish rituals at the grave. ... In the Turkish homeland, a "Jewish convert" like Ahmet Emin accuses a "TURKISH" like me of arson against the foundations of national existence. Shame on fortune!<sup>283</sup>

### Turkism war

"The death of Nejdett Sançar means the Turkism front has lost its best fighting division. This gap and the deficit caused by the wear and tear of those in the front ranks will be filled by those marching towards the goal in the second and third ranks, and the march will not be interrupted even for a moment... For a real man, life is war. We have come to this world not to enjoy ourselves like animals, but to fulfil a duty. This duty is the war of Turkism, which will continue throughout our existence, until our last day and strength. The war of Turkism, which is to advance towards the Red Crescent by leaving the dead in the bosom of mother earth, on the leaf of honour of history and in the mercy of God..."<sup>284</sup>

283 History Awareness, Orkun, 20 April 1951, Issue: 29

284 Nejdett Sançar, Ötügen 1975, Issue: 3

## Universities

*Universities should be the brain of nations. Because it is where the most distinguished scholars and researchers gather. In Turkey, universities have been given autonomy and recognised as an elite environment with its teachers and students. However, this is not all the case. There are very few real scholars and researchers in universities. Professorship is not a title of knowledge, but a certificate of earning.*<sup>285</sup>

## Fashion and Case

*The world more and more influenced by fashion. Fashion becoming a factor that fluctuates not only among weak-willed women, but also in the field of ideas and art. One day you see that a book or an author has become fashionable and everyone is talking about him; another day you see that a political or economic regime is the talk of the town. One of the latest fashions in our country is social justice and the second is socialism. It is not clear whether the nation will benefit from the passing and discussion of such fashions. The harm is that it makes us forget the real causes. When we say the real causes, we do not mean development and land reform, which are much talked about today, but the issues that should be considered before them, without which all reforms would certainly be fruitless. The "being or dying" cause of Turkishness is the cause of health, morality and national consciousness before economic development. Health will keep the nation alive physically, the others will make it capable of living spiritually, and development will come afterwards.*<sup>286</sup>

## Turanism and Imperialism

*First of all, it is a great mistake to confuse Turanism with imperialism. Imperialism means the domination of other nations by one nation. Then why is Turanism, which means the unification of Turks, Turkish imperialism? Is it imperialism for a Turkic community to liberate other Turks from foreigners by force of arms and unite them into a single state? All nations in the world wage armed and unarmed wars to unite their compatriots under the domination of foreign states. This is not imperialism, it is irredentism, which is an acceptable behaviour. We were forced to accept the Peace of Sevres.*

285 Unique Professors without a work, Ötügen 1964, Issue: 7

286 Türk Milletinin Asıl Meseleleri, Ötügen 1964, Issue: 2

*If we had stayed and left Thrace and Izmir to the Greeks our struggle to liberate them fifty years later have been an imperialist 100.000 Turks will take up arms to save the places where they live. To say that "there is no Turanism in nationalism in the form of Turkish imperialism" not wanting Turanism and thinking of Turkish unity as a poem and a dream.<sup>287</sup>*

## Human and Death

*To think only of eating and drinking and to live only for one day, not pursuing any ideal, gives no honour to human beings. Animals also do this much. Humanity is to live for the ideal and for tomorrow's sacrifice and die for this cause. Animals run away from death. Man is a creature who knows how to die for honour and for a goal he considers great.<sup>(288)</sup>*

## Discipline

*Of course there will be discipline. Discipline is the transformation of animal straying into human order. Duty is harsh. Harshness develops the human psyche. Because we are human beings we have come to this world to perform a duty, not just to have fun like animals. In this respect, sacrifice is the last point, the peak of human qualities. Today, those who talk only about economic development and prosperity and attempt to deny the spiritual front are those who consider human beings with their animalistic aspects. If people become animals, of course, there will be no need for nationality, religion and family. It is very easy to defend the unnecessary of these. It is easy to defend every negative object. It is much easier to defend vice and immorality than to defend virtue and morality.<sup>289</sup>*

## Youth and Morality

*The foundation of nations is morality. Things like army, knowledge and organisation come after morality. Both the Turkish nation and nations grew when their morals were high, and they decayed and disintegrated when their morals deteriorated. Rome, Persia, Byzantium, the Goths in Spain, and the Arabs went down because of the corruption of their morals. Yesterday's France fell into ruin because of the corruption of its morals.*

287 Turanism is not a Romantic Dream, Ötüken 1968, Issue: 3

288 Farewell, Orkun 1952, Issue: 68

289 Nationalist Youth, Ötüken 1965, 15th Issue

*rised. The main cause of the convulsions in Turkish history is the loosening of morality. Although this loosening was caused by the Turks, Dönmeler and Devşirmeler, the same causes and the same results are evident.*<sup>290</sup>

## Teacher

*The teacher must be a morally perfect person. In other words, he must belong to an elite group. However, in our country everyone has become a teacher. Neither primary school teachers nor for secondary and high school teachers was there a selection of character. Only when necessary, a roll-call was made, and even then it often unfair. Whoever brought more or stronger letters of recommendation won the exam. it not necessary to examine young people who will become teachers in terms of their lineage, character and family background? In fact, is not the lineage of a young person who will become a teacher more important than his knowledge? Just as it is necessary for students entering military schools to be of Turkish descent, it should be equally necessary for teachers of Turkish descent. Furthermore, what are his moral qualities, whether he has some weaknesses, whether he is a ridiculous type in the eyes of the students, all these should also be taken into consideration. However, no attention is paid to these, and the result is obvious.*<sup>291</sup>

## Tourism

*Places such as bars, taverns and balls, which are the slaughterhouses of national morality, and disgraces such as the selection of beauty queens should be banned in Turkey. These are not civilisation. These are the sewers of civilisation. Those who want Istanbul to become a city of travellers do not think about the wounds this will cause to our morals. A city of travellers a city full of nests of debauchery and prostitution, opened for the pleasure of a regiment of foreigners and immoral rich people. Serious scholars should come to Istanbul to see ancient historical artefacts not foolish millionaires to give money, debauchery and immorality. Is it ever considered how many Turkish youths will be jealous of foreign millionaires while they are indulging in debauchery?*<sup>292</sup>

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290 Youth and Morality, Bozkurt 1942, 7th issue

291 Youth and Morality, Bozkurt 1942, 7th issue

292 Youth and Morality, Bozkurt 1942, 7th issue



## National Awareness

*Where the national consciousness is awake, the nation does not consider the foreigner as one of its own. Those of foreign descent, even if they are citizens and subjects, are still considered as foreigners. They cannot be trusted. Foreigners cannot be married. Especially in the higher classes, this marriage is not seen at all. Laws are made only to protect the national interest and to raise the nation. History is considered only in terms of national glory and honour. The past is not cursed. Foreign nations and persons are not included in the national cadre. Writings, works, films, plays and conferences that openly or slyly undermine the past, ethics, morality, family, character, virtue, heroism and nationalism shall not be allowed. Institutions that appeal to the nation and play a role in educating the people be headed by people from that nation, people of power, morality and intelligence.<sup>293</sup>*

## Favouritism and Bribery

*When national consciousness is awake, favouritism and bribery are eliminated. The service of those who serve will not be denied. Historical figures are given their real value. Neither giant men are minimised because of their small flaws, nor immoral people are nationalised because of their greatness that is not based on reality. Lawyers do not take on the defence of foreigners who have insulted the nation. Degenerate types, half-crazies, maniacs and fools who do not know the national language properly, but consider themselves leaders of the youth, cannot advertise their own dwarfed personalities in newspapers and magazines under the guise of defending ideas and ideals to those stronger than themselves.<sup>294</sup>*

## Milli Mefahir

*We never say that the honours of the Ottoman sultans should not be sung, even if they are national heroes. We also do not believe that there is a perfect human being. We have come across many small people who were claimed to be great throughout history. However, we cannot accept insulting the great ones who have become national heroes without any scientific and genuine reason. In no other society in the world, not even in the Gypsy community, do they allow anyone to insult what is recognised as national sacredness and national heritage. It is a pity that the Kemalist does this and Fatih, who opened a new era in history with Yıldırım, who crushed the united Europe. In doing so, this nation and this va-*

293 National Awareness Vigilance, Kızılelma, 2 January 1948, Issue: 10

294 National Awareness Vigilance, Kızılelma, 2 January 1948, Issue: 10

*He forgets that even the communists, who are his mortal enemies, could not go as far as he did. It may be remembered that once upon a time, communists attacked Mehmed Emin and Abdülhak Hamit because they were "breaking idols", but they were unable to speak against Yıldırım and Fatih. It is a pity that the Kemalist, who pretends to be a nationalist, surpasses them and tries to demolish the temples ten years after the communists who endeavoured to break idols.<sup>295</sup>*

## Country Engineers

*Everyone knows that the power of national defence is based on two foundations, one material (i.e. men and weapons) and one spiritual (ideals and morals). It is easy to measure and weigh this since the material basis is visible to the eye. It is possible to say that we have so many hundred thousand soldiers, so many aeroplanes and tanks, and it is to boast of this and calculate that our future is assured. But the spiritual element is invisible to the eye. It is only in the field of final results that it reveals itself. Only specialised "ideal engineers" can calculate its value, its power and what it can do before the final result.<sup>296</sup>*

## Yesterday and Tomorrow

*To go forward is not to break the link with the past. Every living and non-living being is the present result of the past. The backward is not always bad. As a matter of fact, forward is not always good either. Whether good or, the "back" and "forward" that cannot be destroyed are us as a whole. Denying this does not gain anything; it simplifies, degenerates and animalises the denial of the hard truth and the denial of the denial. Backward and forward, that is, yesterday and tomorrow, will always exist. Billions of yesterdays and tomorrows are links in the chain of time. It is essential to know yesterday in order to grasp tomorrow. Grasses and insects do not know yesterday. Even higher class animals have the ability to remember and know a few days ago. The total denial of "yesterday" is to reduce human beings to the level of grass and insects. People cannot be brought down. It is the one who wants to bring them down<sup>(297)</sup>*

## Greatness Ideal

*Any thought that does not give importance to personal interests and seeks the good of society is humanitarian. This humanitarian thought is not satisfied with the material gains of the society, but rather seeks the s...*

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295 Enemies of the National Faith, Golden Light 1947, Issue: 2

296 the National Defence Force, Ötüken 1965, Issue: 23

297 Yesterday and Tomorrow, Ötüken 1974, Issue: 9

*If it also pursues the cause of some kind of gain, then it becomes an "ideal". Ideals are a cause of greatness. For this reason, nations that want to grow and pursue greatness have ideals. A Nepal, a Panama or Switzerland cannot have an ideal. The last step of their national cause is, finally, peace and prosperity. Peace and abundance, on the other hand, do not qualify as an ideal. Because the desire for peace and abundance does not excite nations. It cannot bring them to ecstasy. It cannot drive them to sacrifice up to death.* <sup>298</sup>

## Memorisation

*The nursery rhyme "abolishing memorisation" is a very dangerous thing. How can one learn the National Anthem, the quadratic table, years of history and foreign languages if memorisation is abolished? It is not necessary to "abolish memorisation", but to abolish "memorisation without understanding" and to abolish seriously unnecessary courses and subjects. After primary school, it is imperative to immediately divide into specialised departments but to teach national culture (i.e. Turkish Language and Grammar, Turkish History, Geography of the Turks, and Civics) as the basic subjects, and to teach the subjects to be chosen and selected according to the child's ability.* <sup>299</sup>

## Magnitude of Betrayal

*Betrayal of the nation is not only selling military secrets to the enemy. The statesman who uses the authority of his position for his own benefit, the teacher who passes the child of his relative for his own sake, the municipal doctor who comes late to his duty and keeps the people waiting are also traitors. The difference is in the scope of treason. However, there is another kind of treason, which is more frightening because it is not against the present and the future, but against the past, in other words, it is irreparable. A nation is not only a mass of people, a homeland is not only dry land. What makes a nation and a homeland a nation and a homeland are memories, traces and artefacts. For this reason, the works of ancestors are sacred. Tombs and graves are respected for this reason.* <sup>300</sup>

298 Country of Greatness, Orkun 1963, Issue: 21

299 Türkiye'nin Yeniden Kuruluşu, Ötüken 1972, Issue: 100

300 Raising the artefacts of our ancestors is a betrayal of the homeland Kopuz 1939 Issue 5

### Turkish-Arab Confederation

*The Arabs are right not to recognise Israel's For 13 centuries they have been expelled from their homeland. The reason that forces them not to recognise Israel is the fear that Israel will not be able to stay in this narrow region and will expand. Even if there is no immigration of Jews from outside to the place where 2.5 million Jews live today, the Israelis, who are multiplying even through birth alone will not be able to fit there after a while, and they will want to expand by resorting to the remedy that is always seen and which is the main movement, cause motive of human history. ...Political and strategic experts also talk about the possibility of a new Arab-Israeli war infecting the entire region. This means that the situation becoming critical for Turkey as well. The interests of the Turks and the Arabs will converge at some point. Therefore, the only way to prevent this is not military alliances, which are clearly not working anymore, but the unification of the Arab states in the region in a confederation with Turkey. Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt should join the confederation to be established for 25-30 years under the presidency of Turkey. This confederation will not abolish the independence of the Arab states, but the army and foreign affairs will be administered from one hand, and the armies will undoubtedly under the command of the Turkish General Staff. This proposal of ours is more practical than saying to the Jews, "Give up Jerusalem and Sinai". But even if Syria, Lebanon and Jordan accept this proposal, it is certain that Nasser, who sees himself in the mirror, will not accept it. His megalomania is an obstacle.*

*That is his own business. But when the Jewish army enters, he will find no one to help him.*<sup>301</sup>

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301. Proposal to Save the Arabs Observation 8 May 1969



*"One of the most wronged historical figures of the society is Abdülhamid II. This great sultan, who carried the heavy burden of his predecessors on his shoulders, who was betrayed by the men he could trust the most and who kept an empire full of enemies for 33 years, which was about to fall apart, alive only with his intelligence and heroism, was portrayed as a murderer, a bloody, bloody, tyrannical, red sultan, ignorant and cowardly person, and he is an unfortunate person who was recognised as such due to the influence of this propaganda that always worked against him."*

## **Atsız's Contributions to History**

From the first time he picked up a pen and started to write until the day he died, Atsız discussed the question of "How should our view of Turkish History be" and tried to bring a view that we can call "national history thesis" to our historians. He underlined the need to understand Turkish history as a whole and carried out important historical studies to support this perception. In an article in which he summarises his evaluation of the understanding of history prevalent in our country, he says the following:

*All civilised nations have made a final and definitive decision about their own history. That is to say, they know where their history began, which epochs it is divided into, who belongs their history, and they have unchanging opinions on the spelling of the names of the people who fill their history. As for us, as in all other matters, in a pathetic confusion in the understanding of our history. We do not have a common idea about where our history began. The periods into which our history is divided vary according to everyone's taste. Personalities who are considered national heroes by some are considered national enemies by others: Like Chengiz Khan... There is no unity among us in writing the names of historical heroes and personalities. The system of history, which started to be confused after the Constitutional Monarchy, is not united among us in writing the names of heroes and personalities.*

*After the Turkish Republic, it completely deteriorated, and with the first works of the Historical Society, took its present pathetic form. However, in the past, our understanding of history quite proper and stable: Our ancient history used to start with the legendary Oghuz Khan and end with the Seljuks and Chengiz. Even though Chengiz was sometimes cursed because he was not a Muslim, he and especially his children were often spoken of with respect. The history of Turkey, on the other hand, would begin with a brief account of the Anatolian Seljuks and then immediately move on to the Ottomans, while the other principalities of Anatolia, especially the larger ones, would be mentioned as the legitimate governments of a part of Turkey, and their principalities would be with respect. The view that the Anatolian principalities were illegitimate began after the Conqueror. Undoubtedly, this historical judgement was not scientific. But it was accepted by the general public. In other words, there was a law in our understanding of history. Since law, after all, better than lawlessness, the system of history accepted with the scanty knowledge of that time more accurate than the unconscious confusion among our advanced knowledge today.<sup>302</sup>*

There is information that he completed his work titled Turkish History, which he started in the 1940s, shortly before his death, or at least that it was about to be completed. It is understood from the information he provided that this work has a national history integrity that would shake the history books written with the obsession of Anatolianism. However, this work disappeared after Atsız's death, and the manuscripts of the work were never unearthed. It is understood from his letter to Adile Ayda dated 20 February 1975 that this work was written and revised:

*".....From a Turkist point of view, I should not end before finishing Turkish History. Besides, mine*

*It will be a history that has no scientific claims, will be written only for the youth and the nation, but will bring a new view. I found the manuscripts in a cupboard in my new house and took them out. I started in 1942 and wrote it three times, once in full, once intermediate, once concise. Now I have taken the mufassal one and started correcting it, let's see what happens."*

Atsız's most important contribution to Turkish history is his work *Türk Tarihinde Meseleler*. The work was published in 1966 among Afşin Publications. According to Atsız, "*Türk Tarihinde Meseleler*" is a discussion of some issues of our history and culture with a Turkist view. In the preface, it is stated as follows: "To leave the national interest behind and try to act impartially not to be impartial in reality, but to take sides with the opposing parties."

302 Issues of Turkish History Yeni Sabah, 29 November 1948

According to Atsız, Turkish History is a continuous whole. The problem is to systematise it. Until the end of the 15th century, this historical integrity was maintained in all our sources. After Hodja Sadedin Efendi, a wrong tradition started and our history was seen as consisting of the Ottoman Empire. This situation continued until the tendency to look at history with a national sensitivity that started with Müşir Süleyman Pasha in the 19th century.

One of the most important debates that Atsız brought to the agenda of Turkish historical science is the question of the beginning of the history of Turkey. In the early years of the Republic, it was claimed that even the Hittites were Turks in order to defend that Anatolia had been a Turkish homeland since time immemorial. According to Atsız, it was not necessary to be the first inhabitant of a country in order to own its title deed. For this reason, it was incompatible with science and nationalism to rely on such interpretations of history. Atsız thought that the state we established in Anatolia was called the Turkish state and its foundation date was 1040, and that the Seljuks, principalities, Ottomans and the Republic were a single state. He underlines that the assumption that these are separate states is only the product of views lacking national sensitivity.

Atsız, a debate between Yahya Kemal and Ziya Gökalp, embraced Yahya Kemal's judgement that "We are the future whose roots are in the past" and he has treated it in all his works. In an article in which he compares the nation and the people, it is quite meaningful that he says the following in terms of grasping time as a whole:

*If people=nation, there would be no need for the words "raised from the people" and "people's stratum". Since everyone is already raised from the nation, such words would have been unnecessary. Furthermore, "people" is only the community existing at that moment. "Nation", on the other hand, exists at all three times, and "nation" is the expression of a "consciousness of being".*<sup>303</sup>

Atsız is a personality who travelled to the extremes in terms of his intellectual weave and left traces in Turkish intellectual life with his intellectual fights. It is possible to have different views on his intellectual world, but this should not prevent us from accepting that he is one of the most important figures of Turkish historiography.

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303 Türk Halkı Değil Türk Milletiyiz, Ötüken 1966, Issue: 26



The interest of nations in history intensifies significantly during periods of rise and decline. In periods when life is forced to change with all its values, the collapse or rise of the past people's attention to the past. It is possible to generalise the source of interest in the past in two data:

First and foremost, the ways and remedies to get rid of the crisis and the distorted social course are sought in the past. The second is the effort to build a national consciousness by emulating the great victories and high civilisation of the past. Atsız is one of those who believe that the sources of the Turkish nation's salvation and the consciousness of being a nation exist in our past. For this reason, he adopted being engaged in history, writing history and knowing history as a national duty.

Nations that have completed the process of nationhood without interruption are more skilful and more fortunate in looking at the past, perceiving and living the past, and building the future on its foundations. Nations like ours, which have changed religion and civilisation several times, and which have not been tied to a fixed geography with the motto "as the province goes, the tradition remains", are doomed to be full of misunderstandings. Atsız looks for the knowledge, excitement and consciousness of our nationhood in two elements: Lineage and history. According to him, a nation consists of lineage and the material and spiritual values produced in the historical process.

Atsız is troubled by the present of our nation. The captivity of our descendants in the motherland, our asylum in a tiny homeland from a huge empire, and our introverted state that seems to have given up the ideal of growth have fed his sense of longing for the past. The other side of his desire to escape to the past is his concern for the future of our nation. With these worries and troubles, he loved the past with a romantic sensitivity and was therefore accused of being a "dreamer" and a "reactionary".

The main factor in his longing for the past is his desire to see good days in the future for his nation. For this reason, especially in his historical novels, he has dealt with the periods of resurgence and revival of the state and the nation and presented the heroes of those periods as an example to the youth of today. With a romantic tendency, he turned his face to the past, which he saw as a lover, and hoped for good futures for our culture and civilisation.



The elements that are deprived in individual or social life constitute an important factor that increases the longing for the past. Atsız is the voice of objection to our three centuries-long defeats, our ever-shrinking homeland, and our fraying sense of nationhood. In contrast to the West, which is shown as the address of everything good and right, Atsız points our past.

Atsız is a historian who has the knowledge of how great and rich the past, which he shows as the address of our salvation, is and the equipment to interpret that knowledge. Our present smallness and poverty, which cannot even be compared to the greatness and richness of that magnificent history, is the reason for Atsız's rebellion against everyone and everything. This is perhaps the foremost reason for his fierceness in his intellectual fights:

Atsız participated in the discussions on history in an environment where two incomplete interpretations were fiercely debated. The first of these incomplete interpretations is the wrong traditionalist understanding that considers our history to consist of the Ottoman Empire. This understanding starts our history with the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. At most, it took into account the period after the adoption of Islam. The second, on the other hand, displayed hostile attitudes to the point of not considering the Ottomans Turks and the madness of ignoring our past in Islamic civilisation. Atsız stood against both mistakes. For this reason, he could not be favourable neither to the elites ruling the state nor to the opposition. According to him, ignoring and denying any period of history is a blunder and even betrayal synonymous with ignoring and denying the nation.

Atsız, who harshly opposed the freakish obsessions of those who looked at history, such as denigrating our Republic and bringing back the political and social system of the past, was also in a fight with those who ignored the fact that the heroes who brought a state out of the wreckage of the Empire were a cadre from the magnificent past of the pre-Republican period.

He is a man of excitement who believes that we are not a makeshift nation. He has no doubt that we will be as great tomorrow as we were great yesterday. He is confident that the Turkish nation will overcome today's troubled moments by producing great leaders as it did in the past. He believed in the great and rich past behind us with the consciousness of history to which he surrendered and believed that a great and rich future awaited us. He praised our past and was attached to it with his national personality, which took wings with a magnificent past.

His wisdom, which embraces a magnificent past, is often overshadowed by his overflowing excitement aiming to establish an independence worthy of that past. It is seen that he underestimates the knowledge and equipment of today that we need to acquire while walking to our future with the greatness of our past. This situation finds its expression in his fearless mind as a determination to run to very big goals without caution. He cries out to the rulers of the state that one must embark on great journeys all costs, with or without time.

Atsiz dives into the pages of history with a responsibility that embraces the entire heritage of a history that minority pens, revolutionaries and the ignorant denigrate and deny everything. He embraces every good person and institution belonging to our past by opening his heart to the fullest. This embrace him from seeing our shortcomings. According to his acceptance, if we teach our children our glorious past properly and properly, our young people will be purified from all kinds of weaknesses, and not only purified, they will be unique in morality and virtue. He is so sure that every beauty of our past can be carried to this age that he often forgets that the institutions of the past are meaningful in that time and in that social life:

He emphasises the greatness of the Turkish lineage and the nobility of Turkish heroes the most among the elements that build our past. He does not think about the cultural, religious, economic and geographical conditions in which the past came to life. He considered it possible to transfer the wisdom of Tonyukuk, the devotion of K r  ad, the depth of Yusuf Has Hacib, the heart of Yunus, the courage of Fatih, the art of Sinan, the language of Fuzuli, the science of K tip  elebi, and the genius of Abdulhamit to the present day, and he considered himself tasked with this.

Atsiz is the historian who changed the way Turkish history is interpreted. He read and taught our past, which was shaped as the history of a dynasty, as the uninterrupted flow of life of a lineage, a nation. The way of perceiving history that consecrated the dynasties encouraged by the ruling mass in the past in order to legitimise their dominance became a thing of the past in our country with Atsiz. Atsiz agrees with traditionalist historians in the sense of grounding the present life with the past, but he quarrels with the understanding that separates dynasties from the nation and attempts to give them a separate identity.

History is the mother of social sciences. All social sciences use its data and interpretations. Despite this importance, history a very important flaw: it cannot be impartial. The reason why history cannot be impartial

lack the data that would give us a complete picture of the events of the past as a whole. There are disconnects in the links connecting the events. The historian fills the gaps between the data in written sources with interpretation. While interpreting, the historian cannot go beyond his beliefs, value judgements, ideology and the realities of the society he lives in. Atsız is aware of this fact. His attitude is obvious: Everything will be interpreted for the benefit of the nation. That benefit is the determination of the Turks' property rights in their historical homelands. This benefit is the nation's achievement of the consciousness of being great in the present as it was in the past.

According to Atsız, it is possible to make an explanation of the present by looking back to the past. Because every social event has a historical root. Every social event is experienced in a long process. It is possible to understand this process correctly only having a consciousness of history, by making sense of the event we are trying to understand within the integrity of history. This is the importance of Atsız's understanding of national history as an uninterrupted whole.

Atsız emphasised the importance of every Turkish family knowing their genealogy. According to him, this emphasis on the importance of attaching oneself to a root is the first stage of national historical consciousness. This consciousness is the knowledge that it is indispensable for people to hold on to a root in terms of identity in the ocean called humanity. The consciousness of being a member of a family, a part of an environment and a member of a nation ensures the formation of personality.

Interest in national history is an indispensable orientation of nationalism. The nationalist understands his nation as an independent whole formed by the values of a common past. For this reason, nationalism means national historical consciousness with its many connotations. The romantic sense of interpreting national history manifests itself in the form of filling the gaps between events with legends and dreams. This process of integration leads the individual to see himself as a part of a long past, as a member of a social order, and this becomes the most driving force to participate in the effort to establish the future.

Atsız is the historian who systematised the historical consciousness of Turkish nationalists. Historical consciousness means having an opinion about the direction of history. If the person who interprets history sees historical events as parts of a meaningful whole, he/she has reached historical consciousness. National historical consciousness means understanding the past as a chain of meaningful events that determine the present, rather than as a simple collection of facts. Awareness of national history is a sense of national identity.



who have a common history. This national self will unite the members of a common history with the consciousness of building a common future by working together.

National historical consciousness, as the name suggests, is not only a matter of knowledge. It is a matter of emotion as important as knowledge, perhaps even more important. The individual identifies with himself/herself through the emotional bond he/she establishes with the past. Just as our own past forms our personality, our national history forms the character of our nation. Not everything in this past may be worthy of praise. Sometimes history can also put embarrassing events in front of us. Just like shameful scenes in our own memory. But the individual who looks at the past and the past with the consciousness of national history is not ashamed of his nation or his nation's past.

Atsız interpreted history with a nationalist perspective and applied this interpretation to practice. According to him, the nation is the subject that makes history. The nation has existed through an uninterrupted historical process. The features that distinguish our nation from other nations have been formed and developed in a historical process of nearly three thousand years. According to him, the life of the nation is its history and its life experience is its cultural accumulation.

Atsız believes that there is an objective connection between the present state of the nation and its history. All the values we have today are rooted in history. Despite this objective connection, what he really cares about is the subjective connection. The members of the nation feel a sense of belonging to history by seeing themselves as the product of the historical process. This bond is subjective and the important thing is that this feeling exists in all members of the nation.

Turning a community into a nation starts with making them believe that they are a nation. He believed in the importance of giving this consciousness and achieved this with his novels and poems, the subjects of which he chose from Turkish history.

He believed that all innovations and new attitudes must pass through the legitimacy of history and he resisted innovations that did not receive the approval of history. His stance against communism is because of our hatred for the "Muscovite". His adoption of secularism is due to its compatibility with the data of old Turkish life. The reason for his sharp tone against ethnic minorities is the awareness of the evils that minorities have done to our nation throughout history.

He tried to reinforce national feelings by glorifying the heroes and symbols of national history. He went beyond promotion and made many unknown heroes of history live again in his novels and endeared them to the Turkish nation.



After the foundation of the Republic, the first cadres of the Republic, especially Atatürk, who wanted to turn Turkey into a "eternal homeland", tried to create a new "official history thesis" in an effort to prove that Anatolia had been a "Turkish homeland" since the early ages. Although this thesis which was put forward with good intentions, was tried to be supported by scientific data it cannot be denied that it was based on an ideological foundation. According to this thesis, it was claimed that the Hittite (Eti) and Sumerian civilisations were founded by Turks. Although it was later observed that a significant part of the Sumerian language was composed of words with Turkish roots, the thesis, especially with regard to the Hittites, could not be proved. Atsız, together with Zeki Velidi Togan, opposed this historical thesis and criticised this effort with the concern that, despite its good intentions, it would tear the Turkish nation away from its connection with its homeland.

In the first years of the Republic, Unionist Turkism was still active. Er-genekon epics were sung; stamps and banknotes with the image of bozkurt were printed. The Turkish Hearths, which had 257 branches in 1930, a link between pre-war ideology and post-war ideology. However, Ziya Gökalp abandoned his Turanian dreams with the Republic and to write the programme of Turkism, saying "It is only Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha who gives officiality to the idea of Turkism and actually implements it". Fuad Köprülü, the historian of this new perspective was trying to determine Turkish contributions to medieval civilisation with a knowledge that would make Western orientalists envious. Atsız's interpretation of Turkism and history was incompatible with an understanding that excluded Turanism. Because he interpreted Turanism as an orientation forced upon us by our history and considered it indispensable.

The essence of the Turkish History Thesis supported by Atatürk is as follows: "The history of the Turkish nation does not consist only of the Ottoman history, as it has been presented so far. The history of the Turkish nation is much older and it the Turkish nation that has shone the light of culture on all nations. The first origin and cradle of civilisation is Central Asia. This is the first homeland of the brecaefal and white race. Turks are of the brekephalic and white race and their origin is Central Asia. As a result of migrations, Turkish civilisation reached many places and triggered civilisation. The Hittites, the first indigenous people of Anatolia, came from Central Asia and are the ancestors of the Turks." This Historical Thesis an answer in the same language to the historical theses of European races throughout modern times, which emphasised their superiority and the inferiority of non-Europeans. The German Historical Thesis states that all human civilisation originated in Central 5,000 years ago.

The Turkish History Thesis, with a more radical departure, claimed that this spread had originated from the same source, but 10,000 years ago, and that civilisation had spread to the world by Turkish tribes. The Turkish History Thesis, in a more radical departure, claimed that this spread had originated from the same source, but 10,000 years ago, and that Turkish tribes had spread civilisation to the world. The proof that the Turkish race was "brachycephalic" like the Germanic race was one of the most popular historical materials of those years. Although Atsız agreed with some parts of this view, he was particularly opposed to the view that considered the Sumerian and Etean civilisations as Turkish. Because this view was transformed into a new interpretation under the name of Anatolianism in the following years and the source of views that declared the Turkish nation as a hybridised society by mixing with other ethnic origins in the Anatolian basin. Atsız, who saw the Turkish lineage as the subject of Turkish history, strongly held this view.

The Western world has planned to expel the Turks from since the day the Turks entered Anatolia and turned it into Turkey. With this plan, which they called the "Eastern Question" at the Vienna Congress in 1815, the West has made it its duty to expel the Turks from the Balkans and Anatolia and to divide and dismember the Turkish state. For this reason, Western scientists have produced slanders targeting the Turkish nation and homeland. It is possible to list these slanders as follows: "Turks are of yellow race and are considered second class people according to Europeans. Turks are deprived of civilised capability. The Balkan and Anatolian lands where Turks live do not belong to them." The Western world, which was the owner of these slanders, thought that Turks should be completely expelled from Europe and the Balkans, and then from Turkey. It is understandable that the Turkists, who write Turkish national history, declare many ancient civilisations as Turkish and claim the ancient civilisations of Anatolia as their own in order to compete with this vile mentality, but it is not possible to approve them in terms of national history. As a matter of fact, Atsız acted in the same way and complimented such approaches.

Although Atsız studied literature, he is better known as a historian. The reason for this is that the consciousness of history constitutes an important basis in his intellectuality. He wrote three magnificent novels about Turkish history and published nearly twenty scientific works. More important than all these are his contributions to the science of history and historical consciousness.

## **National History Thesis**

Atsız, believing in the necessity of bringing a national thesis in terms of the view and interpretation of Turkish history, addressed the issues of Turkish history and boldly criticised the history books written and the dominant view of history in the state. According to him, every nation should have its own unique world view.

Atsız, who believed that a nation could not grow with the world views taken over from other nations, corrected the mistakes in the history books taught in high schools and opposed the theses tried to be adopted by the state at the History Congresses. At the risk of being suspended from his teaching position, he prevented the teaching of the history books he criticised, and prevented the view that the tribes who founded the ancient Anatolian civilisations were the ancestors of the Turks from becoming the official thesis.

Atsız that the historical theses formed by Turkish historiography were incomplete and wrong, and stated that our historical thesis should be structured by making the nation the subject. According to him, Turkish history is a flow of 27 centuries in which the nation is the subject. It is wrong to take sides between periods, geographies and dynasties. Atsız, who saw sectarian differences and the struggles for dominance between dynasties as internal issues of Turkish history, the most important contribution to the formation of our national history thesis by emphasising that the nation should be seen above all these differences.

Atsız underlined that the acceptance of geography or dynasties as the subject of history in previous periods was not beneficial for Turkish culture and that making dynasties, regimes and geographical differences the subject of national history would prevent us from seeing our history as a whole. He criticised the Anatolian view that Turkish history begins with the Victory of Malazgirt as an approach that disrupts the integrity of Turkish history.

## **The Beginning of Turkish History**

Atsız does not find it right that scholars put forward different ideas about where Turkish history should begin and that there is no unity among them. According to him, scientific methods may not be sufficient to reach all the knowledge of past times, but this does not require anyone to make judgements about Turkish history. A history



We should convene a congress, discuss the issues and a common opinion. We need to reach a consensus on whether we should start our history from Sumerians, Shus, Sakas, Huns or Gokturks.

This issue, which we encounter in general Turkish history, also a part related to the history of Turkey. Atsız, who strongly opposes the claim that the Hittites and some other ancient Anatolian civilisations were Turks, also objects those who start our history from 1071. According to him, the beginning of Turkish history is 1040.

According to him, his or others' judgements about history are not important. If the whole nation does not have a common view on the interpretation of history, this is dangerous for the future. Atsız believes that the preparation of history books according to this common determination after the scientists who are experts on the subject reach definite conclusions in a history convention to be convened will eliminate this possibility of mischief.

### **Integrity of Turkish History**

Süleyman Pasha was the first historian to put Turkish national history as a whole in chronological order starting from the beginning. Süleyman Pasha's tracing the beginning of Turkish history from Chinese sources to the Huns was a quite new historical idea for his time. After Süleyman Pasha, other Turkists interested in history also contributed to national history.

However, Rıza Nur was the first historian to systematically interpret Turkish history on a scientific basis. He the idea that the name of our state was not the Ottoman Empire, but the State of Turkey. In addition to this view, he determined that our sovereignty over these lands was not 6 centuries but 9 centuries. The idea that there were not two separate states, the Ottoman Empire and the Seljuks, that the state one and that only the dynasties changed can be considered as the beginning of the Turkic history thesis. Rıza Nur repeated and expanded this dynasty-land relationship in the state in his later work, Turkish History. Atsız extended this approach of Rıza Nur and adapted it to the whole Turkish history. It is thanks to this that the statist aspect of Turkish culture has come to be understood as a stable national character. Interpreted as a transition from dynastic history to national history



n this innovation, Atsız read Turkish history as a whole and built idea of Turkism on this reading.

Atsız systematised the flow of Turkish history in time in two parts: Turkish history in the homeland and Turkish history in foreign hands. According to the system he created and proposed to be developed, Turkish history in the homeland takes place in Eastern Turkelia from the beginning of history until the XI century. After the XIth century, the second homeland is established. The name of this homeland is Turkey. This new homeland consists of Azerbaijan, Anatolia, Iraq and Northern Syria. Apart from this main line, there are also the states we established in Egypt, China, India, Iran and Eastern , which constitute the Turkish history inprovinces. This history is the history of the states founded by the dominant Turkish dynasties. Atsız has systematised the history of the Motherland (Eastern Turkeland and Turkey) in the following scheme:

<b>In Eastern Turkestan</b>	
Sakalar Age	7th century BC- 3rd century BC.
Age of the Kuns	2nd century BC - 216 AD
Age of the Syenpies	216-394
Age of Apars	394-552
Age of the Sky Turks	552-745
Nine Oghuzs - Ten Uighurs Age	745-840
Age of the Uighurs	840-940
Qarakhanid Era	940-1123
Qarakhtaylar Era	1123-1207
Age of Eights	1207-1218
Genghisid Era	1281-1370
Age of Aksak Temirliler	1370-1501
Age of Uzbeks	1501-1920
<b>In Western Turkelia</b>	
Seljukid Era	1040-1249
Ilkhanid Era	1249-1336
Great Principalities Period	1336-1515
Ottoman Era	
Republic Era	After 1923

In the last years of his life, Atsız was preparing his work Turkish History in line with his work Collections on Turkish History and in the light of new sources and documents. were some who claimed that this work was finished. However, when his library and notes were plundered after his death, the fate of the work or its drafts remained unknown.

## 16 States and Fictitious Flags

According to Atsız, the 16-star coat of arms and the flags of 16 great Turkish states used as the presidential uniform are fabricated. According to him, the notion of 16 states strongly our national ideal, our idea of greatness, our continuity process, as well as historical facts. The fact that great and magnificent Turkish states such as Akkoyunlular, Karakoyunlular, Safavids, Egyptian Slave-men are not mentioned in the classification, especially the fact that Genghis state, the greatest empire in the history of the world, is not mentioned, makes the issue crippled at the very beginning.

Underlining the fact that having established many states would also mean a weakness such as not being able to sustain the state he established, Atsız draws our attention to the mistake of considering dynasties as separate states. According to him, the number of states we have established is not 16 or 50. In reality, two states were established in the homeland and three or five more states were added outside the homeland. That is all. These two states are Turkestan and its extensions, the state established in eastern Europe, and the state in the region of Pre-Asia, where the state we call Turkey today was established.

Atsız believes that Turkish history is a whole. Stating that the objects called states are separate rulers and dynasties, Atsız states that the concept of 16 Turkish states is a fabricated fairy tale and points the integrity of our history. Atsız reveals the destructive effect of the division of Turkish history into parts under the name of states on national psychology one by one in his works and underlines that those who do not believe in national continuity cannot understand the present. According to his perspective, the Republic of Turkey is the continuation of the Ottoman EmpireOttoman Empire is the continuation of the Ilkhanid State, the Ilkhanid State is the continuation of the Anatolian Seljuk State, the Anatolian Seljuk State is the continuation of the Great Seljuk State, the Great Seljuk State is the continuation of the Karakhanids, the Karakhanid State is the continuation of the Uighurs, the Uighurs are the continuation of the Gök Turks, the Gök Turks are the continuation of the Apars, the Apars are the continuation of the Siyenpis, the Siyenpis are the continuation of the Kuns.

Rejecting the notion of 16 Turkish states, Atsız finds the 16 flags envisaged for these states to be completely imaginary, fabricated and fictitious. According to him, the ancient Turks did not have a flag, but *tug*. The flag was born in later centuries with the development of the *tuğ*. As is also known, ancient Turks did not have a single national flag, but various flags. Most of the flags of the Ottoman Turks are known. It is known that each military unit, each pirate, each commander had a different flag. The idea of a single national flag developed gradually and our present flag took its final form during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecit. Stating that it is ignorance to include dragon images from Chinese mythology on the flags that were invented later for Turkish states, Atsız draws attention to the fact that Turks used wolf, falcon and sheep figures as well as *tughks*.

Stating that the Ministry of National Education has the duty to prepare history books in a manner befitting the word "national" in its title, Atsız points out that if histories are not written in a short period of time to convey the national historical consciousness to young generations, it will not be possible to raise generations committed to the national ideal and full of love for the homeland and history. Atsız describes the upbringing of unconscious generations, who know the list of national football teams by heart but are unaware of national heroes, who take down the Turkish flag in universities and hang a red piece of cloth in its place, as a shame of education, devoid of national ideal and historical consciousness.

### **Turkishness of Genghis Khan and Timur**

In the approach to Turkish history, the ruptures caused by the prioritisation of sects and branches over the phenomenon of nationhood still prevent the reading of history as a whole. Those who look at history with religious or ideological prejudices take sides between the periods and heroes of national history, glorify those who are close to them and diminish or ignore those who are distant. This kind of understanding disrespects the greats of Turkish history and makes the segments of the Turkish nation hostile to each other in one way or another. Apart from those who still look at the fight between Yavuz and Shah Ismail with a biased view, their efforts to glorify the names close to their own ideology and to degrade names prevent us from approaching history with integrity of mind and heart.



It can be said that Atsız, who emphasised the importance of approaching history with a consciousness of the unity of head and heart, pioneered in terms of recognising the rights of two great figures of Turkish history, who were denied and even insulted, and giving them the position they deserved in the flow of Turkish history. These two great heroes are Aksak Timur and Genghis Khan.

Atsız, who finds it contrary to the data of historical science that those who consider the Turkish nation to consist of Anatolia consider Timur and Genghis to be the heroes of another nation and declare them enemies of our nation, declares those who attempt to classify races according to skin colour and skull measurements as unscientific.

According to Atsız, not to consider Genghis Khan and Timur, two great figures of Turkish history, as Turks, and even more, to show them as enemies of the Turkish race is to distort and change the facts of history. He thinks that considering the Tatar clan name as separate from Turk is a great blunder that undermines the Turkish unity of the future.

Atsız emphasises the need to respect the differences of opinion on whether to like or dislike the heroes of history, and describes taking sides in rivalries between dynasties as a lack of historical consciousness. He reminds us that taking sides in the history of the Turkish nation according to geography, sect, tradition and dynasty is the product of an incomplete view and serves the enemies of our history.

### **Age of the Turkish State**

The old and deep-rooted history of states is an important moral force. People seek the roots of their states and nations in the oldest possible history. Of course, it is not right for this search to turn into a tendency to distort and change history. The mistakes made during the establishment of our Republic in order to take our existence in Anatolia back to ancient times are obvious. With forced interpretations, ancient Anatolian civilisations were tried to be declared Turkish and the Turkish presence in Anatolia was tried to be taken back to 2000 years ago. This acceptance, which we do not doubt is a well-intentioned approach, is not correct in terms of the science of history. In order to own the title deed of a country, it is not necessary to be the first owner of the land or to be recorded in the historical records as the first inhabitant. If this were a condition, it would not be possible for almost all nations in today's world to claim ownership of the geography they live in.



According to Atsız, the history of the Turkish State begins with the Seljuks. The date to be taken as a basis for the establishment of the state is 1040, when Tuğrul Bey declared independence in Khorasan. The Turkish state was founded in 1040 in Khorasan and then grew and added Anatolia to itself along with many other lands. This state, which lost the lands it was founded with later developments, held on to the lands it conquered and made it the second homeland of the Turks. Historians who want to start the history of Turkey with Malazgirt have failed to grasp this fact.

Atsız repeatedly stated in his writings that it was necessary to convene a "history convention" in order to resolve the confusion of opinions on these and similar issues. He does not consider his own determinations as the only correct ones, he wants them to be discussed. What he cares about is the establishment of a unity of opinion and interpretation about the main lines of our national history.

### **Establishment of the Turkish Land Army History**

Atsız strongly opposed the assumption that the establishment of the Turkish Land Army was dated 1363. Atsız, who looked at this date determination in terms of the integrity of Turkish history, as in every interpretation, corrected this perception error with the following sentences:

"Since the Turkish Land Forces were established in 1363, by whom were the great wars, great strategic moves and tactical battles fought before that? Was it not the Turkish Army that fought these moves and won the great battles of destruction? For example, was the 1071 Malazgirt victory, which we keep repeating, not fought and won by the Turkish Army, but by irregular gangs? Or was this army formed by foreign soldiers paid by the Turkish government?" Was it not the army that fought the Dandenekan War of 1040, the Pasinler War of 1048, and the great battles of Kılıç Arslan I, Mesud I and Arslan II against the Crusaders? It is a fabrication that hurts national pride to assume that the Turkish Army was founded in 1363. What was established in 1363 was not the Turkish Land Army, but one or two guard companies consisting of devshirs. In the great military movements during the Ottoman dynasty, their role only as much as their size, and the real war was fought by the timar, that is, the army that had existed since time immemorial."<sup>304</sup>

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304 When was the Turkish Land Army Established, *Orkun*, 1963, Issue: 18

Emphasising the absurdity of thinking that a nation, whose state history has been known since 220 BC and which has always trained first-class soldiers in history, could live without an army for 16 centuries, Atsız made everyone accept that the Turkish army was founded by Mete in 209 BC. From now on, the Turkish armed forces also their own foundation as this date, which Atsız, with his national historical consciousness, determined and had it accepted.

### **Return of Reputation to the Ottoman Dynasty**

Atsız's strong opposition to the approaches that start Turkish history with the Ottoman Empire has always overshadowed his views on the Ottoman state and dynasty. His taking Turkish history back to the Sakas and saying that one should not take sides between periods does not mean to belittle the Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, Atsız sees the Ottoman dynasty as the most magnificent dynasty the world has ever seen and applauds it.

According to Atsız, the Ottoman dynasty is the first in the world in terms of being the longest-lived of the ruling families that ruled from a single branch in the same country. They ruled over 12 nations with a small Turkish population. Atsız counted all the sultans of the dynasty one by one and declared to the world of history that 21 of them were great and glorious people. Now that the republic is established, our nation not be deprived of being proud of the great and glorious heroes of the Ottoman dynasty. Because the Ottoman family is the greatest of the Turkish families that have made history. It is unbecoming of a national state to include humiliating information about them in school books.

In the foundation years of the Republic, Atsız the first serious stand against the rejection of the past and the vilification of the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to his stance, history books were revised and approaches that belittled the Ottoman dynasty were abandoned. Atsız, who strongly criticised the history books that portrayed the Ottoman sultans as oblivious and helpless, examined the Ottoman dynasty, which led the Turkish armies from victory to victory and defended Turkishness and Islam against all of Europe for centuries, one by one and their nobility and achievements in history. As an example, let's read some of his notes on Fatih together:

*"What should I write about Fatih? He has already written himself into history. It is certain that one day we will erect statues of him. Sculptures for him are also scarce. A great statue for him, which will be a unique work of Turkish art and Turkish genius, is a must."*

*we must erect it. We should find whatever we need, gold, silver, granite, whatever takes, and erect a great statue. Fatih, like all his ancestors, grandfathers and great uncles, was a veteran wounded in the battle of Belgrade. He was a poet, scholar and legislator."*<sup>305</sup>

## Sky Sultan

The most unfortunate sultan of the Ottoman dynasty was Abdülhamit II. Those who could not understand what he did and what he wanted to do had adopted being against this great sultan as a requirement of being an intellectual. Everyone, from the madrasah teachers with their hair and hairpieces to the French imitators in setre trousers, opposed him. When the hatred of minorities was added to this opposition, Abdülhamit was known as the "red sultan" for years.

The manner of his dethronement constitutes one of the biggest stains of our history. At the end of the uprising that brought the state to the brink of destruction, Jew Emmanuel Karasu, Armenian Aram, Albanian Toptanî and Georgian Ahmed Hikmet went to the Sultan and said: "The nation does not want you". Four of the traitors who informed the Sultan that he had been deposed were minorities.

Abdülhamit Khan II, who was insulted in history books for years with the phrase "red sultan", was a great figure in Turkish history and one of the most important people in world political history. Perhaps because of his greatness, he was not easily understood and local and foreign enemies said everything against him. However, the events that unfolded over time revealed how right the sultan was

Atsız, who participated in the discussions on Abdülhamid II, as in all historical issues, with the perspective required by the national historical consciousness, rejected all the slanders against him with his wonderful style and presented the great sultan with the title he deserved: Gök Sultan. Let us recall his contributions to this subject by presenting a summary of his article on Abdülhamid II:

*"One of the most wronged historical figures of the society is Abdülhamid II. This great sultan, who carried the heavy burden of his predecessors on his shoulders, who was betrayed by the men he trusted the most, and who sustained an empire full of enemies for 33 years, which was about to disintegrate, solely with his intelligence and heroism, has been described as a murderer, a bloody, bloody, tyrannical, red sultan, ignorant and cowardly person.*

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305 Ottoman Sultans, Tanrıdağ, 1942, 10th issue



*and was recognised as such due to the influence of this propaganda, which has always worked against him.*

*...It is Sultan Hamid's greatest achievement and service that he closed the Assembly in order to prevent the Arab and Albanian nationalisms fuelled from outside, together with the non-Muslim deputies. Sultan prevented all these dangers by closing the Assembly and would have prevented them even more if he had not been deposed. But his service did not stop there. He armed the Ottoman army, which had been defeated in the war of 1877-1878, with the most perfect weapons of that time, such as mavzer rifles. He fortified the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits against possible attacks by the naval states and the Russians from the sea. And it was with these fortifications that the British and French attacks of 18 March 1915 in the First World War were stopped.*

*He trained excellent staff. He paid two thirds of the huge Ottoman debts. He opened many schools. He built many roads and bridges, as well as charities such as hospitals and fountains. He established an unprecedented intelligence network. He had spies even from foreign ambassadors. He was aware of every bird flying in Europe, he learnt about the decisions against us in advance and precautions. One of the members of a secret association established in Egypt to take the Caliphate from the Ottoman Dynasty one of Sultan Hamid's men. Just as he prevented the Balkans from uniting by fuelling sectarian and national differences, he also prevented the British Germans and Russians from uniting against us by pitting them against each other.*

*In doing so, time had shown how justified he was in not trusting anyone from his viziers and pashas, and the viziers had taken refuge in foreign embassies and consulates without any embarrassment.*

*he was a very honourable and pious man, he never shed blood. The rumour that he had Mithat Pasha killed is slander. Sultan Hamid, who defended the state Muscovite imperialism, which threatened the country directly, and European imperialism and its representative England, which threatened the country from the west also had to deal with minorities and ignorant libertarians, and confronted Zionism coming from the south.*

*For Sultan Hamid, was a matter and a duty to defend the Ottoman Empire against the enemies of our ancestry, the Muscovites and Britain, the enemies of the caliphate, against the enemies of our state, Zionism and minorities, and against the enemies of the regime, the libertarians. For this, he to remain the head of state. The idea that the state would not be able to hold on if he withdrew was soon realised to be correct.*



*It is a lie that he was a murderer and a slander that he was a red sultan. Adopting the red sultanate characterised by Europeans and Armenians is not serving their ambitions? Sultan Hamid is not a red sultan, he is "Gök Sultan". The late Gök Sultan Abdülhamid Han lived his whole life to sustain and prepare an idea, a state. With his political genius, he was distracting Europe and Muscovy, while at the same time trying to strengthen the Turkish nation with the railway and schools.*

*In order to compare Sultan Hamid with his enemies, the liberators, it is enough to look at this point: The heroes of freedom (!), destroying freedom and hanging hundreds of innocents, fled like thieves when the state they had led into war was defeated. Gök Sultan, without carrying out a single political execution, after sustaining the state for 33 years in his reign by overcoming the most terrible political difficulties, rejected the invitation of the Muscovite Tsar to Russia when he was deposed, and the invitation of the German Emperor when he travelled from Salonika to Istanbul on German ships, and preferred to live as an exile and prisoner in his homeland.*

*Turkey was a house with fires on its four borders, and Sultan Hamid was a defender who ran quickly to sprinkle water on the fire, pour sand and cover it with felt to prevent the fires from spreading to the house. If he knocked down one or two children who got in his way in his haste, the blame was not his. Because the fires around the yurt were rising to the sky and Gök Sultan was trying hard not to let the flames inside. And it didn't... What can we say? May his rest be in heaven..."<sup>306</sup>*

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306 Abdulhamid Khan (Gök Sultan), January 1956, 11th issue



*"Weren't heroic epics such as Kösroğlu, Danişment Gazi, Battal Gazi, the first authors of which are unknown, the reason for the continuance of our heroism for centuries? Since I am not a stylist or a scribe, I do not know to what extent I can overcome this task. Just as the silent work of a simple village physician, without anyone realising it, adds up in health statistics, just as the battle of an infantry division among the reasons that prepare the final result, I a move that I consider useful for our national upbringing with my work."*

## **Man Novelising History**

In the books, encyclopaedias and journals introducing Atsız, his intellectual side was emphasised and his artistic side was always left in the shadows. His poetry and novelism have not been analysed to the extent and sufficiently as they deserve, and the necessary judgements have not been made about them. The fact that a mentality that criminalises Turkism has dominated Turkish literature for a long time can be considered as the first reason why Atsız was pushed out of the literary world. However, it is not possible to say that his fans have done their duty in favour of producing works that examine his artistic side.

The most important products of Atsız's artistic personality are his novels. Having written six novels, the author's success especially in historical novels has been ignored. Atsız, who wrote three historical novels titled Bozkurtların Ölümü, Bozkurtlar Diriyor and Deli Kurt, brought the best examples of his genre to our literature with his solid knowledge of history, command of Turkish and sound technique.

With these novels, Atsız aimed to carry our values in the Central Asian geography to the design of the national identity that was tried to be created after 1923. The endeavour of this identity construction or revival

Its origins back to the Tanzimat. Ziya Gökalp was the first to compile and present serious data. Atsız, with his works and struggle, is the second great breakthrough who challenged the detachment of this identity transformation from Turkish history. His novel *The Spirit Man* can also be counted among the firsts of our literature. This novel, whose surrealist narratives and inner reckonings are presented with a sound technique and expression, has unfortunately not received the attention it deserves from neither readers nor critics.

Atsız told us his thoughts on the art of the novel in the introduction to his novel *The Death of the Grey Wolves*, entitled *The Story of the Novel*:

*Because I'm about to write a novel. And such a novel that will reflect life itself. Although there is room for both romanticism and realism in it, I will not leave the flow of life itself and I will be faithful to history as well as to this. A novel that will make you live 1300 years ago and the heroes who appear one after the other will come to the present day. A novel in which there will not be only one hero. Each person in it will be a hero in his own, just like in life. always a single skeleton in the works of both romantics and realists: The love affair between the two protagonists of the novel, a man and a woman, whereas in my book there will be the flow of centuries, so it is impossible for me to get stuck in a single adventure, especially in love stories that have become so vulgar and trite after being repeated in tens of thousands of novels. This will be a brand new type of novel.*

*My book will not be one of those works that do not hesitate to insinuate or even expose all physiological movements of people down to the finest details because they are realities. I will not be separated from material life, but as is fashionable in some of the recent works, I will not include the simplest and most natural, but unrefined subjects in my book. Just as a psychologist ponders the psychological motive each issue, and a physician tries to find out the cause of the onset of a disease, I spent a lot of time looking for what the lines of action of nations are based on, since I have spent a lot of time in history. It is certain that both the intellectuals and the popular stratum of a nation are very suitable for being studied. For this, the best thing, the best tool, can be artefacts. Don't you know that for some time Verter was found in the pockets of many of those who committed suicide in Germany? Didn't heroic epics such as *Köroğlu*, *Danişment Gazi*, *Battal Gazi*, the first authors of which are unknown, also cause the Turkish heroism to continue for centuries? Since I am neither a stylist nor a scribe, I do not know to what extent I can cope with this task. Just as the silent work of a simple village physician can be included in health statistics without anyone realising it*



*If the war of an infantry company is among the reasons that prepare the final result, I will a move that I consider useful for our national upbringing with my work.*<sup>307</sup>

Nihal Atsız had his real say in literature and art in his "historical" novels. The author, who is a historian and has a deep knowledge of ancient Turkish history and life, epics and heroes, reflected this knowledge in his historical novels.

Atsız's novels partially overlap with the storytelling in our tradition. His three historical novels give the reader the impression that they were written to give a parable. *The Death of the Grey Wolves* (1946); *Bozkurtlar Ölümü* (1946); *Bozwolves Diriyor* (1949); *Deli Kurt* (1958), in a unique historical setting, offer us insights into the historical character of the Turks, such as heroism, sacrifice, friendship, love of homeland and nation, passion for freedom, racial consciousness, high military discipline and an indisputably solid moral structure.

Through his historical novels, Atsız seems to aim at reconstructing the Turkish identity. All of Atsız's works and political struggles are for the reconstruction of this identity. Because with Atsız, Turkism turned into a political action movement, and the basic ideal of this political movement to reconstruct and rebuild the historical Turkish culture.

In these novels, *The Death of the Bozkurt* and *Bozkurtlar Diriyor*, Atsız transformed the whole of the Göktürk Bengü Stones into an attractive novel. These two works, which are a stage in Turkish historical novelism, were very popular and influential that extent. So much so that the names of the people in the novel were given as names to children, and many words belonging to the old Turkic language became part of the language. In these novels, Atsız dealt with themes such as the Turan ideal, the greatness of the Turkish lineage, the blessing of heroes, dying for the sake of the nation, warriorism and love worthy of honour with great skill. Accompanied by a perfectly constructed historical setting with all its details, the reader is presented with the characteristics of the Turkish national character such as heroism, devotion, friendship, state decency, love for the nation, lineage consciousness, moral virtues, and high military discipline.

These novels, which are ignored by literary critics, are the most important source of inspiration in the upbringing of a generation that has made a breakthrough in society.

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307 *Death of the Grey Wolves*

has been. Nihal Atsız, who dealt with the phenomenon of Turkishness in *Bokurtlar* around the Orkhon Booklets, novelised Turkishness in his third novel, *Deli Kurt*, from the perspective of the Ottoman dynasty's struggle for sovereignty. The struggle for the throne between the sons of Yıldırım Bayezid and the regrouping of the state are successfully depicted in the atmosphere of a fairy tale love. *Ruh Adam*, on the other hand, is a novel in which Atsız attaches importance to self-expression and psychological analyses. In this novel, Atsız presents the songs of intellectual and human loneliness to his readers.

Atsız's historical novels are like a series presenting the continuity of time. The complementary of this series is the novel *Spirit Man*. The novel *Bozkurtlar* does not end when Urungu leaves himself in the abyss of death. This is the beginning of the westward journey. A nation has resurrected in its own geography and set out for their new homeland in the west. Therefore, the reader turns the last leaf with the feeling that the novel is not over. Urungu as Murat in the novel *Mad Wolf*. Although it is not a historical novel, the same continuity is felt in Selim Pusat of the novel *Spirit Man*. In many intermediate events in the novels, the endless flow of time, the fact that life is the beginning of death, that death is not the end, and that the heroes give their descendants and their countries the power and time to live by dying are explained. In the novels *Bozkurtlar* and *Deli Kurt*, which tell the breaking points of history, time does not end with death and each death heralds the beginning of a new life. In the novel *Spirit Man*, the situation is a little different. Death and life have fallen into contradiction. It has become difficult to extract the value of one from the other. This can be seen as synonymous with today's Turkey losing its great ideals.

The main conflict in Atsız's novels is the contradiction of life and death. Atsız sees death as a salvation for the individual. The fact that the love story in all three novels ends with a bad outcome shows this. Since love is personal, in this case, reunion takes place in the stories as an undesirable phenomenon since it would mean the preference of life. The contradiction in Atsız is the conflict between his ideals and his personal life. This contradiction is the torture that "Great Men" are subjected to in this garbage called the world. Ideals are related to society. And great men live for ideals. This society is the Turkish nation and the nation survive. Individuals must give up their lives when necessary for the survival of the nation.

Historical information shows us that the Turks left the geography mentioned in the novel centuries ago and headed westwards to another geography. In literary terms, both the West, love and death are 'interior'. In its entirety

Atsız, who prefers to be in the interior, is divided into two at the door of the interior: Death individually and life socially. This is the great love and the great death.

The basic conflict in Atsız's two aspects, one personal and the other social: The social aspect, the individual dies and gives life to the nation with his death. Heroes give their lives keep the country alive. On the personal side of the basic conflict in his novels, there is the necessity for the individual to live a life worthy of his ideals. Those who have life lines that do not coincide with their ideals are judged. Those who are indispensable in terms of personal life have difficulty in making sacrifices for the nation. Atsız sees Mete's ordering the soldiers in his army to shoot their brothers as a motif of giving up private life.

When the novels are analysed, it is seen that Atsız sees death as salvation and peace in the individual sense. In all three novels, love stories end with separation and death. Vuslat is the connection to life and separation is death. Atsız is a man of separation and his attitude is in favour of death. On the other hand, the continuity and eternity of national life is an indisputable assumption for him. This situation prepares a contradiction in Atsız: The contradiction between ideals and personal life. One is finite, the other infinite. And Atsız reveals his preference in his novels and intellectual writings: It is death that gives greatness to the individual and life that glorifies the nation.

The three women in Atsız's novels, Ay Hanım, Gökçen and Güntülü, the continuation of the same soul at different times, but in similar bodies. The three men in Atsız's novels, Urungu, Murat and Selim Pusat, seem to be the continuation of the same hero at different times. Three women, three men, three loves... In fact, the only idealised lover is a man and a love that has taken its soul from the epics of history... In all three novels, the women with green light in their eyes the inner journey of the hero of the novel. This inner journey is like a revelation of the guilt that the heroes, who have determined the goal of their lives as "the sacred ideal", experience due to the fear of not being worthy of their ideal. In all three novels, the protagonists die and blend into the hope of "immortality" of history. Life carries the protagonists to loneliness and death, love to eternity. This is the contradiction between reality and imagination.

In Atsız's historical novels, even in *Ruh Adam*, there is not a single negative hero who is Turkish by descent. As in these works, in satirical novels as well as in satirical novels, all of the caricatured villains are converts or



foreign. Turkish heroes with high moral qualities do not do anything against honour, morality and state decency, and even if they do, they regret it in a short time. They are all good. This partiality can only be a smiling flaw in the novel of a nation lover who believes in the greatness of the Turkish lineage.

Two of Atsız's six novels (*Dalkavuklar Gezesi- Z Vitamini*) did not attract much attention in terms of literary value. In fact, rather than being conceived as literary products, they are satires written to criticise the mistakes of the One Party government and the state's gradual departure from the principle of Turkism. The private lives of these heroes, whose heroism, dedication and moral virtues are high, are not revealed. This is actually another method of glorifying them. These details are the transfer of the genealogist-racist approach of the author in his intellectual writings to his novels.

The number of Atsız's novels is six. Four of these six novels (*Boz- kurtlar Ölümü, Bozkurtlar Diriyor, Deli Kurt, Ruh Adam*) each other. The analyses of these four works, which are the main products of the author in the art of the novel, are presented at the end of the chapter as a summary free from "scholarly details" that would bore the reader. The other two novels are extraordinary satires with symbolic narratives. Although they cannot be said to be important in terms of their literary value, they are valuable in terms of understanding the author's struggle.



## Sycophants Night

The first of Atsız's satirical and symbolic novels is *Dalkavuklar Gecesi*. In the novel titled "Night of Flatterers", the criticisms directed against the rulers who caused the state to be distanced from the spirit of national struggle and the ideal of Turkishness since the 30s, and especially against the turncoat and devshirme people who infiltrated the state in the oppressive environment created by the one-party dictatorship, come to the fore.

This work had many different repercussions and increased the number of Atsız's enemies, which were already many. In the novel *The Night of the Sycophants*, the oppression and mistakes of the one-party rule, the infiltration of minority sycophants into the state bureaucracy, the condemnation of Zeki Velidi Togan for his Turkist and Turanist history theses, and Atsız's expulsion from the university are satirised in a symbolic manner.

The most interesting aspect of the work is the encryption made with the names of the protagonists. When these reversed names are deciphered, it is seen that the injustices done to Zeki Velidi Togan as a result of the discussions at the History Congress and the sycophancy of the so-called scholars surrounding Atatürk are criticised. Among the fictitious names mentioned in the work, İlansam, Hasan Alidwarf poet İrdas, Sadri, Ziza, Aziz, İkeznini can be exemplified as encrypted forms of the names Zeki.

When the names of the protagonists of the novel are read in reverse, the names of important names of the period are seen: King Şubbiluliyuma-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Commander-in-Chief Tutaşıl-Fevzi Çakmak, Chief Physician Ziza-Şevket Aziz Kansu, Physician Pilga-Reşit Galip, Philosopher İlânasam (Mason Ali)- Hasan Âli Yücel, Dwarf İrdas and Priest İduskam-Sadri Maksudi Arsal, Yaver Saba-Cevat Abbas Gürer, King's favourite Yamzu-Afet İnan (Father: İsmail Hakkı Uzmay), Bilgin İkeznini-Zeki Velidi Togan, Oracle Shilka- Hüseyin Nihal himself, Oracle Shilka's wife Tubişka-Bedriye Atsız, Oracle Shilka's three-year-old son Murya-Yağmur Atsız

The summary of this work, in which we learn Atsız's opinions on the History and Language Councils held under the shadow of the Solar Language Theory and his thoughts on the group of sycophants surrounding Atatürk, is as follows:

It takes place in the city of "Hattusa" in the country of "Hatti". The story of a heroic soldier named Tutashil's struggle with the sycophants surrounding the king is told: Commander Tutashil hates foreigners and sycophants in the country of Hatti.

It is a matter of curiosity what is in the barrels in the cellar of the palace. Hantilyas, the mysterious woman of the palace, and some captives drink the water which is thought to be poison. At the ceremony for the king's newborn child, the woman who is thought to have drunk poison enters the hall in front of all the guests. When it is realised that she is not dead, the king also drinks from the water. All the sycophants and foreigners make up all kinds of stories about what is in the barrels.

The Assyrian philosopher İlânasam told King Subbiluliyuma years ago that this water was poison. The fact that no one dies and that it even tastes pleasant increases curiosity. The dwarf poet Idras says that the water is a sacred water used for the king and queen to bathe, but when he is asked to drink it, he gets scared thinking that it is poison. Chief Physician Ziza, an Indian Gypsy, that the water is the tears of the god of health. The King, who was not convinced by what he said, dictated letters to the kings of Assyria, Chaldea, Phrygia, Lydia, Kaska, Amurru, Egypt and all countries and asked for scholars to explain what water is.

Commander Tutashil objected to the summoning of scholars from the country of Kaska on the grounds that they were "enemies", but no one would listen to him. Three months pass. Scholars from far and near countries come to Hattutash. The king convinced himself that the water in the barrels was a gift from the gods to his ancestors.

The Assyrian philosopher İlânasam is the first to speak. He approves the king with his sycophantic behaviour. The Egyptian scholar, who took the second, repeated similar words. The dwarf poet Idras explains in poems that what is in the barrels is "enchanted water, the gift of the gods. The chief physician Ziza adds that the water is not only a talisman but also a medicine gifted by the gods. Ikeznini, the famous scholar of the Hatti country, is angry at the sycophancy that exceeds the limits of tolerance and loudly declares the truth in the presence of the king: The water in the barrels is wine.

All the sycophants descend on Ikeznini. The king remains silent. Ikeznini beats up one of his abusers and leaves the country.

he does. Ikeznini's warning doesn't change the outcome. All the sycophants become one and the King. It is decided that the water will no longer be called "wine" but will be known as "the talismanic water sent by God to the king".

Despite the decree, it spread among the people that the water in the barrels was wine. The reason for this was the Lydian scholar Shilka the Seer. He taught his son that the water was wine, and when his son blurted it out, he was put on trial. At the end of the trial, he was acquitted and the ban on calling the water in the barrel "wine" was lifted.

King Subbiluliyuma became addicted to wine and began to neglect the affairs of the country. He dismissed all the former viziers who did not drink wine. İlânasamdwarf Iddas, priest Iduskam, chief physician Ziza, second physician Pilga became viziers. Only Tutashil, the commander-in-chief, insists on not drinking wine.

While the king and his viziers were in a drinking binge, Tutashil the news that the enemy Kaska'lar crossed the border and started to plunder the Hatti country. The army is prepared and the enemy is marched upon. Three months pass. Tutashil returned after defeating the enemy after the war in which he suffered many casualties.

Tutashil is now a hero. However, fearing the public interest in him, the King dismisses him. A "night of heroes" organised in honour of the victory. The sycophants, who try to rank the heroes, fight each other. Towards the end of the night, the King passes out. As the viziers disperse on foot to their homes, drunks on the street taunt the drunks coming out of the palace.





## Vitamin Z

Another of Atsız's non-linear novels is Vitamin Z. Vitamin Z is similar to Ziya Pasha's Zafername. It was published in Büyük Doğu in 1959 under the signature of Selim Pusa. When the elements of black humour are removed, it is seen that in this work Atsız describes the corruption in the state, the distortion of identity, the enmity of minorities and renegades against the Turkish lineage and has them judged in front of the souls of martyrs. The judgement in the last scene is reminiscent of the sacred court in the novel The Spirit Man

According to the mise-en-scene of the work, National Chief İsmet İnönü and many of his close colleagues have managed to survive with tamin and live until 1999 and carry out various and bizarre actions. Half of the state budget is spent on Vitamin Z imported from abroad.

The cabinet, beating time with Vitamin Z, is in a meeting. The Minister of Finance proposes that the National Chief be given the title of Humanitarian Chief, the Deputy Prime Minister proposes that the names Turkish and Turkey be changed on the grounds that they offend minorities, the Minister of National Education proposes that the name of the country be changed to Basharistan, the Minister of National Defence proposes that a peaceful army be prepared, the Minister of Interior proposes that the flag be changed because of its blood colour and its crescent moon, which has the connotation of reaction. The Humanitarian Chief all of them.

The 21st century begins. The national assembly renamed the human assembly. In order to unite humanity, the Human Chief orders that he be injected with the blood of all races. At the request of the Human Chief, first Muscovite, then Greek, IsraeliBritish, American, French, Armenian, Chinese, Arab, Bulgarian, Serbian, Serbian, Romanian, Gypsy, Hotanto, Pygmy and Kurdish bloods are given respectively. Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Kazakh, Bashkir and Tatar blood is destroyed with hatred.

The Human Chief who injects the blood of all races into his veins becomes a true Human Chief who gathers the genius of each race in himself. When the Human Chief unites humanity in his veins, he orders that all names be abolished and everyone be given a number.

Hagia Sophia was given to the Byzantine Patriarchate. Reactionaries who opposed innovations were expelled from universities. The winter of 2000 arrives. A campaign is launched to the fish, which are declared to be the ancestors of human beings, from the cold. At the proposal of the Human Chief, the Council of Ministers him as greater than Atatürk. In the statement declaring the greatness of the Human Chief, the victory against Turanists in 1944 is cited as the reason.

The year 2000 was characterised by radical revolutions and progressive moves in Basharistan. The position of Basharistan in the world was strengthened, the state of Armenia was established in the East, creating a buffer between us and Russia and securing our Eastern borders. Hagia Sophia turned into a church and became the centre of the Orthodox, Topkapı Palace was given to the Patriarch and a force was created to protect Basharistan against the Pope in Rome. Economic privileges were granted to Israel and their alliances were won, fish were saved from extinction racists were liquidated again. The centre of gravity of world science was brought to Ankara by establishing the University of Shengül. A language congress was organised and the language was saved from the shame of being Turanian.

While things were going on in this manner, the revolution of the Turkists broke out. The members of the cabinet kick out the Human Chief in various ways. Fleeing in panic, the Human Chief forgets all his Z Vitamins in the mansion. While they are discussing where to escape, their aeroplane passes over İnönü. Remembering the past, the Human Chief announces that he wants to go to the Martyrs of İnönü, leaves the Human Chief at the martyrdom and escapes. The martyrs reject him. "Father History", who watches what is happening from the side of the stage, tries to protect his book, but the black paint left behind by the Human Chief comes with the wind and recorded as two black lines. The work ends with Father History saying, "Alas! My book has never been dirty like this!" ends with his pity.

## Grey Wolves

The works titled *Bozkurtlar Ölümü* and *Bozkurtlar Diriliyor*, which were published in various editions by Türkiye Publishing House, were combined by Ötüken Publishing House under the name *Bozkurtlar* while the author was alive. We will take the combined version as a basis and analyse the two works as a single novel. The novel *Bozkurtlar* can be considered as a novelisation of the Gokturk Bengü Stones, also known as the Orkhun Inscriptions. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, one of the most important constructors and opinion leaders of Turkish Nationalism after Ziya Gökalp, is not only a man of letters but also a strong Turkologist. Atsız, who has the identity of a scientist who knows Turkish language, history and literature well, especially the Gokturk period, which remained in the darkness of history, turned into a novel with the name "*Bozkurtlar*" as if he had lived, shed light on our history, introduced and endeared the Gokturks to our nation.

H.Nihal Atsız's novel "*The Death of the Grey Wolves - The Grey Wolves Are Resurrecting*" is a reconstruction of the historical phenomenon. The novel begins with an introduction titled "*The Story of the Novel*". In this introduction, seven university students, one of whom is a girl, staying in a student boarding house, are chatting in the garden after dinner, when one of them, Tonyukuk, says that he has started writing a novel. The student named Tonyukuk, who is made to speak by the author, takes the author's message upon himself. Speaking through Tonyukuk, the author first gives information about the novel's subject, message and cast of characters. In the introduction, which he calls "*The Story of the Novel*", the author gives the first signs of his desire to establish a relationship between the past, the present and the future by giving a current event. The conversations of university students among themselves and the fact that Tonyukuk, a university student studying in the history department, is made to speak on behalf of the author is to intuit the stance of the youth, who have become conscious, towards history. A historical time travel from the university campus to the steppes of Ötüken begins with this introduction.



The main theme of H.N.Atsiz not only in his literary works but also in his other works is identity and the problems caused by desensitisation to this identity. According to him, the most important aspect of history is not to teach the past, but to carry the philosophy of the past to the present. In the novel *Bozkurtlar*, the author wants to explain and convey the historical foundations of identity by carrying the historical to the present. The author shapes his work with the desire to confront his readers with the historical phenomenon rather than to inform or teach the historical reality. Thus, he points out that an ongoing state of mind exists/should exist in the time in which we live.

The problems in the perception of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız's political discourses prevented his novels from being read by a wide readership. If Atsız's novels could have been read without taking the author's political perspective as a basis, he would have occupied a much wider and larger place in Turkish literature. *Bozkurtlar* is a novel of the idealised fiction of the epic life of the Central Asian Turks. The work artistically explains the reasons for the rise and fall of the Turkish state tradition and tradition. Turkish social order, Turkish spirit, Turkish tradition are transferred to the present day with examples selected from the depths of history.

### Summary of the novel

The first part of the novel, *The Death of the Grey Wolves*, begins with the death of Çuluk Kagan and the accession of Kara Kagan to the throne. continues with a series of interconnected and multi-heroic events that give the message of how a nation will be destroyed when it is alienated from its values, and ends with the epic rebellion attempts of Kürşat and his 40 friends to rescue the Turkish beys captured by China.

*Captain Isbara Alp troubled by a problem he could not understand. Suddenly clouds cover the sky. And there is a disaster and floods pour out of the sky. The flood is a harbinger of a disaster and the news comes that Chuluk Khan was poisoned to death by his Chinese wife. The death of Chuluk Khan is a disaster for Turkeli. Bagatur Sad Kagan, the younger brother of Chuluk Kagan, is elected as Sad Kagan and takes the name of Kara Kagan. The Kurultai favoured his brother rather than the sons of Chuluk Khan. Chinese Katun who poisoned Chuluk Khan must be punished. However, since the kagan who ascended to the throne according to the custom married the wife of the former kagan, Chinese Katun could not be punished.*



*Tulu Khan, the eldest son of Chuluk Khan, was sent to the north of Turkelia as a khan. I-ching Katun has Kara Kagan in the palm of his hand. Important points in Ötüken are now always in the hands of the Chinese. Kürşat, the younger son of Chuluk Kagan, and the skilful soldiers of the army complain about the Chinese being so close to the state. The enthronement ceremonies are also by Sen-king, who plans to become the Chinese khan by making a revolution in China. Sen-king, who is the brother of I-çing Katun, is permanent in Ötüken. Together with his sister, who is the wife of Kara Kagan, their intention is to first use the Turks for this purpose and then destroy them. İşbara Alp's horse Çalık fights with a Chinese officer during the ceremonies held on the occasion of Kara Kagan's the throne.*

*Sen-king Turkish girls who were making koumiss. While İşbara Alp's Almıla was about to put the Chinese in his place, the envoys of the Turk Khaganate arrived. Almıla guides the ambassadors and takes them to the otaku. Western kagan wants to unite and raid China together. The small assembly convenes. The proposal of the Western kagan is discussed. Kürşat complains about the rampage of I-çing Katun, who is Chinese, and the Chinese under her patronage and the destruction of the Turkish tradition by the Chinese.*

*Sancar, one of the Corporals of İspara Apl, is harassed by the wife of a Chinese merchant named Fu-lin while working in his field. But he did not give in. However, this woman had led many Turkish braves astray. While Corporal Sancar was put on trial with the slander of the Chinese woman, Corporal Karabudak admitted to the crime and was executed with an arrow despite Kürşad's objections. The execution of a Turkish corporal because of a Chinese woman's sedition offends the kaganate.*

*Famine and turmoil started in the Turkish homeland. Most of the officers who came with Sen-king were spies of the Chinese Khaganate. Sen-king covets Almılaİspara Alp. Almıla's heart is in Corporal Pars. Corporal Pars is injured in a fight. Almıla kills a Chinese.*

*Major İspara Alp's horse Calık sets out to follow the Chinese gangsters. Uncovering the intrigues of the Chinese spies Çalık his life. The person who kills Çalık is an officer of the Chinese Shen-king and a spy of China. Kürşat takes revenge for Çalık by killing Çaşıt. When the winter with famine ends and the time reaches spring, the raid to China starts in 622. In the raid, Kürşat's division triumphed with great success. The Chinese Khan to make peace and pay tribute. However, the state wheel was broken and the custom became inoperable.*

*He made various plans to rescue the state from the predicament and mismanagement he had fallen into, and in the raid he placed himself under the command of the Chinese Shen-king.*

*Captain Böğü Alp, who even thinks of killing the Khan, goes to the Old Kam Kırac Ata. Kırac Ata is a kam who foretells the future. He foretells the future to Böğü Alp in vague terms: Great days are coming... When there is a famine, the moon will shine... You will not kill Kara Kagan... He will be killed by the sorrow... I see forty men gathered in a great city... You among them... It's raining... You fight on the banks of the river... Your nation survives... When Böğü Alp was returning from Kırac Ata, he saw Tulu Khan's men talking to the Chinese. Before he had a chance to inform Kürşat about his brother's mischief, he was appointed as the third envoy to the embassy delegation sent to the Western Gök- türk Khaganate. The envoys carry a 'bitig' inviting the Western Khagan to raid China together with the Eastern Khaganate. Various competitions were organised between the two Turkic states. Some are won by the Easterners and some by the Westerners. Böğü Alp emerges from every race as the pride of the East.*

*Şen-king, who was made the head of the division, up his mind to marry Almula. However, according to Turkish tradition, a man has to make the heart of the girl he will marry. Almula's heart is in Corporal Pars. When I-çing Katun forces her to marry her brother, Almula says that according to the custom, she will reach man who takes a goat from her hand. The race is held and Corporal Pars takes the goat despite I-çing Katun's trickery. The young lovers who rebelled against Katun's pressure fled to the Western Khaganate.*

*Meanwhile, Tulu Khan made an agreement with the Chinese and started to make plans to overthrow Kara Khan and take the throne. He sends an envoy to Kürşat to act together. Kürşat rejects this offer. Two years pass between them. Difficult years. In 624, the raid to China begins. When they encounter the Chinese army, Tulu Khan's betrayal is learnt and peace is made and they return. The year 627 brings a severe famine. In Ötüken, children, old people, women and even soldiers started to die of hunger. Rebellion was added to these bad conditions. Many Turkic tribes against Ötüken due to hunger, injustice and heavy taxes. The army under the command of Tulu Khan was assigned to suppress the rebellion. Despite the superior efforts of warriors such as Kürşat, İspara AlpBöğü AlpSan-carYamtarYumru, the Gokturks were defeated. Now Ötüken was out of their hands. The following spring, Kara Kagan left Kürşat and İspara Alp in Türkeli and set out to raid China.*

*The Gokturk army, weakened by famine, suffers a great defeat. Upon hearing the news of the defeat, Kürşat arrives and takes over the situation, but the remaining soldiers are horseless and wounded. Kürşat nevertheless asks for reinforcements, thinking that it is better to fight than to submit. The Chinese delay the Gokturks with peace negotiations and besiege them. During the raid, the Gokturk soldiers fought until Kara Kagan was safely taken out of the battlefield, many of them died and others were captured.*

*Kara Kagan survives, Kürşat and many important Gokturk men are captured. Kara Kagan returned to İspara Alp but after a while the Chinese captured Kara Kagan and all Gokturks and took them to the interior of China.*

*Kürşat and İspara Alp endeavour to keep alive the hope of reviving the state, but Kara Kagan can no longer act as a kagan. Captive Turks were forced to urban life and agricultural labour. Many resist. are also some who fall for the fun of life in China and the coquettishness of Chinese women and begin to deteriorate. When Gök Börü fights with a Chinese officer, he is blindfolded. Yamtar loses himself in philosophy for a while, but soon comes to his senses. Captain Üçoğul falls in love with a Chinese woman. Tulu Khan dies. Kara Kagan cannot endure the hardships of captivity and dies. Kırac Ata's words come true one by one. İspara becomes hopeless after the death of Alp Kagan and commits suicide.*

*Five years pass. Kürşat, who sees that the Chinese style of life has started to disrupt the morality and balance of the Gokturks, plans a revolution with his trusted friends. They will take the Chinese khan hostage and exchange him for Utku, the son of Tulu Khan, and Turkish beys. Forty braves raid the Chinese palace on a rainy night to make Utku the khan and revive the state. For the sake of a resurrection, they fight and die until the last drop of their blood and as if they were having fun with death.*

The second part of the novel titled *Bozkurtlar Diriyor* begins with the lines describing the fear that Kürşat's revolution has put into the hearts of the Chinese. The main hero of the second part is Urungu, the son of Kürşat. The novel ends on the day when the foundation of the Second Gokturk Khaganate is completed and Urungu leaves himself into the abyss on his horse with the body of his beloved Ay Hanım in his lap.

*The Chinese, who were afraid of living in the same cities with the Turks due to the anxiety that the Kürşat revolution had caused in their hearts, sent the Turks back to Ötüken. They put a king from another tribe under the Turks.*

*The Gokturks, who were based in Altai, fought for independence against China for three years under the command of Çıba Tegin thirty years after the Kürşat revolution, but were defeated.*

*Urungu also participates in these battles. The young warrior does not yet know that his father is Kürşat. On the night of the revolution, Kürşat's wife hid her son, who was still a small child, on the instructions of her husband. Kürşat's Konçuy, who kidnapped his son from one land to another for forty years, reveals all his secrets before his death and gives his son a sacred knife with the stamp of Bumin Kagan as a father's heirloom.*

*After the death of his mother, Urungu out to see his ancestral homeland Ötüken and to join a Tegin who had raised the flag of independence against China.*



*On the way, he meets the Uighur Khan's troops. While fighting with Captain Kadir Bağa, they end the fight with the command of Ay Hanım, the daughter of the Uighur kagan. With the permission and command of Ay Hanım, Urungu sets off to Ötüken with them.*

*Ay Hanım is very similar to Urungu's wife who died twenty years ago and was the mother of his son Taçam. She is even more beautiful than her. Urungu was impressed by Lady Moon, and after travelling together for three days, he left and headed for Ötüken.*

*In 681, when the season reached spring, Kutluk Shad and Tonyukuk launched a revolution against China. While the Gokturks were attempting to revive the kaganate, the Nine Oghuzs were trying to recover under the rule of Baz Kagan. Led by Kutluk Shad and Tonyukuk, 18 Turks attacked a Chinese tower and won their first success.*

*An old blacksmith makes two beautiful swords one is inscribed with the name of İterish Khan, the other with the name of Kurshat's son. The sword made for Kurshat's son entrusted to Urungu's son Tacham until the son of Kurshat appeared.*

*Those gathered under the banner of Kutluk Shad soon became 70 and then 700 people. Urungu, who showed great merits in the battles against Chinese and Kutay, was promoted to corporal.*

*During these two years of endeavours, Ay Hanım grew up inside Urungu and the sparks of love started to burn Urungu. Kutluk Shad, who learnt that the Oghuzes were trying to unite with the Chinese and the Continentals, sent an army of two thousand people against the Oghuzes. Urungu is also in this army. Göktürks are victorious. Baz Khan dies in the war. Urungu his love to Ay Hanım, but Ay Hanım refuses, saying that he is not a bey. Ay Hanım, who is about to be taken prisoner, wounds Urungu, kills Captain Örlen and escapes. The arrow wound he received condemns Urungu bed until autumn. He cannot participate in the raid to China.*

*Defeated by the Gokturks, the Oghuzs retreat to the north and try to recover, Ay Hanım at their head. Taçam encountered Ay Hanım's soldiers during the raid to China and was captured. When Ay Hanım learnt that he was Urungu's son, she had him released. When Ersegün, the son of Captain Örlen, learns the location of Ay Hanım from Taçam, sets out to avenge his father. He is defeated by Ay Hanım at the sword, captured and spends the winter with the Oghuz. Ersegün, like Urungu, is now a prisoner of Ay Hanım's eyes.*

*Pars, who escaped from the persecution of I-çing Katım and went to the Khaganeis returning to Ötüken with his two sons as an old man with a limp. On the way, he becomes a guest at Ay Hanım's lodge. Ay Hanım also sends Pars as an envoy to İterish Khan.*



*Urungu's resemblance to Kürşat, who competes with his sons with arrows and swords at the Ambassador Acceptance ceremony, does not go unnoticed by Pars.*

*Pars is sent to Lady Ay as the envoy of İterish Khan. Urungu is also in the embassy delegation. When Pars sees the stamps on Urungu's knife, he realises that he is the son of Kürşat. Those who listen to the conversations between them convey them to Lady Moon, and Lady Moon, who learns Urungu's secret, begins to reveal her hidden love.*

*Seeing that the Gokturks were getting stronger again, the Chinese attempted to attack with a large army, but the Chinese army was neutralised thanks to Bilge Tonyukuk's intelligence network and foresight. The Chinese send an envoy to Ay Hanım and seek an alliance against the Gokturks, but the man they send an envoy to is Tonyukuk's chasi. The Gokturk army raids China and neutralises some of this alliance.*

*When Urungu returns from the raid, he sets out to propose marriage to Ay Hanım, who now knows that he is Kürşat's son. Ersegün has also fallen in love with Ay Hanım and is torn between avenging his father's death and his love. Urungu's son Taçam collides with Pars' son and faints. When Pars learns that Taçam is Urungu's son, that is, Kürşat's grandson, he shares all he knows with his sons on the condition that they do not tell anyone. Lying half unconscious, Taçam learns that he is the grandson of Kürşat from what Pars tells. Meanwhile, Mrs Ay rejects Ersegün's marriage proposal.*

*Tonyukuk sent troops against Ay hanım's tribe, to the death begins between the two Türkic tribes. Towards the end of the battle, when Urungu reaches Ay Hanım's hermitage, he sees that she has been arrowed in the chest. Urungu his horse to the "abyss of death" with the lifeless body of Ay Hanım in his lap. The following sounds rise from the abyss of death accompanied by a melody:*

*The fortune of the moon  
is dark, Urungu is dark.*

### **Order of the novel**

The work combined under the name of Bozkurtlar is actually two novels named Bozkurtlar Ölümü (1946) and Bozkurtlar Diriliyor (1949). While the author was alive, they were combined into a single volume under the name Bozkurtlar by Ötüken publishing house with his permission. The first book, The Death of the Grey Wolves, was designed in three parts.

In the first chapter, the death of Chuluk Khan and the breakdown of order in Ötüken are described. The second part begins with the prophecy of Kırac Ata and ends with the defeat of the Gokturk army and the captivity of the nation to China. The third part begins with the narration of the difficulties of the years of captivity and the contradictions and conflicts between Turkish and Chinese cultures and ends with the Revolution of Kürşat and his forty friends.

The Death of the Grey Wolves begins with "The Story of the Novel". This is organised in three main sections. The first part is divided into 15 titles: *A Summer Night in 621, Bagatur Shad, Black Khan, Sniper of Ötüken, Tüng Yabgu Khan's Envoys, Corporal Sançar, Kineş, Yargu, Çalık, Çalık Behind the Work Corporal ParsÇaşıBudun AngryAkinSen-King's Anger*. The second part consists of 28 titles: *Kırac Ata, Captain Bögü Alp, The Return, Bögü Alp's New Fist, Tuber, Envoys, On the Way, The Khan of the West, Encounter with Tüng Yabgu's Chariots, Yamtar's Argument, On the Way to Ötüken, Almıla, I-Çing Katun, Steppe Law, Tulu Khan, Solved Riddle, Doubt, Corporal Sülemiş, Corporal Üçoğul, Karakulan, Famine, Rebellion Captain Yağmuris angry with the Turks Defeat, Deception Inside the Trap, Last Laugh*. The third part is presented under 12 titles: *One Year Later, Life Pain and Heart Pain, Philosopher Sen-Ma, Yamtar Becomes a Philosopher, Delusion, Yamtar Wakes Up, Kırac Ata's Words are Realised, China Corrupts the Morals of Turks, Five Years Later, The Plea, Revolution The End*

Bozkurtlar Diriyor volume is designed as a single chapter. The re-establishment of the Göktür Khaganate is told in this chapter by combining the events revolving around the love of Urungu and Ay Hanım.

Bozkurtlar Diriyor is divided into thirty titles in a single chapter: *After the Revolution Failed Forty After the Revolution (in 679, ŞadKonçuyu, In the Lap of the Steppes, On the Way to , Wolf Headed Banner, Bahtıyar Sleep, İlteriş Kağan, Urungu's Wound, Return from the Chinese Raid, Ay Hanım, Liberation from Captivity, Deli Ersegün, Prisoner of Heart, Cliff of Death, Major Pars, Ambassador of Ay Hanım, Çal- kara, Sky Turk Ambassadors, Urungu's Knife, Vu Katun's Favourite, Chinese Commander-in-Chief, Chinese Chash, Karabuka, Akin, Hope and Resentment, Taçam, Decision, Sunset, Race*.

The story of the writing of the novel and the author's aims with the novel are presented to the reader in the first pages of the novel under the title "The Story of the Novel":

*Because I'm about to write a novel. And such a novel that will reflect life itself. Although there is room for both romanticism and realism in it, I will not leave the flow of life itself and I will be faithful to history as well as to this. A novel that will make you live 1300 years ago and the heroes who appear one after the other will come to the present day. A novel in which there will not be only one hero. Each person in it will be a hero in his own, just like in life. always a single skeleton in the works of both romantics and realists: The love affair between the two protagonists of the novel, a man and a woman, whereas in my book there will be the flow of centuries, so it is impossible for me to get stuck in a single adventure, especially in love stories that have become very vulgar and trite after being repeated in tens of thousands of novels. This will be a brand new type of novel.*

*My book will not be one of those works that do not hesitate to insinuate or even expose all physiological movements of people down to the finest details because they are realities. I will not be separated from material life, but as is fashionable in some of the recent works, I will not include the simplest and most natural, but unrefined subjects in my book. Just as a psychologist ponders the psychological motive each issue, and a physician tries to find out the cause of the onset of a disease, I have spent a lot of time looking for what the lines of action of nations are based on. It is certain that both the intellectuals and the popular stratum of a nation are very suitable for being studied. For this, the best thing, the best tool, can be artefacts. Don't you know that Verter was once found in the pockets of many of those who committed suicide in Germany? Didn't heroic epics with unknown first authors such as Koroğlu, Danişment Gazi, Battal Gazi, etc., cause our national heroism to continue for centuries? Since I am neither a stylist nor a scribe, I do not know to what extent I can cope with this task. Just as the silent work of a simple village physician in health statistics without anyone realising it, just as the battle of an infantry company among the reasons that prepare the final result, I will a move that I consider useful for our national upbringing with my work.<sup>308</sup>*

### **Thesis of the novel**

The main thesis of the novel Bozkurtlar is independence. Atsız, who is a staunch defender of the idea that the Turkish lineage is endowed with superior qualities, is the author of the novel.



In his mana, he tells that the Turkish race can achieve great things when it has brave, knowledgeable, sacrificing, conscious and heroic administrators, that all its members become giants like heroes of epics, and that the Turks do not give up the idea of independence even in the most difficult and bad conditions. Soldiers who are ashamed of being under the command of a , heroes who do not think of surrendering even when death is certain, brave men who give their lives for the survival of the state and the nation, and finally the Kürşat revolution, which is presented to the reader with the enthusiasm of a poem, are powerful tools of the expression of this thesis.

The second important thesis of the novel is the idea that entrusting state affairs to foreign nobles is very dangerous and risky for national life. I-çing Katun's poisoning of Chuluk KaganKara Kagan's state affairs to the Chinese under the influence of I-çing Katun, Chinese in Ötüken being against the state and the nation are all details included in the event to support this thesis.

The third thesis of the novel is making sacrifices for the survival of the state and the nation is the most important quality of Turkish heroism. The novel is full of stories of heroes who make sacrifices for their army and nation. Kurt Kaya, who untied his hand with a command from the belt he was holding on so that the soldiers would be saved in the flood disaster, Sülemiş, who tied himself to the bridge to buy time for the retreating army, Kürşat and his forty friends who defied death so that the budun would be resurrected, Kürşat's daughter who walked to death so that her mother and brother would be saved, Urungu, who hid the fact that he was Kürşat's son so that there would be no duality, are just a few of the scenes of sacrifice.

In the background of these three theses, the novel also deals with the conflict between Turkish culture and Chinese culture. Turkish culture is nomadic and egalitarian. People have not yet alienated themselves. Deviations such as theftdeceitfulnesslyingprostitution, which are accepted as habits of human history, are presented as values that Turkish culture is not familiar with. However, the Chinese have already transitioned to settled life and money economy. Therefore, the Chinese are cunning, liars and thieves. One of these two different perceptions of society is idealised and the other is presented with humiliation. *"The novel is built on the axis of Turkish-Chinese contradiction. However, this is actually in appearance. At the heart of the novel the contradiction between the egalitarian tribal society and the civilised society that has moved to a money economy. In the novel, the Turk is a nomadic warrior, while the Chinese is a merchant. According to Nihat Atsız, the Turks at the stage of tribal society were still living in a period when goods were exchanged for goods. China, on the other hand, is a developed*



*commercial civilisation. From the beginning to the end, the novel depicts the clash between the egalitarian, tribal society's culture of kinship the commercial civilisation with its deep class divisions. This clash is armed to some extent; it is fought with pikes, swords and arrows, but it is the clash between the values of the two societies that really affects people. The Turk in Nihal Atsız's novel is a member, not even a member, but a part of a democratic tribal society consisting of kinsmen and equals. The society produces and shares what it produces together. It also plunders together and shares what it plunders equally. There a hierarchy in society, a caste of tribal chiefs has emerged, but this is not yet on the basis of private property. There are no classes. The whole tribe, i.e. everyone, is armed. There was no armed force separate from the society and oppressing the society. Therefore, it is tribal democracy that characterises the relations within society."*<sup>309</sup>

### Viewpoint

In the novel *Bozkurtlar*, the narrator is in the third person. The narrator sees and narrates the events through the eyes of the heroes. Nevertheless, in many chapters, the narrator switches to the dominant point of view and the narrator knows and tells everything. The most important success in the point of view and narrator of the work is that the author does not add his own existence to the narrator.

The literary critic in the introduction titled "The Story of the Novel" is the author himself and the boarding school where the novel is written is the Higher School of Education where the author studied. The author does not say what he wants to say as the narrator but makes the protagonists say it.

The work, with its third person narration and dominant point of view, is a very strong historical novel. The reader is taken to three thousand three hundred years ago and the details that will enable the reader to be included in the atmosphere of the events are successfully presented. The novel *Bozkurtlar* is a novel with elements of supernaturalism and is adorned with surreal events in places. Surreal events such as the storm and flood that broke out due to the death of Çulluk Kagan, Kırış Ata himself, his cave, animals and prophecies, and Ay Hanım's ability to read people's hearts are extraordinary narratives that are realised through historical texture.

## Time

The main event of the novel takes place over a period of more than fifty years. The historical time of the volume titled *Death of the Grey Wolves* starts in 621, when Bagatur Shad became Kagan, and ends with the revolution in 630. The narration of the event was made by adhering to the chronological order, and the past time and event details were presented with flashbacks from time to time.

The second part, *Bozkurtlar Diriyor*, tells the story forty years after the revolution. It ends in 681 with the establishment of the second kaganate and the subjugation of the surrounding tribes. In the second part, the years spent in captivity are first presented to the reader with flashbacks. In the following chapters, there are frequent flashbacks to the Kurshat revolution. However, the order of occurrence is indispensable in the processing of the main event. The total time of the two chapters covers a historical period of a little over sixty years.

## Venue

The main place of the novel is Ötüken. Ötüken is the sacred place which is the centre of the state. Its name is mentioned with respect, but the details that will set up the plot are not given.

Other important locations of the story are a Chinese city, the Nine Oghuz Oba, and the Western Khaganate.

Kıraç Ata's cave is the only place that is the subject of narratives in a way to affect the functioning of the plot. The extraordinary structure and atmosphere of the cave and the personality of Kıraç Ata complement each other.

While the elements of space and nature in the novel belonging to China are presented with more obscure and insignificant details, those belonging to the Turkish Homeland, especially Ötüken, are presented with more distinct and luminous narratives. This is the author's conscious choice between two cultures and two countries.

## Person Staff

The weakest part of the novel *Bozkurtlar* is the soul analyses. The heroes are numerous. However, the inner world, hesitations, questionings and weaknesses of none of them are not detailed. The rumours about the inner world of Böğü Alp who goes to meet Kıraç Ata, Urungu's hesitations while hiding his identity, and a few Göktürks' participation in Chinese entertainments and women....

Leaving aside details such as their delusions, all of the heroes are believers, devoted, loyal to tradition, ready to die for independence and honour. The only person who does not comply with this judgement is Chinese Katun's brother Shen-king. It can be said that the main hero of the novel is "Turkish Custom". Life, death and love are subject to it. The heroes exist not with their daily lives, not with their private lives, but with their roles in the social order.

The first heroes we meet in the novel are Yamtar, Pars and Ispara Alp. Ispara Alp appears as a valiant captain of the Gokturk army in the first part of the novel. In the following chapters, we see him with the titles of major and khan. He dies in captivity. He is of the most important figures of the first part of the novel with his unsparing personality.

Yamtar is a private with the rank of corporal. He is a bigstrongundefeated person in wrestling and his stomach is never full. He will be one of the forty braves in the Kürşat revolution.

Corporal Pars is the hero of the love story in the first volume. He is in love with Almılaof Ispara Alp. They flee to the Western kaganate to escape the evil of the Chinese katun. At the end of the second volume, Pars returns to Ötüken as an old man. He also in the second part as the only person who knows Kürşat.

Many other Göktürk state officials such as Bagatur Shad, Tonyukuk, Kutluk Shad take place in the plot of the novel as commemorations that cross paths with the protagonists and strengthen the historical texture of the novel rather than being heroes.

Kara Ozan, as a representative of the minstrel tradition, participates in the work with his poems. Kürşat also one of the heroes of the revolution.

The main hero of the first volume is undoubtedly Kürşat. The son of Chulluk Khan, the young tegin is wise and far-sighted beyond his heroism. The entire first volume seems to have been narrated in preparation for his epic revolution. He has a strong will. He is one-sided like other heroes. world is not described. He exists as an epic hero and in the second volume he is always referred to as a hero.

Çalık, the horse servant, is one of the extraordinary heroes of the novel. He was imprisoned in China and learnt Chinese. He leads to the uncovering of the Chinese gangsters.



Corporal Kara Budak is an important detail describing the evils caused by corruption and deviation from tradition.

Corporal Sançar, with his sullen face, serious and sullen attitude, is an important character description that completes the male characterisation in the novel. His laughter at his captivity and the tragedy of his death are important in preparing the main plot.

Captain Böğü Alp of the few heroes whose inner world we are only slightly aware of. He is one of the heroes of the Kurşat Revolution, and the narratives about journey to the past and his hesitations on his way to meet Kırac Ata are among the sweetest soul analyses of the novel.

Urungu of the most real people of the novel. He is the main protagonist of the second volume with his love for Mrs Ay, the trouble of hiding his identity and his bravery.

Captain Kadir Bağa who is devoted to Ay Hanım at the cost of his life, Urungun's son and valiant Göktürk warrior Taçam, Deli Ersegün who travelled to take revenge on Ay Hanım for killing his father but fell madly in love with Ay Hanım whom he defeated at the sword, Kara Buka who disguised as a Chinese officer and worked as a clerk in China and frustrated all the tricks of China are other important heroes of the second volume.

In both the first and the second part of the novel Bozkurtlar, female protagonists are in the background compared to male protagonists. The women of the novel are like the lovers in Ahmet Haşim's *O Belde*. Extraordinarily beautiful, valiant, sacrificing and devoted. Like men, they are also treated in a one-sided way. Their world weaknesses and hesitations are not included between the lines. In the novel, Chinese women are as creatures who have nothing but their femininity, who seduce Turkish men and cause mischief. I-çing Katun takes Kara Kagan in her hands with her femininity and deceit. Fu-lin seduces Turkish men to earn money for her husband. Turkish women are like Turkish men. Each of them is a voluntary sacrifice of Turkish tradition. According to the custom, each of them is the pillar of the house and the complement of the man.

The wife of Çalık the Horse Servant enters the novel as a woman who fights, hunts and even surpasses men when necessary.

The most prominent example of the sacrificing woman type is Kürşad's Konçuyu. Konchuy, the mother of Urungu, is absent in the first volume. The first part of the second volume



two chapters. Before her death, she tells all her secrets to her son. She is a devoted woman who hid from everyone for forty years that she was Kürşad's Konçuyu.

The most important heroines of the novel *Bozkurtlar* are also the heroes of two love stories in the novel. Almıla is the daughter of Ispara Alp. Almıla is a beautiful, charming, noble and valiant girl. "Her slanted green eyes were shining like light, her face was gushing peace and blood. She was a tall girl. Her long auburn hair was braided in two braids under her bört and stretched to her waist. Her feet were wearing boots. A long knife dangled from her belt and her red dress gave her a terrible beauty." Almıla appears in the novel both as a heroine of love and as a teacher of ritual.

Mrs Ay, the heroine of the second volume of the novel, is a little different. She has extraordinary features. She mesmerises people with her gaze and can read their hearts. "She could recognise people at a glance even understand what was in their hearts. One of her nephews was a kam. It was rumoured among the Nine Oghuz that he had taught him a lot of secret knowledge." Ay Hanım, who is the daughter of the Nine Oghuz kagan and the commander of the struggle for independence against the Gokturks, is similar to Gökçen Kız, the heroine of *Deli Kurt*, the other novel of the author, which takes its plot from Ottoman history.

### **Incident Pattern**

The plot of the novel *Bozkurtlar* is shaped around the main event of the collapse of the Göktürk Empire and the revolution of Kürşad in the first volume. In the novel, which is a multi-hero story, each hero is introduced to the reader with a side event shaped around himself. The main event in the second volume of the novel is the establishment of the Second Göktürk Khaganate. The re-establishment of the state is described within the framework of the love relationship between Urungu and Ay Hanım. In this section, the method in the first volume was followed, the other heroes of the event were introduced with side events and included in the main event.

## Evaluation

Bozkurtlar is Hüseyin Nihal Atsız's best known and most widely read novel. Although they were written at different times, these works, which are two parts of a whole, are known and loved under the name Bozkurtlar.

This novel did not receive the value it deserved in the world of literature. The most important of the many reasons for this is the fear of Atsız's Turkism by the official nationalism thesis, which became popular at the state level, and the fear of his works meeting with the youth.

In the years Atsız lived, the literary world was under the influence of Marxist movements. This ideology, which Atsız was hostile to with a national anger ignored Atsız's success in the historical novel. Despite this exclusion and ignorance, Atsız's novels functioned as a historical consciousness trainer beyond the novel in the upbringing of the Turkist-Turancı- Ülkücü youth of a period and the formation of their world views.

Although Atsız's novel Bozkurtlar is a novel with many heroes and many events, it is a very successful novel with its language and narrative features, which does not have disconnections between its chapters, attracts the reader to the magic of the past time with its time and space narrative, and is at peace with historical facts.

The missing fact in the novel is that the psychological analyses of the heroes are not given enough space. In fact, this phenomenon, which is difficult in historical novels, seems impossible in the novel Bozkurtlar in two aspects. The first is the high number of events and heroes. The second is the fact that in the author's world view, people are members of society and tradition rather than individuals.

Bozkurtlar is an epic-historical novel in which the pre-Islamic Turkish culture's perception of lovefamilywomanstate, custom and life is presented without contradicting historical reality. It is one of the most successful examples of this genre in Turkish literature.

## **Crazy Wolf**

Deli Kurt is a historical novel whose plot is chosen from Ottoman history. The events that develop after the Battle of Ankara, one of the most unfortunate events in Turkish history, the fights for the throne, the struggles for dominance between Turkish tribes and beys are presented to the reader around a love story with surreal elements.

The struggle for the throne between the five sons of Yıldırım Bayezid; Süleyman, Mehmed, Musa, Mustafa and Isa lasted for years and this period was known as the "Fetret Periodin our history. In the novel Deli Kurt, which deals with this period, Atsız novelised our state tradition on the one hand, and the new culture and civilisation we established in Anatolia on the other hand, by remaining faithful to the framework of historical facts.

### **Summary of the novel**

Isa Bey the son of Yıldırım Bayezit, entrusts his pregnant wife Bala Hatun to Çakır, one of his trusted sipahs, when the fight for the throne between his brothers intensifies. Çakır, one of Isa Bey's experienced and trustworthy sipahstakes Bala Hatun to the village of Satı Kadın, his wet nurse in Karası under great secrecy. Satı Kadın is a discreet Turkmen woman. Çakır returns leaving Bala Hatun in Satı Kadın's care. Satı Kadın has a two-year-old son named Evren.

Ten years pass. The fight for the throne is finalised. Isa Bey dies Mehmet Bey takes the throne. Çakır served under Mehmet Bey as a sipahi and participated in all the campaigns organised. When Çakır returns to Karası, he learns that Bala Hatun died a year after giving birth to her son, whom she named Murat, months after receiving the news of Isa Bey's death. Satı Kadın raised Murat without separating him from her own son. Murat is a crazy boy and all the villagers and his peers call him "Mad Wolf".

and they call him "Cakir". Cakir contributes to the education of both children and returns to the army.

Another six years pass. Murat and Evren join the army under Çalık. In the battle with Torlak Kemal's dervishes, the Ottoman army victorious. Murat takes Torlak Kemal prisoner.

In 1422, Mehmet Bey died and was succeeded by his son Murat. At the age of 19, Deli Kurt, who was a big young man, showed his merits in the suppression of the revolts of Düzmece Mustafa, became a Sipahi and got married. During their one-month leave, Çakır, Murat and Evren go to the Turkmen oba to visit Satı Kadın. While they are there, the Turkmen Bey tells them a tale. The tale is the story of a prince who falls in love with a girl named Gökçen. When they return from the Turkmen oba, Çakır and Murat secretly go to Istanbul. The reason for the visit is Hasan Çelebi. Hasan Çelebi is the closest and most favoured man of Isa Bey. They deliver the coins, which are the relic of Isa Bey, to Murat on the basis of a false story.

Another ten years passed. Now Evren also became a sipahi with fiefs. They participated in the wars against Hungarians and Vlachs in Rumelia and Karamanoğlu in Anatolia. The three comrades arrive at the Turkmen oba to visit Satı Kadın. Satı Kadın takes her guests to the Yoruk Spring. The spring is a place where the spirit of Gökçen Girl in the tale is believed to wander. A girl with a veiled face comes to the spring at midnight. She takes water and returns. Satı Kadın tells the sipahis about Gökçen.

Gökçen is a Varsak girl from Karaman. She is from Varsak tribe and Tümenoğlu family. She is very beautiful. Her eyes destroy those she looks at. Therefore, she walks around with a veil.

Mad Wolf vaguely looked at Gökçen's eyes through the veil and was very impressed. He cannot sleep at night. He gets up and comes to the Yoruk fountain again. Towards morning, Deli Kurt comes to the hill where Gökçen herds sheep and finds him playing the pipe. Gökçen recognised Deli Kurt whom he had seen at the fountain in the evening. Crazy Wolf wants to see Gökçen's eyes, but Gökçen does not show them. She says that she can show her eyes to the one who beats her in every race and deserves to be her husband.

Sipahis return to their fiefs. A winter season passes. During the winter, Mad Wolf thought about Gökçen. With the spring, the expedition of the army begins. Afterwards, Karamanoğlu was attacked. In the battle against Karamanoğlu, killing a wounded Karamanian unjustly



Deli Kurt is wounded in a fight with a janissary who wants to kill him. Karaman villagers take Deli Kurt to their village and cauterise his wound. The wounded that Deli Kurt rescued from the janissary is from Varsak tribe and Tümenoğlu family. The wounded Tümenoğlu is Balaban. They become friends with Deli Kurt. When Deli Kurt and Balaban are travelling, they come to Şeytan Mountain. The mountain a ma- Tuesday. Satan fell in love with a girl without a heart and took refuge in this mountain out of grief. They listen to the rest of the tale from the Black Shepherd. The Black Shepherd tells them that all the girls in the tales are named Gökçen. Deli Kurt is intoxicated by the similarity between the tale he listened to and Gökçen he has set his heart on. Together with Balaban, they come to the Varsak oba. Deli Kurt meets Gökçen's mother in the Varsak tribe. Gökçen's mother is a Uighur girl. She has the magical knowledge of her lineage. She also has a stone that makes it rain. She tells Deli Kurt that if you really love Gökçen, you can look into his eyes and adds that Gökçen also has a heart for her. Gökçen's mother tells Deli Kurt to take Gökçen's daughter to her by giving her a locket.

When Deli Kurt returns to the Turkmen oba, he arrives at Gökçen without any delay. When he gives Gökçen the relic, the Turkmen Bey's son, who is in love with Gökçen, appears before him. They start to fight. The two lovers fall to the ground with heavy wounds. Gökçen heals the wounded by treating them with a method known only to him. Deli Kurt opens his heart to Gökçen. Gökçen opens her veil to Deli Kurt and gets him used to look at her eyes.

Mad Wolf returns to his fief. Another winter passes. In the spring, the campaign against the Serbs prevents Deli Kurt from going to Gökçen. After defeating the Serbs, the army fights against the Hungarians. The Ottoman army wins the battle, but Deli Kurt is missing when the battle ends. Cakir and Evren return to the obaya. At the Yoruk fountain, Gökçen informs them that Deli Kurt is alive.

Deli Kurt escapes after three years of captivity to Hungarians. When he arrives at the Obaya, he learns that Gökçen has gone to Varsak and will return after seven months. Crazy Wolf catches up with the army mobilising against the Hungarians. The Ottoman army is defeated. Çakır and Evren are martyred. Deli Kurt, who takes his wife and children with him on the return of the expedition, goes to the Turkmen oba, Satı Ana. He learns from the letters kept by Mother Satı that he a descendant of the Ottomans and that he is the son of Isa Bey. He names his son Jesus. Meanwhile, Hungarians break the peace and declare war again. The night before the war, Deli Kurt and Gökçen meet at the Yoruk spring.

A bloody battle took place at Varna. The Ottoman army wins the battle in which Deli Kurt shows great merits. Deli Kurt, who is made the head of the regiment because of his prowess in the battle, returns to his Turkmen clan early with the permission of the sultan. When he returns, he learns that his wife, children and Satı Kadın died in the flood. While trying to save Deli Kurt's son İsa from the flood Gökçen Kız also dies. In one night, Deli Kurt, whose hair turns grey, arrives at the Yoruk spring. Everything is lost. He jumps on his horse and rides towards an unknown destination, the end of the roads, which even he does not know.

### **Order of the novel**

The novel *Mad Wolf* takes its name from the nickname of the protagonist Murat. The novel organised in one chapter under 28 titles. Each of the side events is labelled with a different title: The Mysterious Woman, Bala Hatun, Barakoğlu Çakır, Mad Wolf, Ghosts, Slip of the Tongue, First War Murad, Sipahi Murad, Secret Journey, Hasan Çelebi, Ten Years Later, Gökçen Girl, Behind Yassı Tepenin, Son of Oba Beğinin, Someone Unexpected, Devil's Mountain, Varsak Obası, Gökçen's Mother, Pipe And Sword, Love, Blessed Night, Disappearing Sipahi, Captivity, İzledi Pass, Terrible Light, Unforgettable Separation, Battle of Varna End of the Roads

The last title is the same as the title of the book in which the author collected his poems: *The End of the Roads*.

Two tales were added to the novel to explain Gökçen's extraordinary identity.

While the novel continues as a love story, it also conveys historical events in the person of Çakır and Deli Kurt, who are sipahi with fiefs.

The author remained faithful to historical facts in place names, time markers, names of people and battles, and successfully demonstrated his mastery of historical novelism by basing the surrealism of the love story on a realistic historical setting.

### **Thesis of the novel**

The main idea of the novel is the greatness of making sacrifices for the survival of the state and the nation. In the novel, the author presents the idea that the interruptions in the life of the nation can be overcome with the sacrifice of nameless heroes.

Love in the novel does not result in material reunion. This point, which is also seen in the author's other novels, suggests that it mediates the idea that there is no need for physical reunion in true love. Gökçen, whom Deli Kurt loves with a deep love, can be considered as a presentation of idealised beauty in a fairy tale atmosphere.

The author has expressed his respect for the Ottoman dynasty many times in his intellectual writings. The protagonist of Deli Kurt is also an Ottoman prince. It can also be interpreted as a work reflecting the author's historian personality and his admiration for the Ottoman Dynasty. In his work titled *Meseleler* in Turkish History: "The Ottoman Dynasty is the greatest of the families in Turkish history. It did its historical duty with honour and withdrew." expresses this historical consciousness.

In the side events of the novel, the author has also treated the evil of bigotry, human helplessness in the face of the phenomenon of death, the idea of death makes people wise, and the mortality of life as auxiliary ideas.

## Viewpoint

The novel has a dominant point of view and third person narration. The narrator dominates everything. He knows everything that happens and the pasts and inner worlds of his heroes. In the third person narration, there are also occasional preferences for a hero narrator. The events narrated are often seen through Murat's eyes and presented through his perception.

Sometimes the author appears in the person of the narrator. The author merges with the narrator in the evaluation of the Hungarian nation or in the commentary on the Batini orders in Torlak Kemal's army.

In some chapters, we witness that the author makes the protagonists express their opinions. Although Gökçen's mother makes Gökçen's mother say the words "We divide people not according to their religion but according to their lineage...", the reader realises that this is the author's opinion. The author makes his heroes say many such words.

## Time

The historical time of the event is between 1402 and 1444. The Ankara war is over and the fight for the throne begins. The time between the event periods is narrated by the narrator



It is spoken directly by the author, it is not hidden in detail. Time intervals are presented to the reader with expressions such as six years have passed, ten years later.

The narration of time is in the order of occurrence. In the presentation of details, the order of occurrence method hered to. There flashbacks in the presentation of a few details. The most frequently expressed time in the inner time of the plot is the full moon night. Especially the time spent with Gökçen in Yörük spring and Yassı Tepe are always full moon nights. This is how the connection between the spirit of the event and time is established. It can be thought that the full moon night is chosen as a time that overlaps with Gökçen Kız's magical and mysterious state.

### **Venue**

The setting of the incident is Karası sanjak. The village where Çakır's fief is located, the Turkmen oba, the battlefields, the Varsak Oba, Yörük Pınarı and Yassı Tepe are the main locations of the incident. The places other than Yörük Pınar and Yassı Tepe are not detailed.

Apart from the descriptions of Satı Kadın's house, the Turkmen Bey's tent and the Yoruk tent, the details in the narration of the place are not given importance. The relations between the spirit of the event and the narration of the place are not very intense. Only the connection between the Yoruk Spring and the extraordinary seen in the narration of Yassı Tepe and Gökçen's personality is successfully established. The connection between what is seen in the tent of Gökçen's mother and the place can be given as an example.

### **Person Staff**

Compared to Bozkurtlar, the other and more famous historical novel of the author, Deli Kurt is a work in which psychological analyses are more intense. Çakır's worries about the relic he carries, Deli Kurt's experiences while making a conscientious accounting between Gökçen and his wife Melek can be counted among the successful psychological analyses of the novel.

The main protagonist of the novel is Murat. Murat, who learns that he is a prince only at the end of the novel, is similar to Urungu in the novel Bozkurtlar. He is valiant, invincible and a strong warrior. He is merciful. He has no greed for the world. He has a simple personality. His sacrifice in joining the war as an ordinary sipahi despite learning that he is a prince



and the extraordinary platonic aspect of his love for Gökçe Kız can be considered as the novel's messages to Murat.

Gökçen, the second protagonist of the novel, is a woman with extraordinary beauty and extraordinary features. She is very beautiful. She is strong. Her voice is impressive, her pipe is mesmerising. Her voice is heard from far away, she obtains information from the unseen, she heals the sick with the blessed information from her lineage, she makes it rain and most importantly, a green and magical light reflects from her eyes. While she is cold-hearted towards her lovers, she is also self-sacrificing enough to die trying to save the children of the man she loves.

Çakır is one of the most real people in the novel. He is a sipah with fief. He is the most trusted man of Isa Bey. He is the one who brings Bala Hatun to the obaya and teaches Murat and Evren about life and military service.

Satı Kadın is a complete sage. She is a skilful, patient and meritorious Turkmen woman. She is Evren's mother, Çakır's wet nurse and Murat's carer. She is the meeting point of the heroes of the novel.

Bala Hatun is the wife of Isa Bey mother of Murat. She is the wife of a bey. Satı is entrusted to her. Unable to bear the death of her husband, she dies at a young age.

Evren is Satı Kadın's son and Murat's friend. They grow up together. They'll be life companions. He is a valiant sipah.

Hasan Çelebi is the most loyal and closest man of Isa Bey. He gives Murat his father's trust money. He is one-sided. He is one of the supporting characters of the plot.

Balaban is the person who mediates Murat's meeting with Gökçen's family and her mother and learning their secrets. This is his function in the novel.

Esen Börü is Gökçen's mother. She is a woman of Uyghur descent and has extraordinary powers. Gökçen also all her characteristics. She is a woman of Kam lineage who carries the old Turkish beliefs to the Muslim period. She heals the sick, of the prophecy, makes it rain, and a magical green light emanates from her eyes. The existence of Gökçenin is included in the novel as an explanatory element.

In the novel, Murat can be considered to represent reality, while Gökçen represents imagination and dream. With his devoted and valiant personality, Murat the Turkish type idealised by the author. With his kaval, which can be heard from across the countries

Gökçen Girl, with her magical green eyes that she cannot be cured of, her secret powers of the unknown, her superhuman way of living, is the escape from reality.

### Incident Pattern

The plot can be divided into three separate headings. The first is the historical events that took place within the Ottoman Principality between 1402 and 1444. The Battle of Ankara, the struggle for the throne, Çelebi Mehmet's accession to the throne, Torlak Kemal Rebellion, the struggle for dominance between the Ottoman Empire and the Karaman Principality, the expansion of the state from the Balkans to the interior of Europe constitute the main headings of the plot. The author's solid historical knowledge can be seen as an important factor in the successful establishment of this background.

The second event the upbringing of Murat, the son of Isa Bey, a Turkmen obla, hiding his principedom from everyone. This event is enriched with the background of Muslim-Turkish culture in Anatolia.

The third and the main event that gives the novel its identity is the surreal love between Murat and Gök- çen Kız. This love is very similar to the love of Urungu and Ay Hanım. And this similarity will also be seen in the love narratives in the novel Spirit Man.

In addition to its realistic narratives, the novel Deli Kurt also contains fairy tale and epic elements in its plot. Two fairy tales related to the existence of Gökçen Kız and Yada Tasi, a Turkish epic motif, can be mentioned as clear examples of this situation.

Extraordinary narratives also occupy a large place in the novel. Çakır's seeing ghosts at the grave of Bala Hatun is the first of the extraordinary narratives. Çakır talks to the ghosts of Bala Hatun, Isa Beyhis motherfather and uncle at the grave he visits at midnight. Gökçen Kız's existence completely extraordinary. There are many other extraordinary narratives in the work such as healing the sick and the wounded in a short time, seeing travellers on distant roads, calling Murat in the Hungarian dungeon from distances, and making it rain. The side events of Deli Kurt are successfully chosen to show the characters of the heroes and their functions within the main event.

## Evaluation

Mad Wolf a sequel to the novel Bozkurtlar. Both and the protagonists of the two novels follow each other. It is possible to continue this similarity with the novel Spirit Man. It can be said that Mad Wolf stands right in the middle of the novels Bozkurtlar and Ruh Adam. Urungu and Mad Wolf are similar to each other. The same similarities can be detected between Ay Hanım and Gökçen Kız.

It is not difficult to find the traces of the Uyghur fairy tale, which is the source of the novel The Spirit Man, in the novel The Mad Wolf. The common lines of the two novels can also be seen in the remorse of conscience caused by a love that has fallen into the clutches of a loyal and good wife.

Beyond all these, the novel Deli Kurt is one of the most important works of Turkish literature in the field of historical fiction. Being a master historian, the author's command of historical knowledge and folkloric material strengthened his narrative and prepared the success of the work. A good narration, short but effective sentences and sayings interspersed among the plot give the novel a different flavour.

The heart is caught in  
a trap called fate  
The heart is made of many  
emotions and wood





## **Spirit Adam**

The novel *Soul Man* presented to the reader by the publishing house with the following sentences: "Ruh Adam is a novel of a very unusual kind in Turkish literature. Those who have read the author's historical novels will see that this work, which begins as a historical novel, is not so, and as the pages progress, they will find themselves in an extreme symbolism."

Indeed, this work, which is one of the most delightful examples of the symbolic novel genre, has very few analogues in Turkish literature. It is an important breath of fresh air in Turkish novelism with its extraordinary elements and epic narrative. Despite this importance, it is a work that has been ignored because of its author's world view.

Famous for his historical novels, Atsız's *Ruh Adam* also a historical flavour. But it is not a historical novel. The novel the life of an officer who finds the purpose of life only in military service and who became a captain in Mete's army in his first life. Those who know Atsız, those who have read his other works, and those who can penetrate into his world of ideas have hesitated a lot to determine whether the work is really a novel or a life lived.

### **Summary of the novel**

The novel begins with a Uyghur tale. Captain Burkay loves another woman over his wife, and his soul punished and condemned to suffer for centuries. The tale is like a prophecy of what the protagonist Selim Pusat will experience.

After the interpretation of the tale, the main event begins. After an absence of three years, Selim Pusat's wife Ayşe, a literature teacher, is reinstated. In the final year science class, three young people named Aydolu, Nurkan and Güntülü, who are different from the other students with their beauty, manners and knowledge

The girl and teacher Ayşe start to develop a closeness that goes beyond the teacher-student relationship.

Selim Pusat, the husband of teacher Ayşe, was expelled from the last year of the War Academy together with his friend Şeref, due to an argument in a history class. He was stripped of his ranks and imprisoned for two years for insubordination. Because of these events, Selim's wife Ayşe was also transferred from her position as a high school literature teacher to the ministry.

For Selim Pusat, life consists of military service. However, due to his expulsion from military service and the suicide of his best friend Şeref after his release from prison, he to live a depressed and hopeless life. He imprisons himself at home and gets lost in the world of war history books.

One evening, while struggling with thoughts of death alone in Çamlı Koru, he listens to a poem recited by a female voice from the unknown, and some associations to form in his inner world. That night Selim Pusat meets Leyla Mutlak and Yek, a hunchbacked dwarf. Both of them are mysterious. He soon learns that Leyla's real name is Hanzâde. She is a princess and heir to the Ottoman throne. Yek is a being like a devil or a genie. He appears before Selim Pusat at unexpected times. Selim later encounters Leyla and is attracted to her noble beauty.

Selim Pusat meets Güntülü, Ayadolu and Nurkan through his wife Ayşe. He feels a weakness towards Güntülü that gradually turns into love and anguish arising from not being able to remember a distant relationship. As a matter of fact, he learns the reason for his anguish first from Güntülü's and then Şeref's explanations. Selim had lived as an officer of the Mete army in the past. His life was ended because he could not arrow his lover in the loyalty test. The lover who could not be arrowed is Güntülü. Selim's anguish arising from reliving this adventure turns into physical ailments from time to time.

Yek appears before Selim Pusat in different personalities throughout the story. Selim Pusat undecided and confused between Princess Leyla and Güntülü. He feels guilty towards his wife Ayşe, and feels a strange and extraordinary love for Güntülü and Princess Leyla. Finally, Selim's inner conflict, oscillating between his mind and heart, grows so great that one night he is tried in a divine court for the crime of forbidden love. There is no one to defend him except his mother. Prophets and

The great kings of Turkish history and his friend Sheref, who committed suicide, all said he was guilty.

It is decided that Selim Pusat will fight Captain Kubudak, whose fate is similar to his own, but who has committed suicide after realising his mistake. At the end of the fight, Selim is defeated and falls. Güntülü, having learnt of his interest in Leyla, Selim in pain. Selim Pusat opens his eyes in a hospital room. When he recovers his strength and comes out, he goes to Leyla. Leyla has also gone to an unknown place. Selim disappears from the picture of his youth on the wall.

The telepathic perception of a young girl named Ülker reveals that Captain Burkay's soul is still suffering.

### Order of the novel

The novel *Spirit Man* begins with a Uyghur fairy tale. This tale was made the beginning of the first chapter because of its relation with the main event of the novel.

The novel organised in 31 chapters, which are not named with titles, but only identified with numbers. The plot of the novel is based on the mind-heart conflict. A magical depth is added to this contradiction with surreal expressions.

It is possible to see the similarities between the protagonist and the author in other characters as well. Ayşe is similar to the author's wife, who is a teacher, and Osman, the historian he works with in the Investigation Commission, is similar to Osman Reşer, his teacher in Darülfünun:

*...On the fifth day of his employment his desk neighbour asked him something, and Selim without looking at his face, turned his head towards him, seeing that the person next to him was speaking with an accent. At the same time he was astonished. Because this man was either Yek's twin brother or himself. The man on saying something, but Pusat never heard what was being said and looked at the face of his table neighbour. Suddenly:*

*-What is your name?, he asked. This question was made with such a harshness that had never been seen in the room of the Sorting Commission that everyone stopped what they were doing, turned their eyes to Selim and began to scrutinise him with unfriendly glances. The man answered briefly:*

*-Osman.*

*surname is Yek?*

*Beriki smiled:*

*-If I were to take such surname, I would prefer "du", because with yekle it is more like two and one, and with du it is more like two and one.*

*Selim Pusat was about to respond in the opposite way when a janitor entered the room:*

*-Osman Beg! Warden Beg wants you, he said.*

*As Osman Beğ got up from his desk, Selim was studying him. For all the resemblance of his face, he could not be Yek. He was not taller than him, nor was he hunchbacked and limping. But this resemblance? One of the people in the room enlightened Selim:*

*-You his accent strange, didn't you? He's a convert renegade? What nation?*

*-He was a German Jew. His original name was Oskar, but he changed it to Osman when he became a Muslim.*

*-What is his surname?*

*-His surname is Fisher. He did not change it. He started to write only in Turkish orthography.*

*Selim was interested. He asked:*

*-Why did he convert to Islam? What is his real profession?*

*-They say he converted to Islam because he was oppressed by Hitler's will. He was a professor of oriental theology in his homeland; he knew several European languages besides Turkish, Arabic and Persian, so they took him to the commission even though he was not a soldier.*

*Pusat did not like it because he likened changing religion and nationality to changing army. He did not prolong the conversation.<sup>310</sup>*

When this scene in the novel is compared with the following lines taken from the work titled *Türkçülüğe Karşı Crusade against Türkçülüğe* (Crusade against Turkishness), which is a life story narrated with a humorous flavour, the relations between the heroes of the novel Ruh Adam and the real life of the author can be seen more easily:

*...The real damage of this work of his touched "Osman Reşer". Who is he, you ask? A German Jew who converted to Islam. He was born in Stuttgart, Germany, grew up as Oskar Rescher, became interested in Arabic literature, came to Turkey and stayed for years, and during the First*



as a sergeant in the army. Perhaps it was Germany had such a sergeant that Germany was defeated in the first war.

Anyway, after the war Oskar Rescher came here again and worked on Arabic texts, or rather, he did not work on them himself, but others did. At that time, the late İsmail Saip Hodja was the foremost Arabic scholar in the world. Everyone, local and foreign, used to go to him to learn everything. He would not refuse any help, every one would learn something.

Reschr, being a Jew, had found a way to reap the fruits of this great tree on his own account and was with him day and night. When the hat revolution took place in Turkey and İsmail Saip Hodja refused to wear it, he left his chair of History of Arabic Literature at the Istanbul University of Applied Sciences. He took the position of director of the Bayezit Library and did not leave the library until his death. Rescher also laid the skin there.

They brought Rescher to the chair opened by İsmail Saip Hoca. The blame for this belongs to Köprülüzade Fuad.

He became a Muslim by fasting. Since he could not understand any Arabic poem on his own, he always consulted İsmail Saip Hoca spent hours on end, taught us what he had learnt in other words, he could not teach us anything.

Out of respect for Hodja, who fasted during Ramadan, Rescher also started fasting. I don't know whether he did it as a worship or as an economic business, but he must have liked it so much that he finally became a Muslim. His original name was Oskar, but he changed it to Osman. He did not change his surname. He only dropped the "sch" which is written with three letters in German as "sch" and started to write it as Reşer with Turkish spelling. Of course, this was not out of love for Turks, but because it was an economical process that consumed less ink.

İsmail Saip Hodja showed great affection for cats and kept dozens of them. Reşer the same path. There are cats he feeds from various parts of the city. He feeds them by giving allotments to some old and crazy women, and he feasts every cat he sees on the road from the ready-made food in his bag, regardless of whether it is mangy or lame.<sup>311</sup>

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311. Crusade Against Turkism

### Thesis of the novel

The novel is constructed from two intertwined events, the first of which is shaped by the Uyghur fairy tale at the beginning and the other by the story of Selim Pusat's life, which is essentially nothing more than its continuation or projection.

The thesis of the first event, that is, the tale, is that evil will not go unpunished. Captain Burkay repaid his brother's kindness with evil. His soul will be shaken in anguish every time he comes to the world. Ruh Adam is a love novel, although it analyses social, political and philosophical issues. The following words spoken to Güntülü, the protagonist of the novel, summarise the author's understanding of love: *"There is no reason for love, sir because we love first.*

*Then we try to find the good things about what we love."*

In addition to the thesis of "punishment for evil", which is transferred from a fairy tale, the novel Soul Man also discusses the idea of human helplessness in the face of love and fate with its main event, which is Selim Pusat's two lives, the first of which is presented in flashbacks.

### Viewpoint

The Spirit Man is a work with elements of the supernatural, and is adorned with surreal events in places. Spirit Man is an interesting novel with its surreal narratives, interesting analyses of the psyche and unusual subject matter. The novel begins with a fairy tale, then continues with a bunch of dark and sullen real events, and gradually extraordinary events begin to be added.

The most important of the extraordinary scenes in the novel can be listed as follows: Selim listens to a poem by an unknown woman's voice in Çamlı Koru. Yek appears before Selim with different personalities. Yek and Leyla, knowing in advance what will happen, tell Selim that he will choose a girl twenty-five years younger than him. Şeref appears before the reader in many striking scenes in an atmosphere reminiscent of tragedies. The expression on the face of Şeref's photograph changes. He appears to Selim and talks to him. He prevents Güntülü from entering his door, his wound bleeds, he shakes hands with Selim, Selim's hand and the doorknob he holds on the way out bleeds, traces of blood dripping from his heart are seen on the roads he travels to the big court, after the court, the inscription "my friend" on his tombstone is erased and only the name "Şeref" remains.

Ayşe is the only protagonist in the novel who remains within the limits of the reality of life. The author does not neglect to give the reader a sense of reality by making Ayşe intuit many extraordinary events. In the novel, reality and surrealism are intertwined. The story ends with the surreal disappearance of Selim. These epic phenomena, which are also seen in the author's other novels, do not take the plot and characters out of life. In this novel, as in his other novels, the author uses extraordinary events and characters in a conscious and consistent manner.

The novel *The Spirit Man* has a dominant point of view. The author narrator dominates everything. He knows everything, sees everything and presents every detail to the reader. The narration is in the third person. The author's presence is felt in the dialogues touching on history, literature, philosophy and mysticism. The author makes the heroes speak their own thoughts. These lines show that the author does not hesitate to identify with the narrator. The poetry pieces included in the novel also give us scenes in which the narrator and the author become the same. Most of the poems included in the novel are the appearance of Atsız's poet identity in Selim Pusat. The famous poem titled *Geri Gelen Mektup*, which is also included in the poet's poetry book *Yolların Sonu* (*The End of the Roads*), is included in the novel as a letter that actually comes back.

## Time

The main event of the novel takes place between two autumns. A full year passes between the autumn day when Ayşe her duty and the day when Selim Pusat disappears from her painting. The core event at the beginning is a Uighur tale and is said to date back two thousand years. When Selim Pusat realises that he was a captain in Mete's army in his first life, the event in the main case moves to two thousand years ago.

Time narration the order of occurrence. The psychological analyses of the protagonists are given through flashbacks. Although the tale at the beginning of the novel and the statement that Selim Pusat was a captain in Mete's army in his first life take the reader back two thousand years in places, the event takes place in the present day.

The year of the main event is not recorded in the novel, but some information in the work an idea about the time of the event. The Republic has been proclaimed, and since the former officers are from the kingdom period, we can say that the action takes place in the forties. Safiye Erol's *Cığerdelen* was published (1946), and Selim Pusat's interview with high-ranking officers



The discussions contain sentences reminiscent of Atsız's defence in the 1944 Turkism trial.

Like the past-tense tale at the beginning, the novel ends with a future-tense event at the end. The time period after Selim Pusat's disappearance - and it is not clear how much time has passed - short enough to cover the conversation of three young girls at the graduation tea of a girls' school. Only from the voices Ülker hears, it is understood that Captain Burkay's soul is still suffering.

The narrator endeavours to establish a connection between the moods of the protagonist and the events and time in a romantic manner. Most of the important events that Selim Pusat goes through take place in the "rainy and windy" evening hours. Two descriptions of autumn at the beginning and at the end of the story are also indicative of the same effort.

### **Venue**

In the novel *The Spirit Man*, the analyses of the soul are kept as broad as possible, and are limited descriptions of time and place. The place of the first core event is the country of Kamlanchu, which is located within the borders of "perhaps today's Mongolia". There is no narration about this place, which is mentioned in the atmosphere of a fairy tale.

The city where the main event takes place is not clear. The most prominent location of the main event is Selim Pusat's house. Leyla's house, Selim's study room in the flat and Güntülü's house also appear the plot as decorations, although less frequently.

The most spectacular setting of the main event is the Pine Grove. The pine tree, which is the setting of the opening tale, turns into a grove in the main event. All important events of the main plot take place in Çamlı Koru.

### **Person Staff**

The protagonist of the novel is Selim Pusat. Ayşe, Leyla, Şeref, Güntülü and Yek'e are the first degree protagonists. Second-degree heroes are the heroes of the core events. Burkay, Açığmaün, Evdeş and Satan, the heroes of the Uyghur fairy tale, are the same as the first-degree heroes of the main event. Captain Burkay is Selim Pusat. Açığma Kun is Güntülü. Burkay's Evdeş is Ayşe. Satan is Key.



Everything and everyone in the novel exists for Selim Pusat and Güntülü. Layla can also be added to these. Güntülü is glorified by the heart, Leyla by the mind. The novel is the story of the intersecting paths of Selim Pusat and three women. Ayşe loyalty, Leyla nobility, Güntülü love.

Güntülü and Leyla are like fairy tale heroes. Their worlds are not presented to the reader. The most real woman of the novel is the "suffering and faithful" Ayşe. Ayşe, who is the extension of the type of housewife in the Uyghur fairy tale in the main plot symbolises the notions of home and family.

Şeref, who has a meaning like his name, symbolises Selim's honour. Although Şeref is a dead hero, he is one of the most vivid characters of the main event. Selim's extraordinary relationship with Şeref changes its form with the forbidden love he experiences.

The most interesting character of the novel *The Spirit Man* is Yek. Yek is the devil we recognise from the fairy tale in the introduction. He appears in the guise of different people at every stage of the story. He represents fate, the necessity and binding of reality.

Selim Pusat, one of the protagonists of the novel, is the only multifaceted and dimensional hero with his changing and deepening soul structure. The others are flat and dimensionless characters. This is a skilful choice of the author. The one-dimensional and dimensionless backgrounds of the other protagonists seem to be specially designed to understand Selim's soul adventure and change.

### **Incident Pattern**

*The Spirit Man* is the story of a captain, who was initially a man of decision and will, who considered life to consist of being a soldier, from the line of denying love to the line of a man doomed to relive the same love every time he comes to the world. In the first chapters, negative moods such as despondency, weariness, melancholy, aimlessness and unhappiness determine the colour of the novel, while in the later chapters, a gradually increasing mind-heart conflict determines. In the finale of the story, the mind-heart conflict is questioned and judged. The fable in the first part of the novel can be considered as the introduction and the intuition in the last part as the conclusion.

In the tale told in the core event, Captain Burkey loved a girl named Açıgma Kun even though he was married and sacrificed his brother in order to be with her. However, he cursed his brother when he was dying. God accepted

Because of this uproar, Captain Burkay's soul was condemned to weep and suffer. This incident will be repeated in the main plot. Captain Selim Pusat will fall in love with Güntülü despite his devoted and noble wife Ayşe and will be judged for this betrayal. With the intuition in the conclusion, we realise that his soul is also condemned to weep and suffer. In the novel, whose plot is reminiscent of the belief in the belief in the transmigration of souls, no information is given about this belief. But the soul is doomed to experience the same love and sorrow every time it comes to the world.

In the first chapters, the psychological structure of a man of decision and will who looks at life only in terms of military service, does not accept love and does not care about the beauty of women is explained. In the later chapters, the story of the man of decision and will succumbing to love is told. But there are two loves in the novel. Two beauties, one of which is honoured by the heart and the other by the mind. Güntülü, who stole the heart, made Captain Selim Pusat a disobedient and bad soldier. It is a repetition of the love experienced in the first life. Princess Leyla, who is glorified by the mind, attachment to lofty goals, becoming a soldier again, and the identity of a man of duty. Selim Pusat remains undecided and unwilling between two loves, that is, between his mind and his heart. The diachronic events summarised by flashbacks are used to explain the reasons for Selim's negative moods.

In the last chapter of the work, Selim Pusat is judged. The people who talk about Selim and judge him throughout the chapter are Zoroaster, Buddha, Hz. Muhammed, Alp Er Tunga, Mete, Atilla, İstemi Khan, Çiçi Yabgu, Kür Şad, Kül Tegin Çağrı Beğ, Alp Arslan, Temuçin Cengiz Kağan, Aksak TemirOruç Reis. In addition to these famous names, his close relatives such as his mother, father and grandfather were also among the judges. Selim Pusat is found guilty and sentenced fight with a powerful bahadır. In the fight scene, Selim Pusat fights with people who stand at the breaking points of his life in the person of Kubudak, and even with himself. Selim falls with a sword wound and injures his opponent. It is not clear whether he is defeated. Such an ending also evokes a judgement that love should not be blamed, even if it is forbidden. The novel ends with a vague ending. After Selim recovers, there is no more Leyla, Güntülü or Şeref. To remain without love, honour and nobility means to die. Selim Pusat also flows from the picture on the wall of his house and disappears. The witness of his disappearance is his son, a little boy.

In the last chapter, we encounter a second core event attached to the main case of the novel. At the end-of-year graduation tea of a girls' school,

A girl named Ülker listens to mysterious voices echoing in the grove. They are the voices of Captain Burkay and Captain Selim Pusat. Both of them are still groaning with the agony of their forbidden love betrayal of their military service and their wives.

### **Evaluation**

Ruh Adam is the sixth and last novel of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız. It was first published in 1972. The second edition was published in 1974, the third edition in 1977 and the edition in 1980 by Ötüken Publishing House.

Selim Pusat, the main male protagonist of the novel Ruh Adam, is one of the various pseudonyms used by the author in many magazines.

The novel consists thirty-one numbered but unnamed chapters. The novel Soul Man is woven from short and striking chapters like the verses of a poem.

The author punctuates the end of the chapters with short, small but impressive silences, thus creating a number of shocks in the reader and enabling the reader to participate in the production activity in the nominal realm after these shocks.





*"If he is a human being, he transcends all  
mourning with memories.."*

## **Poet Remaining in the Shadow of Fights**

Atsız's qualities as a scholar, opinion leader and novelist be added to his poetry. Although he wrote few poems, he did justice to what he wrote. Atsız collected his poems in his book "Yolların Sonu" (1946). In 1963, new poems were added to this book. Some of the sayings he had minstrels sing in his novels were not included in the editions of the books.

In his poems, as in his other works, he expressed the inspirations of the ideas of Turkism and Turanism. Nevertheless, the number of enthusiastic love poems he wrote in the genres of "kosma" and "varsâğı" inspired by our folk poetry is not small. In some of these beautiful poems, he used "çap- kınca" verses, but he never vulgarised the words. In the last periods of his life, Atsız wrote poems that mostly focused on the theme of "death" and mostly used "hece", our national poetic metre. In some of his poems he also used aruz, which is the metre of our classical poetry.

He believed that in poetry, as in everything else, the new should be built on tradition. For this reason, in all his poems, he considered it his duty to follow our traditional verse forms, meter and verse arrangement. Atsız, who argued that diversity and mobility could be created in Turkish poetry by adhering to tradition, also showed that tradition could be modernised by experimenting with form and rhyme innovations in syllabic and prosody poems.

Nihal Atsız wrote mostly epic verses, usually describing and explaining his ideals and giving advice to young people in line with his ideas.

It cannot be said that he cares enough about the subtleties, aesthetics and technique of poetry. Having the conviction that art has a social aspect and duties, Atsız's poetry is also instructive and directive. Atsız's poetry can be defined as a combination of didactic, epic and lyric poetry. He makes Güntülü, the protagonist of the novel *Ruh Adam*, express his opinions about poetry.

*-How do you feel about literature, Güntülü?*

*This question was not one of the usual questions of the literature teacher. This girl had asked such a thing because she found it original. She the answer she got:*

*-I like it as a lesson and as an art, sir.*

*He pronounced "S" with a slight lisp and this slight lisp gave beauty to his speech. Her voice also very mysterious and soulful. Ayşe was skilful at extracting beauty with her talent as a literary scholar. She smiled and asked again:*

*-Why do you like it, Güntülü?*

*Güntülü, marvelling at her teacher, looked into his eyes several times and in the same mysterious voice:*

*-There are no reasons for **Love**, sir... If I think about it, maybe I can find a reasonable ■ But that's not the real reason. Because we love first. Then we try to find the good sides of what we love.<sup>312</sup>*

This sentence is a very important clue summarising his view of the phenomenon of beauty. A mind that thinks that love has no reason does not tire itself with questions about what beauty is. He knows it is his duty to love and accepts what he loves as beautiful. This way of perception is related to Atsız's view of life. He comprehends life within his own thought systematics. There is no room for hesitations and searches in his comprehension.

*-Well, Güntülü, among the poems you know, can you name some of your favourites?*

*The young girl raised her head a little and thought. Then, looking at her teacher, she slowly began to explain:*

*-Sir! Among Fuzuli's poems: Don't give life to  
love that love is a disaster Love is famous for  
being a disaster*

*This is undoubtedly not the most beautiful poem of Fuzuli. But I prefer it because I can understand it and I am drawn to its harmony. I cannot understand many of his poems because I have no knowledge of Sufism. I understand Nedim more easily, but contrary to the general opinion, I do not enjoy his songs.*

*A little joy is the spring of this world,*

*Keep your tulip for a sagar-i-kashide*

*Although it is Namik Kemal's famous Vatan ode, it seems to me that there is no unity between the couplets. Each couplet is beautiful individually. But the composition is not strong. Therefore, among Namik Kemal's poems:*

*Is there an unchanging science or is there a demanding object?*

*As for Hamid, I have seen and read very few of his works. Some of them I have never understood. I find Ashbar's conversation with Iskender beautiful...*

*-Don't you have any favourites among the poems of those after Hamid, Gün- tülü?*

*-Yes, sir. I've been thinking to make a choice. I've read many of them. I have many of them memorised. It's difficult to make a choice among so many, sir. If you allow me, I'll tell you the name of the poet, not the name of the poem. I like Yahya Kemal's and Faruk Nafiz's poems first, and then Ali Mümtaz's. Besides these, are some pieces I like very much from the works of many well-known or unrecognised poets. Sometimes a single poem by an ordinary poet, sometimes a quatrain or couplet of a poem, sometimes a single verse a strong impression on me. I have many verses in my memory whose owners' names I do not know. For example, there is a verse that I have forgotten who the poet is and I don't remember where I read it, and like it very much:*

*What binds us to the earth: The need to create*

*Perhaps there is no superiority in this verse in terms of poetic art. But to live*

*I like it very much, sir, because it gives a good reason.<sup>313)</sup>*

The verses and the names of poets sung by the protagonist of the novel may give us an idea about Atsız's taste in poetry. He appreciated Fuzuli's lyricism, Nedim's comprehensibility, Namik Kemal's enthusiasm, Yahya Kemal and Faruk

He says that he likes Nafiz's depth. However, it is also possible to conclude from these statements that he cares about comprehensibility and integrity of meaning. The idea that we should love every beautiful verse without being stuck on the name of the poet is also reflected in our memories from this comment.

- *You told it very well, Güntülü. Now tell us your thoughts and opinions about the verses.*

- *For today, sir, I like aruz better. But I can answer why. It has been processed and matured in the hands of greater masters. I think that in the future, syllabic will surpass aruz in terms of harmony, but the great poets who will improve syllabic will benefit from the harmony and music of aruz. Perhaps, a new verse will be born from the fusion of syllable and aruz, and this new verse will gather in itself the rhythm of aruz and the freedom of syllable, which is essential for the strength of meaning. I do not like what is called free verse today, and I think that it would be more appropriate to call this kind of writing not free verse, but without verse. In my opinion, free verse is when the verses are free and not subject to each other, provided that they are still in verse. For this reason, the detachments of divan poets can be considered as the first examples of free verse, while Orhan Seyfi's beautiful poem "Storm and Snow" and Enis Behic's poems such as "Gemici- ler" and "Sivariler" are new and beautiful examples of free verse. For example, in the poem "Cavalry":*

*O homeland!*

*Beautiful*

*Turan!*

*We're your sacrifice. Son of the*

*enemy, come out!*

*We understand who's the hero*

*The gradual increase of syllables in the verses is not arbitrary, but according to a rhythmic law. But this law is felt rather than expressed. Since the new writings in free verse do not have this rhythm, they do not qualify as poetry.<sup>314</sup>*

Although he likes the richness of the sound harmony of aruz, it is understood that he likes syllabic, our national verse, more. In addition to this preference, he thinks that syllabic verse is not sufficiently processed and should be enriched in terms of harmony and music. From ungrammatical expressions



He does not like it, but he accepts that beautiful poems can be written in that form.

Although Atsız's poetry does not deviate from the principle of metered and rhymed verse, it shows diversity in terms of form. The poet, who mostly preferred quatrains as the unit of verse, also used couplets and multi-line stanzas in abundance. In some of his poems, three-line and five-line stanzas are also encountered. In some poems, he also tried innovations in terms of form by switching to multi-line stanzas after triplets and quatrains. Mesnevi rhyme was used in multi-line stanzas; preferred spiral and diagonal rhymes in thirds and running order in quatrains. In poems with couplets as the unit of verse, he used mesnevi and ghazal rhymes. Atsız's view of free poetry is not positive. He believes that innovation in poetry, as in every subject, can be achieved through the searches to be built on tradition. He regarded the search for poetry without rhyme and meter as an escape from tradition and did not compliment it.

One of the most preferred forms of his poems is 14 (7+7) syllable metre.

*Heroism does not mean a lonely ascent, nor does it  
mean shining like the stars.*

*To think of immortality is a vain endeavour; Heroism is to  
attack and never return.*

Another form he often preferred in his poems is the 11 (6+5 or 4+4+3) syllabic metre.

*Are your black eyes old? Your eyes are a  
deep wound in me... Have your eyes  
wandered somewhere far away? I don't  
see, I don't know, I don't know.*

The poems he had the minstrels in his novels sing are mostly in 7 and 8 syllabic metres.

*One day in a year, in a  
month, we will always be  
united in Altai. In the autumn,  
at the assembly, the khan with  
a head scarf appears.*

Most of his poems written in aruz are in the verses "mefulü mefailü mefailü mefailü feulün" and "feilâtün feilâtün felâtün feiliin".

*Look, he's commanding: Wake up from the realm in  
which you are immersed, that you will love me  
absolutely, you cannot escape it...*

### Themes of Atsız's Poetry

Defining and understanding poetry of the most difficult endeavours in the world. Definition is the work of the mind, whereas poetry is the product of the heart. A literary work is a product whose material is language, which is created with the concern of being a work of art, which to aesthetic pleasure, and which arouses excitement and admiration in its addressee. Language-based products that do not carry these basic qualities will remain outside the scope of literary work. However, none of these basic qualities are concrete and objective limits. While it is so difficult to recognise a literary text, it is even more difficult to move the subject to poetry. Because the definition we have presented above is the definition of verse, not poetry. Is every verse a poem? No. But every poem is definitely a verse.

Good poetry has nothing to do with ideology. You may not be a Hurufi, but you cannot deny that Nesimi is a great poet. You may not hear national romanticism as much as Yahya Kemal, but you cannot say otherwise that he is a good poet. You may not be a socialist or a communist, but this is no reason to deny Nazım's poetry. You may not see yourself as a "man of the cause" tasked with "communicating" the truths of religion, but this should not prevent you from standing up for Necip Fazıl's poetry. The same judgement can be repeated for Atsız: You may not be a Turkist or Turanist, but cannot fail to respect Atsız's valiant personality and ignore the poet's heart. Even though this poet's heart was overshadowed by his ideology...

His mental structure, which sees life as a fight and dedication to ideals, reduces the diversity of themes in Atsız's poetry. The themes in his poems can be categorised under the following headings:

### Country

The main subject of Atsız's poems is ideal. His ideal is Turkism and Turanism. Within the framework of this subject, he also frequently dealt with themes such as heroism, homeland, land and history. Most of his poems are didactic.

He saved them from dryness by adding epic and lyrical flavours to them. Both in his poems and in his life, he shouted that heroism is not an idea but a character structure. There is a sameness between the heroes in his poems and novels and his own life. The sense of heroism, which is identical with his own life, settles in his poems as a feeling and excitement and gives the modern sounds of the *koçaklama* style of our traditional poetry. This enthusiasm of feeling and excitement adds a measured lyricism to didactic and epic lines.

In Atsız's poems, he draws the image of a lover who is infatuated with his ideal. The attitude of a lover infatuated with infatuation or a mystic infatuated with divine love is reflected in Atsız's poetry as a passionate devotion to the ideal of Turkism. He is a devotee who has melted in his ideal and merged with it. He does not set a boundary between his own existence and his cause. The ideal of Turkism is Atsız's folk song, which he sings tirelessly and tirelessly. His ballad is thirsty for victories, full of longing for loyalty, a search for virtue and wisdom, a show of perseverance and determination, an anthem of heroism and devotion.

*The ideal that lies in the hearts cannot be erased  
with a coup! This flag will not fall to the ground with  
Atsız falling to the ground!...*

Being alone, being deceived, being subjected to the ridicule and scorn of others does not deter Atsız. He is a man dedicated enough to give up the whole world and even his grave inscription:

*"Soak misery in your blood and drink it without  
blinking an eye! Let him laugh after you, what's the  
use, a couple of bastards... In this world of existence,  
you alone have nothing... Even tombstone..."*

A heart that dedicates life for the sake of great ideals does not care about suffering. It even learns to taste the pain. It is not surprised by betrayals. The traveller who sets out towards the sublime wish knows that enduring and resisting is the privilege of valour. And even betrayal is not a virtue. Atsız looks at the world with the dignity that humiliates his soft-hearted companions with the most vulgar analogies:

*"Hard paths cannot be travelled with the soft-  
hearted; for this path is blessed, it leads to the  
Mountain of God. However, those who leave their  
comrades and return are changed to a street slut".*

He is the wise person of the cause he defends in his poetry. He is like Dede Korkut. He gives wisdom, shows the way. He thinks that those who set out for lofty goals should proceed without caring about betrayals, without fear of being crushed, without worrying about defeat. Because the greatest bliss that man can reach is eternity, that is, eternity. Karamans are the ones who can remain eternal:

*Do not beware of death, be ashamed of being  
disgruntled! Think once, what keeps you in the  
world?  
You, like the heroes who forget every existence  
other than their goal, must remain eternal..."*

## Love

Although Atsiz is known as an irreconcilable, quarrelsome, quarrelsome person in terms of his ideas, theses, fights, life and character, he is a very elegant and respectful Istanbul master in his relations. It can be perceived from his works that Atsiz Hodja, who adopts courtesy and elegance as his motto without falling into the insincerity of an insincere chela, has romantic anaphors that have not been sufficiently expressed in his inner world. The similarities and extraordinary similarities in the female types we encounter in his novels give the reader the impression of a woman from his real life. The reader gets the impression that the poet, who considers disclosures about private life as a moral weakness, has suffered from a green eye disaster. This situation also gives us an explanation for the state of mind that led to a significant amount of lyrical verse, some of which she also used in her novels.

*That night I stole a night from the  
catastrophe I was blessed for the last time  
in my life I lived while dying, I died while  
living And I was silent, like composing  
silence*

It is not according to Atsiz to be attached to a woman and to see life only through the framework of a human love. One can fall in love with a girl. Falling in love with a girl can also be seen as a very correct and pure goal, but it is unforgivable for this to overshadow great ideals. Because his ideals are more beloved than all lovers:

*In this world, it is quite right for us to love a young  
girl.*



*It is a goal... But the limits of this are narrow... There is a  
beloved goal from the beloved*

The lover in Atsız's poems is unattainable. He has superhuman qualities. The idealised lover, whom we also see in his novels, who reads one's heart, fascinates with his eyes, invites one to the high and sublime, the peak of Atsız's lyricism. Although Atsız refrains from carrying his private troubles, depressions, dilemmas, dead ends and quests into his works, there are reflections of them in his poems.

*Is your soul a fire, or are those eyes of flame? I don't  
know, what kind of embers ignited this volcano?  
...O you, who made me your servant, with your  
irreproachable look, O you, who set hearts on  
fire with every look!  
...Strike with your glorious weapon, let the heart's  
estate be restored You are beautiful when you kill  
and when you shoot!*

Even the love of that crazy soul who sees life as war is like war. In his verses, the beloved is a sublime being who burns and kills, but is admired while doing so. Nevertheless, in some of his verses, Atsız also opens the doors of the seriousness he wears. It is possible to see a flirtatious romantic in the background of his image as fighter and uncompromising soldier of his cause:

*Let the world count me for  
nothing, let the mountains be  
lofty, there are a thousand  
and one nights in the sky.*

The most extreme and endearing expressions of lyricism can be found in the Karacaoğlan style songs that he included in his novels and made the heroes of the novels sing:

*He came to the spring  
and frowned when he  
saw me laughing*

The women in her poems are pure Turks, even Turkic:

*I can't ride in palaces I  
ride in the mountains*

*I wouldn't change my  
orphan Turkishness for a  
thousand worlds...*

Atsız does not include obscenity and lust in his poems and novels. Although he accepts that such situations and feelings are human, he does not find it right to disclose them. The sexuality of the women in his novels is not the subject of narration. The women in his poems are the same. Atsız is like a dervish who is enamoured of a divine beauty in the face of the female phenomenon. Nevertheless, the sensual side of love and its connotations are also felt in a few poems:

*You said: "I don't care for Atsız, he's rude,  
his conversation is tasteless"  
I'd have beaten you, girl, but now's not the  
time!*

### **Loneliness**

The loneliness that Atsız himself experienced on his way to the country, the suffering and pain he endured, the feelings of expatriation and longing that penetrated him are the elements that nourish his lyricism. His poem Sesleniş is the culmination of Atsız's loneliness:

*I'm alone, no matter how much I search, I  
can't find you at my bedside.  
Even if I give up the sun and become  
thirsty, I can't be without you.*

Atsız experienced several kinds of loneliness throughout his life. The first loneliness he experienced was the loneliness arising from the lack of understanding of his ideas and feelings. was dismissed several times by the ruling powers of the time, arrested, abandoned by his friends and associates, and even condemned to live separately from his wife and children.

*Today, when we are being sent to an expatriate  
again, maybe not even one person will come to  
us.  
Even the Mutts, travelling for hours behind a  
bone, will laugh at our desolation.*

In Atsız's verses, one can feel the loneliness of a soul that does not feel that it belongs to the age it lives in. He imagines himself as a hero living in the glory ages of an honourable past and therefore despises everything of the age he lives in:

*Soldiers there: some of them are wives of lions,  
some of them are wives of paws. There are girls:  
The sun itself, fifteen of the moon. There is no  
disgrace of that place on the horizon; there is no  
masquerade of politics or ideas.*

Loneliness is an inevitable end for devoted hearts. Atsız is in his expatriation, his loneliness is glued to his character. His aggressive nature, devotion and recklessness prepares his loneliness. His pen has the power to dismount the horseman. This sharp side of him causes his surroundings to empty day by day. When the traveller is alone, the roads become longer and endless:

*You can think... Whether you immerse yourself in  
imagination... It goes on and , because there is no  
end to the road. You're deceived, what you see is a  
mirage As you open your arms to a lovely dream.*

There are several reasons for Atsız's loneliness. The first reason is his aggressive and quarrelsome nature. The second reason is his dedication to his ideals. The third and perhaps the most important reason is that he does not feel that he belongs to this world and keeps longing for another world. The longed-for realm is often the glorious past. Along with the past, the longing for the serenity after death is also frequently sung.

*Forty-seven years worth three lifetimes passed like  
a day I said every pleasure in the world: I long for  
another life, another world I know that there is no  
reality beyond death*

It is inevitable that a heart travelling at the extremes of life produces extraordinary perceptions and sensations. In the land of loneliness, Atsız hears the voices coming from beyond, the cries that transcend the ages, the screams of the other side of the night, the silent cries.

*there a leaner there every night? Is there a  
silent eyelash wet?*

*Is calling me from afar? What is it  
saying? I can't hear him.*

## Death

When Atsız's poems are analysed, it is seen that the idea of death occupies a very dominant place. In his poems, death is a means of heroism. Leaving aside the request for death due to his weariness of life, which is perceived in a few of his poems, Atsız's attitude towards death resembles the devotion of a hero. He considers dying for his ideal, homeland and honour as the superior qualities of the Turkish race both in his writings and poems. He considers death as a necessity of heroism. To be able to die for future generations, for the continuation of the nation's existence, to be able to risk death, is the virtue of a man of ideal. Atsız always desired death and reflected this in his poems.

*"With the exception of his desire for death due to being tired of life, Atsız's desire for death always revolves around the aim of achieving his ideal. The ways in which Atsız desires death can be listed as follows:*

1. *To die for the country,*
2. *To die fighting for country and honour,*
3. *To die to be worthy of the ancestors,*
4. *To die a hero's death,*
5. *Dying to set an example for future generations,*
6. *To die because of weariness of life, in order to meet God."*<sup>315</sup>

Atsız has expressed these ideas in various poems. According to him, death is the end of the worries of life, the disappearance of the burden of the laws of the world, the disappearance of a thousand and one kinds of worries, and the peace of man. Life and death are intertwined with each other. Life is the sword and death is its scabbard. These symbols are in complete conformity with Atsız's warrior spirit. Atsız is a "soldier of ideals". His life is spent in war like a sword. When he dies, this war ends and the hero enters the grave, in other words, the sword enters the scabbard.

*"If this life is a sword, death is its scabbard; they  
give both together when they give one."*

<sup>315</sup> Kocakaplan İsa The Idea of Death in Atsız's Poems *Orkun* 1999 Issue: 12-13



Atsız is like a dervish who surrendered in the face of death. This not only seen in his poems, but also in many of his writings and novels. Such expressions can be considered as an indicator of Atsız's predisposition towards Sufism. In his article titled "Farewell" written in 1952, he explains that death is the beginning of an eternal life:

*"Life and death are both beautiful. But death is the real and eternal one. The other is as temporary and deceptive as a dream. To lie in the bosom of a great and mysterious universe... This is our lot. What more honourable than to give ourselves to an idea as eternal as death in the short dream world before we receive our lot, and to lose ourselves in the high ideal of spending ourselves for that idea? This death is a glorious and beautiful death that will bring us to our goal, to the souls of our ancestors waiting on Mount God and to God Himself. Contemplating the beauty of this death and the ugliness of life in drink and lust will help us to understand the truth."*<sup>316</sup>

As a person who has been alone or left alone throughout his life, Atsız does not attach any importance to this world with the effect of his weary state of mind. According to him, the world is a place of ugliness and vulgarity. Those who wish can fill their lives with this world, but he prefers to migrate among the souls of his great ancestors and to the Godhead.

*"Let this world know what I am in this world, I am at the peak of the greatness of an ideal.*

*Whoever wants to plunge into the abomination called the world, I am in the honour-bearing legend of my race.*

He seems to be looking for a, unpretentious but blessed death. Even the surname he chooses a reminder of this preference for solitude. He is alone while fighting against his enemies, he wants to be alone while dying. A lonely and secluded death, giving up the right to live valiantly, quietly leaving without leaving a name behind. "To live is to live only for a short moment. Death, on the other hand, is to live for centuries in the eternity of the universe, in memories and hearts, or to continue to live until the end in eternity after being erased from memories and hearts. How beautiful it is to give up the right to live, and how much more beautiful it is to live without being remembered, erased from hearts, and forgotten. Every sacrifice is marvellous. But not to leave a signature on your work, to be erased without leaving a name for the sake of the ideal is more magnificent than anything else."

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316 Farewell, Orkun 1952, Issue: 68

In Atsız's poems, dying for the ideal an important place. Giving up the right to life for the sake of sacred ideals... Like the heroes of his novels. Like Kürşat, Urungu, Selim Pusat. God blesses those who die for their ideals and into His exalted realm. Therefore, death is gladly chosen for the country, for the ideal, for the nation. The only part of death that is worth being sad about is the crush of dying before reaching the ideal.

*"Life goes on with a hundred-coin bullet; God's  
way is far; get up early and dress warmly.  
Alas, you will die before reaching the beautiful Red  
Sea, which you have longed for so much all your  
life."*

The person who dies fighting for homeland and honour, even if he seems defeated against the enemy, is actually victorious. Just like the Gokturk prince Kürşad, whom he made the hero of his novel, died so that his nation could be saved. The person who died for the homeland raised the flag of freedom and defeated captivity.

*"Man grows up in the  
cradle to lie in the grave.  
And...  
Heroes give their lives keep  
the country alive..."*

There is no philosophical depth in Atsız's view of life. He is a nameless and horseless soldier of the national cause. His view of life is straight and his view of death is straight. He does not philosophise, he does not miss his concepts beyond life with scientific expansions. The wrist and heart of the valiant should be able to see life as a game of backgammon and embrace the risk. Even the form of death should be military.

*"We don't understand life with philosophy and  
science Life should be dice thrown with steel  
hands. Isn't it an ordeal to die in a comfortable  
bed? Bloody border lengths must be our  
grave."*

Atsız is a man of the oriental tradition that "blesses the ancestors". He is oriental in every aspect. At every moment of his life, he lived as one of the heroes raised by the Turkish nation. Sometimes he is Kürşat, sometimes Gök Börü, sometimes Urungu, sometimes Mad Wolf. Atsız admires the heroes of our past and lives life in their person, he also wishes to raise similar heroes in the future.

*"Tomorrow, when Yavuz resurrects and commands  
us, we will cross the hot sand deserts anew. Our  
blood is a fountain, by shedding it all, we will live  
unremembered in unmarked graves..."*

Death is the reward of heroism and the rank of heroes. Those who are afraid of death, those who are attached to the world and those who do not turn heroism into a way of life are pathetic. Heroes are not ordinary people. They do not surrender to life, they take life into their hands. Since death is an inevitable end, it is foolish to fear it.

*"To think of immortality is a vain labour; Heroism is to attack  
and never return.*

*...Heroism is to drink from the bitter cup of death, to  
leap forward and then not to turn back."*

Atsız is not only an extraordinary person with his ideas and devotion, but also a unique personality in terms of his emotional world and his perception of death. He embraced death to such an extent that almost all of his poems have the theme of death. He looks at death as a fate that frees people from the troubles of life, brings them to God, carries them to new beginnings and is predetermined by God's power. For him, death is a *vuslat* that will end all suffering. Although he does not have the depth of Sufism or an intense piety, he, like Mevlana and Yunus, likens death to meeting the beloved and perceives and embraces it as such.

*No ambition decides in the heart today, Our sad  
autumn is coming to an end.*

*The brigades of the khans should be erected in  
Altai, Let our grave be seen in the world.*

Atsız's journey in poetry continued with cries of war rather than aesthetic pursuits. Although the lyrical depth he reached in a few poems shows the prowess of the poet's heart, it could not be expected that a heart dedicated to the fight for a cause would also be scrupulous in his poetry journey. Let us present a selection of his poems to the reader:

## Bliss

Happiness is neither riding on the mare of victory, nor landing on a worldly plane while living. It has no shape, no colour, it is indefinite and unique. Bliss: To rejoice once in a lifetime.

While this existence is flowing into a dark night, is there any eternal happiness in the world? Your reward, even if you do the greatest good, is to finally ride a mare named victory.

The four-syllable word "bliss"... It is a secret... Humanity won't know it for a thousand centuries. Knowledge, wealth, religion, money... All empty, all barren... The most is to descend into a worldly abyss.

There is a form for everything, a cure for every problem... The tree of the world yields all kinds of fruits. Victory is hard, knowledge is hard, defeat is bad, love is bitter. Whereas happiness: It is indefinite and unique.

Bliss: To overcome the lofty mountains of Boraca, To run to distant places where one dies before reaching, To speak in ecstasy at God's table, And to rejoice in a lifetime, once in a lifetime...



## Yesterday Night

How beautiful the world was last  
night, the skies a glorious moonlight.  
When love overflowed from the earth,  
there were rewards for sinful love.

Mountains were leaning against  
each other, Birds were calling to  
flowers, Nature was secretly  
adorned, There a mirage of  
vuslat in things.

I wanted to open my heart to the  
skies, I wanted to ram the mountains in  
my bosom, I wanted to drink the moon  
to the full, There was the wine of love  
in its light.

I heard "Him" in the voice of the singing  
bird, I saw "Him" in the purple face of the  
sky, there was Majnun's address to Leyla in  
every particle of the ecza-yi hilkat.

The universe had come love,  
The nightingale was reciting a poem to a  
rosebud rose, even in the sobbing voice of  
the wind, there was the rebbe of love.

I became a companion of endless  
roads, I listened to a gentle bird from  
afar, The fifteenth of the month spoke  
to me, I thought he had a reproach for  
me.

My eyes bewildered with the mystery of  
beauty I wandered in peace, bi-huzur,  
exuberant; In my heart your eternal,  
eternal love  
It had a moon that would not accept a dragon.

The suns and moons set in my heart, the  
stars added new troubles to my  
troubles. The winds told the grass  
about me,  
Everything its own joy.

How solemn was nature last night?  
God's pulse beat with love... A stranger  
wandered on the roads, he the book of  
love in his hand.

## Letter Back

Is your soul a fire, or are those eyes of flame? I don't know, what kind of embers ignited this volcano? Does the moth hide itself from the flame?

You asked for it, that's why this heart was forced to ignite...

If the day takes light from you and takes on a colour; If the moon prostrates to your face and crawls on the ground; If only the light of your green eyes appears in my sight while everything else is disappearing...

O thou, who hast made me thy servant with thy irreparable countenance, O thou, with every look of thine, hearts are on fire! Sharp as a dagger and thin as a flower, when your countenance gives me the pleasure of dying for you

I have cast the raging giant in my heart to the winds; I have tasted the pleasure of sinning with the eyes. The eyes, which are a part of the deity from you, the eyes, which are your harshest cruelty and weapon,

Strike with your glorious weapon, and let the heart's estate be restored; You are beautiful both when you kill and when you strike!

As if another fancy springs from his face, A face made of a tigress and sadness...

I long for you, O fresh spring of twenty years, The pain in my bosom will not rest even with your passing. It won't! This is the sound of the heart, of worship, of love! It won't rest! This is the composition of eternal longing!

It was easy to die for the sake of longing, If it possible to see you from ukbadan.

If the seas drown the world and turn it into the apocalypse, if the seas extinguish the volcanoes in me alone!

"Kaabil" to my soul by hiding still alive, If it was possible I would be a curtain to hide you from the hand if I had the possibility against the whole life. I would be in every place you trampled like soil.

Your moonlit face must make God jealous, This beauty cannot be woven from the most sensitive poetry.

It is difficult to approach, it is difficult to get away from you; It is the work of the heart, this beauty is invisible to the eye...



## Destiny

Although we have not profited anything in the world, perhaps we should have a reputation in the Hereafter.

Agyar plucked roses from the thorns in , our flower-faced half in our bosom became Har.

The joy of heaven has ascended to the heavens; our ah ü zar remained hidden in the earth.

We have not bowed our heads for the glory;  
Our pride is in the past, the race, the banner.

it be possible not to be happy, to the neighbourhood of the Red Apple If one day he returns, our râyet-i âli-tebâr.

No ambition decides in the heart today, Our sad autumn is coming to an end.

The brigades of the khans should be erected in Altay, Let our grave be seen in the world.

### Koşmalar I (Requiem)

The waves that are raging in Nazareth  
to this last lament I wrote in my heart!  
Waves running like those who are sick  
and seek a doctor late at night!

Surely you have a pain, Is that where your  
terrible speed comes from? Will you take  
me with you?  
Waves swelling with grief?

If we share this terrible grief with you; This  
eternal evening of death does not end.  
I don't know if that's why the ship  
trembles, O waves that break over  
the breakwater?

Hey Atsiz! An old pole is collapsing.  
Even if you look at the world without  
trembling, we should all cry out  
together, O waves cooking in the world  
of trouble!...

### Death of Heroes

A formidable bow is  
stretched to shoot an  
arrow; The moon rises  
in the night sky rise and  
set. Majnun moans, to  
add his blood to Leyla.  
The beloved flirts to  
make the heart bleed.  
Why does the poet grieve?  
To create poetry.  
Why shout on the  
mountain? scold the  
catastrophe. Sweet  
roses bloom, for bees  
to taste.  
Flowers are worn on the  
chest to throw away when  
they fade. God created  
girls to sell to men. Man  
grows up in the cradle to  
lie in the grave.  
And.....  
Heroes their lives keep  
the homeland alive...

## Heroism

Heroism not a lonely ascent, nor is it to shine like the stars and not be extinguished. To think of immortality is a vain labour; Heroism: To strike and never return.

Even though hearts ache from the mourning of those who have fallen, they should go after them with running steps. Heroism: Drinking from the cup of death, stepping forward and then not returning.

Predators live a short life... It doesn't take long to be born... Behind every light lies a darkness. Although nameless, the greatest heroism is to attack without blinking an eye and never return.

Heroism does not mean a lonely ascent, nor is it to shine like the stars and not be extinguished. It a leap into death.  
It is to be thrown out and never to return...



## Yellow Zeybek I

The oaks of those mountains are dark, The skirts of those mountains are grassy meadows, They make friends with the girls here, "Yellow Zeybek leans against those mountains, It rains, his compasses get wet".

Yellow Zeybek is the man of these mountains, The mountains all he has. He himself is yellow, the horse he rides is high; He gets off the horse and leans on those mountains, His eyes wander, his gaze is misty.

Yellow Zeybek is carried from mountain to mountain, and as he is carried, lofty mountains are eroded.  
He takes a break and thinks about Gökçen girl; Efe calls from the mountain towards the village, Yosma Gökçen hears the voice and dresses up.

Shouldn't he love Gökçen the Yellow Zeybek? Gökçen, whose face is an angel, whose hair is silk?  
All Aydın has only one Gökçen? The heart of a man who does not love a girl becomes rusty.

If it reaches the sultan's ear, If the state orders to hold it If three hundred horsemen and five hundred foot march, The mountains and stones are fogged with gunpowder, The dead die, their mothers mourn.

## Yellow Zeybek II

The guards surrounded the young lord,  
They asked him which of the forty deaths  
he liked; They knocked down the girls one  
by one.

Yellow Zeybek does not blacken his  
honour, he sacrifices his own life for  
Erlik.

However the life flies, the flesh  
remains; A deep sigh gripped these  
mountains. Yellow Zeybek was shot in  
three places. "Shame on the honour of  
Telli Doru, bend down and look at the  
blood of the purple pocket".

Yellow Zeybek was shot at sunset. Slowly his  
pulse calmed down, a black curtain was  
drawn over his eyes.

The head of the valiant man fell down  
beside him, and he did not look at the  
blood of the purple pocket.

Don't think that Sarı Zeybek is dead,  
he is alive; He is again the unique  
soldier of the mountains, All girls are  
his half. They are all smitten with his  
fame. Now they long for the wedding  
day.

Yellow Zeybek is now a fairy tale, Don't  
think that the years will diminish his  
honour.

It is a matter in the tongues of the  
valiant. The valiant ones sacrifice  
their own lives

Not a drop of stain on his honour...

### Runs III

The sword and the dagger both  
wound, but not the wound of that  
sharp look This fate that once  
knocked me to the ground will not  
hit the ground even once

Hey, what a sea this is, its bottom is  
invisible These mountains are like our  
smoky head Even if a hurricane, a blizzard  
blows over it, it is not the gale of my  
heart

I can't say, "A slut, think of tomorrow." I'm  
afraid God won't ask you about your  
sins when you're so beautiful.

You said: "I don't care for Atsiz, he's rude,  
his words are tasteless.  
I'll get you, girl, but now's not the time!

## Runs IV

The sun does not shine here  
The bird of hope does not  
fly  
There is no road, the caravan does not  
pass Minutes do not pass

A woman's  
melancholy A baby's  
dream An orphan in a  
house  
It does not escape my eyes

I have returned from the path  
of vuslat I burnt from the  
desert of fate God from the  
flood of mercy  
It doesn't shed a drop

My days are darkened,  
my days are darkened,  
my summers are  
becoming winter, my  
smoky eyes do not  
distinguish far from near

A heart I am an eagle  
without wings: Wingless  
If he passes out, Atsiz  
Minutes do not pass



### **Runs V (Calling)**

I'm alone, no matter how much I search,  
I can't find you at my bedside.  
Even if I give up the sun and become  
thirsty, I can't be without you.

I don't know these roads mountains or  
plains. If I go, will I find my own nest?  
Bird! Where are you going? our house?  
You take him, I can't send word.

there a leaner there every night? Is  
there a silent eyelash wet?  
Is calling me from afar? What is it  
saying? I can't hear him.

Are your black eyes old? Your eyes  
are a deep wound in me... Have your  
eyes wandered somewhere far  
away? I don't see, I don't know, I don't  
know.

I count the days, the nights go down; I  
wait for the night, the stars go out; a  
secret wound, it bleeds non-stop; Where  
is it? I can't find it and erase it.

Even if the roads reach you, Atsız's  
power is not enough to reach you. I  
still live, I can't die while so much  
pain is inside me.

## Lame Soldier

O with the "alagarson" haircut! Don't look at me and laugh, you cheeky cheek!

Don't make fun of my leg for being so lame. Ask me where that lameness from.

Every night and day while you dance in Şişli What plains, what streams, what flat plains

crossed the plateaus and snowy mountains;  
We fought while you danced in the hall.

O girl whose lips are as red as my blood,  
Don't look at me like that and laugh, you cheeky cheeky!

Let your mind be a little weary with  
what's going on! I know you're making  
fun of my dress:

I know that a single silk stocking that covers  
your calf so gently is worth more

Of all my clothes... Even from myself... I know: Because in  
this world today

What am I? Nothing... uselesslame...  
You're tough, it's your right to the world:

Because you drank wine in marvellous halls  
while we fought enemies there!

O beauty whose eye colour is foreign to me,  
O innkeeper beauty whom every traveller  
stops by!

Every day while you were living in foreign arms, we were  
making a wedding with blood and gunpowder.

While you're coquettishly wandering around  
in those cosy rooms... And we're blizzarding,  
storming, raining,

We shed blood under the snow, we wore out  
lives; We lived hungry, we were thirsty, we slept  
on stones.

You were a blooming spring, we were black winter;  
This is how we fought with armies superior to us...

Don't look at me and laugh so  
shamelessly You beautiful on the outside,  
but muddy on the inside!

You must listen to the one who cries out  
against you; Today we will settle accounts  
with you:

While I was dying at the front, I was left behind  
with the love of the homeland, who died for a  
thousand troublesome jobs.

While my mother, my father, my wife, my daughter  
are oppressed... Come, answer me, you

Tell me, tell , what did you do? You've fooled  
around like dogs, you've indulged in  
prostitution!

While the Motherland was drowning in  
crimson blood, you gave your hearts only to  
pleasure and glamour...

Ungrateful girl, ungrateful whore,  
remember this: I took a bullet fighting for  
you.

That's why my leg has become lame, that's  
why my hearth no longer smokes.

While you were lying coyly on the beds, we  
stayed dead in the swamps.

Our steel bosom became thick with bayonets,  
Our half of us died in this relentless struggle,

And how did you live? As if our blood had  
become wine for you... Our martyred soul

It was supposed to be your appetiser! You ate  
and drank; you jumped, you raged, shameless,  
shameless!....

Though in the theatres your name was "star",  
in reality you are a whore, you vile  
woman!...

You know something, you blushing, shapely  
slut: The whole nation has learnt of your  
prostitution.

Why should he pull you uselessly on his shoulder?



**I**

Come, dilber, let us enjoy what  
lies there alone You add  
honey from your lips to my  
glass of bitter wine

Even if the girls look at me,  
even if Jasmine smells of  
roses, even if tomorrow  
the heart grows weary,  
you are enough for this day.

Your lips: "What a drink is  
this! What kind of behaviour  
is this in you? My heart is your  
aim, your eyebrow is your bow  
You shoot arrows with your  
eyelash

If I say: "Let's make love!" You  
say: "No, let's talk!" I say: "Girl,  
let's kiss!" Then you  
immediately frown

If there is a battle tomorrow, if  
there is blood on the field, if  
something happens to Atsız  
She'll mourn you again.

### **Varsagi IV**

When the day of manhood  
comes, glory appears to the  
valiant. Many hundred  
thousand lives appear to be  
spent in heaps.

When a great battle breaks  
out, the soldier goes quickly,  
the coward slowly. For the  
faint-hearted there is food  
with money, but for the  
soldiers there is a square.

One day in a year, in a month,  
we will always be united in  
Altai. In the autumn, at the  
assembly, the khan with a  
head scarf appears.

Atsiz : What's wrong with life?  
We sleep on fresh grass.  
Every mention of the  
Russian name blood to my  
eyes.

### Intercession- I

We do not understand life with philosophy  
and science; Life should be dice thrown with  
steel hands. Isn't dying in a comfortable bed an  
ordeal? Bloody border lengths must be our  
grave.

As the lover finds a refreshing cool water in the  
solid, glossy lips of a beauty he loves, so our hearts  
will be extinguished in the lofty God Mountain  
where the Gods roam.

God Mountain! The mountain of gods, the  
mountain of the gods! There one who has  
been watching us for thirteen centuries.  
There are those who yearn for the red flag  
with the moon and war songs, and the  
souls of the dead without shrouds.

Almighty God! Keep the undefeated spirit of Kür  
Şad a little longer on the Great God Mountain!  
We will come soon! Tomorrow all these places  
will belong to your steel swords on iron wrists.

Is it a grief if a bullet burns our heart? These  
bullets and bayonets cannot kill us, Maybe  
they will ease our eternal heartache.

When we think with a longing shining in our eyes,  
Mother Earth of course opens her arms to us.  
No thought thinks of us as much as he does, He hides  
every son who dies in his bosom.

Even if you are laid down for the sake of homeland and honour, may your name not be mentioned on any lips! When he arrives in your presence with blood oozing from his chest, maybe that day Kür Şad's agony will be relieved.

If only swords and bayonets be our favour, Is it not as if dying in a comfortable bed is not a worry?  
War and the battlefield must be our grave.



## Intercession- II

One day, of course, the old likes will come back to life; the pashas of history will take up the sword again.

Again glory is taken and many lives are given, Again the world is surprised by our valiant raid.

It is the blood you will spend to rewrite the heroic poem called "Turkish history". The most beautiful and deep among the verses "Niğebolu" in the west and "Çaldıran" in the east.

Again in the third Kosovo of the westerners, we will lay not one, but several. When the swords are drawn again in Haçova, we shatter the cross of Germanism. Again our glorious pirates sail to the horizon, They will make a Turkish lake in the Mediterranean. Those of us who are silent today laugh bitterly. Tomorrow they'll disgrace the Roman bastard.

When the young Fatih's army takes the takbir again, we will extinguish the infidel's Virgin Mary candle. We will wipe them off the map when we set horses on the Danube, the Vlachs, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks.

Of course we'll turn his body into a ploughshare, and if he ever passes, we'll have the collar of Muscovy in our hands. A gale will break again in front of Gallipoli, our bayonet will spoil the English's swagger...

Valiant cadets! Learn your lesson:  
A hero is one who attacks the enemy without blinking.  
Your mission: Kanije, Silistire, Pilevne,  
Niğebolu, Kosovo, Malazgirt, Chaldiran.

Tomorrow, when Yavuz resurrects and  
commands us, we will cross the hot sand  
deserts anew. Our blood is a fountain; by  
shedding it all we will live unremembered in  
unmarked graves...

## End of Roads

Maybe not even one person will come to us again  
while we are being sent to an expatriate today.  
Even the Mutts, travelling for hours behind  
a bone, will laugh at our desolation.

I'm leaving: The pain of burns in my heart... I  
have a gayiz in my blood that cannot be defeated  
by armies. A lonely memory of the  
acquaintances who came with me yesterday is  
left with me now.

The hard paths cannot be travelled with the soft-  
hearted; for this path is blessed, it leads to the  
Mountain of God. However, those who leave  
their comrades and return are changed to a  
street slut.

You can think... Whether you immerse yourself in  
imagination... It goes on and , because there is no  
end to the road. You're deceived, what you see is a  
mirage As you open your arms to a lovely dream.

O wind of the east that cools my forehead!  
O moon that keeps me company in the  
dark! My desire is an arrow, it crosses  
great mountains,  
The place where he fell is a palace far away "WISH

When you find in that palace, you'll find the gods  
I never look back again. Even though they are all  
silent, Kür Shad extends his hand:  
"Welcome my son ATSIZ, happy birthday".

### **Moon-faced Beauty Konchuy**

I am ecstatic today with your love, moon-faced  
beautiful konchuy, blow and ring in my heart, moon-  
faced beautiful konchuy.

You made a mirage with your ardour, you  
devastated with your love, you made a mirage in  
your share, moon-faced beautiful konchuy.

It is empty to live without you, death together is pleasant, I  
am exhilarated, make me more exhilarated, moon-faced  
konchuy.

With your love I passed , I knew where the wounds came  
from; O woe from black eyes, moon-faced beautiful  
konchuy.

You are the mahım in the darkness, you are my ahım in  
my heart, you are my sin in my life, moon-faced  
beautiful konçuy.

Give me a bowl of water; give me both joy and mourning;  
Are those eyelashes daggers, beautiful konchuy with  
the moon face?

The albızs have taken me, the wound in my heart  
aches, Sacrifice to you Atsızs, moon-faced beautiful  
konchuy...



## It's Night

How beautiful the moon was that night, like the melodies gushing from the heart. It was a flood that washed my soul, like the sweetest first and last kisses.

That night that marvellous sea was calm, The wind that did not stop in his life was tired, The blackest hearts were stressed on the moon Like a soldier who found Leyla in himself.

That night I felt the pleasure of life, I understood the secret of the universe. I heard the sound of a universe collapsing in my heart like a whirlwind.

That night my life was like a fairy tale, My consciousness stayed in that moment, My heart was filled with a fusion of light, Like handels that drive you crazy.

That night I stole a night from the nightmare, I was happy for the last time in my life; I lived while I was dying, I died while I was living, and I was silent, like composing silence.

How beautiful the moon was that night, I thought that the moon rose in my soul, The moon was a flood that washed my heart, Like buses stolen in a dream.

That night my heart was also hit by  
the moon; The fire that burned in  
me was resurrected.

Everything in the world was knocked  
down, "He" remained... Like watching  
my heart.

That night my love was a raging river, It  
overflowed from my heart and flowed  
into that heart; He looked into my eyes  
with the sharpest look:

As if to say, "I too you Atsız, I too ...." ...

## Longing

I miss... The burn was worth my life... I  
miss it, I'll miss it for years to come.  
If longing were a folk song, if I played it,  
many reeds would break and go...

Lie down, my hopes, lie down to sleep!  
Be exhausted, my longings, be  
exhausted! The fire of separation is  
harsh, harsh; With it, all my straightness  
is steep.

My delusion beside me is a dream; My eyes  
are tears when I think I laughed. Whatever I  
hope for is all empty; Yet my eyes are  
waiting for him.

There are instruments: Continuously playing  
the expatriate; There is a dream: It steals my  
eyes and my heart. A nightingale sings and  
sings inside me: I miss, I will miss for years  
more...

## **To the Turkish youth**

To all Turkish youth from the Sea of  
Islands to beyond the Altai

I

Let neither ambition nor envy find a place in your heart. You are the property of our country with all your being. You are not a human being; you are neither bone nor flesh; you must remain eternal like a statue of bronze.

, do not moan... Overcome without a sound.  
Even if a drop falls, your tear is a helpless tear;  
Even if your most heartfelt comrade dies  
halfway, you must ride alone towards the  
wish.

Don't be afraid of being crushed... Beware of being stretched! With your will, all the distant must be near, While you are at full speed, you must rush towards your ideal You must dive into the fire, you must dive into the sea.

Do not avoid death, be ashamed of being disgruntled! Think once, what keeps you in the world?

Like the heroes who forget every existence other than their goal, you must remain eternal...



## V

Let fate turn you from the road if it wills, Let you  
overcome these roads with wear and tear, Let  
not a moment of your whole life be granted to  
you, To relieve fatigue at the head of a cool  
water.

What good is a smile, what good is a cry? Servants  
bitches, you find trouble from Hak. There is a day  
when you look for a sip of water from the swamp,  
There is a day when a pinch of salt is not found in  
your cook.

You walk like an avalanche without stopping for a  
moment, because your speed comes from a  
divine source.

Your feelings are dead... You won't find a  
glamour in her eyes, in her brow.

Drink the agony into your blood without blinking  
an eye! Let him laugh after you, what's the use, a  
couple of bastards... You alone have nothing in this  
world of existence... Even tombstone...



*Man grows up in the  
cradle to lie in the grave.  
And.....  
Heroes give their lives keep  
the homeland alive...*

## LAST WORD

Turkey's agenda is locked in identity debates. In recent years, our society has been forced to define new identities with concepts such as democracy, human rights and open society. Within the framework of this agenda, the ownership of our country, the name of our nation, the origin of our culture and the ethnic composition of our people are being discussed and our nation, which is distracted by this confusion, is prevented from acquiring great ideals. In these days when these discussions and impositions are gaining momentum, Turks need more knowledge, consciousness, foresight and courage than ever before. Today, there is no other way to show a legitimate resistance against those who are trying to divide the country by hiding under the concepts of democracy, human rights and freedom.

Getting to know a monumental figure who spoke the sharpest and most striking truths about Turkey's identity, history and culture between the 30s and 70s can be the first step in this process. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız is the sharpest and most striking defining figure of Turkish identity.

Understanding Atsız and what he said is only possible by having a national historical consciousness. This fierce and enthusiastic son of the Harşit valley is the voice of rebellion of a nation whose blood has been poured like a flood of invasions and betrayals during three centuries of frustration. The resentment of a nation whose entire homelands have been plundered, whose states have been destroyed by heedlessness and betrayal, for not being left alone even in its "last castle", which it pulled out from the rubble of this unprecedented destruction, has flowed as a flood of anger in Atsız's works.

As is known, the increase in the number of foreign nobility (*devshirme*) administrators in the Ottoman Empire, especially after the 16th century, to periods of domination of the state by non-Turkish elements. Although the Greek, Armenian, Croatian, Serbian, Albanian, Bosniak and Serbian children who were *devshirme* were tried to be Turkified in the social process, many of them maintained their own belonging within the flexibility of the imperial system and the identity of the group to which they belonged with various statuses and roles. When the "renegades" who were added to our cultural structure with the teachings of Sabatay Sevi were added to these, the state started to experience the problems of being alienated from its nation as a bureaucratic identity.

The constructors of the phenomena imposed on the nation under the name of innovation and Westernisation movements which started towards the end of the Empire, were often these *devshirme* and *dönme* people. This group of *devshirme* and *dönme*, who directed the cultural changes in and around the palace, played a decisive role in the free and compulsory cultural changes that took place until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and did not take into account the reactions of the national fabric. The Ottoman dynasty, which had managed to keep 12 nations under its rule with a handful of Turks, gradually broke away from the Turkish element, which was the sovereign nation, and tried to hold on to the super-identity of "Ottomanness" as a saviour idea. In the decline years of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish elements started to settle in the centre again, and with the republic, the dominant element became Turks again.

The idea of Turkism, which made the Turkish nation, *Millet-i Hakimime*, the owner of the state again, initially started in the field of language and literature with the effort to create a simpler language that the people would understand against the heavy Ottoman dictionary. In the field of language, the first conscious orientations of the idea of Turkism in the field of Turkish language appear with *Tanzimat* literature. In the beginning, the first traces of the idea of Turkism are characterised by Ziya Pasha in literature, Ahmet Vefik Pasha in dictionary, Mustafa Celâleddin Pasha in historiography.

While these movements were being witnessed in the Ottoman country, Gaspiralı İsmail in Crimea, Şahabeddin Mercanî, Zeki Velidî Togan in Kazan Ahundzâde in Azerbaijan started to lay the foundations of Turkism and Turanism. The contributions of Şemseddin Sami, Necib Asım, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Tunalı Hilmi Bey were added to this foundation. When scientific Turkism found a base among intellectuals, it soon manifested itself in the political sphere as well. Tunalı Hilmi, Yusuf Akçura, Ziya



Gökalp and Hüseyinzâde Ali Bey began to actively advocate Turkist and Turanist politics.

Turkism was brought to power under the leadership of M. Kemal. During this period of power, the Turkism programme prepared by Ziya Gökalp became effective in the fields of politics, education and culture. The efforts made in the first years of the Republic were applauded by all Turkists as efforts to bring Turkish identity to a new history and language thesis and a new understanding of "nation". This period can be interpreted as the process in which the Turkish element, which had been left on the shore in the last three centuries of the Ottoman Empire, was moved to the "centre". After Atatürk's retreat to Çankaya, the returning and devshirme group to turn the state away from its Turkist orientation.

Although the "Enderun phenomenon", which has been abolished, and the dönme" group, which has always continued its activities insidiously in our national fabric, were kept away from the state in the early years of the republic, they have infiltrated the state again since the thirties. The idea of Turkism, which was the source of the national struggle during the construction process of modern Turkey, was transformed into "Kemalism" with the influence and guidance of intellectuals of "dönme and devshirme" origin. After Turanism, which was suspended by the Republican administration, Turkism was also excluded from the state. In addition to all these negativities, the supporters of communism, which succeeded in becoming a state with the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, dragged Atsız to the field of ideas and fights.

In 1931, the opposition to the new history thesis initiated by the Turkist and Turanist cadres became stronger and stronger and itself in the first civil society signed opposition in the history of the republic to the reaction of thousands of young people against "communist traitors" in Ulus Square in Ankara on 3 May 1944. There are two leaders of this opposition: Zeki Velidi Togan and Hüseyin Nihal Atsız. These two brave hearts, who flagged the national historical consciousness, did not adopt any foreign ideology, and they did not accept any view that was not approved by Turkish culture and had no roots in these lands. This Turkist and Turanist orientation, which had parted ways with the official ideology as of the 1940s, was giving very harsh answers to the renegades, communists and separatist minorities with the magazines published by Atsız and the brochures and books he published. The Turkist and Turanist opposition did not delay in attracting the anger of the distorted mentality that dominated the state. Trials, convictions, dismissals and exiles followed one after another. Your persecution did not end, Atsız did not surrender. Far from surrendering

He was becoming more and more hardened and was left alone even by his companions due to his uncompromising temperament. Loneliness made Atsız even more irritable, and Atsız, who attempted to mow the weeds with his pen, which he used with the skill of a gardener's scissors, was also cutting flowers and saplings with his unbridled anger.

Atsız, who spent 40 years of his 70-year life without interruption in intellectual struggles for Turkism and Turanism, passed away leaving behind more than forty works and hundreds of articles. It is necessary to evaluate Atsız within the conditions of the time he lived in, and to attribute his overstated expressions to the intensity of his struggle against the renegades, deviators, separatist minorities and communists. It is inevitable that there are great distances and differences between the political representation of the idea of nationalism and Atsız's harsh idealism. In Atsız, Turkism and Turanism are fixed ideas. It is well known that being fixed-minded is a liability that does not fit a man of thought. However, this liability does not look out of place on Atsız. He is a firm believer. There is no room for hesitation in his tradition. He has rolled up his tent, which he has woven with the loops of his own truths, and has travelled through the triumphant pages of Turkish history.

Atsız is a man of "cause" rather than a man of ideas. He is an unbending, uncompromising, fierce and determined man of action. In today's Turkey, of course, there are scholars and intellectuals who are interested in the issues Atsız was interested in, but there is a lack of courageous and dedicated men of cause like Atsız. In our intellectual and political life, where apostasy is considered "change and transformation", we are looking for uncompromising and determined men like Atsız, regardless of their views.

Atsız's compass intellectual hopes always points to Turkism and Turanism. His understanding of Turkism and Turanism cannot be explained by the idea of racism rising between the two world wars. This valiant heart, which makes the nation the subject of his idea and cause, is a sacrifice who defends his nation, which is deceived, and wanted to be driven out of Anatolia. Atsız believed that pure and smooth Turkism would be the cure for all the problems of our nation. For this reason, he did not favour any other idea, opinion or movement. He lived with his head held high. He voiced his thoughts with plain and simple expressions, without fear or hesitation. The flexibility to encompass the society was not in Atsız's temperament. He did not care about the sociological and economic laws of history and culture. The expression of these shortcomings should not be considered disrespectful to his memory. His novels and poems are the architect of our national feeling, his ideas the architect of our national consciousness. Identity debates have a negative impact on our roots from the soil.

His observations and warnings have become even more important in these days when it is wanted to be transformed into a storm that will uproot.

You may not agree with Atsız's ideas. You may not find his works successful or even dislike them. However, it is the duty of every conscientious person to bow respectfully in front of that monument of character and to recognise his right.

*Nihal Atsız's body is about to be laid to his last journey at Osmanağa Mosque. A handful of volunteers are lined up behind the giant of the country to see him off to his final rest. Imam:*

*-For the sake of a man, he calls out.*

*Fethi Germuhoğlu, who was among the congregation, murmurs sadly:*

*-This stone has rarely seen such a man!*

He lived by turning his back on this world and its blessings, which he did not care about. He wandered in the honourable legends of his ancestors for a lifetime. He was a man of love rather than a man of thought. He may not have had theses, counter-theses and syntheses. But he had great loves and ideals that not every heart could bear. He was the Dede Korkut of the twentieth century. He lived and died like a soldier from the black bud. He passed leaving behind a library-wide artefacts. He was not afraid of living alone, he lived alone and died alone.

he be in heaven.

# **BERSERKER**

## **BOOKS**

