

TURKISH IDEAL



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BERSERKER

BOOKS



PREFACE

This second edition of the Turkish Ideal is quite different from the first one. The articles on history and the struggle of the pen in the first edition have been left behind articles directly related to various subjects of the ideal have been taken and new articles related to the ideal have been added to these. The articles on Turkology and the struggle of the pen, which were included in the first edition but were not included in this second edition will be published as separate books with the addition of new ones.

Corrections were made on the 17 articles collected here. Some of the corrections belong to the language. Some of the corrections belonged to the time when the articles were first published, and were in the form of removing or changing parts that are no longer necessary or even meaningful.

In this way, the book a journal of ideals that can address not a short period of time but a long period of time.

Maltepe, 1 January 1966

Atsiz

1) This is the fourth edition, but the same as the third.

TURKISH LOVE

D The world is a field of collision. The creative force has created the world in an order of collision, and the creatures live in an order of collision. they have reached today.

If we put aside the high philosophical considerations as to why this is so and accept the fact as it is, we will automatically come to the conclusion that combat readiness is the most vital principle.

The clash between people takes place between united and organised communities. We call these communities nations. Nations have existed for thousands of years. Some of them have disappeared in relentless struggles, some of them have been founded later, but nations have always existed and have always fought each other.

War is necessary for life. Because, in order to end the conflicts of national interests, there is no other way than war. There are two means that keep nations ready for war: One is material, which we call "technique". One is spiritual, which we call "ideals".

Long history has shown that in a battle between equal material forces, the spiritually superior one wins. Spiritual

strength can create technical strength. The absence of spiritual power means that no matter how great the material power is, it is corrupt.

.. What is spiritual strength?

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 is capable of destroying contradictions.

The Turkish creative power, in other words the Turkish ideal, is an idea which 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 become lax and lazy in their dreams. If it were a dream as they say, would it have ever been realised?

Nevertheless, the twentieth century has been a time of miracles, and what was thought to be impossible has been made possible. In this respect, it is a right for people to hope for the realisation of the Turkish ideal.

The Turkish ideal, Turkish greatness and Turkish might is the will and belief. There is no need to explain what a great spiritual factor faith is. With faith, even hopeless patients are cured.

What a beautiful thing it is to rally around an ideal and to fight for it at the risk of death! Humans can be differentiated from animals only with an ideal. Without a national ideal, what difference does man have from animals? Animals run away from death and suffering and fear the strong. The creature that does not fear death, does not run away from suffering, and is willing to fight with the strong is only an idealist man.

Once upon a time religions tried to save human beings from becoming animals and gave them advice from God. Today's ideals are completely national. The national ideal, which also includes religious belief, is this feeling and thought that drives, strengthens and ennobles people.

Among today's vulgar materialism, the Turkish ideal

It seems to have turned yellow, a little ashen. When the disease of materialism passes, it will shine again. For this reason, we are obliged to cling to the Turkish ideal. In the face of the enmity and resentment of the West, which has defeated all the nations of the East but cannot cope with the Turks alone, our weapon is the Turkish ideal.

Defeating Arabs, Persians, and Chinese, the lions of Asia, who had single-handedly plunged into Europe and defended the name of God against all European nations for centuries, occasionally fell into a slumber of ignorance, but then leapt up and rose up.

This time the absent-mindedness seems a bit dangerous. Because there is also an element of admiration for foreigners. No matter where the dangers come from, no matter how great they are, the only remedy and the only cure is the "Turkish ideal".

A poet

*Let's die for this
land, for this
flag..
But let's know..*

He says. It is a good thought, the day we enter the path of the Turkish ideal, we will change this poem a little and say it as follows:

*Let us die for
this land, for
this flag.
Let us neither think nor know!*

10 November 1955

REDELMA

Bhe executive force of a nation is called "*ideal*". The object that binds people in societies together is not only unity of origin, interest and need, but also together and at the same time ideals.

A community without an ideal is a mass on the move, while a community with an ideal is a mass on the march. The dictionary meaning of "vow" and "*distant goal*" is "*ideal*", which is a force that makes the community march on the same path, people seem to have a sincere contract with each other.

The ideal is first born in people's hearts, in the depths of their hearts, in their subconscious minds, in their dreams, and manifests itself first in epics. Then it passes into consciousness and is explained by great guides. Then, great heroes make great moves to realise it. During these moves, the idealised nation runs after the heroes with the will of the heart. In the midst of all these endeavours, the nation walks; first spiritually, then materially, it progresses, becomes mature.

According to the meaning derived from the Turkish epics, the ideal of the Turks is to establish a great and superior state at the end of conquests and to attain abundance and happiness within this state.

Every nation, more or less, pursues national goals in the same way. Although there are differences in the details of national ideals according to the scale and ability of nations, they are all similar in terms of main lines: Growth and prosperity!

Why did the Turks call their ideal "Kizilelma"? We do not know the reason for this. However, the purity and purity of this name is meaningful in terms of showing that the Turkish ideal was very incomplete. The name "Kizilelma" should show that the ideal was born among the people before the intellectuals.

The ideal of Kizilelma (Red Destiny) took shape in the heyday of the Ottomans and became the epitome of Turkish greatness, of the idea of height, of a divine goal. Without this great idea, the one million Turks who came to Anatolia in the 11th century, even with the help of a few divisions of Christianised remnants of other Turks they encountered in the Byzantine territories of Asia and Europe, could not have founded this world-wide state and created this masterpiece of organisation and civilisation on four continents (the fourth Oceania).

It is enough to look at today's events to understand what a great force the ideal is, which gives national belief and strength to nations.

Despite being a nation of 60 million people, the Arabs, who were disorganised, disorganised and backward, have started to recover thanks to their national ideal of Arab unity. With the power they derive from their ideals, they are challenging Britain and America in the Palestine issue. Since they are a nation with ideals, their prestige and value in the world has increased. The following incident, which is a great lesson for us, is meaningful in terms of showing the prestige of the Arabs: Of the Security Council of the United Nations, five (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China) are permanent and six are temporary. In 1945, elections were held for these six members.

was held. In this election, Turkey, with its 900 years of great past and history and its reputation as a military state could not enter the Council with only one vote, whereas Egypt, which had not yet recovered from the British occupation, without an army or navy, was elected to this membership with 45 votes. In other words, 45 of the 50 states of the United Nations Organisation at that time considered Egypt more worthy and superior to us.

In the 1946 election for provisional membership Syria received 45 votes, while no one voted for Turkey. The reason why Syria, a state of only a year or two years old with a population of three million at that time, was preferred to Turkey is obvious: Syria is behind an ideal. In other words, it has principles. Therefore, it has gained the respect of even its enemies.

The Jews are a second example of having an ideal. This nation, whose cowardice has become a proverb, today fights as courageously as any other nation in the pursuit of a national ideal. It raises national heroes, and these national heroes, even though they were sentenced to death and could have escaped death if they had asked for forgiveness, did not ask for forgiveness from England and died by honouring their nation. Thanks to this national ideal, half a million Jews¹ in Palestine risk a war not only with the Arabs, but also with Great Britain, and challenge America. Thanks to clinging to the national ideal, the Jews have become so strong that today the British Empire cannot do anything to them. England, which used to consider the imprisonment of a single one of its subjects as an act of war, today cannot raise a voice against the murder of British soldiers, the kidnapping and beatings of British officers, the brutal hanging of innocent British sergeants by Jews.

1) At that time there were half a million Jews in Palestine.

The most important reason for all this is the extraordinary strength of the Arabs and Jews. This strength is not material, but spiritual. In other words, it is the strength of ideals.

Those who call the Red Crescent ideal "dangerous adventurism" should look at today's Arabs and Jews and think. Especially the Jews have set an example to the world with their endeavours to recapture the homeland they lost 2000 years ago and to revive the Hebrew language, which had remained only in books, and turn it into a spoken language.

We, on the one hand: "A Turk is worth the world", while at the same time we undermined and denied ourselves. We have feared greatness. The elections to the Security Council have shown that not asking for anything from anyone, getting along with everyone and making alliances do not give a nation prestige.² If we are to regard the Red Crescent ideal as madness, we must give up not only greatness but also life. We must accept being "a community that has done its historical duty and is about to die". We must be willing to be wiped off the map like the Assyrians, Hittites and Romans of old. If we are not willing to do so, we must pursue the national ideal and we must refrain from the blunder of claiming that building a railway and establishing a few factories is an ideal.

It is not right to think of ideals in terms of "what is their material benefit?" or "can they be implemented?". No belief can be rationalised. The existence of God, too, has not been proved by the rational method. But hundreds of millions of people believe in Him and draw strength from this belief.

The ideals are like that.

There may be those who see wars and great troubles behind the ideal of KızılElma and are afraid. Those who pursue the cause of humanity(!) so that their own comfort and pleasure will not be lost, may be afraid of the ideal.

2.) Indeed, even later Turkey was not friendly with everyone, participated in the Korean War and clashed with its ally Greece over Cyprus, its reputation was much improved and it was elected to the Security Council twice, in 1960 and 1963.

Those who deny the national ideal may arise at any time and in any place. However, a great majority of a nation believes in the national ideal, the rest of the people must inevitably follow the national tide. What is important for us is to prevent foreigners disguised as friends from undermining the national ideal in the name of national interest.

Remove a common ideal from a community, and you will see that people have become animals. In a community where there is no common thought, everyone thinks only of his own interest and pleasure. In such a community, there is no sacrifice, respect and courtesy. Selfishness, rudeness, bribery, favouritism and all kinds of dishonesty take over. Would a materialised person die for the homeland? Will a selfish person help the needy? Would a man who does not believe in his nation not collaborate with foreigners? a person who finds virtue ridiculous not steal and cheat?

Kızılçelma is the spiritual food of the Turkish nation. Just as the hungry eat 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.

But this era is now over. In the face of the increasingly awakening national consciousness, the unwary and traitors will no longer deceive the Turkish nation. They will not be able to block the way to the Red Sea.

Ziya Gökalp's verses will be our motto:

*It doesn't say stone,
rock We walk on foot ...
We are Turks, we go to
Kız / apple.*

(Kızılçelma, 1st issue, 31 October 1947)

THE IDEAL OF GREATNESS



Any thought that does not give importance to self-interest and seeks the good of society is human. This human thought is not satisfied with the material gains of society.

If it also pursues the cause of spiritual gain, then it becomes an "ideal".

Ideals are a cause of greatness. For this reason, nations that want to grow and 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 prosperity, on the other hand, cannot be an ideal. Because the desire for peace and abundance cannot excite nations. It cannot bring them to a state of ecstasy. It cannot drag them to sacrifice up to death.

Since the cause of greatness, i.e. the ideal, is achieved through war, great warriors, commanders and heroes have always had a distinguished place in human history. Wars nourished the spirit of heroism, the growth of virtuous people and created epic literature. As we approach the twentieth century, wars have become more agonising, but can be its moral equivalent.

It is not unnoticed that moral deterioration has begun in nations that have not fought for a long time. For example, although Sweden has reached the highest level of culture and prosperity and is even superior to America and Germany in this respect, the increasing degeneration in the morals of the Swedish people is becoming more and more alarming. The outrages committed by Swedish youth on some festivals, the legal recognition of homosexual associations in the country, and the oddities such as artificial insemination even among families capable of raising children, show that this nation in a state of distress is in a moral crisis. Sweden has not fought a war for two centuries. The fact that Sweden, once a "great state", no longer has any ambitions of greatness, long-standing neutrality, lack of moral strength, although it has shown enough material strength to be fully prepared for atomic warfare, have all contributed to these results. If the degeneration is not stopped, will one day fall into the Bolshevik net, just like Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Because the Swedish nation has no exciting ideals, no aspirations for greatness.

These examples can be multiplied. Suffice it to say that in certain countries where coups d'états have become an art, the main reason for this is that these countries lack an ideal of greatness. Economic poverty, political poverty are the outer side of the matter. The real and real reason is the lack of a national ideal.

National ideals are the source of energy that will sustain nations for centuries. Nationalist nations are full of sacrificing people. The abundance of sacrificing people means the dominance of all kinds of human virtues. Human societies live with human virtues. Even if animalised societies are prosperous and externally great, they are destined to collapse. Like ancient Rome.

The Turkish nation is one of the happy societies with an ideal. Throughout its history, it has pursued the ideal of greatness, fought wars of unity and conquest, and has 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 Kızılçelma, Turanism, Ulug Turkistan or Great Turkili, which means "to grow and unite" or "I want to unite and grow".

Only those who are capable and energetic run after the ideal of greatness. Because the ideal of greatness means the ideal of great sacrifices. That is why the cowardly and the lowly are afraid of greatness and always want to remain small.

(Büyük Turkeli, 2nd issue, 25 April 1962)

IDEALS ARE OFFENSIVE

B

From the point of view of biology, the aim of living beings, i.e. animals and plants, is that their own lineage should cover the whole world. No genus of animal or plant

If it cannot cover the arc, it is because it encounters the resistance of other species pursuing the same goal. The "fight for life" is born out of this influence and reaction of the sexes for the same goal. In the meantime, the weak are crushed and diminish; the strong spread and multiply. Some breeds completely disappear from the face of the earth.

The same law prevails among nations. With an almost subconscious impulse, a nation wants to spread and dominate the world. But, as it spreads, it runs into the resistance of other nations. Thus, war starts between them. In the end, the stronger ones win.

Since human communities i.e. nations have reached a high level of consciousness struggle for life between them does not only continue within the laws of nature. The system and method of human consciousness are added to this. From this, national ideals are born. In other, a national ideal is a nation's consciousness.

t is the form of the instinct of "to spread and dominate", which is consciousnessed and systematised by presidents and guides. The degree of will and strength of those who guide or preside over the ideal plays a primary role in the success of the ideal.

In national ideals, there are three periods from few to many: Independence, unity, conquests.

The first stage of the national ideal is to gain *independence*. Those who are not independent run after the idea of gaining it, and those who have gained it run after the idea of protecting and consolidating it.

Irish had been striving for independence for eight centuries. they were a small nation, thanks to their sacrifices, they wrested their independence from the hands of the great England.

Estons, Latvians and Lithuanians been dreaming of independence for centuries. After the First World War, they realised their ideal. They are now working inside and outside to regain the independence they lost in 1940.

The Poles, who used to be independent but had lost it 150 years ago, had gained their independence at the end of the First World War, after great sacrifices and bloody revolutions. 1939 they lost it again. However, as if nothing had happened, as if such catastrophic moments had not happened, they are again pursuing the cause of independence. On the one hand, they tried to keep the national spirit alive through gang wars, and on the other hand, they tried to save their independence by taking advantage of every opportunity through their foreign organisations. 1

India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia were also travelling on the same path, shedding blood for the same goals and finally achieved their ambitions.

1) The situation during the German and Russian occupation in the Second World War.

The most remarkable example of the fight for independence was given by the Jews. After twenty centuries of captivity, scattered all over the world, with no homeland and having lost their language, the Jews reached the first stage of the national ideal after long and exhausting struggles driven by the instinct for independence.

Today, since most nations are independent, there are few societies that pursue this first phase of the national ideal.

The second period 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 gained its independence is to seek ways of rescuing its fellow nations that are under the foreign boot. Or, if a nation lives an independent life in several separate states, it is to undertake political and military efforts to unite them.

In the XIVth century, the Turks of Turkey were governed by twenty or thirty separate governments. Due to the law of unification, they fought with each other for a century and a half.

After the Italians had acted in the same way, they turned their eyes to their compatriots who had remained under foreign rule. The Italian betrayal of its allies in the First World War was to save hundred thousand Italians living under Austrian rule. In the Second World War, its wars with France and Yugoslavia were also for the sake of a few hundred thousand Italians in those two countries.

the Germans, who had been living as separate independent states, had established their political unity in its main lines with a great breakthrough in 1870, they made another series of moves to complete it, starting in 1938. Although they did not succeed in this great work. But they came very close. Today, although Austria is divided and Germany is divided into two parts, it is clear that the German leaders are seeking unity. Even the West

During the debates in the Alsatian parliament on the question of unification with Eastern Altania, some deputies shouted out that they also wanted to unite with Austria.

Romanian unity began with the unification of Wallachia and Buğdan, after which Romania fought the wars of 1913, 1914-1918 and 1941 in order to liberate its fellow countrymen.

The Finns entered the war on the side of Germany in order to liberate the Karelian Pins under Russian rule, but they lost. However, they will definitely win in the future and establish Greater Finland.

It is clear from the events of the last century that the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks have acted in accordance with the same law.

We observe that some very new and weak nations with zero military power or with a very low level of culture act according to the same law. For example, Afghanistan is a backward country of about 10 to 12 million people, it is in dispute with Pakistan, a country of 100 million people. It wants its fellow countrymen living within the borders of Pakistan and speaking Pashto, i.e. Afghan language.

Egypt, which was defeated by the Jews even though it had allies on its side, asked Britain for the Sudan, Tripoli and Benghazi. The Principality of Jordan, with a population of less than 400,000 inhabitants, wanted all of Syria and Palestine. It did not get this much, but it did manage to add the piece of Palestine left by the Jews.

Abyssinia wants Eritrea. For the sake of national unity, the Jews, on the other hand, transported nearly a hundred thousand Jews from Iran and Yemen to Israel by aeroplanes.

2) The population at that time. After taking part of Palestine and the Arabs expelled by the Jews, its population was 1,400,000.

The third period of national ideal is conquests. Because the nations that have completed their national unity are obliged to make invasions and conquests in order to make their own descendants dominant in the world. In fact, sometimes a nation can start conquests even before it completes its national unity. For example, the Ottomans had made extensive conquests in Europe before the completion of Turkish unity in Turkey. The Italians and Germans, too, attempted colonial conquests before the completion of national unity. But such isolated exceptions do not break the rule.

The Second World War was nothing but the endeavour of the Germans, Italians, Japanese and Russians, who had completed their national unity, to reach the third stage. Now only Russia wants to follow this path and, as a natural, it faces the resistance of others. The triumph of other national ideals will soon lead to the collapse of Russia.

It is seen that ideals are offensive. The non-independent nation, in order to win it, is obliged to defeat the nation which dominates it. In other words, it will act with an aggressive purpose. In order to achieve this unity, the nation that has not completed its unity will fight with the nation or nations that have captured its tribesmen and will take land from them. Those who have established their national unity will defeat others in order to make conquests. In other words, all three periods of the national ideal are offensive.

Can it not be a defensive ideal? Can it not be the ideal of a nation to live within its borders and to attain prosperity and happiness?

No! Because the idea of protecting one's borders and becoming rich can never be an ideal. These are the smallest and ordinary desires for a nation. An ideal, on the other hand, is not a small and ordinary aspiration. The ideal is a distant and difficult goal, mixed with a little dream. The ideal is a blessed and sweet thought that makes the members of the nation who are ignited with that ideal live in excitement.

is sacred. Ideals are nourished with blood, sacrifice and heroism. A nation sheds blood like rivers and spends many lives to reach its ideals. Ideals are reached with blood, sword, fight and national hatred. The ideal requires steel hearts, iron wrists, unshakable wills, high morals. The ideal is a religion. It demands heroes and martyrs.

The nations that had established unity and made conquests in the past endeavoured to resurrect the old greatness. Because *"what was historical truth in the past can also be historical truth in the future."* Ideals cannot be restricted by any political and humanitarian thought. There are historical enemies of the nations that are committed to an ideal. There may have been treaties of friendship with that enemy nation. These temporary friendships have value. Historical enemies are friends only of foreign ministers. The nation, never!

One of the greatest dangers for a nation is to sleep on the opium of peace and friendship. A nation that does not want to grow is doomed to shrink. A nation that does not fight back will be attacked.

While life is a war and to win it one must attack, to cry out the ugliness of an attack on the path of national ideals is either heedlessness or betrayal. Those who are in responsible positions in states may utter such words for reasons of political honour or interest. However, 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 once again reveal the unchangeable truth of history, especially Turkish history.

(Orhun, 14th issue, 1 February 1944)

TURKISHISM



ürkçülük is the name of Turkish nationalism. The suffix at the end of the word is a suffix that shows affiliation, affection and partisanship according to its place. Turkism

Since it means love for and favour of the Turks, the word has been used appropriately. Other nations' favour and love for the Turk cannot be expressed by this word. In fact, the love of other nations for the Turk is not a sign of real love, but of temporary courtesy, interest and political necessity. No one but Turks can truly love the Turk.

Turkism is an ideal. Ideals are the spiritual food of nations. Without ideals, even the most fortunate of nations are doomed to remain dim and dim. If this nation is not fortunate, its result is to be defeated, crushed and even destroyed.

Ideals are great wishes, born out of a mixture of reality and imagination, looking to the future by looking at the past, accelerating nations and dying for the sake of them. Nations have the right to live as long as they can die.

Turkism is the ideal of the unconditional sovereignty and independence Turkish tribe in the Great Turkeli and the ideal of the Turkish nation to be advanced and superior to all nations in every aspect.

This ideal had been realised several times in the past. It will be realised again tomorrow thanks to the youth raised with the great Turkism ideal and belief.

Turkism was a spring yesterday; today it is tea. Tomorrow it will be a raging river and all obstacles coming from foreign feelings and thoughts will be demolished in front of it.

Turkism comes from four sources:

1- Nationalism, which has ancient roots and has been living in the subconscious of the Turkish tribe for centuries;

2- After the Tanzimat, a nationalist movement that wanted a populist movement similar to the nationalisms in Europe be implemented in our country;

3- The reaction arising from the betrayal of foreign elements within our state;

4- The great hardships the Turks have suffered for 200 years.

The ideas coming from these four sources merged and moulded with each other and today's Turkism . Turks will be strengthened, liberated, progressed and elevated with Turkism.

If a nation has no aspiration to rise, if it lacks self-confidence, if it can do nothing but imitate others, if it is not proud of its past, if it does not want to be superior to others, if it does risk death for the ideal, if it is afraid of war, that nation is rotten from within.

Today we live in the age of ideals and heroes. We are in the days when cases are brought forward and accounts are settled on the basis of past rights. We do not know what tomorrow has in store for us amidst the cascades of blood, the clatter of swords and the sound of cannonballs. Amidst this whirlwind, we can see nations clinging to their national ideals, remembering only their past.

Those who have no past, or who have forgotten it, or who have no national country, are overthrown.

Great hurricanes used to come and go from time to time in the history of mankind. These hurricanes are becoming more and more frequent. At this rate, it seems that history will consist of an eternal hurricane. Today, in order to survive, it is not enough to be as strong as before. It is necessary to be very strong, very solid, very tough, very courageous. The first condition for us is to hold fast to the ideal of Turkism. History does not forgive nations that are surprised, frightened and deviated.

The ideal of Turkism demands from us a relentless sense of duty. the officer does his six hours of drill without tiring, if the teacher his work of teaching without tiring, if the civil servant continues to facilitate the public without getting annoyed, if the doctor is concerned above all with the health of his fellow citizens, if the student to learn his lessons above all, and what a joke between all duties and ranks, If harmony is established without ostentation, flattery or indifference, if those below do not regard the command of those above as arrogant, and those above do not resent the correct warnings of those below, if in all mutual affairs, in all meetings and there is neither hypocritical politeness nor rude harshness, then what duty demands of us

kaçan it happens.

yapılmıř It is not easy to be a Turkist. Not everyone can be a Turkist, and not everyone who says he is a Turkist can be a Turkist.

If every Turkist faithfully fulfils the duties of his/her position, the country of Turkism will be strengthened and Turkishness will be strengthened.

The first duty of Turkists is to perform their duties with a purified heart and a convinced heart.

Orhun, 10th issue, 1 October 1943

THE ONLY THOUGHT THAT
DIDN'T COME FROM
OUTSIDE



the idea of scurcism, when this philcrine is attacked by its enemies, or by the princes, who are in the habit of ridiculing everything.

The main taunts the following:

1- One of these is the objection to the word "Turkism". The objectors say the following:

"What do mean by Turkism? Are they selling Turks? As milkman means selling milk, this selling Turks. Is such an absurd idea possible?"

It is obvious that there is nothing serious about this objection. Because the suffixes "ci, ci, cü, cü, cu, çi, çı, çı, çü, çu" at the end of words do not only indicate the seller of that object; they also have various meanings. The most widespread and broad meaning is to indicate love, partisanship and belonging. As a matter of fact, the words "republican" and "royalist" do not mean selling the republic and the king, but on the contrary; they mean loving, favouring

means. Similarly the word "Turkist" means "one who loves the Turk", "one who favours the Turk".

2- A second and very negative objection that Turkism will offend other elements in the country. It is obvious that this also has no merit. In the world has it been seen that ninety per cent should be prevented from openly asserting their own opinions and interests because ten per cent might be offended. Furthermore, a country belongs to one nation alone and is 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 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 may not make any petition 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 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.

3- A third and seemingly reasonable objection is the idea that Turkism is fictitious, empty, even adventurous and dangerous it does not aim at all the Turks of the world.

This is also wrong. If "imaginary" means that the association will never be realised and has never been realised, then Turkism is not imaginary.

Turkism is just, legitimate and historical cause in terms of claiming the inheritance of the rights of Turkishness in the past.

Since the aspirations of Turkism have been realised several times in the past, it means that it has a basis of "not being a dream".

None of the great national ideals easy to realise. But all of them are coming true one by one.

centuries later did India and Indonesia realise their national aspirations? How did the independence of Indonesia, which thirty years ago was only a dream in the minds of a few intellectuals, become a reality? How did the Irish, after eight centuries of captivity and even the loss of their language, break free and set about reviving their national language, which had remained in the books? And how did the Jews, who lost their language and their mother tongue and were scattered all over the world, establish their national state in Palestine 2000 years later and start writing their national language in their national script? How soft is the ideal of Turkism compared to all this?

The claim that Turkism is adventurous is not based on any historical event. Turkism has never been in power so far that it has been tried to be adventurous. It never adventurism to think of one's fellow-countrymen abroad and to wish that they should unite with us or at least become independent. All the nations of the world, even those who have only recently established a state, think of their fellow-countrymen abroad as the first thing they do. We, too, being a great nation with its past and present, are obliged to think of our deportees and, especially after the Declaration of Human Rights, to take initiatives for their enjoyment of human rights. It is not adventurism to prepare for war against those who systematically destroy our kinsmen. Just as it is not adventurous to participate in the Korean War for the sake of the most sacred rights of our nation and humanity, it is not adventurous to think of settling accounts with the Moscophtar, the enemy of Turkishness, humanity, civilisation and sacredness. Just as Turkey was defended in Korea, Turkey, Turkishness and all humanity will be defended within our own borders.

4- Another objection raised by the leftists is that Turkism is an idea that came from abroad. Supposedly the Germans invented it and introduced it to Turkey! Turkism-

he principle of racism of today was taken from the racism of Hitler's Germany!

It is evident from the documents that there is no connection between German racism, which is directed only against the 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. This objection, that a national ideal was instilled in the Turks by a foreign nation, is too flimsy to be worth dwelling upon.

* * *

In reality, today, among the intellectual currents in Turkey, the only indigenous and national idea is Turkism. All others, whether beneficial or harmful, have come from abroad. Communism has been transferred to us from Russia and 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; they were born in Italy and Germany. Even Islam, which has been adopted and nationalised by the Turks today, does not have Turkish roots.

The only idea, the only ideal rooted in Turkish roots is Turkism. In this respect, it will grow, strengthen and make breakthroughs in proportion to the development of our national consciousness.

Orkun, 2nd issue, 13 October 1950

WHO IS A TURKIST?



ürkist 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 all the virtues that have led us forward in past times, that have led us from victory to victory, live hidden in our blood, in our soul, in our inner being, looking for opportunities and opportunities to appear.

A Turk is a person who holds national interests above personal interests, respects national sacredness and the past, a high duty ethic, and is fearless in the fight against injustice.

A Turkist cannot be a person who lives for the day or a sycophant. He likes to live hard and shows the greatest hardness towards his own self. Since heroism and greatness are abundant in our history, he does not see the need to invent heroes and heroism as some small nations do, but is content with giving credit to those who already exist. Thus, it respects its national heroes, but if national heroes have flaws, it does not hesitate to say so and does not heroism to those who are not heroes for any reason. In particular, it never forgives those who destroy the sacred values of Turkishness and considers those who forgive them as enemies.

A Turk is obliged to be humble. Because to assert oneself is to expect to be rewarded for one's work or to be appreciated. However, expecting appreciation is selfishness. When a Turk does a service for his nation, he does it not to be admired, but because he feels it is his duty, and he knows that even the greatest service he can render will be small compared to the service of the martyrs who died without being recognised and lie unburied.

Turkism is not to rise, but to raise. Communities rise in proportion to the number of self-sacrificing individuals.

Turkism is a belief as much as it is an idea. Since it is a belief, it is accepted without discussion or criticism. The part of it to be discussed and criticised is not its foundation and essence, but its details.

Turkists are obliged to live in solidarity. Solidarity is the only and unchangeable remedy for doing much with little strength. Where there is no solidarity, there is internal strife. A Turkicist knows that any discord with his fellow idealists will bring harm to the ideal.

A Turk undoubtedly is a Turk. However, not every Turk who says "I am a Turk" is a Turk. He must be sincere and comply with the conditions of Turkism.

The greatest duty of a Turk is to serve Turkishness. One of the main conditions for this is to instil the love of Turkishness in those around him. He will tirelessly and tirelessly explain the superiority of the Turkish race, tell about the danger of foreigners, inform about the requirements of Turkish morality, and instil that our irreconcilable enemy is the Muscovite.

It is the Turkists who understand best and before anyone else that the Muscovite communist is a traitor to the motherland. Therefore, they will fight the communists everywhere, every means and in every way.

In short, Turkists are the fathers of the Turkish nation in the 20th century.

TURKISH UNION

Dhe Turkic community of the world does not consist only of those in Turkey. Russia, IranChinaRomania, BulgariaYugoslaviaGreeceRhodesCyprusSyria

The number of Turks in , Iraq and Afghanistan

The Turks living in Egypt, Libya, Europe, North and South America, and the Far East are more numerous. The Turks living in Egypt, Libya, Europe, North and South America and the Far East, who probably amount to a few tens of thousands, can also be included in this list in order to complete the cadre.

Since there are no general statistics, we do not know the number of Turks in the world accurately. The enemies are deliberately trying to reduce this number, while the friends are blindly increasing it.

The idea that the Turks were a populous nation from time immemorial has been disproved after the progress of historical analyses. What makes the Turks seem so numerous is their great political role and mobility. In reality, despite all the resentments, Turks have never been as numerous as they are in the XXth century.

Today, we have the most positive information about the number of Turks only about the Turks of Turkey and Russia. According to the statistics published after the general censuses conducted in 1 926 and later in Russia and since 1 927 in Turkey, there are 30 million Turks in Turkey and 3.5 million Turks in Russia. As for the Turks living in other countries, various figures are put forward, which are very far from each other. For example, although some put the number of Turks living in Chinese Turkestan at 3 million, there are those who put this figure at 1 3, 1 5 or even 1 8 million. who tend to overestimate the number of Turks, for example, claim that there are 40-50 million Turks living in Russia and that Russians underestimate Turks due to political considerations.

The claim that the Russians wanted to underestimate the Turks due to political concerns is true. However, it would be an unwarranted thought to exaggerate this. No matter how hard the Russians try, they cannot show the Turks there side by side. We, too, must not go to extremes in calculating our national and racial strength. If, some people claim, we are really a nation of 1 20 million people and yet a large part of us is in captivity, this is not encouraging for our future, but discouraging. With this in mind, we must not hesitate to present the facts as they are. We must not change the facts in our favour, especially for the sake of childish thoughts. This fact is this:

Because we are a small nation and for some reasons we have fallen behind, we have fallen into the captivity of crowded nations. However, despite our smallness, if we can gather among ourselves, there is no power in the world that we cannot defeat.

I wonder if cannot give an approximate figure about the number of Turks in the world. For this, every

i) mid-963.

There is no other way out than to collect the most and the least and the most frequently quoted figures about the number of Turks in the country and to ponder over them for a while.

Leaving aside the fictitious figures of 80 million Turks in Russia and 18 million Turks in China, these figures are as follows:

| | At least | Most |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| In Turkey | 30.000.000 | 32.000.000 |
| In Russia | 35. 000.000 | 40.000.000 |
| In Iran | 10 .000 .000 | 13 .000 .000 |
| In China | 5.000.000 | 8.000.000 |
| In Afghanistan | 1.000.000 | 3.000.000 |
| Balkans | 1 .000 .000 | 2.000.000 |
| Iraq-Syria | 700.000 | 1.000.000 |
| In Cyprus | 90.000 | 1 00. 000 |
| In other countries | 50.000 | 100.000 |
| All Turks: | 82.840.000 | 99.200.000 |

That is to say, the Turks amount to 82,840,000 people at the lowest calculation. Therefore, if we take into account the efforts of foreign nations to underestimate Turks, we can say that our nation is a community of 100 million people.

* * *

The world is becoming a land of giants. We see nations of hundreds of millions being formed. Some of the second and third ranked nations are also multiplying at a tremendous speed. In such a century, the importance of 85 to 100 million people increases one more time.

Let us take a look at the following countries in order to realise how many populations there are on the earth:

| | | |
|------------------------|------|---------|
| China | 800 | million |
| India | 540 | |
| Russia | 250 | |
| England (as an empire) | 200 | |
| America | 220 | |
| Indonesia | 130 | |
| Pakistan | 120 | |
| Japan | 11 0 | |
| Brazil | 95 | |
| Germany | 70 | |
| Italy | 53 | |
| France | 52 | |

Among these populous nations, Russia is our neighbour, England, Italy and France are our neighbours. What will be the future of the Turkish nation of 85-100 million people, which is politically disorganised, while giant states are being established in the world?

In our opinion, the starting point of the national programme should be this question, and the answer to this question means the name of our national ideal. This name can be summarised in the words "Turkish Unity".

* * *

Every nation needs an ideal in order to live. Even if this ideal varies in details according to nations, it is almost the same in its main lines. Because no one can deny the historical fact that the first ideal of every captive nation is to gain its independence, and the first ideal of every independent nation is to liberate its brothers who are still living in captivity. Conquests are the third period in the national ideal.

This is a rough classification. These periods may vary slightly according to life, events and special circumstances of nations. For example, a nation to start conquests,

It does not necessarily have to include all its descendants within its borders. Italy had more or less achieved its national unity before the First World War, but many Italians were living in , FranceMalta and as captives of other nations. In spite of thisItaly had begun the third period of its national policy of conquest. Its wars with Abyssinia and Turkey show this. Although the three periods of the national ideal are independence, national unity and conquests, they are intertwined with each other. One can begin before the other is completed.

We can find as many examples from history as we like of the existence of these three periods national ideals:

After centuries of struggle and liberation from British captivity, Ireland is now endeavouring to take over Northern Ireland, which is now in British hands, in order to establish a national unity.

Egypt, which had been freed from British captivity, sought first to take and then to unite all Arab countries itself.

The German cause now is the liberation of East Germany from Russian captivity. After that, the unification with Austria will come next.

The Finns have a means to work for Karelia. The Hungarians will never give up Transylvania. niches.

The Yugoslavs, as in the olden times, are once again in the pursuit of taking all Macedonia and Thessaloniki.

The Bulgarians have their eyes on Serbian and Greek Macedonia and Eastern and Western Thrace.

The Greeks want Northern Epirus and Eastern Thrace. The first target of the Jews is the whole Kingdom of Jordan.

Syria considers Hatay and even Çukurova as its own territory.

Afghanistan considers the Patani country, i.e. the northern regions of Pakistan, to be cut off from itself.

The Tunisians and Moroccans have reached the first stage. Now they want Mauritania and part of the Greater Salira.

Even the Negroes, who were very backward, have now become independent states.

I wonder, in which of these phases are the Turks?

A glance at the map is enough to answer this question: The Turks, after having achieved a brilliant success in the first phase of their ideal with the War of Independence in Anatolia, now, naturally and historically, in the second phase of their ideal. In 1923, after the first period, only Hatay was recognised on the way to the second period, and later it was officially declared, albeit with conditions, that we had national ambitions over Cyprus.

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 not well chosen, it may cause trouble for the nation. But this ideal is the nation's source of speed and morality. Like a person who suffers for a goal, but willingly participates in it, nations endure and have endured incalculable sacrifices for their national ideals. Nations that walk on the path of ideals both frighten and fascinate other nations. The nation that walks on the path of the nation has thrown away the feeling of inferiority existing in itself against other nations. A nation in which it believes in itself and **korkmadığı** for he is not frightened by the number and technique **Ölümü** of his enemies.

Life opens its arms to loving nations. Thus, the national ideal will one day be realised.

* * *

Turks were united several times in the past and were happy. They will unite again. The first article of our national ideal: "All Turks will unite".

Orhun, 8th issue, 23 June 1934

TURKISH PEOPLE WE ARE TURKISH NATION

U ancients say that human beings have existed on earth for 500,000 years, perhaps even more. But it took five centuries for humans to enter the stage of history. is a matter of a thousand years.

Humanity has progressed unceasingly to its present state, and today's races have emerged from the mixing of prehistoric races in various proportions. Races have formed today's nations by fragmenting for various reasons.

This is the main line of human history.

In the course of the development of human intelligence, words have been found for every concept in matter and meaning, other words have been derived from words over time. Words have changed their meaning, some have been forgotten or abandoned, and new ones have been taken or found in their place.

The last stop of human maturation in community life "*nation*" and "*state*". "Nation" means an independent country

is an organised community. Nationalism, the strong intellectual movement of centuries, is derived from these words.

Recently, starting from the leftists and gradually spreading to everyone, even official figures, we have been seeing the use of the word "*people*" instead of "*nation*".

Communists always use the word "people" because they do not accept "nation" and because they are afraid of this word. Extreme socialists have the same tendency. However, these two words are not synonymous. Şemseddin Sami explains the word "halk" in his important work "*Kamus-i Türki*" as "people, cem' iyyet-i beşeriyye, umum, cemaat, crowd, crowd". When we say "the people of Istanbul" or "the people of Central Anatolia, we mean people born in or Central or people living there, and the expression "raised from the people" has the same meaning. If Halk=nation, there would be no need for the terms "raised from the people" and "people's stratum". Since everyone is already raised from the nation, such expressions would be unnecessary. Furthermore, "people" is the community existing only for that moment. "Nation", on the other hand, exists at all three times and "*nation*" is the expression of a "*consciousness of existence*".

In the spirit of the laws, the distinction between these two words is also strongly visible. The legislator has threatened insult to the nation with punishment. There is no such behaviour for the people.

When people in Turkey are referred to as "the people of Turkey", one thinks only of a mass of people who work, earn, go here and there, live or have fun.

When the same people are considered as "*Turkish nation*", we are talking about a strong community that has come from past centuries, that is a creator of victory and culture, that has an ideal for the future, and that is willing to make every sacrifice for this purpose, even to the point of war.

The communists cannot call the nations "masses", so they call them "people". For them, people are but a mass of raw materials. "*Tude*", the name of the communist party in Iran, means "*mass*" in Persian. The communists in our country had once published a magazine called "*Bulk*".

Forcing hundreds of millions of people in communist China to memorise Mao's words day and night is a form of seeing nations as masses, even as herds.

Because the people are unconscious. They blindly do whatever the tyrants in charge inculcate. Thus, some economic successes are achieved; roads are built; canals are opened; trees are planted, the bed of the rivers are deepened, and while doing these, no importance is attached to the death of millions of people from the herd of the people.

The nation is conscious. It knows what is doing and why. The people march forward in battle with machine guns behind them. The nation is thrown into the fire believing that it is doing a duty. Even if they are not brave by nature, they do not hesitate to go towards death just because of their sense of honour and shame.

Turkish foreign ministers should remove phrases such as "the traditional friendship between our peoples. ..." should be removed by Turkish foreign ministers and replaced by the word "our nations". It must be made clear that nationhood is not a matter of passports.

What is the Turkish nation? Who are the Turks?

The Turkish nation is a community consisting of those who have Turkish roots and those who are as Turkicised as those who have Turkish roots.

Turks, with rare exceptions such as Polish Turks, are people who speak Turkish at home and whose mother tongue is Turkish; they are people who do not harbour the consciousness and longing for another race in their subconscious or in the hidden aspect of their feelings.

Turkists are slandered as people who search for genealogical records up to seven or even twenty generations ahead. Such fallacies, which have no possibility of implementation and research, are only the fabrications of the Russophobes 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 Turkish cadre? Although the father of Mehmed Akif, the poet of the Anthem of Turkish Independence, was Albanian and his ideal was ummahism, which is contrary to Turkism, which Turkist would or could exclude him from Meh-

. who said that Mehmed Akif is not a Turk?

The point is to be as Turkish as Yıldırım Bayazıd or Mehmed Akif. When a nation and its mill spirit are at a high level, foreigners mingling among them have no effect. The mill spirit melts any foreignness. But when the mill spirit becomes low, when admiration for foreigners begins, everything is turned upside down. Nationality is denied. Profiteers who have nothing to do with humanity become humanitarians. The children of millionaires living in all kinds of comfort and ease become communists, even though they would not sacrifice even an iota of this comfort and ease. They become too stupid to think that if communism is implemented, they will not be able to find that food, house, comfort, money, car, and they will become labourers.

One of the consequences of being a nation is to have many characteristics compared to other nations, to differ from them, to be unlike them, sometimes to be their opposite. These similarities and differences are material and immaterial. Nations differ from each other in many things, from tone of voice to the way they speak, from their likes and dislikes to their behaviour. Even the expression of joy and surprise is different in each nation. In short: nations are not alike; what one calls white, the other calls black.

Nations are social entities developed and shaped by thousands of years. To abolish them and make people brothers, to unite them, to make them one state, to abolish states and make people a stateless union are dreams worthy of the followers of Hasan Sabbah. Just as there is unification and disintegration in nature, there is both unification and disintegration in the laws of social life. A brief glance at the history of mankind gives dozens of examples of these mergers and separations.

Now, what is the point of abolishing the conscious, faithful and willing "nation", which is the last stage of humanity, and replacing it with the unconscious, raw material "people", which is suitable to fit into any mould?

We know that they will immediately stand up against us with the shield of Atatürk and ask us why Atatürk called the party he founded the People's Party.

When Atatürk founded the People's Party, the insidious aims of the communists were not yet understood. It was not known that they would use the word "people" to eliminate nations. Atatürk meant the meaning of "people" in the literary language and thought of the backward strata of the nation. He aimed to develop them with his party.

In short: We are the Turkish nation as a whole, from the shepherd to the scholar. The Turkish nation is a creative nation that cannot be measured by political boundaries, living in a vast world stretching from the Sea of Islands and the Danube to beyond the Altai. This deep-rooted nation will not be divided or destroyed by the terms and tactics of a number of mascara, by the forced change and degradation of their language, by being exiled from their homeland.

Even if they are driven, even if their languages are distorted and changed, one day a new Bozkurt will be born and unite the Turkish hands under the wolf-headed banner, uniting the changing dialects into a single literary language.

It transforms Turkish into Turkish, fills the Turkish countries emptied of Turks with Turks. It makes the deprived nation great, makes the few nation many, brings the backwardness to the most advanced and superior level, and realises the unpreventable history.

Ötüken, 61 st issue, January 1969

WHO IS SAGCI?



Since socialists and communists are known as "leftists", it has become customary to call their opponents "rightists". From an economic point of view, statist

Those who were not, who liberal, 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, just like everything else, these terms have also become obsolete, and right and left have been confused with each other. Religious people who call themselves "sacredists" are regarded as nationalists and rightists, while socialists, extreme socialists and communists claim to "nationalists".

If the terms right and left are roughly analysed, the supporters of Islamic unity in Turanism are united on the right, and if only the concept of social justice is considered, the Turkists must be aligned with the socialists.

That is to say, it is necessary to explain the right and the left well and to put them forward by saving them from deficiencies and sterility. Because right and left are alone

It should be considered and evaluated not only from an economic or social point of view, but from the point of view of national consciousness.

In Turkey, some of the deeply religious people are in favour of denying nationality and being content with religion alone. One of them said in his sermon in the mosque: "Those who die for the homeland go to hell. The only ones who will go to heaven are those who die for religion". Now, to consider Turkists to be in the same pocket with this bigot is both a lack of understanding and a rejection of the truth. Since the idea of social justice according to the economic view has been adopted by almost everyone today, it is not correct to rank the parties in the national assemblies according to this view.

It is also contrary to the practice in Western countries to put our religionists and caliphate-ists on the right. Before Hitler came to power, the strongest Christian party in the German parliament was called the "Centre Catholic Party", and the Emperor's Steel Tulga Party and Hitler's Nationalist Socialist Party were to the right of the Catholics. Although Hitler's party was a "socialist" party, it was considered right-wing only because it was a nationalist party, and with its behaviour after it came to power, it proved that it was hostile to all leftists, that is, to socialists and communists.

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 individuals, a nationalist party may be close to the ideas of socialists in terms of justice and the distribution of wealth.

Religiousness and political ummahism are contrary to or hostile to nationalism, since they relegate Turkishness to the background or ignore it. In this respect, religionists, political ummahists and caliphates cannot be "Rightists". Political ummah-

They are internationalists because they are caught up in the idea of Islamic internationalism and have the delusion of dissolving Turkishness within the Islamic community, and like all internationalists, they are leftists.

The fact that Muscovite or Pekinian socialists call themselves "nationalists" is not only wrong, ridiculous and tactical, but also a lie. Nationalism does not consist in considering only the economic welfare of a nation after it has ceased to be a "nation" and has become a "mass of people". Because people have not only stomachs, but also mentality and beliefs. *Nationalism is a spiritual heritage coming from centuries.* It is a sense of greatness. It is a sense of history. It is hogwash. It is the product of creation.

The Turkish nation has existed for three thousand years. Its existence, its greatness, its power and its mark on history have been possible only through its national character. It is never right to attribute the greatness or existence of Turkishness to this or that factor outside of Turkishness.

The term "far right", which is frequently seen in the newspapers and is on the lips of politicians, is used incorrectly. This is because the term "extreme right" is often used to mean Islamic internationalists. At the end of last year, an organisation called "Hizbüttahrir", which was arrested, was declared to be hiliifetist, to want to govern Turkey according to Sharia law, to accept Arabic as the official language, and a group headed by an Arab was described as "extreme right-wing".

Now let us think in cold blood: How can the Turkists, who believe in the superiority of the Turkish nation and whose ideal is the unification of all Turks into a single state, and these bigots be grouped in the same group? Can the Turkists who want to establish a state consisting only of Turks be equated with those who want to establish a state of Muslims and want the official language to be Arabic? Turkists who do not even tolerate half-blooded Turks in the high offices of the Turkish state and those who choose their presidents from Arabs boil in the same pot?

Therefore, the terms "extreme right" or "right" are used incorrectly. In terms of ideology, since the "right" represents nationalism and the "left" internationalism, there are Turkists on the right internationalists on the left. Whether it is world internationalism or Islamic internationalism, ideas that do not put Turkishness in the first place, neglect or ignore it are leftist. Being economically statist, socialist or communist has nothing to do with or left. As a matter of fact, the "Nationalist Communist Party" in Japan before the Second World War was, as its name suggests, nationalist i.e. right-wing, just as the "Labour Party" of today's England is nationalist despite and economic principles.

Economic doctrines change quickly. The unchanging principles are nationalism and internationalism. When I say "nationalism", I mean the original meaning of this word. Otherwise, of course, I do not think of the nationalism recently meant by Islamic internationalists political ummahists, cosmopolitan internationalists, world citizen socialists and Muscovites. In fact, none of these are nationalists, on the contrary, they are enemies of nationalism but in order to avoid any hesitation and doubt, I use the word "Turkismas" "Turkish nationalism, which can never be confused

We are the right wing: Turkists. The fact that we are social justiceists, that we want to provide the blessings of the land to our compatriots and not to tourists, that we wish to ensure the justice required by true ethics does not require us to be leftists. When the leftists of Turkey did not even exist, the Turkist poet Mehmet Emin Yurdakul was demanding social justice for the Turkish nation with his simple poems. This idea was born out of his Turkism. He did not get this idea from the Jew Marx, like the records that started chanting "exploitation" years after him.

Nationalism is not only a consciousness of citizenship. Nationalism is a consciousness of ancestry outside political borders.

It is a consciousness that also comprehends its fellow citizens. The clearest proof of this in Turkey is the interest in the Turks of Cyprus. Tomorrow this interest will also be directed towards the Turks in the clutches of Muscovites, Chinese, Arabs and other nations.

Nationalism does not mean saying, "I think of the exploited members of this nation". The exploited members of one nation can also be thought of by the compassionate people of other nations.

Nationalism is not to write an epic for Black Lurnurnba and Viyet-Kong and to leave out Uzbeks, Tatars, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Azeri, Bashkirs, Turkmens, Taranchs, Uyghurs, Black kalpaks, Chuvash, Yakuts, Karachays, Balkars, Kurnuks, Kirnli, Kirkukians and other Turks.

Nationalism is not to cry about Guevera, the adventurous punk from Arj antin, who was killed in the mountains of Bolivia, and to remain silent when it comes to Osman Batur, the Kazakh hero.

A nationalist, if he is a human being, looks at the heroes and freedom fighters of his own nation, burns and weeps. Then he becomes a "rightist". If he does not do this, but sympathises with people with unknown motives, unknown goals and dark personalities, he is not a human being. At the lowest level, he is a patient with a disordered nervous and psychological system.

In short: Since Turkists are right-wing, communists at the left extreme. The places between these two are filled by others according to their closeness or distance to the national idea or nationalism.

However, these according to the ideological milestones of the concepts. The most correct and unambiguous form of the issue is to express Turkish nationalism only with the word "Turkism".

ENEMIES OF

Kommunism has ceased to be an economic idea or a political order for the whole world and especially for us. Today, communism means only Russophobia. French and Italian communist par-

From the communist leaders of the Philippines to the communist leaders of the Philippines, all of them have uttered the most shameless and disgusting words against their own homeland: "If the Red Army enters our country, we will unite with it." This is enough to prove that the communist is not a man of ideas or party, but a Moscow agent, a Russian spy and a Russophile. In no other epoch of history has the human spirit been seen to have become so seething and so many traitors to the homeland emerged.

Communism is a Muscovite imperialism with thousands of spies who are degenerated in spirit and in vision. . It is a crude and Muscovite imperialism, whose ambition knows no bounds, which wants to reach the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, and which dreams of conquering the whole world... All this insatiable ambition is based on the myth of bringing social justice to the world.

The Muscovite, the lowest branch of the backward and vulgar Slavs, will bring civilisation and justice to the world! ... From Muscovy, which has been a place of hunger and prisoners for years, he will lead the world and bring eternal happiness to mankind!...

There are those who believe in this marvellous fantasy out of ignorance, as well as those who want to make everyone believe in it with ulterior motives. Those who believe in the friendship of the Muscovite and those who believe in the friendship he showed towards us at the beginning of the War of Independence as a result of his own interests.

(1) We will always be sceptical of those who put it on our heads. History will doubt us if we do not doubt those who want to show a short, temporary moment at the beginning of the War of Independence as a "great truth" while turning a blind eye to the clearest and most incontrovertible facts of a history that has lasted for years. Those who think that twenty-five years of treacherous propaganda have erased the enmity between the Turkish race and the Muscovite horde, which is ingrained in their very veins, will forever lose the honour of speaking before the nation. Those who consider the cold but meaningful silence of the nation against the talk of Muscovite friendship as "acceptance" are only mentally ill wretches.

Some foreign ministers, as a matter of political courtesy, may talk about the "traditional friendship between the two nations" or they may be genuinely friendly towards the . However, people, whose hearts are alive with the memories of Muscovite enmity, do not believe this, do not care, and will not listen to such a friendship.

Turks and Muscovites, whose history, geopolitics and destiny have made them enemies, will never be reconciled and this "tit-for-tat fight" will continue until a decisive result is achieved. How can we make peace? The Creator has created us in opposition, history has raised us as enemies, geography has placed us on the earth to clash.

While we bear our glorious national name, which even others have adopted, they have taken the name of the Norman "Rus" tribe, which they summoned to rule over them. The meaning of "Turk", the name of our lineage and nation

While it means "*strength*" or "*civilised*", their national name Islav means "slave" in their own language. We were born in the God Mountains, they sprang from the Pripet swamps.

We have given the history of humanity and the world of ideas Farabi, who is regarded as the "second teacher" after . They raised only Ivan Terrible and Peter the Mad.

Those who think that friendship with Muscovy is possible should take careful look at the past. We two other alliances with them 798 and 833. Were these alliances and the promises of "*eternal and unshakable friendship*" in the treaties of alliance able to prevent the bloody struggles that followed? Leaving the long history of enmity between the Golden Army and the Turks of Turkestan and the Russians, let us take only the Ottoman Turks.

The relations of the Ottoman Turks with the Scots started in 495 with the envoy sent by them and became permanent until 1667, when we sent an envoy only 9 times, while they sent 38 times. Our first war in 639 and with the last war that ended in 917, we 63 964 642646677686- 699713- 713736- 739, 768- 774787- 792806- 812827- 829853- 853.

These wars were repeated four times in 856, 877-878, 917- . These four wars, which were fought in 278 years between 639 and 917, lasted 49 years. That is, one war every 9 years! In the last three centuries of the world history, no other two nations can be shown to have fought every nine years.

These battles, these martyrdoms, have filled the soil and stone of Anatolia with Muscovite enmity, and the Turkish nation and the Muscovite herd become the two irreconcilable enemies of history. We called the destructive gale that came to the northern shores of Anatolia the "*Muscovite wind*".

They called the destructive lodos that attacked the south of Nana *"the Turkish wave"*. I do not know the metaphorical meaning of the word *Turk* in Muscovite folk language, but in Turkish *Muscovite* took the meaning of *"huin, bad"*.

As long as life exists, everything will continue to be understood by 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 milll ideals, you will definitely put hatred next to love. Are you talking about the ideal of the Turks, you are obliged to place *"hatred for Muscovy"* next to *"love for the Turk"*. There is no need for deep knowledge and thought to know that "love for the Turk" means enmity against the , that worship of Turkishness includes hatred against the Muscovite. It is enough to look at the history and the map.

After having gone as far as it could the whole world, Muscovitism has now begun to decline. In a civilised world, this religion of madness and immorality could not have attracted more attention. A glance at the number of communists in the parliaments of countries which hold fully democratic elections shows that the intellectual and moral misery of the world is declining. In Ireland, England and America, countries with a very solid social structure, there is not a single Communist member of parliament. In France and Italy, on the other hand, whose social structures are rotten, communists make up more or less one-third of the parliament. It is no coincidence the "Latin nurses" were the first to be knocked out in the Second World War from both sides.

It is treason to think that these perverts of thought, whom we have heard saying "If there is a war between us, we will not take up arms against the Russians", "curse my father, but do not say anything against Stalin", will one day come to the right path and to suggest to others that they will do so is treason.

Rnusarnaha to the Muscovites? Never! Consent is conscious ignorance, and since it is conscious, it is closer to treason than ignorance. When we ask why Muscovites were appointed to official posts, they answer: "They have become repentant", when we say that it is not right to believe: "We cannot lose the children of the motherland". Oh, the great tolerance that brought these penitent prostitutes into the "harirn-i isrneti" of the family! Oh this naive belief or disbelief! They saw the fate of the repentant son of the motherland (!) Saba hattin Ali. He was fleeing to Bulgaria to avoid three months in prison. Nazım Hikrnet who was released from prison by launching a campaign as a Turkish (!) poet (!) with Marxist ideas, but a patriotic (!) Turkish (!) poet (!) and by collecting signatures, including that of the great patriotic man (!) Ali Fuat Başgil, immediately fled to Russia and took a Polish surname, and of course it is not forgotten what he said against Turkey on "Bizim Rad yo" until his death.

In this country, we have listened to those who have protected the rnoskophism to the utmost for years: "We have entered the Western civilisation, we have surpassed them, we will be an example for them." They have told us such nonsense as: "The borders of Europe end at Kars". However, while Europe, that is to say the West, that is to say "reason and science" as they called it, was crushing the corn communism, they introduced the Russophobia the Majlis and the cabinet and launched an unprecedented crusade with the most vulgar and despicable slanders in order to eradicate Turkism. While imitating West, they introduced not only roads, schools and factories but also balls and cocktail parties into our country. As for the war against Muscovism, they wanted it to come from behind.

Communism, which they wanted to force the nation to accept that there was no danger, went so far as to throw the Turkish flag on the floor of the Village Institute in Adana, Turkey just as it had stolen the secret of the horse from America. In 1 948, the Ministry of National Education building and the Academy of Fine Arts

As he had destroyed the military flour factory in Amasya in February 1999, Nuri Pasha's arms factory in Istanbul on 2 March the radio department of the Radar School in Tuzla March 1999 the Adana Military Hospital in March 1999 On 13 March was able to set fire to the armoury in Dağ Yenicesi Çatalca, on 3 March to the officers' quarters of the Islahiye Military Service Branch, on 26 March to the first floor of War Academy, and on 2 April to a part of the National Education Printing House and the Tekirdağ Government Office. And he was able to burn down most of them.

Those who believed, or seemed to believe, that the old moskofians were repentant, were able to get away with calling these fires as ignitions. They were explaining things so easily that if one day the homeland burnt, they would not hesitate to blame it on electricity by calling it a contact again.

In reality, these arson attacks were but the small manifestations of the irreconcilable Turkish-Moscow enmity. Since they could not burn the whole of Turkey, they burned buildings; since they could not exterminate the whole Turkish race, they the blood of three or five people in fires and explosions. Since they could not obtain these lands, they could not restrain themselves, they wanted, Ardahan and the Bosphorus and they were getting ready. In their minds, a sense of inferiority left over from Peter the Mad, who had sent his wife to Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, and the hatred that this feeling gave birth to, in their hearts, the crude ambition of being an Slav, that is, of being inferior ... On the one hand, the hope given by the multitude and opportunities. ... On the other hand, the resentment born of knowing that you cannot joke with the Turk...

On the other side, hordes of Slavs, tanks, aeroplanes, artillery and millions. ... On this side, steel bayonets held by iron hands and hundreds of men with weapons too light the other side. ... and the helpers of those hundreds of thousands: History, faith and the spirit of fifty million martyrs.

AWAKENING



National consciousness is a nation's sense and knowledge of itself. National consciousness, which is based on both feeling and thinking, is one of the spiritual forces of a nation.

is the most important. The four defences that protect the lives of nations

The last and most important of these lines is national consciousness. Just as the lungs, liver, heart and brain are the four most important organs of the human body, the *army*, *independence*, *language* and *national consciousness* are the four great fortresses of a nation.

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 a national consciousness even though it has lost its language due to compelling reasons, that nation knows its true identity despite the foreign language forced upon it, and one day, thanks to this national consciousness, it will learn its own language again and return to its true self. The best example of this is the Polish Turks. They have been using Turkish for centuries.

Although they have forgotten and speak Polish, they have not forgotten their Turkishness and one day they will speak Turkish. ¹

Whether the national consciousness is lethargic or awake is proportional to the ability of nations to live.

In places where the national consciousness is awake, foreign elements cannot be heard. No one of foreign ancestry can be placed at the head of administrative affairs and important positions. There, "science" is at the command of "national interest". Science is not for science, but for the greatness and glory of the nation.

Where 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 foreigners. He cannot be trusted. Foreigners do not marry. 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 from the point of view 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, morals, ethics, family, character, virtue, heroism and nationalism are permitted. Institutions that address the nation and play a role in the upbringing of the people shall be headed by people of that nation, who are strong, moral and intelligent.

When national consciousness is awake, favouritism, bribery and injustice are eliminated. The service of those who serve will not be denied. Historical figures are given their real value. Neither giant men are diminished because of their small flaws, nor immoral people are made giants because of their greatness that is not based on reality. Lawyers do not undertake the defence of foreigners who have insulted the nation. Degenerate types, half-crazies, people who do not know the national language properly, and yet

¹) The Jews and the Irish, who revived the forgotten national language thanks to national consciousness, and the Norwegians, who tried to revive it have shown national miracles of the century.

Maniacs and fools who 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 who are stronger than themselves.

In places where national consciousness is awake, doctors do not give false reports. Students who are absent from school do not lie that they were ill. Where there is national consciousness, lies are never told. Women and men do not prioritise love over the feelings of nation and homeland. The banner is celebrated and respected. National colours are glorified everywhere. The flag is not allowed to touch the ground, even for folding. Animals do not graze on the graves of ancestors and especially prostitutes and those who carry 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 ected. Women do not become coquettish.

The students a heart that is full of national excitement. But they are serious and disciplined.

Teachers do not favouritise. Students don't cheat. Everyone is satisfied with their rights. Those who started school yesterday do not claim to be masters today. Duty is kept sacred.

Where national consciousness is awake, language is jealously protected. The madmen who try to break the rules and syntax of the language and write about it are not applauded; on the contrary, they are put in the cathouse. Not everyone uses a spelling according to his/her own whim. When the national consciousness is awake, you cannot make a kur may out of a maverick, a professor out of a traitor, a linguist out of a physician, an historian out of an illiterate, a deputy out of a foreigner, or an idealist out of a vagabond.

National consciousness is a light. It illuminates the country and prevents them from operating in the dark by revealing all the scorpions that have crawled into hidden corners. What the brain is to a person, national consciousness is to the nation. A man whose lung, liver, and sometimes even his heart is pierced by a bullet is seen to be alive. But his brain

A person who eats a bullet cannot live. Similarly, a nation can live independently without an army. Even if it loses its language, it may not die. As long as it has a national consciousness.

National consciousness is the expression of life, the source of life and the most powerful weapon of a nation. In the xxth century, nations without national consciousness are doomed to collapse.

Kızilelma, 10th issue, 2 January 1948

TURKISH MORALITY

Merhüm When Ziya Gökalp said that the Turks were the first in morality, he was not caught up in a feeling of national pride. He had read a lot of history and

He had learnt the past and made this judgement he had learnt what our enemies had said about us.

We will not analyse here the causes and influences under which ahiak occurs. We will only say that geography has no influence on the emergence of ahiak. The greatest proof of this statement is the fact that the ancient Romans and the new Italians, who lived in the same geographical area, are morally opposite to each other in almost every field.

The most important reason for the formation of Ahiak is lineage. The morality of a society can change with the mixing of its lineage.

Turkish morality has been socialist since the earliest times. In other words, the interests of the society are prioritised over those of the individual. However, strong personalities have always been respected and have been beneficial to the society. Turkish morality, which does not value *individuality*, respected *personality*.

In the centuries before Christ, the Kuns brought up their children in such a way that they could be useful to society. Those who were too old to be of use to society would commit suicide.

The military spirit was despised everywhere in life and society. They were proud of dying in battle, they were ashamed of dying in bed. Their complexion would turn yellow at this prospect; the Turks before Islam had no promise of the paradise of Islam. Even so, they wanted to die in battle because they considered it an honour.

In discipline, which is the first condition for the rise of a nation, they had no equal. When the famous Mete (=Motun) ordered his soldiers, whose loyalty he wanted to test, to shoot arrows at their lovers, they all fulfilled this order.

They were truthful. Even the Chinese, the main enemy of the Kuns, wrote that they were very truthful, so much so that their word was enough.

They were frank. They did not know what flattery was. They would speak their conscience without hesitation. The rulers would listen to these words and if they found them true, they would implement them. In the II century B.C., when the Qun Sagan wanted to bring the Turks into the Chinese civilisation, the chancellor strongly opposed this and made the ruler accept his words. In the VIII century BC, when Bilge Kagan wanted to accept *the Buddha religion*, the famous Bilge Tonyukuk did not accept it, and dissuaded the ruler by counting evidence. Again in the VIIIth century, Böğü Kagan wanted to accept *Manichaeism* as the state religion, the tarkans, i.e. ministers, strongly opposed the acceptance of *Manichaeism*, which they regarded as the religion of avarn. Although Böğü Kagan did not listen to the tarkans and made the nation accept the new religion, the tarkans did not turn away from their conscientious convictions and proved that they were principled.

After the Battle of Mohaç, the answer given by a standard-bearer to an enquiry of Suleiman the Magnificent, who had visited the battlefield, is a good example of truthfulness and frankness.

Since the Turkish elites did not know what sycophancy was and the devşîrînes were very skilful at it, after the reign of Murad II, devşîrînes started to occupy high positions in the country and caused the deterioration of national morals.

Since the earliest times, the Turks used to get drunk by drinking koumiss, wine and raki, but they would never break their seriousness and solemnity. Ziya Pasha in the XIXth century;

*In the understandable majlis-i meyde, which is a
bed-mliye, Isret, güher-i ademi temyise mihektir.*

as if they all knew the couplet. It was a shame not to get drunk, not even to stagger.

Chagatai, the son of Genghis Khan, one day drank too much with his younger brother Ögedey, who was in the position of the great khan, and committed an act that could be considered against seriousness, and the next day he went to Ögedey and asked him to punish him for his behaviour the day before.

Aksak Temür also drank wine for many days during the toy parties, but he did not indulge in merriment, neither did he break anyone's heart, nor did he give an order that would disrupt the affairs of the state.

The Turks also had high sexual morals. Home, family and marriage were considered honourable. The penalty for assaulting a married woman was death. The woman was free. Even if her husband was away on a journey, she would welcome a strange man who came to the house. Since she was looked upon with respect, no harm could come from this.

would not be born. This custom still exists among Anatolian Nomads and Turkmens and Turkestan nomads.

Some of the Turkestan Kazakhs, who have preserved a large part of the morals and customs of the ancient Turks, have the following custom: A young man sneaks into the tent of the girl he wants to marry for three nights. He and the girl sleep together, and even if the girl's father and mother sense this, they do not make a sound. If the man is able to persuade the girl to marry him in three nights, he goes to her father on the fourth day and asks for the girl. If not, he leaves. But there is not the slightest impropriety in these three nights. The boy and the girl do not harbour any bad thoughts towards each other.

This shows that the Turks are both a moral and an ambitious nation. In fact, these two are often found together. It is the right of moral and strong-willed nations to live and rise.

When we fully possessed this Turkish morality, we rose. When we were corrupted by taking the morals of foreigners, we fell and declined. When we rose, this land was full of people who sacrificed themselves for great national causes, who knew no lies, no hypocrisy, and would not sell their conscience. When 60,000 Turks defeated a united Europe at Niğebolu, when Yavuz overcame terrible deserts, when Kanuni was looking for Charlemagne's army to challenge him, he relied on a society with such an indestructible spirit.

Morality is the foundation of national structure. Without it, nothing happens.

MORALITY IN TURKISM

T If we try to write the history of Turkism, we would probably have to go back to the centuries before Christ. But looking at contemporary Turkism it is easy to take a bird's eye view of its history.

Turkism, which was born in Turkey and among the Turks abroad at about the same time, was forced to develop under conditions so difficult that it could not be measured with the Turkism of the old ages. However, this movement, which started after the Tanzimat, was so strong that it even influenced an Albanian nationalist like Şemseddin Sami and made him become a scholarly and literary Turkist. This strong movement, despite many obstacles and betrayals, has always progressed and had to fight very hard battles to reach its present level.

The late Ziya Gökalp was the first and the last organiser of the idea of Turkism. It was he who gathered scattered ideas into a system, gave them order and scientificised Turkism. Had he lived, perhaps, today's

Turkism would have become a more organised system and would have been able to make proper use of the fast moving time. However, his premature death and the absence of a second organiser who would have swept Turkism with a new spirit have caused this movement to be more or less hindered today, or at least to grow late.

Nevertheless, from now on, the glorious march of Turkism has begun and a faithful caravan has set out. This caravan, despite difficulties and storms, will reach the ideal by taking speed and example from the lives and lessons of the great Turkists of the past. This is more than a possibility, a hope, a conviction or a belief. This is now a historical destiny. Everyone knows that no force can stand in the way of historical destiny.

* * *

Although all the old Turkists (of course, I am talking about real Turkists) may have some personal flaws, they all have one common virtue, and that is the virtue of not denying other Turkists, especially their predecessors. This is a moral issue. Since every belief is based on morality, a strong morality is the first condition of Turkism. In fact, the ideas that have triumphed on earth are not always the ones that are right and good, but the ones that have a strong moral side. Put the most beautiful idea or principle, the most splendid ideal into a rotten environment, and you will see that it immediately turns into rubbish and worthless. In order for Turkism to become more deep-rooted, in spite of its destined complete victory, Turkists must be people of high moral character.

Turkism is an intellectualisation of the life principles living in the soul, blood and brain of the Turkish race. Therefore, the principles of "order" and "respect" cannot be neglected. Without observing the order and respect, the shouting-

TURKISH LOVE

Those who are in favour of the old, and especially those who run after the dream of raising themselves by ruining the old, are not Turkic, not Turkish, not ordinary human beings. Since the Turkish race is not a race that denies the past and despises the old people who served it, it always doubts the Turkishness of those who do so.

When an idea is marching towards victory after long labour, there are parasites everywhere who want to benefit from its victory. Just as a Jew, with his speculative intelligence, predicts that commodity will soon be valued and tries to hoard it, so these parasites of ideals, understanding with their devious intelligence which idea is heading towards victory, try to make use of it. Suddenly, they come out of nowhere, make a ruckus, shout, undermine one another, and at first they may convince some people of their sincerity. However, time, the most just judge, finally unmask them. The vile ambitions shining in the eyes of the disgusting face under that mask are immediately perceived by everyone.

These deceivers take every mould in the path of interest and promotion:

Some of them pretend to be secularists even though they are bigots.

Some of them pretend to be communists even though they are rich and avaricious heiresses or ruthless capitalists who exploit the labour of some poor workers by employing them in their employ.

Some of them are sycophantic to the government, even though they are a ruthless gossip.

Others pretend to be Turkic, even though they are a swindler who thinks of nothing but himself, or a non-Turk whose ugly face shows that he is not a Turk.

All of these are harmful people for Turkishness and Turkism. Turkism has a strict morality. The Turk does not denounce himself, he is modest, he confesses if he has committed an offence or made a mistake. To the past and old values

is committed. He does not think of rising by overthrowing the old Turkists. His heart beats only with the feeling of serving his nation. He is not in the case of selfishness. He does not even go near such pettiness as lies and slander, which are bad in every religion and in every moral principle. He does not invent a genealogy for himself, and especially if his father or grandfather came from a suspicious environment, he does not attempt to patch himself to one of the dark Turkish circles of Anatolia in order to remove this suspicion. In particular, he does not resort to such an ugly and dishonourable act as undermining the old ones in order to gain a more or less moral position after years of hard work and service to Turkism.

Whoever does these things is not a Turk. He is not a Turk either. Such people have no place in the cadre of Turkists.

YOUTH and MORALITY

M The foundation of all states is morality. Things like army, knowledge and organisation come after morality. Whether it the Turkish nation or other nations, morality

When they were high, they grew, and when their moral soundness deteriorated, they decayed and disintegrated. Rome, PersiaByzantiumthe Goths in Spain, and the Arabs failed because of the corruption of their morals. Yesterday's France was overthrown because of moral corruption. The main reason for the convulsions in Turkish history is the loosening of ethics. Although this loosening was caused by Turks, converts and devşîrines, the same causes and the same results are evident.

The morality of a nation, especially the youth, is important. Because where the destiny of the nation is at stake, they will do the work and shed blood. If the youth sees moral discipline and examples of morality in the material and spiritual environment surrounding them, and if they are sure that immorality will always be crushed, then they will grow up with strong morals. However, even if the youth is given moral indoctrination by words

If he sees that bribery, favouritism, sycophancy and injustice prevail, then a moral crisis begins in him.

Young people most often look up to their teachers' role models. When the teacher becomes lax or immoral, the first reactions begin in the youth and these reactions go up to denial of everything.

The teacher must be a morally perfect person. In other words, he must belong to an elite class. However, in our country everyone has become a teacher. Neither for 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 was often unfair. Whoever brought more or stronger letters of recommendation won the exam. Should not the young people who will become teachers be examined in terms of lineage, character and family? In fact, shouldn't the lineage of a young person who will become a teacher be his/her knowledge? This important point is completely neglected. Just as it is essential that the students entering military schools should be of Turkish descent, it should be equally essential that teachers should also be of Turkish descent. Furthermore, what are their moral qualities? Do they have some weaknesses? Is he a ridiculous type in the eyes of the students? All these should also be taken into consideration. However, no attention is paid to these. The result is obvious.

I said that youth should live in a moral environment. Youth should always see that morality prevails in school, in life, in cinema, in books, on the beach, on the street, on the ferry, on the tram. A lax teacher, a bad film, a harmful book, a beach trash, an insidious article can sometimes cause a young person to be lost in this society.

Turkish youth must see that those who do evil to the nation are beaten down and statues are erected to the great ones. Turkish youth should not see raki being sold in the fountains, which are heirlooms of the ancestors, lustful films being shown in cinemas, and all sorts of disgraces being committed on beaches, which are places of health protection.

is. They should not read articles, novels and novels that deny honour, propagate false ideals and undermine the family. Otherwise, it is not enough just to give indoctrination and advice.

Places such as bars, taverns and balls, which are the slaughterhouses of national morality, and disgraces such as the election of beauty queens should be banned in Turkey. This is 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 means a city full of nests of debauchery and prostitution opened for the enjoyment of a bunch of foreigners and immoral rich people. Serious scholars should come to Istanbul to see the artefacts of ancient history, not a bunch of foolish millionaires to give money, to indulge in debauchery and immorality. How many Turkish youths will be jealous of foreign millionaires and throw themselves into the vortex of debauchery?

Bottom line: Let us return to ourselves. Let us be national in morality, literature, music, clothing, taste, food, entertainment, law, family, customs, traditions and everything.

the nationalist magazines became popular, there were fewer communist poems (!) like rags. Do you know what would happen if the black music called jazz, the European disgrace called prom, the American disgrace called bar were abolished, and if instead of these translated laws, laws based on our national customs and morals were made, in other words, if we were truly national?

We will be the first nation of the world again.

LIGHT

K One of the first human beings who lived in passion and confusion was his friend light. Because with its help he could find his food, and with its help he could escape from his enemies.

he was getting rid of it. Lack of light was a terrible thing for him. Whatever evil, wild, dangerous things the human imagination had found and created, passed down from generation to generation and to the present day, they had all been born from darkness.

In some of the great ancient religions, the universe was divided into two great parts, light and darkness, everything good and beautiful was born of light, and the God who did good and created human beings was considered the God of light.

The reason why the moon and stars have been included in the poetry of every nation for centuries is they illuminate the dark nights.

Goethe, one of the world's greatest poets,
when he was dying, he begged for *some light, some light*.

* * *

Turks, who were poets and artists as much as they were rulers, conquerors and organisers; Turks, who knew the fecundity of the icy steppes and the serah of the hot deserts, valued light no less than other nations. Light was also processed in the language of this distinguished lineage and transcended its material meaning to a spiritual meaning.

also gave strength: "to be enlightened", "to be illuminated", "to be lighted", "to be nurlan mak" have now been included in Turkish as words that also describe the development, growth and maturity of the heart and intellect.

The most beautiful and meaningful form of light in Turks is reflected in epics. There is a divine light descending from the sky, which has an extraordinary effect on the place where it descends, which is God's gift to the Turkic race, and the child born under the influence of the light or its progeny becomes a national hero and leads the Turks from one glory and honour to another and writes glorious pages in history. "Wolf" and "light" in Turkish epics are the means sent by God to raise the Turks.

* * *

Today again we need a light from the sky. However, the great Turkish nation of 65-70 million people, one third of which is independent, has never been in need of such a light as it is today.

The Turkish nation, which has been in dangers due to poverty and disease, the cruelty of enemies, the slander and insidiousness of foreigners, the loss of national consciousness and the deliberate undermining of the national culture by those who are entrusted to protect that culture, has never been so dependent on the divine light.

The age of the epic is over. No more miraculous light descends from the sky. Today's miraculous light should not be expected from the sky, but from the lines of books and magazines. We know this. We also know that the lines of many books and magazines are written not to bring a miraculous light, but a disastrous and red captivity.

That's all we're saying for now:

Our new "Golden Light" will descend only when these writings, which are preparing disaster and captivity, are drowned in the flood of national consciousness.

Golden Light, 1st issue, 15 January
1947

BIG MAN

M There are several types of citizens in terms of loyalty to the state and homeland. Heroes are the most important of these. Without expecting anything in return

Those who can always spend their sincerity for the sake of the nation and the homeland,

heroic citizens. The number of this first class is quite small.

The second class consists of good citizens. These are people who, even if they cannot sacrifice themselves alone and always willingly, can sacrifice themselves for the sake of leaving a good name. These good citizens, who sacrifice themselves for holy missions, for ideals, are encouraged when they see others like themselves around them, and they approach the first class.

The third class are citizens who, although they are not capable of self-sacrifice, are able to endure sacrifice in all other respects, and even when it is necessary to sacrifice themselves, they endure this sacrifice without any desire to do so, i.e. they do not think of avoiding it.

The fourth class is an evil class that can only sacrifice for the homeland and the nation in return for another gain, but can never make a blood sacrifice and will resort to every means and use every trick to avoid blood sacrifice.

There are also traitors, of whom I find it unnecessary to speak. With a little effort of memory, anyone can find many examples of this.

The rise or fall of a nation is proportional to the increase or decrease of these four classes within it. The great men who played the leading role in the rise of the nation came only from the first two classes.

It is not an easy task to distinguish a truly great man. Because there are many obstacles to the impartial examination of personalities. Propaganda is one of these obstacles. Propaganda is such a bad thing when it is misused that it can sometimes portray great men as worthless people, and sometimes it can introduce ordinary people as great men. Especially, one-sided propaganda can erase many truths. Fortunately, a propaganda can never hide the real truth to the end. What is true is revealed sooner or later.

For example, Gedik Ahmed Pasha, one of the Ottoman grand viziers, is presented as a great vizier who made great conquests. This misconception became well established, and the poet Yahya Kemal even wrote a beautiful poem called "*Gazel to Gedik Ahmed Pasha*". But the truth is not like this at all. What are shown as Gedik Ahmed's conquests are the cheap successes achieved with the magnificent and invincible Ottoman army, sometimes without a battle, sometimes with a short battle and against small states.

Just as the worthless Gedik Ahmed was unjustly inflated in this way, Abdülhamid II was also unjustly minimised and reduced to a m-

lice were portrayed as cruel and even traitorous. This is also the result of the propaganda of the Unionists. However, some recent serious and scholarly publications are in favour of Sultan Abdülhamid. Although a book has not yet been written to give us a full picture of the value of his personality, we can already accept the following fact: By keeping the empire, which the Unionists had destroyed in nine or ten years, intact for 33 years, Abdülhamid showed that he was a great ruler and proved that the publications against him were unjustified. Moreover, the fact that he never engaged in bloody games is a proof to refute the allegations that he was a slaughterer. Furthermore, a person who understood the responsibility of his position well. It was in Abdülhamid's hands to disperse the Movement Army, which was marching towards Istanbul and which was composed not of organised forces, but of Rumelia's marauding riff-raff of various origins. But he refused to do so, even if it was to protect his sultanate. His Pasha's had asked for permission to march his very strong guard troops against the Movement Army, but he had refused, saying that being the Caliph, he could not cause Muslims to break Muslims.

When the examples of Gedik Ahmed and Abdülhamid II are applied to many famous people of history, it is certain that different results will be obtained from the conventional wisdom. Furthermore, while investigating which of the historical figures was great, the conditions of time, environment and opportunity should never be overlooked. I wonder what Yavuz Sultan Selim could have done if he had been the sultan during the Balkan War? Maybe he could have done nothing, maybe he could have done very little. But he would have proved that he was a great man with his behaviour and efforts. Therefore, we cannot measure greatness by the degree of success. Success is the work of time, place, environment, those who prepared those conditions before, and a little bit coincidence and luck.

Young Osman, one of the Ottoman sultans, could do almost nothing. However, he was a very great personality. He had very important plans. If he had not been martyred, the landscape of today's Turkey would have been completely different.

Then, which personalities should be called great men? The principles of this are as follows:

1- A great man is above all a man of good intentions. The motives of his actions are the upliftment of society. He has no interest in self-interest.

2- A great man is a man who possesses many of the qualities recognised as virtues and virtues in every age.

3- A great man is a man who is high and clean in his private life. Scoundrels with some honours are never great men.

4- It is not a man who sacrifices the nation for his position; on the contrary, a man who can give his position, even his life, for the sake of the nation when necessary is a great man.

5- A man who can see the truth, who can look at the bitter truth with courage, who knows no injustice is a great man.

6- A great man is a man whose word and deed are not contradictory and who has no share in lies and deceit.

7- One of the conditions of greatness is intelligence. History has not recorded that great men have come out of fools.

8- A great man is a man who knows how to choose a man, who knows how to find the right person for every job.

9- There are also family conditions to become a great man. Great men do not come from every family. Great men cannot come from degenerated, rotten, morphinaman or alcoholic families.

10- A great man is very scrupulous about honour. He never breaks his word. In this respect, the example of Hindenburg is very meaningful. When Field Marshal Von Hindenburg was to be elected President of Germany, he was in exile in the Netherlands.

He sought permission from Kaiser Wilhelm, who was living the life of Kaiser Wilhelm, and asked his opinion, seeing a moral contradiction between the oath he had sworn to be loyal to the emperor when he became an officer and becoming the president. Hindenburg accepted the presidency after Kaiser removed the oath requirement. A man who is so true to his word is, of course, a great man.

ıı - A great man does not run away from responsibility. The late Şükrü Pasha, who defended Edirne in the Balkan War, fought valiantly and was captured, and even though his name was known all over the world, he still considered himself responsible, and when he returned from captivity, he demanded that he be put on the "court martial". Şükrü Pasha is great for this.

In short, great men are very rare. It is as great a happiness for a nation to raise great men as it is a great disaster to fail to do so. The greater and more terrible disaster is to be so ignorant as to think that ordinary men are great.

Özdeyiş, 6th issue, March 1 947

important issues of turcism

Türkism is the ideal that all Turks should unite in a single state and be advanced and superior to all nations in all respects.

This has two unchanging elements: Ancestry and Turanianism.

Genealogy is first of all a means of national defence. It is a protection measure against the consciousness of ancestry, which the minorities in Turkey secretly carry out 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, while Jews prove in various ways that Israel is their real homeland, Turks are undoubtedly right to take certain measures as the real owner of the state.

Inbreeding is also a matter of health protection. Since intermixing is always to the detriment of the superior one, in the case of intermixing of Turks with great qualities with descendants lacking these qualities, some of the great qualities of Turare lost in the resulting hybrids, and some of the primitive qualities of other descendants take their place. We cannot abandon these facts, which are revealed by anthropology and ratiology, which are both hard sciences, with political considerations. Science and truth cannot be the plaything of politics.

Genealogy is, finally, a matter of historical consciousness. Thousands of examples, starting from the earliest Turkish states to the end of the short-lived Republic of Turkey, show the treachery of foreigners who were appointed to important positions in the state.

This is what makes the Turkists accept genealogy as an unchangeable principle. However, this genealogy does not mean, as those who do not know or are ignorant of what genealogy is, to determine which nationality people belong to by putting them through measurements and laboratory examinations. Almost every lineage is mixed with other lineages. Nothing can come out of this. Because nature cleans up hybridity after a while. However, if a lineage continues to mix with other lineages, after a while, it will break down, never to be restored again.

Those who shout that eugenics is dangerous are poor people who are ignorant of the world. Everywhere in the world, even England and America, where the enmity of ancestry is instilled in the ignorant among us, there is perfect ancestry. It is because of the racism perpetrated by the Germans during the Second World War that the British in America appear to be enemies of ancestry. When the Germans claimed that their descendants were superior, and some justified publications showed the weakness of the British in America because of interference,

The Anglo-Saxons are hostile to racism because of political rivalry and jealousy. However, their enmity is the official and open German racism and not the hidden and customary Anglo-Saxon racism.

The treachery of the Chinese princesses who entered your palace in the era of the Kuns and the Turks of the Sky has become common knowledge today. In the Ottoman period, the behaviour that humiliated a great sultan like Suleiman the Magnificent was due to Hurrem Sultan of Slavic origin.

Those who are against genealogism should ask themselves this: they equate themselves with a Gypsy? Do they marry a Gypsy? Would they accept a Gypsy bride or groom?

If they say yes, no problem. If they say no, it means that they discriminate against descendants. The discrimination they make only against Gypsies, Turkists also make against others.

Genealogism lives on as a custom among Anatolian Turks. In villages and towns, today's descendants of a foreigner who arrived there many years or even centuries ago are still considered foreigners. The fact that even such people who have been completely Turkified, who do not speak any language other than Turkish and who do not consider themselves to belong to other nation are regarded as foreigners shows the strong sense of lineage among Anatolian Turks. It should not be forgotten that democracy is a "system of realising the wishes of the majority".

Turanism, the second element of Turkism, is the idea of the unification of all Turks. Today, there are perhaps 60, perhaps 65, perhaps 70 million Turks in the world. These Turks, spread over a vast homeland, are a mobile, capable nation that played a great role in the past. What can be as justified and rational as the idea of uniting the Turks, who have fallen the domination of other nations for reason, a single state? In the world

While all nations aspire to liberate their fellow nations under foreign domination, why should not Turks pursue the same wish? It is not a dream for Turks, who are state-builders by nature, to establish and maintain such a great state. Even in the ages when there were no trains, automobiles, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones and radios, Turks established great states and kept them alive for centuries.

All the Turks of the world look at Turkey like the Kaaba. The legend that Turkey will save them one day lives among them. Not only Turks living in the motherland and under oppression, but also Turks living in civilised countries long for this place.

Some time ago I met a young Finnish Turkish girl who loved Turkey very much despite the difficulties she encountered at customs and other places. She told me that there were about 1000 Turks living in Finland, that these Turks, who were all rich and , wanted to come to Turkey despite the fact that they liked the noble and noble Finnish people who treated them very well, that they never married Finns, that their biggest fear was to forget Turkish, and that the six or seven Turks who had been martyred in the Finnish-Russian war were the most distinguished and cultured young Finnish Turks.

It is our national right to save all Turks. Even if it is not our national right, after this great love for us, it has become our humanitarian duty. National and humanitarian actions are what make nations great. The splendour of the sacrifice to save the captive Turks groaning under oppression is so bright that it will be one of the deeds of the immortality of Turkishness.

To think only of eating and drinking and to live only for today, without pursuing any ideal, brings no honour to human beings. Animals do this much too. Humanity is to live for the idealtomorrowssacrifice for this cause.

and to die. Animals run away from death. Man a wounded creature who knows how to die for honour and for a cause he considers great.

Turanism is not the ideal of uniting the nations related us, namely the Mongols, Manchus and Koreans, or even the Finns and Hungarians. Since the word *Turan* is sometimes used in the scientific language in the sense of *Ural-Altai*, there have been some who have thought that Turanism is Ural-Altaiism. But no Turkist has ever pursued such an aim. Our Turanism is to bring the countries which are the historical homelands of the Turks, most of which are still populated by Turks, to independence and unity with Turkey.

* * *

In other words, Turkism wants the unification of all Turks and the protection of Turkishness from foreign ancestral influences. Here we are confronted with the issue of the definitions of *nation* and *homeland* of Turkism. In other words, who is a Turk and what is the homeland of Turks?

A *Turk* is, first of all, a person of Turkish descent. In addition to some rare exceptions, a person of Turkish ancestry must speak Turkish and have Turkish culture.

We cannot exclude the Po lanyu-Lithuanian Turks, who are Turks but have lost their mother tongue, from the Turkish language cadre because they do not speak Turkish. Since they are Turks in terms of both their ancestry and their feelings, they will one day voluntarily enter the Turkish language cadre.

Sometimes, there are those who were born in a foreign country and lost their parents and forgot Turkish. As long as they know that they are Turks, such people are also Turks. To exclude from Turkishness those who have lost their Turkish language because of one calamity is equal to excluding from Turkishness those who have lost their independence because of another calamity, which no one has the right to do.

In order for the Turks to become a nation, there is no need for unity of history. The Turks of Turkey and the Turks of Turkestan have long had different mukad derat. This does not mean that they are separate nations. One day they will again become one nation with the same destiny. Anatolian and Azerbaijani Turks have also lived separately for a long time. Anatolia and Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan and Turkestan, Turkestan and Anatolia, Turkestan and Idyl-UralIdyl-Ural and Turkey (i.e. Ilkhanids and Golden Army) sometimes clashed violently. Especially the clashes of Anatolian and Azerbaijani Turks because of sectarian quarrels were very painful. However, all these did not prevent the Turks from becoming one nation. Just as the centuries-long struggle of the Anatolian Turks, who no one doubts that they are one nation today, in the past as Ottoman-Karaman, Ottoman-Akkoyuulu, did not prevent them from uniting as one nation in the end, the unification and fusion of Turkey with other Turks tomorrow is a historical necessity that no one can prevent.

Although it seems that the Turks do not have the same historical destiny, it can be said that they have this destiny in a sense. Because the disaster that befell any one of the Turks in separate political parts was soon followed by the others. For example, the collapse of the Kazan Khanate led to the collapse of Turkestan, and the collapse of Crimea cost Turkey heavy losses.

However, there are also incidents which show that the Turks consciously considered the issue of historical destiny. For example, Turkey fought the war of 786- 791 for the liberation of Crimea, and Sultan Aziz prepared a strong navy to repeat the same attempt. Atalık Gazi expelled the Chinese from East Turkistan

Yakub Beğ had recognised Turkey. In short, today Turks have a unity of destiny and every year that passes strengthens this unity of destiny a little more. Furthermore, Turks are more worthy of the "*nations to live free and independent lives*" in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which we have also signed, than any other nation due to their history, capabilities, geographical importance and population. Other nations are obliged to accept this right of ours for the honour of their signature.

Since religion is one of the elements that make up a nation, we must also dwell on the religion of the Turks. There is no doubt that the religion of the Turks is Islam. This religion, which has been our national religion for ten centuries, has become a Turkish Muslim religion by taking some elements from our old religion of Shamanism. However, it is not necessary to be a Muslim in order to be a Turk. Because among today's Turks there are a few hundred thousand Sharnan, a few hundred thousand Christians and even a few thousand Mfrsevi Turks (Karayırnlar). 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 an indispensable condition of Turkishness.

It seems that a Turkish unity is realised, all these Sharnan and Christian Turks will become Muslims. Therefore, there is no need to force them already.

The issue of Sunnism-Shiism, which used to be a matter of division among Turks, can no longer be considered as a matter of question. All of them are Muslim Turks, and differences of jurisprudence in the understanding of Islam can no longer create duality among Turks.

The places where these Turks live are Turkish homeland. The countries where Turks have established a state and civilisation and which are full of Turkish memories are our homeland and belong to us. The forced expulsion of Turks from any of these countries does not deprive us of this right. For example, the extermination of the Crimean Turks or the expulsion of the Turks of the Eastern Rumelia province does not make any sense.

Just as the Jews expelled the Arabs from Palestine, which had become an Arab country, and created a Jewish majority there, we must do the same and Turkify the lands that belong to us.

* * *

The unchanging aspect of Turkism is the idea of Turanism and Turanianism and, as a result, the idea of the Turkish nation and homeland.

All Turkists were united on these two bases. Issues other than these, such as economic, social and legal views, are matters to be resolved by the Turkists in the future. Turkist opinions on these issues may change. Because, in time, any economic or social thought can be refuted. But genealism and Turanism will never change. Because these are necessary for Turkishness to be Turkishness. Just like a person's absolute need for air and food, a person's need for clothes may change according to summer, winter, night and day. His entertainment may be going to the cinema, hunting or drinking. But his need for air and food never changes. Genealogy and Turanism are the air and food of Turkishness.

* * *

Turkism has its own world view. Since Turkism, which is realistic, believes that the law of "*fight for life*" will continue until the end, it has decided to enlist in the military.

and aims to develop the tradition of our ancestry *as a nation of soldiers*. We are opposed to such narcotic suggestions as "there will be no more war" in the sense that they weaken our national defence. The idea of eliminating war from the world has been tried for centuries, but has failed. It should not be forgotten that the so-called "*Roman Peace*" was a system of so-called peace, which was achieved through great resentment, military preparation and tyranny, but which never lasted.

We favour the revival of true military virtues and their rooting in the soul. Soldiering is not a matter of mould, but of spirit. But the honour must also be in accordance with the spirit.

We are friends of nations, ideas and people who do us no harm. However, we believe that it is a great blunder to think that life can only be carried out through love. Everything in the world exists together with its opposite. Therefore, there will be hatred along with love. Turkism, in a certain sense, is "*the enmity of the enmity of the enmity of Turks*".

We are enemies of every nation, religion, , idea, society and person who has done evil to our lineage, our state, our homeland, our sacred values and our honour. "Our hatred is our religion!"

We are always obliged to fight in order to protect our existence and to obtain our rights. Having to fight means having to be a soldier. *Soldiering* is the science of fighting. It is the science of earning the right to live. In this respect, it is the only true science. All other sciences and sciences are its helpers.

Turkism favours 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 despotism, nor is there intoxication of freedom. In a disciplined nation, nothing is done contrary to the morals, traditions, honour and wishes of the nation. A disciplined nation means a nation with a definite concept of life, a definite calendar, a definite taste, a definite holiday, a definite sorrow, and even a definite dress and calendar.

Turkism is for the Turkification of Turks in all respects. Nothing foreign will remain within these borders. Turkish culture will prevail unconditionally. In this respect, Turkism has its own language, history and alphabet.

We want a recognised and improved Turkish. The unscientific relics of the language committee will be cleared away, but the positive results achieved in the meantime will be preserved.

This alphabet is not suitable for writing and developing Turkish. The four or five letters necessary for writing Turkish will be added to it, and thus Turkish will be saved from the misfortune of being reduced to the status of a negro language.

The historical thesis of Turkism is a national view within the framework of science, completely far from the comedy of considering the ancient nations, 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 continued until the XI century in a homeland extending from Manchuria to Crimea, and in the XI century a second homeland was established, which we call Turkey, consisting of Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Khorasan. In terms of Turkism, the Aksak Temür-Yıldırım Bayazıd quarrel is a brotherly quarrel. From the point of view of Turkism, the history of Turkey is the history of the Seljuk, Ilkhanid and Ottoman sovereignties, and now the history of the Republic. The Ottoman period of our history, together with other internal and external developments, will be considered as the internal war of the Turkish lineage with the devshirs.

Turkism wants our history after the Tanzimat to be re-examined, the truth to be revealed and the false heroes to take their rightful places.

Turkism is a party of seriousness far from all fantasies. It believes that fantasies in state and national life are against the nation.

Turkism, based on the historical tradition of the Turkish lineage, is a free-thinking and respectful attitude towards women. However, it is also strongly opposed to women being relegated to the level of coquette. Respecting woman does not mean keeping her unconditionally equal to man. It is against the laws of nature to equate the two sexes created by God. We are in favour of women receiving all kinds of education and entering all professions except in some cases. However, for the protection of the family structure, we want women to fulfil their duties of motherhood and domesticity first and foremost.

Turkism demands social justice in the country and believes that real justice is social. It is clear that satisfying the members of the nation in terms of health, livelihood and future is one of the conditions of nationalism.

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. For this reason, as one of the driving forces in the life of the Turkish race, we are in favour of nourishing the already hidden enmity against the Muscovites with the nation. Enmity, like love, keeps nations alive and standing. Turkish foreign ministers can be friends with Muscovites among the ministers. To think of such a thing for the Turkish nation is to think against the national menace.

the Muscovite is our genealogical enemy, communism, which is Muscovite imperialism, is our most dangerous enemy.

is.. Since communism has become the property of the Russophobes, supporting it is treason. Communists, who are the lowest traitors in terms of Turkism, must be destroyed.

We also regard Freemasonry as an enemy. Freemasonry is a secret society with its roots outside the country and is an anti-Turkist organisation used by those who are unable to reconcile with nationalism. It was initially established to protect the national interests of the Jews in secret, but in time it became an international 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 get their hands on every place and take it over, and they succeed in this endeavour.

Zionism is an organised and inhuman idea which seeks the comfort and happiness of the Jewish race at the expense of 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 horrible reality revealed by the Zionists, who, disguised in all kinds of disguises, attacked our army on the Palestinian front from behind and spied for the enemy, forced the Turkists to be always vigilant and cautious against this movement.

Communism, Zionism and Freemasonry in Turkey are enemies of Turks.

* * *

In concluding this article on the main issues of Turkism, I would like to make some recommendations to young Turkists:

In today's conditions, one of the first actions to be taken by Turkists is for each of them to work in their own professional field.

promotion comes first. Every Turk should work seriously and systematically in order to reach the highest degree or rank of his/her profession. Those who do not succeed should not be discouraged, should change their profession if necessary, and those who despair of success should help their friends to rise. The way to strive for promotion is not the dishonourable way of supporting each other rightly and wrongly, as the Freemasons do, and rising to a place they do not deserve; it is the honourable way of rising by showing competence.

Although every profession has its benefits and importance, Turkists should enter the Military Academy, the Civil Service and the teachers' schools the most. It is unnecessary to say how teachers can dominate the future of the country through their nationalist indoctrination of students. Officers are also partly teachers. Moreover, the most important class in our country, which dominates the national destiny, is the officer class. It is an important opportunity of service for Turkists to leave Civil Service and take charge of provinces and districts.

The second issue to be considered by the Turkists is to establish a family and to bring up strong and Turkic children for the country. The fact that there is a large number of Turkists who marry young and raise many children is encouraging and heartwarming. There is no need to talk at length about the importance of the principle of always raising many children and strong children. Turkmen should pay attention to the health and lineage of the girl they marry and not to be captive to love in this matter. It is evident from examples that such negligence leads to short-lived marriages.

Turkists should be organised, and for this purpose they should always gather under the roof of the strongest nationalist organisation. In this organisation, they should not show discord and should not pursue the cause of selfishness.

Every Turk should endeavour to warn and enlighten his own environment. It is up to the intellect and ability of the Turk to determine what kind of Turkism he will do in the conditions he finds himself in. If necessary, he should ask nationalist organisations and individuals, if not, he should act in consultation with his conscience.

Mistakes should be confessed with sincerity and efforts should be made to prevent them from happening again.

It cannot be overlooked that most of the young Turkists lack a national culture. Spelling mistakes and disorders of will clearly show this. It is necessary to endeavour to eliminate these deficiencies. It is useful to read the works that will enrich the national culture and even to learn the old letters if possible. The works written in old letters are still closed as a great treasure.

One of the most important issues is that Turkists should establish one or more funds among themselves. It is possible that these funds, which will start with the accumulation of very little money, will provide unimaginable benefits in the future. It should not be forgotten that a drop is a lake. These funds will not only protect the Turkists from financial difficulties, but also pave the way for Turkist publications.

All of these recommendations are trivial. But in time important results can be expected.

* * *

Turkism is advancing slowly but firmly. It cannot be measured with movements such as, for example, National Socialism in Germany, which suddenly grew to power in a short time. Its slow progress is a guarantee that it will be strong and robust.

As long as there are those who work, suffer and die for it, Turkism will surely triumph. Foreign ruler-

Let the presence of millions of your compatriots who have been crushed and exiled under the tyranny remind us of the greatness and honour of our task.

It is also possible to live in pleasure and pleasure, to see the world pleasantly with alcohol, to be raptured with women of pleasure, and to pass out in lust. There is also the possibility of being laid in heaps and heaps in the holy war to save Turan. One can choose one or the other.

Life and death. Both are beautiful. But death is the real and eternal one. The other is as transient and deceptive as a dream. Lying in the bosom of the great and mysterious universe. . This is our destiny. What can be more honourable than to give ourselves to an idea as eternal as death in the short dream world before we receive this reward, and to lose ourselves in the high ideal of spending ourselves for the sake of the idea? This death is a glorious and beautiful death that will bring us to our goal, to the spirit of the ancestors waiting on the Mountain God and to God. Contemplating the beauty of this death and the ugliness of life in drink and lust will help us to realise the truth.

It is beautiful that those who die in the way of the ideal shine like a light in the memories while they are lost in eternal darkness, but it is even more beautiful that they are one with the darkness by being far away from the memories and hearts.

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 world, in memories and hearts, or to continue to live in eternity until the end, after being erased from memories and hearts.

How beautiful it is to give up the right to live; how much more beautiful it is to live without being remembered, erased from hearts, forgotten. However, not to leave a signature on your work, to be erased without leaving a name for the sake of the ideal is more spiritual than anything else.

Giving martyrs in Korea for the cause of the United Nations is a good thing, but spending lives in the Caucasus, , Turkestan and Altai to see the Turks united is a masterpiece. Turkism is a system as deep as religion and as mystical as mysticism. Its splendour and the greatness of dying for this cause can only be felt by those who have the will in their souls.

Turks! Uniting in tight ranks and leaving behind every other thought, march towards the ideal like the Turkish regiment that fought the Köprüköy offensive against Moskofa under the rain of fire, but without stopping for a moment. Do not lose even a moment to look at those who have fallen during this progress. Leaving them to fate, to honour of history and to God, continue your march and do not expect the smallest reward even if you commit the greatest heroism.

God bless the Turk.

Orkun, Issue 68, 18 January 1952

A CALL TO THE TURKISH NATION

MIn the earliest centuries of its life in Central Asia, our nation was able to shorten distances by taming the horse, thus covering large areas.

By finding the opportunity to control, they succeeded in establishing a great state. While other nations could only establish city states, these states, which included many cities, gave birth to the ideas of world domination and attachment to great ideals in Turks.

The Hun, Göktürk and Ottoman empires were the result of this great ideal, and only Rome and the Abbasids are comparable to them in the history of the world.

Our nation has been a great state in every period of its history, and until 1918, the weakest times, Turkey has always been considered a great state. However, when we were defeated in the First World War and lost half of our territory, Turkey lost the characteristic of being a great state. Great statehood, which is the result of various factors such as land area, population, history, military power, science, industry, etc., is today the result of America,

Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Germany, Japan, China, IndiaBrazil and Canada.

Until the Republican era, our nation was struggling against known and visible enemies. These enemies were some states and some non-Turkish elements who were our own subjects. But with the Republic, things changed. Although our enemies as a state and as subjects have diminished, a brand new enemy has confronted the Turkish nation with the greatest danger of its history. Until now, our enemies were contented with demanding some parts of Turkey. Even in the Peace Sevres, a small Turkey was left, albeit without an army.

But the new enemy is not like that. The new enemy's ultimate goal is the total annihilation of Turkey. The name of this enemy is communism.

The danger of the new enemy arises from its secrecy and lies that deceive gullible people. People who do not have a well-founded and firm opinion and conviction on a subject can be carried away by propaganda on that subject. This is a necessity of human nature. If this immersion is not corrected by a counter propaganda, it becomes even more effective. Communism, which is presented to some as prosperity and wealth, to others as the fulfilment of unsatisfied sexual desires, to some as the ideal of great humanity, can prey on many gullible people. All these are a blow to our Turkishness.

The cause of Turkey's development is also the cause of its becoming a great state again. For this reason, taking the national cause only as a more equitable distribution of wealth means not understanding the national spirit and even denying it. Because the cause of wealth is not only related to matter, it is far from expressing all human needs. There must be meaning along with matter, so that Turkish society can be considered to have fulfilled its needs.

Wealth and prosperity alone do not bring happiness to a society. At best, it brings animal comfort. The cows in Swiss farms are also prosperous in terms of barn, feed and care perfection. But they cannot be considered happy. Because happiness is a state of spiritual pleasure and is reserved only for human beings. The spiritual value we call the soul exists only in humans.

In the twentieth century, in the light of positive science and Western civilisation, we see that civilised nations and societies have embraced religion with all their being. Because the belief in God, and therefore religion, is an indispensable spiritual and moral basis for both individuals and . For this reason, we believe that the Islamic religion, which constitutes one of the two fundamental foundations on which today's Turkish world is based, is an inseparable of our national existence.

The qualities that distinguish human beings from animals are shame, attachment to an ideal and the ability to die for a belief and idea. A person who is ashamed avoids committing offences and being shamed. A person who is committed to the ideal endures material hardships without complaint. A person who dies for a faith and an idea plays an extraordinary role in the upbringing of those who come after him. These have nothing to do with matter.

When thinking about the development of Turkey, thinking only about the welfare of individuals is not enough to strengthen the country. A prosperous and advanced country is doomed to collapse if it is not also superior in morals and ideas. Nations whose individuals do not have the characteristic of dying for an idea not escape death in the face of enemy attack, and no good will come from that prosperity.

However, the Turks are a nation that has carried the ideal of building a great state for centuries, it is easier to develop them than other nations in the same situation. The Turkish nation has been able to make the development move, which is based on sacrifice, faster than many other nations.

is capable of doing so. However, Turkish society, which has been ruled by mighty leaders for centuries, demands great leaders today as it has done in every epoch of its history.

The greatest benefit of leaders with national consciousness and pride is to protect the society from falling into a sense of inferiority. In order to be able to do great things, a nation must believe that it is a great nation. In Atatürk's era, although the Turkish nation was far behind in terms of population, wealth, technique and culture compared to today, it was strong in terms of moral power and for this reason, it had the belief and strength to overcome every danger.

However, if there is a sense of inferiority among the leaders and intellectuals, it is impossible for that nation to develop. Because the delusion that development moves will be in vain has penetrated into the souls and hearts have been filled with discouragement.

Victory can never be won by those who think they are redeemed.

Development will undoubtedly be achieved through scientific methods. However, if the social and individual psychology, history, national traditions and social structure of our nation are not taken into account, behaviour with scientific methods will not be successful. Because, just as medicines do not have the same effect on people suffering from the same disease, the scientific method will not give the same result on every society.

The method of science also the elimination of preconceptions. For this reason, the time 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 sense, a regime is the dress of a nation. Like individuals, nations also wear clothes according to the time and place. Linen, which is very suitable for hot regions-

Just as a dress with an open chest can cause the death of a person in cold climates, this or that can sometimes prepare the downfall of a nation.

According to the political and social conditions in which we find ourselves today, the that suits us is democracy. This is the of our allies, with whom we are obliged to act together, as this idea is becoming more and more established and rooted in our nation.

However, our determination to remain in a democratic regime can never prevent us from honouring our non-democratic past and the heroes who have made us proud. For a nation that despises its past can only be a nation of dishonourable people.

We must also bear in mind that democracy is not
 nh is proportional to the strength of the national consciousness in
 the society.

In order to give a meaning to this movement, the development of the Turkish nation, that will make hearts beat with excitement and lead citizens to sacrifice and even heroism, it is essential that the goal of development be Greater Turkey. A Turkey that will be advanced and superior not only in culture, science and technology but also morality and virtue... Otherwise, a movement only for prosperity and wealth is no different from a trade house movement.

A state and a commercial organisation are two different things. And societies that confuse being a state with being a commercial organisation will always live in the shadow of others and will collapse at the first blow.

As state-owning Turks, we are indifferent to the Turks outside our political borders. While even the smallest, weak and new states have an interest in their compatriots outside their borders, Algeria, which is not even independent yet, recognises no rights either in the Sahara or on the coasts against French capital and majority, the greatest empire of history-

As a society that has founded many nations and governed many nations, we can never fall behind in our duty to think about the Turks outside our political borders.

On the basis of the United Nations Constitution, which we have signed, it is both our national debt and our human duty to support the cause of Turks outside our political borders to be independent and free from foreign domination. We cannot accept that the Turks, who are a civilised and highly capable nation, should lead a life of captivity here and there, while societies which have not yet fully recovered from the cannibalistic stage are granted the right to establish a state. We are confident that a well-working and conscious Turkish Foreign Ministry will make this right known to the whole world.

Although we do not want war in the face of today's very effective weapons, we do not believe in the propaganda that there will be no wars, and we consider this propaganda as an enemy trick to loosen us up. In a world where military preparations have increased to the utmost, we find it necessary to return to the military tradition of our nation, believing that war will always be fought unless the treacherous forces that are stirring up the world are eliminated.

As a nation whose military tradition is older than that of any other nation today, we are strongly in favour of the reorganisation of our army in a new and worthy manner and the preservation of our military characteristics, except for the necessity of using standard weapons with our allies. military service is a very honourable and difficult profession, we consider it right that our officers and non-commissioned officers should be selected from the sons of virtuous families and that they should have some privileges in return for their sacrifices.

One of the conditions of being a great state is to have a rich and powerful language. Turning our deep-rooted language, which has not developed due to national negligence, into a great language of science and art is a task that cannot be neglected.

is our cause. Neither the hybridised old language nor the fabricated language called Öztürkçe can be the language of great science and literature. We are in favour of a "Purified Turkish" based on producing terms from Turkish roots and choosing Turkish or Turkicised Turkish in spoken language. The language of a nation is what the heart of a human being is. This valuable asset must be protected by an academy composed of real values and by experts and artists with a national consciousness.

Societies that want to live as a nation jealously protect their national characteristics. Just as the Scots wear skirts and the Indians wear clothes that seem strange to us, we, too, are in favour of preserving our features of Turkish culture, of drawing the cast of our national history and, if necessary, of adding one or two more letters to our alphabet in order to express all the subtleties of our language.

The fair distribution of national income is, of course, a goal for Turkish society. In a country where individual needs can be met comfortably and prosperity is widespread, the cause of social justice is realised and there is no need to talk about such a cause. Therefore, on the one hand, we must take measures for social justice and establish them on sound legal principles, and on the other hand, we must prepare the environment for social justice by expanding education and training and by rapidly developing our country in the economic field. Otherwise, it must never be forgotten that the cause of social justice, especially in backward and poor countries, will become a weapon of communism.

Because communism is a flower blooming in the swamps of poverty, backwardness and ignorance.

The claims that socialism prevents communism are not true. Although there is no socialist party in USA and the regime is based entirely on capitalist and liberal principles, there is no communism. In Canada, one of the countries where social justice is practised fully or to a great extent

Liberals and Conservatives, Christian Socialists in Belgium, Social Democrats in Finland, Sweden and Denmark Christian Democrats in Germany, Catholic Populists in Austria, Conservatives in England (since 1950). In most of these countries the socialists are small parties.

In backward countries, which have no experience of parties and socialism, socialism plays the role of a precursor of communism, as in Cuba. For this reason, at a time when we wish to develop in democratic order and in peace, we are against socialism, which will bring us all kinds of unrest and try to make our country communist.

The fact that in all socialist movements in our country there are convicted criminals convicted of communism is our greatest proof.

important reason why we are against socialism is that in our country socialism has produced cosmopolitan individuals and socialism has been presented as anti-nationalism. As the heir of a great history, we are determined to remain Turks, and we are against every idea and every ideal that wants to take us away from our nationality and that does not prioritise Turkishness.

As another characteristic of becoming a high nation, we are in favour of taking all kinds of measures to establish sound laws and to make respect for the law a belief; we are in favour of laws derived from national customs and based on modern legal principles, not of customary laws. Laws must be laws that will protect the state, the nation, national culture, morality, order, family, individuals, honour and rights; the measure of justice must be ensured by the most precise scales.

In theory, the state is an institution established to protect the lives of its citizens and ensure their well-being.

Therefore, we consider our communitarian understanding that every Turk should be insured against health, sickness and unemployment as the most fundamental factor to ensure peace.

Since land is the foundation of the state, it is essential to protect and develop those who work with land as if the foundation were protected. Since our nation has accepted land ownership even in nomadic times, the continuation of this ownership is a necessity of our social structure.

In conclusion, we summarise our national development programme as follows:

- 1- We are Turkic.
- 2- We are purified Turkists.
- 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.

Orkun, 1st issue, February 1962

Milli Yol, 6th issue, 2 March 1962

NATIONAL POLITICS



as Hacib "*Kutadgu Bilig*", written by Balasagunlu Yusuf in the XI century, means "*knowledge of politics*". "*Good luck, good fortune*" is the association

Until now, the word "*kut*" has been translated in vain as "*the science that gives bliss*". The meaning of this name, as can be understood from the content of the whole work, is *politics*. Since it is known that it enumerates the necessary conditions for a society to be fortunate, it becomes clear that the Turks understood politics as "*the science of social fortune*". As a matter of fact, three centuries before *Kutadgu Bilig*, in the famous *Orkun inscriptions* erected by Bilge Kagan for his brother, the hero Kül Tegin, and by İçen Kagan for his father, Bilge Kagan, they mentioned that they had won victories as state politics, but they also explained that they had succeeded in feeding, clothing and multiplying the nation, that is, making it happy.

Today, the principle of avoiding dangers and thinking only about the present day, rather than a political attitude that will make the nation happy, has taken over. Atatürk's very

In contrast to his calculated and, when necessary, very aggressive policy, İsmet İnönü tried to run the state with a policy that was not only calculated, but also cautious enough to lead him to the consequences of his calculations.

With a policy of excessive prudence a nation may, perhaps for a long time, be saved from plunging into dangers. However, since excessive prudence is a passive style of governance, it will not be able to dissuade appetitive neighbours from their appetites and will never prevent them from attacking when the day comes.

Just as the caution of Abyssinia in the past, when it withdrew its troops from the borders of Eritrea and Somalia, then colonies of Italy, because it was afraid of provoking Italy, did not prevent Italy from provoking Italy, so today the caution of the Czechs has not prevented the rude behaviour of Russians.

For this reason, there is no national interest in pursuing a policy of getting along with everyone instead of a national policy. Nations are dignified and strong in proportion to their national aspirations. Moreover, "national aspirations", in other words, "ideals" are the dynamic power of nations, the reason for their unity and the source of their courage.

It is their attitude to the Palestinian cause and their anti-Semitism that have made the Arabs, backward and primitive in this respect, lacking in courage because of centuries of captivity, into a force to be reckoned with today. The Arabs fought times and were defeated. Especially their last defeat was very disgraceful. Nevertheless, since their faith has not been shaken, they have the power to make great moves tomorrow and are preparing themselves.

Israel is in the same situation. Based on two thousand years of historical rights, it occupies lands inhabited 100 per cent by Arabs and refuses to give them back. They are endeavouring and dreaming of establishing an Israeli state of ten million inhabitants tomorrow by adding them to their state. It has the characteristics of a Western European state.

Israel's ten million inhabitants means that it will have a substantial power to defend itself against the Arab world and secure its future.

Turkey has been pursuing a passive state policy since the death of Atatürk. Atatürk's words "*Peace at home, peace in the world*", which he had uttered only for that period, were adopted as if they were an eternal motto and his policy was centred on this principle.¹

The mentality of not offending anyone for the sake of peace prevailed and this mentality led to the neglect of Turks outside the political borders. In case taking care of the Turks living in any other state would offend, disturb and anger that state, the Turkishness of the world was almost denied.

However, the view of the world is very exemplary in this regard. Every nation, even down to the African Negroes, never ceases to be interested in their racial relations. Especially this little Greece on the one hand wants Cyprus, on the other hand tries to snatch Epirus from Arna vutluk, and makes calculations to revive Byzantium for the future.

At the end of Independence, Turkey was a state of 13 million inhabitants, very poor, tired, with only 10 per cent of its population literate, with no industry, its country burnt to the ground, and ravaged by disease. At that time, in order to recover ourselves, we had to declare that we had no eyes abroad. Today we are not like that. We are a state of 36 million inhabitants, which has taken the first steps towards heavy industry, fifty-five per cent of which are literate, which has overcome diseases such as malaria and syphilis, which has approached the middle level of prosperity, and whose country has been well developed. In order to save a nation from being a herd of people who strive only to earn money and study, it is necessary to show it national goals. Economic development, roads and harbours, the atom, rockets space cannot be national ideals. These can be achieved anyway.

1) It is not clear where this saying was uttered or even whether it was uttered at all.

will be given. However, the object, which is very important but is not given, is the "ideal". We do not need to create that ideal by thinking and carrying it by force. It is ready and standing beside us: Foreign Turks...

As long as the foreign policy of governments remains within the limits of NATO, the Central Treaty and the Regional Cooperation for Development, the Turkish nation cannot be a creative nation, no matter how technically advanced it may be. What will make it creative is the high national and humanitarian issue of thinking about foreign Turks.

Just as the Western and communist worlds live together without war and have economic relations without war, we, too, on condition that we remain friendly with the states that have Turks within their borders, can think of those Turks, work for their cultural advancement and provide all kinds of assistance.

Caring for foreign Turks is not imperialism. Imperialism, on the other hand, is a sacred imperialism. France, which liquidated its empire with its own hand, did not hesitate to declare its desire to unite with the 7 million French in Canada, and President De Gaulle, the great and far-sighted statesman of our time, personally expressed his ambitions about the French Canadians in Canada.

The examples do not end there. The Dutch have already made their intentions clear about the 4 million Flemish in Belgium, their ally.

clearly wants Ulster, the so-called "Northern Ireland", which the British refused to cede on the pretext that it was Protestant.

Weak and backward Afghanistan has set its sights on the Pathans in its powerful neighbour, Pakistan.

Many more examples can be found. Because this is a social law: Nations also recognise their racial kin within their political borders.

and they will make any sacrifice for it.

Why is the world like this and we are not? Are we the only peaceful, humanitarian and intelligent people left in the world?

As soon as we start to deal with foreign Turks, of course, wonderful (!) poems in free verse will begin again: Turanists, racists, imperialists, fascists, etc. What are we doing in Cyprus, where 100.000 Turks live against 400.000 Greeks?

It's only until you're in the sea. Once you're in, the chill wears off. And you start to swim the strong strokes of a good swimmer with great skill.

Ötüken, 74th issue, 26 July 1972

Note: Two figures have been changed in this article; the figures of 32 million and 50 per cent in the first publication have been changed since the population has increased to 36 million and the reading rate to 55 per cent according to the October 1970 census conducted after the article was written.

Turcism and politics

Turcism is an ideal, politics is a tactic to come to power. For this reason, while the ideal, which is a core belief and a core idea, never changes, politics, i.e.

tactics change all the time.

People work by forming parties in order to come to power. Since coming to power is possible by winning votes, they endeavour to win 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 they lie a lot. They even slander their opponents.

This is the case all over the world.

When we put aside the disgusting and immoral struggle between the parties of "Union and Progress" and "Hürriyet ve İtilaf" and look at the Republican era and the years of struggle between the People's Party and the Democratic Party, we see the following:

The ruling party committed injustices in order to stay in power, and the opposition complained about it. Then, when the opposition came to power, it started to commit the same injustices, and the opposition complained about it.

Those who have been wronged in the past have raised their cries to the sky when they have been wronged in the same way.

Parties have no ideals. They do not hesitate to make the most extreme concessions in order to come to power or to stay there. When the Democrat Party came to power, it was not out of sincere conviction, but out of a concern to gather votes. It cannot be said that CeHU Bayar, who was an extreme Kemalist and had nothing to do with religion, did this willingly or had it done. He wanted to secure future elections and he did so.

Communism, which was not only irreligious but also a godless , looked to religion for help to hold on against the Germans in the Second World churches and mosques opened and religious leaders elected for the Christian and Muslim citizens of the Soviet Union.

* * *

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 are 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.

The representatives of socialism in Turkey, who are in fact internationalists, also claim to be nationalists. Even those who deny our connection with our ancestors in Central Asia and claim that we are a mixture of ethnic debris piled up on these lands starting from the Hittites are also in the cause of nationalism.

Those who have been convicted of communism, those who have launched a campaign to eradicate Turkish nationalism, and those who pursue the cause of Islamic internationalism all claim to be nationalists.

Turkism rejects all such incomplete and false nationalisms. For Turkists, there is no difference between a war to liberate and a war to liberate Cyprus, Kirkuk, Azerbaijan or Turkestan. Because the Turkish nation is a whole, Turkism takes as its ideal a nationalism that includes all Turks. Turks, on the other hand, are a 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.

Turkism is not political today. However, if one day it becomes a political organisation, it will emerge with a programme that will save and unite all Turks. Then, although it will undoubtedly look out for the age, situation and environment, it will not be bound by these, but will rise above these concerns. It will re-realise the realities of yesterday.

* * *

Today, the word *Turkic* frightens many people. Nazism, dictatorship, and head-butlerism are seen under this concept.

The local Reds have played a great role in making the word *Turkism* so horrible. Since they are the slaves of Moscow or Peking, they are naturally hostile to any idea that would harm the state to which they belong. Apart from the local reds, the descendants of the devshirme, who harbour centuries of hatred against Turkishness, and the People's Party are the two main sources that have played a role in giving the word *Turkism* a frightening meaning.

Trying to look for Nazism behind Turkism ideal means not knowing anything about the intellectual movements in the world and therefore being clueless. How can Nazism, which is German nationalism, and Turkism, which is Turkish nationalism, be the same thing? On the contrary, just as all nationalisms are opposed to each other, Turkism and Nazism are opposed to each other because they are systems of ideas that prioritise the national interests of two different nations.

Then, there cannot be dictatorship in Turkism. Because Turkism is a democratic system. However, the democracy in Turkism is a democracy that has not become corrupt, has not degenerated, is a democracy with serious discipline and does not allow immoral indoctrination.

Skullcapism, on the other hand, has nothing to do with Turkism, far from it. Skullcapism, which has been used in the market of ideas for some time, is the name of the branch of science called anthropology, translated into Turkish by the local reds. In Turkey, the anthropological (i.e. skull-moulding!) movements and studies started in Atatürk's time. It was Atatürk who had the Anthropological Institute, which still exists today, established. Measuring the skulls unearthed from the ground during excavations and trying to draw conclusions from them are also movements of Atatürk's era. Again, the measuring of children's heads in various ways in schools is among the anthropological studies of that period.

According to this, to look for Nazism, dictatorship and head-ism in Turkism is the result of not being aware of these facts and believing the lies fabricated by the enemies of Turkishness in the Red Sea.

* * *

Today, there are Turkic Turks in most of the parties. However, their presence is not sufficient to consider their parties as Turkist political organisations.

For a party to be a Turkist party and to be considered as such, first of all, the main principles of this ideal must be included in the articles of its Statute. Then, there must be people who believe in and devote their hearts to this ideal at high levels of the party and at key points of the organisation. And finally, that party must show with its attitude, behaviour and actions that it is on the path of the Turkish ideal.

A Turkist party can never deviate from the main principles of the National Ideal. With this or that thought, it cannot make concessions that would damage the Turkic ideal.

According to these criteria, it is not possible to consider any of today's political parties as Turkic.

In the future, when the conditions are favourable, one of the existing parties may become Turkist party or a Turkist party may be established. However, in order for the Turkic ideal to come to power, it is not necessarily necessary to establish a political party. If the Turkic Idea, by being included in the programmes of the Ministry of National Education, settles the minds and hearts of successive generations, this can be done without a party.

Ötüken, 04th issue, February
1970

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