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Oğuzhan CENGİZ

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Alparslan Türkeş

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## ENTRY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

**Oğuzhan Cengiz**

## ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

Authoritarian leadership is prominent in traditional societies.

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

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

Max Weber states:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charismatic leaders have a theatrical presence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A leader must be trustworthy. They must be able to gain the trust of those around them. A leader must be inquisitive.

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

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



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

*"Painful Observations"*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş and Nationalism**

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

Türkeş states the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

distinguishes a "perennialist" approach that, while not embracing the "naturalness" of the nation, recognises that nations have existed since ancient times.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is one of the trials that humanity faces.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş's Birth**

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

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

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

Türkeş started primary school at the age of four.

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

### **Türkeş in Turkey**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş Military Academy Student**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş's Military Career**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The 1944 Incidents

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

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

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

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

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

In the same book, he explains the foremost principle of leadership as follows: "The foremost principle of leadership is to share the people's life and never deviating from justice." (A. Türkeş, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Türkeş writes:

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

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

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

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

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

After presenting these views, Türkeş makes the following comment:

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

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

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

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

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

Another fateful day was 19 May 1944.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I ask my fellow citizens a second question:

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

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

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

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

My fellow citizens!

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

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

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

### **Türkeş's First Arrest by the G**

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

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

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

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

He goes on to write:

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

Why should it have been considered?

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

Terror.

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

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

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

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

Suppose it had occurred to him to say:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Others arrested alongside Türkeş in the 1944 Nationalism Incident:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

-What about the complications?

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

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

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

Cevdet Erkut repeated the question, explaining it as follows:

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

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

Cevdet Erkut:

-What is your opinion on Turanism?

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

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

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

Cevdet Erkut:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Erden's response is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş's 'Tuna' Article**

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

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

#### *Tuna*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turk!...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



### 's Rise to Staff Officer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş in the Revolution ts Group**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Türkeş explains:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Türkeş says:

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

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

Türkeş states that he has been a leader since childhood:

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

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

## The Revolution Begins

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **The First " " Declaration**

The declaration read as follows:

"Attention, attention!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Türkeş said the following about this historical event:

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

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

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

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

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

What did Cemal Gürsel glean from the letter? In

the first letter:

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

Instead;

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

In the first letter;

*"These measures should be as follows:*

*1. The President must resign.*

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

Instead:

*"These measures should be as follows:*

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

In the first letter:

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



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

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

*"Dear Honourable Deputy;"*

Instead:

*"Dear Representative;"*

In the first letter:

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

*I extend my deepest and most sincere regards."*

Instead:

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

*Yours sincerely."*

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

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

## **Türkeş and the Appointment of Chief of Staff**

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş and , the Americans**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **-Türkeş in British Documents**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ambassador Goulden included the following detail in his report:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

Front-page headline: Türkeş Demanded Money.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Towards a New Party**

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

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



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

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

### **Türkeş's Assistance to Algeria ( )**

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

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

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

### **Türkeş and Press**

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

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

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

### The Case of Kasa

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

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

"In the hearing held on Thursday, 15 December 1960, the letter dated 14 December 1960 and numbered 960 from the Office of the Chairman of the National Unity

Committee Liaison Office stated that when the Prime Minister's safe was opened, a yellow envelope was found, but no foreign currency or cash was found, only sixty-one Swiss gold coins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chairman - That is your word.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"... On 31 May or 1 June, Selim Sarper [who was Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs and was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Revolutionary Government. A.7.] is coming to the Prime Minister's Office. He says that because he used to have a personal friendship and relationship with Gürsel, and because their families constantly inquired about their health, he wanted to visit Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and his friends to obtain the keys to the safes, especially those belonging to the Foreign Ministry, and asks Gürsel for permission to do so. Gürsel replies, "Discuss this matter with Mr Türkeş." Türkeş, who was present, found Sarper's request appropriate and even went to the Military Academy with Sarper, where they obtained the keys and codes from Bayar, Menderes, Zorlu, and Ahmet Salih Korur, who were detained there, and had some very interesting conversations with them on this occasion.

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

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

### **Türkeş's Exile to**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Türkeş summarises the developments following the coup as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

Here, we need to look at the issue from Türkeş's perspective: "I told my close friends, 'The National Unity Committee cannot be of any use in this climate  
, let's carry out a purge and take the reins firmly into our own hands  
'." (H. Turgut, *op. cit.*, p. 271).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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



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

*"Dear Mr Alparslan Türkeş,*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

### **First Letter: Do Not Hang Them!**

*“General,*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Yours sincerely,*

*Alparslan Türkeş”*

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

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

**Second Letter: What a Pity They Did to !**

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

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

*"Dear Brother... Sir,*

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

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

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

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

*Alparslan Türkeş*

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

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

His comments on intellectual currents in this letter are noteworthy.

### **Letter to Erkanlı: We are Turkish**

*"Dear Brother Erkanlı,*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Alparslan Türkeş"*

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Alparslan Türkeş*"

### **Letter to Solmazer: We Must Gather Around a Leader**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Either Accept My Leadership or I'm Out**

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

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

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

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

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

(...)

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **'s Return from Exile**

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

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

### ‘s Statement to the Nation’

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

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

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

## The Second Arrest of

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

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

Ahmet Emin Yalman writes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

### **The Best Revolution-The Worst Democracy:**

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

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

Türkeş's response is as follows:

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

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

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

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

### CKMP 's Days

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

## **Türkeş, Presidential Candidate of the Nationalist Movement Party ( )**

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

The CKMP's statement read as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 9 Işık Principles

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

Atsız also set out his principles of development in nine points. He also published an article entitled "Call to the Turkish Nation" in an issue of *Orkun* magazine in 1962. In his article, Atsız presents a development programme. He summarises this development programme in nine principles:

1. We are Turkish, 2. We are purists of the Turkish language, 3. We are legalists, 4. We are socialists, 5. We are traditionalists, 6. We are supporters of democracy, 7. We are moralists, 8. We are scientists,
9. We are technical. (Atsız, *Articles*, Vol. 4, İstanbul 1992, p. 53).

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

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

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

These principles are, in order:

***1. Nationalism:***

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

***2. Ultrationalism:***

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

***3. Moralism:***

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

***4. Intellectualism:***

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

***5. Socialism:***

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

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

**6. Rural Development:**

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

**7. Liberalism and Individualism:**

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

**8. Progress:**

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

**9. Industrialism and Technicism:**

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

**, Member of the MHP**

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

Mehmet Doğan writes the following in his memoirs:

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

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

### **Nationalist Front ist Governments**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Türkeş and Necip Fazıl's " " declarations**

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

### **Türkeş's Manifesto to the Turkish Nation: " "**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ MHP GENERAL CHAIRMAN

3 May 1977

### **Master Necip Fazıl's declaration to the Turkish Nation (This is also my declaration)**

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

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

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

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

- 1- He is not among those responsible for the 1960 coup.
- 2- He is a nationalist in the sense of being free from superficial and superficial nationalism and subject to spiritual content.
- 3- The sole spiritual content he relies on is, in a word and in every respect, ISLAM.
- 4- It aspires to a revision of history that will expose all the frauds of our last 150 years of imitation and crystallise the truth.

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

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

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

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

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

**NECİP FAZIL**

**7 May 1977**

### **Third Arrest of**

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

Under these conditions, 12 September 1980 arrived.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Türkeş was taken to the Mamak Military Garrison.

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

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

He describes the first days of his detention as follows:

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

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

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

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

We drew up this protocol at the 12th notary on 7th Street. Judge, Tahsin Ünal building

He said it was mine. I said Mr Tahsin had mixed up the incident, as I had explained. The late Tahsin Hoca was a very simple man. He thought the contract at the notary had been transferred to his name, so he told the judge the building was his. When the judge asked why he had taken the money, he said he had found it here and there, and I laughed. When we went outside, the teacher asked why I had said that, and I said, "I don't know, I thought that's what happened." After questioning us until late at night, they decided to arrest us under Article 149/1 of the Turkish Penal Code on the grounds that we had committed the crime of inciting the people to revolt, and we headed for the language school. On the same day, the MSP and TİKP members appeared before the judge. We later learned that four judges had gathered together, Hamdi Sevinç, Vural Özenirler, Üstün Günsan, İlhami Uguryılmaz, and the cases were divided among them. Colonel Hamdi Sevinç took the MSP case, Üstün Günsan took the MHP case, Vural Özenirler took the Halkevi case, and İlhami Uğur Yılmaz took the TİKP case, and they agreed on the arrests. However, Hamdi Sevinç's decision to release three individuals, Erbakan, Tahir Büyükkörükçü, and Temel Karamollaoğlu, except for the others, disrupted the partnership, and the martial law command objected to this decision and re-examined it.

They were arrested on 15 October. Meanwhile, the Council held an official meeting in the Grand National Assembly budget committee hall. Council members: Second President, Martial Law Commander Lieutenant General Recep Ergun, Martial Law Chief Prosecutor Colonel Nurettin Soyer. Agenda: Whether or not to bring charges against the MHP and MSP parties.

Lieutenant General Recep Ergun and Prosecutor Nurettin Soyer provided information to the council regarding the two parties. Naturally, the information and documents they presented, the main basis of the allegations being photographs of weapons seized from left-wing organisations and a letter in which CHP Erzincan senator Niyazi Ünsal confessed to how he made convicted communists into civil servants, statements extracted from certain individuals under torture. Kenan Evren looks at his colleagues and a decision will be made on whether or not to open a case. While one member argued that there was no need to file a lawsuit, two members defended the idea of filing a lawsuit. Kenan Pasha maintained his position, saying that since things had come this far, the evidence showed this to be the case. The MHP and MSP were being tried under special laws. I quoted this from Yalçın Doğan's book, *Politics in Narrow Streets*. The names of the council members for and against this decision are not mentioned. Sedat Celasun, Commander of the Gendarmerie, and Nejat Tümer, Commander of the Navy, were in favour, while Nurettin Ersin, Commander of the Land Forces, and Tahsin Şahinkaya, Commander of the Air Force, were against. Kenan Evren put the final nail in the coffin. Yalçın Doğan describes the intentions of those who made this decision on page 134 of the same book as follows: MSP Chairman Erbakan was already unpopular, MHP General Chairman Alparslan Türkeş was already unforgivable for wanting to bring politics into the army and would never be forgiven. Information confirming this assessment reached us through several channels. At the very beginning of the coup, when we were detained, Evren's classmate Süreyya Koç... Who is Süreyya Koç? Mr Süreyya was a classmate of Mr Evren and Mr Türkeş, one of the star students of the Military Academy. Kenan Evren, a nationalist who exposed Nazım Hikmet's communist activities at the Military Academy and a hard-working, enterprising student interested in wrestling, graduated from the Military Academy under Süreyya Koç's tutelage. Everyone dispersed to different units, meeting from time to time. Türkeş and Süreyya Bey served together at the Çankırı Infantry School for a while. Süreyya Koç retired, entered politics with the CHP, became a member of parliament, and in the meantime, İsmet Pasha declared the centre-left, the CHP split, Turhan Feyzioğlu broke away from the party, and military-background figures such as Süreyya Koç and İhsan Kabadayı also broke away from the CHP and founded the CGP. To summarise, Süreyya opposed Türkeş, the MHP and the nationalists at the very beginning of the 12 September coup.

Distressed by the attitude and behaviour displayed, Süreyya Koç immediately goes to the mansion, reveals his identity, and says he wishes to speak with Kenan Pasha. The message is relayed to Evren, who immediately orders him to be brought in. He greets Süreyya Bey at the door, embraces him, and gives instructions to the staff. When Süreyya Bey arrives, he says there is no need to ask me, let him in immediately. They go inside, and after a short conversation, Süreyya Koç gets to the point. He says to Türkeş and his friends, "What you have done is not right. Release them immediately. The treatment they are receiving will harm the state in the future," and insists. They leave. As a result, after this conversation, Evren's attitude towards his patron, Süreyya Bey, changes. He never spoke to him again. This is one of the stories that has been passed down to us. He rejected the requests and intercessions of various individuals, including classmates and comrades, regarding this matter and severed all contact with them. All indications clearly show that Kenan Evren was at the centre of the persecution of Türkeş and the MHP. In his memoirs, he used the term "evil organisation," which he did not use against the Communists or the PKK, only against the MHP and the idealists. Meanwhile, the MHP MPs, apart from the members of the general administrative council, the members of the disciplinary committee, the members of the supervisory committee, and the entire language school, are in prison. (Mehmet Doğan, *op. cit.*, 2000).

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At first, the revolutionaries did not interfere with the Ülkücüler. When the leftist movement failed to materialise and they gathered individually, this time they came down on the Ülkücüler. They imprisoned thousands of Ülkücüler. It would not be wrong to say that loving the Turkish nation was "certified" as a "crime" during this phase of the trial. Just as the price of the struggle in 1944 was demanded in proportion to the struggle itself, so too in 1980, the price of the struggle against the local extensions of imperialism was demanded in proportion to the intensity of that struggle. The nationalists who gathered around Alparslan Türkeş suffered greatly. Thousands were martyred, tens of thousands were wounded. The Idealists never fought against the destroyers and separatists for reward. However, they never expected to be punished either. The coup d'état of 12 September 1980 put those who loved their country and those who did not on the same scale; it gave the same punishment to both sides... In fact, a court was set up to tarnish the reputation of the Nationalist Movement Party members with baseless and unfounded accusations. Nine Nationalist Movement Party members were hanged, while many young people fell ill and lost their lives as a result of the torture they witnessed. Thousands were sentenced to various prison terms.

Türkeş remained in custody for four years, seven months and twenty-five days. He was released on 7 April 1985. Türkeş had "health problems". From 29 May 1983 onwards, he spent part of his detention in the Military Hospital.

The indictment against Türkeş and the Ülkücüler was 945 pages long. It was completely full of nonsense. You will see this when you read the indictment.

On 19 August 1981, when Türkeş entered the courtroom for the first hearing, all 391 defendants in the MHP and Ülkücü Organisations trial stood up together and recited the National Anthem. The court panel was also forced to stand up. For this reason, the court president had Türkeş brought in before everyone else on subsequent days. On winter days, to prevent the young people from helping Türkeş put on and take off his coat, he left the first two rows after Türkeş empty.

During these hearings, there was one unforgettable incident that alone was enough to reveal the court's prejudice, incompetence and ignorance. It was such an irreparable mistake that the court panel should have been removed from their duties after committing it, as they were unfit to judge. This situation is another aspect of the pitiful state the coup plotters found themselves in.

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Türkeş was very composed in court. He was calm and spoke quietly. But the indictment had been prepared in such a way that it was very difficult for anyone to control themselves. A letter from Niyazi Ünsal, the CHP Senator for Erzincan, had been included in the indictment, mistakenly attributed to Ünsal, the MHP Senator.

It was 15 October 1981. Türkeş took the indictment in his hands in court and showed it to the court:

"I can't believe you! This indictment is not your doing! It was prepared outside. Are you going to judge us with the indictment that made Niyazi Ünsal a member of the MHP?!"

The court panel consisted of three members. The presiding judge was Lieutenant Colonel Vural Özenirler. Özenirler said, "Since our nation will doubt the decision we will make, and since we ourselves have doubts, I am withdrawing from the case." He left the file in front of him and went inside. The second member, Ali Fahir Kayacan, also withdrew, and the third member went inside, looking at the other two members. The files remained in the middle



. Something strange had happened. Those in the courtroom laughed. A soldier came and collected the files.

A three-and-a-half-hour break was taken in the hearing. During this time, the court members decided to recuse themselves and reported this to their superiors.

However, the Supreme Court did not accept the court panel's resignation.

It is said that Kenan Evren prevented these resignations. Evren reportedly said, "A defendant is leaving, and you are abandoning the court. Whoever we appoint in your place, the court will not function. Continue with your duties."

The court panel was to continue its duties, but one colonel withdrew. Three members, including a general, were appointed to replace them, and the number of court members was increased to five.

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We must also shed light on the Niyazi Ünsal case, as it highlights the deplorable state of the 12 September courts.

In the indictment, CHP senator Niyazi Ünsal was listed as an MHP senator, and the MHP was being accused based on a letter written by Ünsal. If the CHP senator's letter was included in the MHP indictment, imagine what the other allegations might be.

Türkeş, who correctly presented the indictment to the court, stated the following in his defence:

The indictment also contains a widely publicised allegation that a Republican People's Party senator was portrayed as a member of the Nationalist Movement Party. Niyazi Ünsal, the former CHP Senator for Erzincan, who has been a member of the Republican People's Party for years and is well known to the public for his extreme behaviour, has been made an MHP member by the prosecution, and a letter written by this person, which is considered a crime, has been attributed to us, described as hair-raising and terrifying. During the reading of the indictment, the prosecutor attempted to dismiss this issue by stating, 'We do not understand politics'. It was impossible to believe the sincerity of this statement, which was worse than the offence itself. Because, while the poor citizens who wrote the letter to us were brought to Ankara from all over Turkey to give their statements, how could the statement of the MHP senator, who was alleged to have committed the crimes described as 'chilling and terrifying', not be sought?

Why is such a letter obtained and why is the person summoned and asked to explain themselves?

Since Niyazi Ünsal is an MHP senator, why has he not been sought by the prosecution, why has no action been taken against him? This is a matter of great concern. On the one hand, he considers his letter to be a very serious crime and therefore accuses and incriminates us, yet on the other hand, he does not search for and find this person whom he accepts as an MHP senator, does not ask for his statement, and does not pursue legal action against him. This is very striking. And when this issue was discussed here that day, as you saw, the honourable prosecutor stood up and said, 'So what, what happened, we are not politicians, how could we know he was a CHP senator, we thought he was an MHP senator. (*Nationalist Movement Party and Idealist Organisations Trial – Interrogation – Alparslan Türkeş*, Ankara 1982, p. 59).

A trial rarely seen in world legal history... Before 12 September 1980, there were two opposing parties: one was the MHP, the other was the CHP... The CHP's leaders, İsmet İnönü and Bülent Ecevit, not only refused to recognise the MHP as a legitimate party, but also resorted to every means possible to break the resistance of the Ülkücü movement, which was defending the country against the communist armed uprising. Niyazi Ünsal was a CHP senator who spoke out frequently and whose name appeared in the newspapers almost every day. If the prosecutors and judges of a martial law court did not know that Niyazi Ünsal was a CHP senator, then they were not competent to judge. Moreover, the indictment goes through many stages before taking its final form. First, evidence is gathered. The evidence is then evaluated by several people. The prosecutor reviews it with his assistants, after which the indictment takes its final form and is distributed to the judges. No one has come forward to say that there is a mistake here. An ordinary court was set up to accuse the defendants, and a trial with a predetermined outcome was sought, or the court panel is very ignorant. Naturally, the verdicts to be handed down are unacceptable in the eyes of history. However, since the laws of the coup are in force, nothing can be done about it.

Alparslan Türkeş made excellent use of this unbelievable oversight by the court and, as the accused, forced the court to back down, demonstrating an attitude that would be much talked about in the future and held up as one of the defining characteristics of leadership.

### **Türkeş's Letter to Evren: You Are Trying the Nation**

Türkeş wrote a letter to Kenan Evren while in prison. Mehmet Irmak, an MHP leader held in the same place as Türkeş, described Türkeş's letter to Evren as follows:

The leader was not going to write a letter to General Evren, who had staged the military coup. But at the request of his friends, he wrote those famous letters. His friends had said, 'You have a relationship with General Evren, and you understand the psychology of soldiers very well. Write a letter to the Pasha explaining our innocence. Don't let our detention be prolonged.' The leader wrote a letter to Evren so as not to disappoint his friends.

In his letter, Türkeş states that Turkish nationalism is being condemned:

*"Dear General Kenan Evren,  
President of the Republic  
Chairman of the National Security Council, Chief  
of the General Staff*

Following 12 September, which I hope will yield beneficial results for our nation, my friends and I find ourselves under a very serious accusation. In light of the reasons I will attempt to explain, I consider it my duty to write this letter.

First, I must point out that I have always been a person who has tried to account for my intentions to myself before my actions. As people who have served in public life, I believe that our responsibility is not only to history but also to our nation and to ourselves.

The documents that the Martial Law Prosecutor's Office has put forward as grounds for the serious accusations against us – because, despite our request, the search records belonging to our party have still not been given to us – or that it has attempted to collect, could be used as material to discredit a political movement in terms of propaganda. Indeed, similar things have been done for years by Marxist circles and some of our political opponents. However, all of this is punishable by law.

I believe that it does not carry any responsibility. However, it is stated that there are certain items whose possession constitutes a crime, and if these exist, their owners must be punished in accordance with the law. Given that a political party is a social centre where hundreds of people come and go every day, it is only natural that the search for the owners of such items should focus on real persons and the actual responsible parties, rather than a legal entity.

I must also state that a judicial investigation will only lead to sound conclusions if it is conducted within the framework established by law, gathering genuine evidence both for and against the defendants. Statements obtained under duress and forced interpretations cloud justice. According to rumours circulating among the public, in many parts of the country, statements incriminating us are being sought from our members and certain individuals who have been detained. It is said that torture is particularly prevalent in Ankara and Adana, even to the extent of pumping air into the lungs. It is certain that statements obtained through such methods will not be taken seriously by the courts. However, I am concerned that the public conscience and history will pass judgement on such a biased investigation and that the tension created in public opinion by such attitudes will be exploited by hostile forces. Nevertheless, I do not want to believe such reports and hope that they are false.

In conclusion, with confidence in your respect for the law, which you have assured us of, I state that the court will result in an acquittal. However, from the perspective of our national security, certain positive characteristics that are essential to the public conscience will be destroyed. This is because the court, which must be open to the public, will inevitably have to judge, along with a political movement, a movement of ideas and a mindset that our nation, due to its historical and social structure, naturally finds itself in. This mindset and spirit are the nationalist, Atatürkist views and principles that Your Excellency succinctly expressed on 12 September and thereafter.

This structure constitutes the Turkish nation's resistance to all forms of imperialism. Neither today's nor future generations should be branded as having lost their sense of national values, having been acquitted

should not be branded as condemned or despised. I see the direction you have taken in your statements regarding the 12 September Movement as an effort to strengthen this damaged resistance.

The judgement I propose, I fear, will destroy the foundations of this resistance in the public conscience and, before long, turn our country into an open market for foreign ideologies in a manner worse than today. If the faith of our soldiers at the borders in national values is lost due to foreign ideological propaganda, the homeland cannot be defended. The values we are trying to defend -for you too rely on them and strive to make them dominant- they are the barriers that protect our nation's unity against foreign imperialism and ideologies, giving it vitality and dignity. This reality, unfortunately overshadowed by political propaganda, is undoubtedly well known to you. If you destroy this consciousness and belief in resistance, the floodgates of all kinds of imperialism may open. Because ideological infiltration and psychological warfare are the greatest realities of our age. Certainly, no Turk can wish or have the right to bear such a burden.

We may have made mistakes in pursuing the politics of these ideas; we may not have promoted ourselves sufficiently and may not be liked. But these thoughts and sensitivities belong not to me or my party, but to our entire nation, and we are all obliged to defend them.

When the 27 May Movement took place, no one involved, whether directly or indirectly, ever thought or wanted this liberating movement to create an environment conducive to Marxist imperialist propaganda. However, we lived through the subsequent years together and saw that communism took advantage of the gaps opened by this movement to enter our lives, and now you are trying to close those gaps and repel the attack. Please appreciate that, leaving aside external conditions, our national structure is weaker than it was in those days and, unfortunately, has suffered greatly. I believe that one day, history will record that you have undertaken the most critical task in the history of the Republic during the period in which we find ourselves. Your decisions and actions will influence the coming decades as well as the present. You are in a position to see this. People can make mistakes, but I, along with our entire nation, hope that you will not make any. Within the parliamentary system, it is well known that the legislature has been led into certain dead ends.

The necessary regulations for these activities have not been implemented in our country. Therefore, we have been unable to do what we consider necessary. I sincerely hope that you will be able to do so for the sake of the nation's future.

You will appreciate that if Atatürk's vision and goals for Turkish national education had been kept alive, the period after 27 May would not have produced such unexpected results. For years, under the guise of reinterpreting Atatürk, bringing him up to date, or surpassing him, national consciousness was destroyed, paving the way for Marxism. Because communism carries an element of coercion within it and has become the ideological tool of a great imperialism, it has sooner or later brought anarchy and terror to every underdeveloped country it has entered.

In our country, a portion of Turkish youth have been turned against their own state and their own flag through the ideological poison administered daily in increasingly larger doses. Turkish national education, trapped in its outdated system, could do nothing about this; it did not even consider it its duty. The philosophy that Atatürk pointed to as the foundation of the state could not be instilled in our youth as a spirit and enthusiasm; it could not be incorporated into education as a way of life, a civic duty, and a human ethic. Merely learning geography and physics could not protect our students from the attacks of communism and separatism. The mistakes made after 27 May exposed certain constitutional institutions and the bureaucracy to these attacks. Now you are endeavouring to rectify these with the legal reforms you have conceived. The circumstances compelling you to undertake this rectification as a historical duty have provoked the nation's reaction and increased unrest.

As will be recalled, as in some European countries, anarchy in Turkey was initiated by the left in the 1960s. At that time, there were no opposing groups. Under the conditions created by this anarchy, the 12 March Martial Law Courts sentenced hundreds of people who had committed treason by destroying every value belonging to the state and the nation; not a single nationalist was among them.

Undoubtedly, this fact clearly expresses a serious meaning. If we think with an open conscience, leaving aside the propaganda nonsense of "fascism, Nazism" that the same circles are now directing at you, how nationalist youth later

It is easy to understand why they emerged and why they became involved in these conflicts. If the Internationale can be sung instead of our National Anthem at a university, if rallies can be held under red flags in a square, and if the values that define the Turkish nation can be openly violated in Turkish educational institutions, then millions of Turkish youths witnessing these scenes cannot all remain silent. Indeed, some young people got involved in the events, sometimes unfortunately at the cost of breaking the law, in order to defend the values of the Turkish nation that were being targeted for destruction. Such resistance occurred spontaneously, as a sociological reaction, without requiring any organisation. Because every social organism whose consciousness has not been paralysed will exhibit a defence reflex. Didn't you also carry out this movement for the sake of values such as the integrity of the state, the unity of the nation, the sanctity of the flag, and the strengthening of democracy? If the democratic state authority had been able to use it appropriately and in a timely manner against the enemies of the state, and if our national education system had been able to equip our youth with national consciousness, the involvement of nationalists in the events would have been much more marginal compared to before 12 March.

Unfortunately, governments have been unable to fill the void of authority and culture. I am pleased to note that you have made the same observation in your statements and declarations.

In our struggle against this undeclared ideological invasion, we have always sought to strengthen our nation's democratic and national resistance and unity by encouraging respect for the law and compliance with legislation. To the extent that a political party can, we have endeavoured to instil in our youth the philosophy that founded our state and to revive it.

Despite sixteen years of effort, our political success remained limited. Because communism and separatism constantly attacked us both internally and externally; they tried to break us physically and mentally, from presenting the idea of nationalism as 'fascism' to martyring my closest colleague, Gün Sazak, along with many of our supporters. Against its global propaganda power, it was not our political ambitions but only our patriotism that fought back.

Despite everything, I believe that we have created serious resistance in the public conscience in the Turkish nation's struggle against the attacks our people have been subjected to. Only a million voters cast their ballots for us; however, it is certain that there are millions more who enthusiastically embrace the idea of Turkish nationalism that we defend, that is, the idea that founded our state. This is undoubtedly not our work alone. But history will not deny our service on this path.

For these reasons, I am concerned that our prosecution for a crime broadly defined as 'separatism' under Article 149 of the Turkish Penal Code will result in the prosecution of an idea that we share and that has been the guiding principle of our state since the founding of the Republic. It is impossible today, as it has been throughout history, to isolate the thoughts of people who have assumed duties and responsibilities in state and political life.

The public conscience can never do this, nor can it be expected to do so. We will be judged as a whole for our thoughts and politics. The mark this will leave on future years is the idea that political cadres who fought for nationalism, national consciousness, and the indivisibility of the state, its country, and its people have been judged by the state on charges of 'separatism'. Indeed, at this stage, most of the questions my colleagues and I faced were of a nature that questioned the idea of nationalism.

When a free and democratic pluralist regime is eventually established, the hotbeds of corruption and propaganda centres that will continue their treacherous activities will always try to use such a situation as an opportunity to condemn Turkish nationalism in the public eye. Indeed, the TKP, whose nature is well known to you and which engages in full-fledged 'fifth column' activities, is still attacking us and still targeting us with its pirate publications. This is because the TKP wants to eliminate, even now, the civilian cadres who will strengthen the nationalist consciousness and the understanding of loyalty to the state and democracy among the masses for its future activities.

Communism and separatism, which had already targeted state forces before 12 March, neutralised the state after 12 March.



They have attacked nationalists in order to achieve this. In this way, these hotbeds of corruption have sought both to physically destroy nationalists and to delay the state's response, thereby gaining power and time. Under current conditions, this strategy continues in the form of hostility towards nationalist cadres and plans for their elimination by the TKP and other communist publications. Communism and separatism have always been condemned throughout the world, but no national state has ever condemned nationalism by accusing it of separatism. When our country transitions to the pluralistic democratic regime that is the fundamental goal of our people and your high council, the centres of corruption will use this accusation levelled against nationalists as propaganda material to purge Turkish nationalism.

Finally, I led a political and intellectual movement that exalted the slogan 'One God, one state, one homeland, one flag'. From the age of sixteen, when I had the honour of joining the military, until the present moment in my political life, my entire existence has been the clearest proof of this thought and belief. History will undoubtedly judge me and my friends. However, the fact that such a movement has been accused of dividing the nation and 'inciting the people to fight' will surely not be forgotten by any future generation. This accusation is not only diametrically opposed to our sincere intentions from a purely legal standpoint, but it is also incompatible with the 'material element of the crime' in criminal law.

*Dear General,*

Your statements since 12 September confirm, in a different style, the ideas that we have been defending for years and will continue to defend under all circumstances. I am pleased about this for the sake of our nation's future. It is our sincere wish that the shaken life of the nation be reorganised with justice, that a healthy and swift return to a free democratic regime be achieved, and that Turkey never again face such crises in its future.

The main reason for writing this letter is my sense of responsibility to fulfil my duty to the nation and history, in the person of Your Excellency, the head of state and the high council entrusted with this task.

I have no doubt that, following a fair trial, we will be acquitted of the charges of separatism and 'inciting the people to fight', which do not suit us at all. My only concern is that such an accusation could be used by the enemies of our state against Turkish nationalism in the Turkey of tomorrow.

I extend my most sincere wishes for success to you and your colleagues in strengthening the Turkish State, laying the foundations for a happier and brighter future, and re-establishing the free democratic regime.

*Alparslan Türkeş*

(For the full text of the letter written by Alparslan Türkeş from Mamak Prison to General Kenan Evren after 12 September: *Yeni Harman-Alparslan Türkeş Special Issue*, No. 4, 11-17 September 1998).

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In his defence, Türkeş also revealed that the indictment sought to criminalise Turkish nationalism:

In the section of the indictment titled "The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Our Country," Turkish nationalism is unfortunately deemed entirely culpable throughout its history. In a country where Turkish nationalism is defined in the preamble to the Constitution, and at a time when we are celebrating the centenary of the birth of Atatürk, whose defining characteristic was nationalism, what could be more shameful than putting the entire history of nationalism on trial? However, a nation under invasion and occupation can be blamed for practising nationalism.

Now let us take a look at this shameful picture: Look at what kind of organisations are included in the historical flow and development process of nationalist, idealist thought. The organisations I mentioned a moment ago. These have never had any connection with fascism, never had any connection with Nazism. While we are being accused with this indictment, unfortunately, Turkish nationalism, which is the founding philosophy of the Republic of Turkey, has been accused and Turkish nationalism has been put in the dock and prosecuted.

On the centenary of his birth, Atatürkism and Atatürk have been put on trial. This trial is in the life of the Turkish nation, in the life of the Turkish state.

has inflicted a fatal wound.” (*Nationalist Movement Party and Idealist Organisations Trial – Interrogation – Alparslan Türkeş*, Ankara 1982, pp. 78–79).

### 's Return to Party Politics

After 1982, the coup leaders allowed new parties to be established under controlled conditions. The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) immediately took action. On 7 July 1983, they founded the Conservative Party (MP). The party's emblem was a pine tree rising above Turkey. The founding president was Mehmet Pamak. Pamak had visited Türkeş at the Military Hospital and obtained his permission. Pamak was also a member of the Consultative Assembly established by Evren in place of the Grand National Assembly. Pamak had an interesting journey. As a civil servant, he wrote articles under pseudonyms in nationalist newspapers and magazines. He used the name "Mehmet Ercişi" in his articles in Hergün. On 26 July 1983, the Council vetoed 25 MP founders with its decision number 100. Pamak was among those vetoed. Mehmet Pamak would learn that his family came from the east, thus discovering his new ethnic identity. He would then cloak this identity in Islam, deliver speeches about "freedom," and wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle! There is another such name... Yılmaz Yalçın, who was the first Ülkü Ocağı President at the Ankara Faculty of Political Sciences and was famous for entering the school alone and fighting hundreds of communists in the process, later became a journalist and, as mentioned, parted ways with the Ülkücüler and moved to the "radical Islam" line.

When Pamak's candidacy for the MP presidency was rejected, Ahmet Özsoy, the MP Deputy Secretary General and pharmacist, who had not been vetoed, became the party's president. New names were submitted to the Council to replace those who had been vetoed. However, on 16 August 1983, the Council vetoed 19 members of the party again with its decision No. 117. Names were submitted again. But the Council did not want the MP to participate in the elections. The vetoes continued. For the party to be able to participate in the elections, it needed to be organised in 34 provinces. This did not happen either. In the first general elections held after the coup on 6 November 1983, the Nationalists could not unite under one roof.

After Ahmet Özsoy, the writer and poet, former Member of Parliament İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu (1918-1993) took over as party leader. By 1985, those who had been vetoed returned to the party. Ali Koç, one of the first deputy chairmen, was elected party chairman at the Founders' Council meeting on 2 December 1984. İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu left the party.

The Conservative Party increased the number of members of its Central Decision and Executive Board at a congress held in Ankara on 30 November 1985 at the Selim Sırrı Tarcan Sports Hall. The party's name was also changed to the "Nationalist Labour Party". The party's emblem was a white crescent on a red background surrounded by nine stars.

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Türkeş was released on 9 April 1985. The MHP and Ülkücü Organisations Trial would continue at the No. 1 Military Court, and the 162-page reasoned decision would be read on 7 April 1987. Türkeş had been sentenced to eleven years and ten months, while none of the members of the General Administrative Council had received any punishment. Due to the new enforcement law, he would have to serve one day in prison. The case was prolonged in the Court of Cassation and was dismissed on 11 May 1995 due to the statute of limitations. Everyone knew that Türkeş and his friends had been imprisoned because of the storm of 12 September.

As he was banned from politics, Türkeş did not openly engage in politics. The Nationalist Labour Party (MÇP) participated in the elections held on 28 September 1986 in 10 provinces where parliamentary seats had become vacant, but only managed to secure 2.2 per cent of the vote.

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Türkeş did not consider joining another party after 12 September. He strongly criticised those who did. Halûk Dursun recounted a conversation he had with Türkeş in 1988. When Halûk Dursun asked Türkeş how he felt about some idealists not joining the MÇP after 12 September and going to other parties such as the ANAP and DYP, he strongly criticised the idealists who joined other parties and said "These are people who have embraced disloyalty to their cause, to their leader, to the memory of the martyrs who fell on the battlefield, and to the memory of the honourable struggle they waged before 12 September..."

Haluk Dursun responded to the question, "Did you consider not forming a party after 12 September and instead remaining within the DYP and ANAP, gathering personnel there and fighting within a large mass party?" as follows:

"If I had pursued such a policy, I would not have been in the Republican Peasants' Party in 1965, I would have joined the Justice Party. At that time, they were saying, 'The nationalists are in the Justice Party today. Prof. Osman Turan, Sadettin

Bilgiç, Faruk Sükan, etc. are here.' We responded by saying, 'We must bring Turkish nationalism to power as a political action,' and we set out to work as a separate party. If we think the same way today, the MÇP is small, it cannot develop, ANAP exists, DYP exists, new cadres will not emerge, idealism will disappear, our idealism will die. But I am still the leader at the forefront of the action today, I am the representative of the ideology. I set the principles.

This will work, and you will see that the movement will grow again as before. (Halûk Dursun, "Why Türkeş Did Not Go to the AP," *Son Çağrı*, 9 April 1997).

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Meanwhile, extraordinary events were unfolding in the MÇP. When Ali Koç resigned as the party's chairman, an extraordinary congress was convened. Abdülkerim Doğru, Hüseyin Abbas and their friends, who were Kars MPs and ministers of the National Salvation Party and founders of the Nizam Party, had registered with the MÇP. Abdülkerim Doğru was a nationalist intellectual and the brother of the late Prof. Dr. Abdülmecit Doğru, former president of the Mountaineering Club. Abdülkerim Doğru was elected chairman at the congress held on 19 April 1987. Dr Devlet Bahçeli was appointed as the general secretary. (See Dr Arslan Tekin, *The Dr Devlet Bahçeli Era in the Nationalist Movement*, 3rd ed., Ankara 2000). One of the deputy chairmen was Tuğrul Türkeş.

It was clear that Türkeş had chosen this list. A transitional period was about to begin.

On 6 September 1987, a referendum was held on whether banned former politicians should be allowed to engage in politics. With 51 per cent of the vote, the ban on former politicians was lifted. Although MÇP Chairman Abdülkerim Doğru stated that he was not a "caretaker" but a "leader," MÇP members turned their attention to Türkeş following the lifting of the ban. As a result, Abdülkerim Doğru and his colleagues resigned. Türkeş joined the MÇP on 20 September 1987. At the Extraordinary Congress held on 4 October 1987, he was elected as the party's general chairman, receiving the votes of all 210 delegates.

Türkeş was again party leader. After coups, once the leaders were no longer hanged, they would re-establish their parties and perhaps become even more determined than before. Besides Türkeş, Demirel, Ecevit and Erbakan also became leaders of their new parties

Demirel and Ecevit both became prime minister again. Erbakan served as prime minister for the first time. Türkeş later entered parliament. After his death, his party emerged as the second largest party in the first general election it entered, winning 18% of the vote and sending 129 MPs to parliament. The coups, however, became known for the damage they inflicted on the country.

Under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş, the MÇP participated in the general elections held on 29 November 1987 and received 2.91% of the vote. In the 1977 elections, which Türkeş entered before 12 September 1980, the party's vote share was 6.42%. After ten years, the Ülkücüler, who were just beginning to recover, had a vote potential of only 3%.

Nationalists who had been imprisoned also began to be released. Former Ülkü Ocakları (Nationalist Movement Youth Organisation) leaders joined the party at the 2nd Ordinary Congress on 27 November 1987.

In the local elections held on 29 March 1989, the MÇP's vote share in the Provincial General Assembly was 4.2%. They also won some mayoral positions.

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After the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, a new constitution was drafted and a 10% threshold was introduced for parties to enter parliament in general elections. It seemed unlikely that the MÇP, the Welfare Party (RP) established to replace the National Salvation Party, or the Reformist Democracy Party (IDP), led by Aykut Edebalı, former leader of the New Nationalists, would be able to exceed the 10% threshold on their own in the new general election. The RP had only managed to secure 7.2 per cent of the vote in 1987.

To this end, the parties sought alliances. Right-wing intellectuals desired the unification of all nationalist and conservative parties under one roof, writing and speaking in this vein. They sought to imbue the coming together of right-wing parties with a meaning beyond a normal electoral alliance, and this appeared to be the general desire of the people. With the alliance secured, the "believing segment" would become a "fist", a "heart"; nationalist-religious people would be saved from being seen as second-class citizens, from being pushed around at every opportunity. The desire became so strong that party leaders felt they had no choice but to meet. Whether viewed abstractly or concretely, it was already impossible to win the election without an alliance.

The MÇP and IDP decided to run in the elections under the banner of the RP, which had previously received the most votes.

Some MHP members could not accept running in the elections under the RP banner. They had also told Türkeş this. Türkeş had persuaded the MHP members, saying, "I cannot stomach it either, but we will endure this until we cross the bridge, and then we will return to our party."

On the other hand, the DEP, which operated like the political wing of the PKK, had collaborated with the SHP.

In the 20 October 1991 General Elections, as a result of the alliance between the three parties, %

They received 16.9 per cent of the vote. The MÇP had secured 19 seats in the Grand National Assembly under the umbrella of the RP. These MPs broke away from the RP and became independent. Article 86 prevented them from joining the MÇP. Therefore, they established the Democratic Movement Party (DHP). At the 3rd Ordinary Congress of the MÇP held on 29 December 1991, the DHP joined the MÇP. Alparslan Türkeş was re-elected as the chairman of the Nationalist Action Party.

In his speech at this congress, Türkeş said that the Ülkücüler had achieved two great victories with the collapse of communism and the independence of the captive Turks.

What role did the Ülkücüler play in the collapse of the Soviet Union and the successive downfalls of communist regimes? More accurately, did they play any role at all?

This issue has been much debated. In the collapse of the Soviet Union, besides the fact that a communist regime, contrary to human nature, could only survive to this point, the failure of the Soviet Union's expansionist policy also played a major role. It is inconceivable that this expansionist policy would not have included Turkey. The biggest obstacle to a communist government in Turkey was the Nationalist Movement. The establishment of a communist government would have been a great motivation for the Soviets. Perhaps Deli Petro's legacy would have been realised without them using weapons, and the Soviets would have descended upon the Straits and from the Straits to the Mediterranean.

As we travelled to the Turkic republics and they came to Turkey, the intellectuals from the Turkic republics I spoke with said that during the Soviet era, in the turbulent days of the 1970s, Soviet newspapers published very harsh articles about the Ülkücüler. Intellectuals who defended Turkish unity found their direction by reading these articles and carried the belief that what the communist regime accused them of would be "reputable".

The MÇP also split in July 1992. Seven MPs left the MÇP and founded the Great Unity Party (BBP).

### 's Return to the MHP

While these developments were taking place among those gathered around the Nationalist Labour Party and those outside it, the MHP congress convened on 27 December 1992 in the hall of Yükseliş College in Söğütözü, Ankara.

Türkeş devised a tactic to prevent the opposition from gaining strength. The Ülkü Ocakları were on Türkeş's side. He went to Söğütözü, where the congress was to be held, at 7:30 a.m. with the delegates and supporters who backed him. However, the doors to the hall were locked. This was a precautionary measure by the police. Türkeş was furious. He kicked the door open. No one could be kept waiting outside in this cold! The leader's action gave the crowd excitement and determination. Türkeş's uncompromising attitude renewed the trust in the leader. The Ülkü Ocaklı youths were guarding the doors so tightly that they did not allow anyone to enter without considering which delegate supported Türkeş and which supported Somuncuoğlu and his friends. If there was not a quorum of delegates in the hall, the congress would be cancelled, and the second congress would be held at Sadi Somuncuoğlu's office. This was because Somuncuoğlu had exercised authority on behalf of the last general administrative council before 12 September 1980 and had announced the congress. Eventually, the young people were persuaded and the delegates were allowed to enter. It was announced that 451 delegates were present.

Türkeş made his second move, which would impress the delegates and guests. As soon as the congress opened, he walked to the podium and immediately began his speech. His speech was occasionally interrupted by wild cheers. Türkeş proclaimed the victory of the Ülkücü struggle in simple and clear sentences:

"We denounced the scourge of communism, and thankfully it collapsed. We called for freedom for enslaved Turks, and they attacked us as Turanists. Thankfully, that too has come to pass. Those with such accurate views come to power in other countries!"

At the congress, it was decided that the party would be dissolved and that its name and emblem could be used by the MÇP.

Despite all the efforts of the opposition, Alparslan Türkeş, with his charisma and political manoeuvring, prevented the MHP from continuing as a separate party from the MÇP.

At that time, it was reported in the newspapers that President Turgut Özal had intervened in the party, first giving hope to those who founded the BBP and splitting them off, then supporting Sadi Somuncuoğlu.



On 24 January 1993, the 4th Extraordinary Congress of the MÇP was convened. At the congress, the name of the MÇP was changed to MHP and the three crescent emblem was adopted. Alparslan Türkeş was elected as the party's chairman with 589 delegates' votes.

Türkeş delivered the following speech at the congress:

The Nationalist Movement, which was struck and scattered by the 12 September coup, is now experiencing the joy of fully regaining the rights that had been rendered unusable by the 12 September regime, rights that had never wavered, unbroken line. Now, our glorious three crescents, which our forefathers called a symbol of majesty and splendour; and the name 'Nationalist Movement', written in the pages of history as the name of an honourable struggle, have regained the opportunity to take their honourable place in our political life, both legally and in practice, as they have done since 12 September, no longer existing only in our hearts and as an element of love.

The Nationalist Movement Party (MÇP) is the cadre and political organisation that led the Nationalist Movement through the most difficult conditions and brought this movement to Parliament after 12 September. If it weren't for the MÇP, if it weren't for the political struggles of the MÇP members, the nameless soldiers who pursued and represented the cause of the Nationalist Movement after 12 September, would there still be a platform for debates about whether the MHP should be opened or closed before 27 December? Would there be debates about which path the Nationalist Movement should follow from today to tomorrow? As it was yesterday, the MHP, with its three-crescent flag, will continue to be the sole representative of the Turkish nationalist movement."

Türkeş used the words "raid" and "caravan" in his speech. Raid represents "bandits", while caravan represents "a convoy travelling to reach its destination". Türkeş, once again fearlessly, likened the 12 September coup leaders to "bandits" and said that bandits scatter caravans.

After the coup d'état of 12 September 1980, political parties were banned. They were reopened in 1992. Of the parties that existed before 12 September, only the CHP and MHP retained their names. Of these two parties, only Alparslan Türkeş returned to lead his former party. Bülent Ecevit, the last general chairman of the CHP before 12 September, did not follow the CHP after founding the DSP

and, despite all invitations from those who took the party's name, did not join them under the same roof.

Süleyman Demirel also left the AP, of which he was the last chairman, and continued his career in the True Path Party. The National Salvation Party also faded into the past, and its last chairman, Prof. Dr. Necmettin Erbakan, founded the Welfare Party.

The Nationalist Movement Party participated in the 27 March 1994 Local Elections for the first time after its reopening. The MHP received 7.96 per cent of the vote in these elections. This percentage was higher than before 1980. In these elections, it won 118 mayoral seats, including 7 provincial, 56 district and 55 town mayorships.

Why did the MHP rise? MHP officials attributed this to the party's "content reflecting the general inclination and sentiment of the Turkish nation."

\* \* \*

Türkeş supported the DYP-SHP coalition, led by Prime Minister Demirel, even at the risk of some members leaving his party.

In 1992, the PKK were almost at their goal. They even had representatives in parliament. Turgut Özal was in contact with the PKK circle both when he was prime minister and when he was president. He even spoke of a federation. Some journalists who saw "vision" in Özal travelled to the Bekaa Valley and Damascus, ate Öcalan's bread, drank his tea, and were guests in his "home." Then they wrote about Öcalan's ideas in their newspapers. Patriots were being systematically suppressed.

According to Rıza Müftüoğlu, a few days after the MHP gave its vote of confidence to the DYP-SHP coalition, the DEP members within the SHP held a meeting and said: "Why did Türkeş support the DYP-SHP government? They will go after the PKK... Otherwise, Türkeş would not easily support them. Let's leave this party."

Secondly... Türkeş had said: "I believe that Demirel chose the SHP for several reasons... Not just because of the ANAP-DYP conflict. If the SHP had been left out at that time, the current government would not have been able to crack down so harshly on the PKK. Because they would have been the opposition then."

Another reason was this: when the DYP-SHP Government was formed, three parties remained in opposition. ANAP, RP and MHP... These three parties would oppose the coalition, and the MHP would inevitably compete with the RP. This would make the MHP base more radical. Furthermore, the need to oppose the RP's line would inevitably arise. Opposing the government in line with the RP was not appropriate for the MHP, both politically and in terms of the future of the state and the nation. The MHP preferred to set an example of constructive opposition outside of ANAP and RP. They stated that they had given their vote of confidence for this reason. Türkeş told his staff:

"Separatism is at its peak. We must establish a broad front. This front must include leftists and social democrats. We must remove social democrats and leftists from their position of cooperation with separatists. We must reduce the power of separatists. To this end, we must extend an olive branch to leftists and social democrats."

### **Nâzım Hikmet Ran's poem**

The MHP held its 4th Ordinary Congress on 9 November 1994. In his speech at the congress, Türkeş focused more on separatism.

Türkeş's strategy was to narrow the space for PKK supporters. The left had hostility towards Turkish nationalism and the leader of the Nationalist Movement. This hostility could not be broken despite all efforts. Such hostility that people preferred to side with the PKK rather than be seen with Türkeş. Türkeş wanted to send a different message at this congress. That is why he recited a poem by Nâzım Hikmet Ran at the MHP congress. The section he recited was as follows:

*"Gallop in from distant Asia / Stretching like a mare's head to the Mediterranean / This country is ours..."*

Türkeş did this deliberately. What is the truth of the matter? You social democrats may be democrats, leftists, but if you are in favour of the country not being divided, of one flag, one language, one state, then we must stand with you against the current danger. This is what nationalism requires. In international relations, states do not have permanent friends or enemies... Whatever is in the interest of the state is done... If Turkish nationalists fought against communism before 1980, they did so for their country... If they are fighting against separatists today, it is also a requirement of nationalism for them to be in at least some

psychological rapprochement with those who oppose them. There is a tactic here.

Türkeş's aides were of the following opinion: If Türkeş had said about Erdal İnönü, the leader of the coalition partner SHP, that his father had pulled out my fingernails in 1944... I would not give him a vote of confidence... That would not be a nationalist stance; it would be politics based on hatred. İsmet İnönü's son came to Antalya as Türkeş's guest at the First Turkish Congress in 1993 and hammered iron.

At the 1994 congress, Türkeş's recitation of Nâzım Hikmet Ran's poem had not been planned in advance. It occurred during his speech after being elected as general chairman at the congress. The first four pages of his speech had been prepared by Müftüoğlu. He had provided a separate text for his closing speech. However, he did not read the text he had provided. He gave a different speech. Müftüoğlu asked Türkeş, "Chief, why did you speak like that?" The incident was this: At that time, a bureaucrat at the Ministry of Culture had said to Türkeş, "Put in this poem by Nâzım Hikmet... It will be good." But Türkeş said, "I did not read it for the reasons he gave. I read it to draw leftists to this side against separatism."

Some circles saw Türkeş reading a poem by someone he called a "traitor to the nation" as a "major change". Nâzım Hikmet (1902-1963) fled to Russia in 1951 and wrote poems praising Stalin.

Later, at a press dinner held by his party at the Ankara Hilton Hotel on 13 November 1994, journalists asked Türkeş why he had recited a poem by Nâzım Hikmet Ran. Türkeş replied:

"That poem is the epic of our War of Independence and is written in beautiful Turkish. Furthermore, by reading that poem by Nâzım, I extended an olive branch to the left wing. I read it so that it would help eliminate harshness and negative attitudes. For the unity and integrity of the country, this division and image of confrontation must be eliminated. I read it to serve this purpose." (*Türkiye*, 15 November 1994).

### **Türkeş: Let's Enter Northern Iraq with ‘ ‘**

They met Turgut Özal at the First Turkish Congress held in Antalya in 1993. The Gulf War had begun. Özal was in favour of entering northern Iraq. Türkeş wrote a letter to Özal:

*"Dear Mr President,*

With your kind permission, I would like to express my views on the 'Gulf Policy' below.

Your foreign policy regarding the Gulf Crisis is, in every respect, a policy that is in line with and appropriate for our country's interests.

The main forces undermining the Gulf policy currently being pursued are external sources. Greece, in particular, is focusing its activities in this direction on Western countries. Greece and some European countries find it objectionable that Turkey is acting in concert with the US and that our country has a say at the peace table, because they do not want a strong Turkey in the Middle East.

Some Western countries also do not consider Turkey's cooperation with the United States to be appropriate in terms of their current interests in the Middle East.

The reason Greece is provoking Western countries is likely because Turkey is likely to be strong in resolving the Cyprus and Aegean issues. With the contribution of the Greek lobby, some European countries are trying to prevent Turkey from joining the US in the war against Iraq.

Under the influence of this propaganda, the domestic opposition remains under pressure.

For this reason, I believe it is important to carry out efforts to rebalance domestic politics. At present, it is crucial that the Gulf policy pursued under your leadership be pursued with perseverance, and that while the US attacks from the south, Turkey also enters Iraq from the north, as this could propel our country forward by perhaps half a century.

However, as you will appreciate, it is also essential that all necessary preparations are made to achieve victory.

Although your foreign policy regarding the Gulf Crisis is in every respect in line with our country's interests, there is fierce opposition to this policy within our country. Despite having been very successful in shaping public opinion in the past, for some reason this aspect seems to have been neglected in foreign policy matters recently. Domestic public opinion and world public opinion...

Urgent and serious efforts are required to shape the game in favour of our Gulf policy. To this end, an organisation comprising experts should be established under the Presidency, named the 'Public Relations Advisory Board'. Within this organisation, a unit should be created for 'Domestic Public Opinion Formation', 'European and American Public Opinion Formation' departments, and 'Information (Intelligence Gathering)' departments.

The Gulf Crisis has presented Turkey with a historic opportunity. It is crucial that we take control of Mosul and Kirkuk. To secure the necessary support for this endeavour, if required, a portion of the oil interests in this region should be discreetly offered to American and British companies.

In summary, I wish to express that I am always at your service to ensure the complete success of the Gulf policy you have pursued.

*Alparslan Türkeş*

### **‘The 1944 Nationalism Incident’ Book**

The events of 1944 began to be discussed again after Türkeş emerged with the 1960 coup. I believe that if Türkeş had not been involved in such an incident and had not been imprisoned, the issue, which was belittled and disparaged by the left-cosmopolitan segment as "racism-Turancism," would have remained a historical relic, an example of the oppressive regime of an era.

In the early days of the 1960 coup, it was not understood that Türkeş had been tried alongside Atsız in 1944. Then someone rummaged through dusty shelves and discovered it. Especially when disagreements arose within the National Unity Committee, incredible, unimaginable, beyond comprehension attacks would begin against Türkeş, who was leading one side. People of the same mindset, using the same arguments and the same clichéd expressions, were painting a completely new portrait and scrambling to portray Türkeş as some kind of "monster." For years, attacks reaching the level of delirium would continue unabated at Türkeş's every turn.

Faced with these outbursts, Türkeş felt compelled to explain what had and had not happened in 1944. Those with forward-looking ideas had to shed light on each point in their past that others sought to portray as dark. No one looking back should find anything to cast doubt on him.

Türkeş had to explain why he was accused of "racism-Turancism" in 1944, why he was imprisoned, how he was released, and what the intentions of those who accused and imprisoned him were. *The 1944 Nationalism Incident* was first serialised in the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper in 1967. It was then turned into a book. *The Committee Members, the Army and Politics*, the author of the book, the renowned journalist Nizamettin Nazif Tepedelenlioğlu (1901-1970), also contributed to the publication of the memoirs. He reviewed the memoirs in terms of style and made the necessary corrections.

In the foreword he wrote for the second edition of his memoirs, published in 1972, Alparslan Türkeş explains that if the nationalists had been heeded in 1944, rather than being persecuted, Turkey's circumstances would have been different. We reproduce this meaningful explanation below:

"The first edition of the book *The 1944 Nationalism Incident* sold out quickly. It became necessary to reprint it because the book was constantly being sought after from all sides.

Between the first and second editions, very serious and tragic events took place in our country. The memorandum issued by the Turkish Armed Forces on 12 March 1971 opened a new phase in the life of the nation. Meanwhile, many young people and intellectuals who had drifted towards communism, regionalism and separatism were subjected to harsh persecution. Armed gangs were formed and partisan warfare began. Foreigners visiting our country were attacked, kidnapped or murdered. Some of those responsible were shot dead during clashes with state forces while resisting with weapons.

Many Turkish youths have been arrested and remain in custody. It is clear that the path they have taken is wrong and has been found to be harmful and destructive to our country. However, even if they are wrong, these young people have shown that they are willing to sacrifice everything, including their lives, for the ideal they believe in. What a great sorrow this situation is for our country and what a great loss for the Turkish Nation.

Why have tens of thousands of young people and intellectuals of the Turkish nation been drawn into these destructive currents and movements that are harmful to the homeland...? Why have these unfortunate children of our country succumbed to the treason of dividing Turkey into separate small states according to regions? Why have these people, who studied for years at our universities, made statements such as, 'I am not Turkish, I am not Muslim... I do not recognise the existence of Turkey...'?

These young people, the children of our country, were not steeped in these bad and wrong ideas when they were in their family homes before coming to university. In fact, many of them were genuinely patriotic and nationalistic. The reason for their loss to the nation is the void of ideas and beliefs into which our country has fallen for many years. People live, find happiness, and rise with faith and ideals. A person without faith or ideals finds themselves in a void and is swept along by events under the influence of their instincts alone; their behaviour and life remain dependent on chance.

The age we live in is, above all, an age of ideological and cultural warfare. Nations that fail to pursue the path of developing their own national culture, and societies that fail to define their own national ideals and educate their people in accordance with these ideals, become captives of foreign cultures and ideologies. For many years, our Turkey has been exposed to the assault and invasion of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. In the age we live in, the enemy is attempting to invade our lives and our world of art with its guns and rifles. Once it has succeeded in this, it will be a simple matter for the enemy's armed forces to seize our state and our homeland.

Since 1917, Russian imperialism has taken on a new guise and acquired a brand new, extremely powerful, even formidable weapon. This weapon is the doctrine and ideology of communism. Russian imperialism, the harshest and most terrifying form of imperialism, has skilfully used and continues to use these to exploit and devour the nations and territories it wishes to subjugate.

Turkey is at the centre of the secret and open struggle between states. For this reason, it is the target of the most relentless attacks by foreign cultures and foreign ideologies. It would be a grave mistake to believe that every problem has been solved and come to an end simply because three or five hundred anarchist and communist gang members have been arrested by the martial law authorities.



It would be a grave mistake. Foreign cultural and ideological attacks aimed at destroying the Turkish nation will never cease. They will take on new forms, employ new methods, bring forth new people, and continue their struggle. To protect against these and to swiftly strengthen the Turkish nation and the Turkish state, a national ideology and a national cultural initiative must be put forward. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can never be crushed, prevented or defeated by military force, police power or brute force. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can only be suppressed and defeated by ideas, ideals and beliefs that are more correct, more powerful and superior to them. The strength that will withstand all kinds of foreign ideological and cultural attacks against the Turkish nation is the Turkish ideal and the consciousness of Turkish nationalism, which is the ideology of Turkish nationalism.

When discussing the onslaught of foreign cultures and ideologies, it would be an incomplete approach to consider only communism. It is necessary to take into account all kinds of foreign cultural and ideological influences that hinder the advancement of Turkishness in every field and the development of the Turkish nation as a strong society with an independent identity. It would be very wrong to adopt a reactionary attitude aimed at protecting oneself against destructive currents and divisive and fragmenting propaganda. The best defence is attack. The Turkish ideal and national cultural developments based on Turkish nationalism must be conceived and developed not as a reaction against foreign cultural and ideological attacks, but as an independent, powerful action based on high and noble beliefs that will suppress them.

We foresaw the dire circumstances our country has fallen into in recent years many years ago and tried to warn those concerned. We have long been concerned that Turkey would face very difficult circumstances today due to the vacuum of faith, ideals and thought into which the country has been plunged. However, it was impossible to convey this to the leaders who held the country's administration in their hands. When empty-headed people attain positions of authority, they believe that these positions grant them all kinds of power and competence. In reality, the best leaders are those who respect and value ideas and thoughts. Those who do not know how to do this cause great harm both to themselves and to their country.

For twelve years after Atatürk's death, İsmet İnönü, who ruled Turkey as a complete dictator, was a person incapable of comprehending the facts and ideas we have described above. He was someone who did not understand the factors that guide people's actions and societies.

He is a man who does not understand how to inspire and direct people towards a goal, nor how to uplift them. He has often been a plaything in the hands of those who gather around him and flatter him for their own interests. He has often protected leftists and Marxists. Nepotism, that is, the disease of favouring relatives and close associates, has always been the foundation of his politics. As a result, under their influence, he caused a case to be brought in 1944 under the name of the 'Turancılık Dâvâsı' (Turanism Case). Using this case as a pretext, Turkish nationalism, Turkish idealism and intellectual life came under heavy attack, and our country suffered greatly as a result. The atmosphere of oppression, suppression and intimidation created by this case completely paralysed and destroyed the already weak Turkish intellectual and ideological existence and national cultural movements. Thus, the country was pushed into a complete void of ideas and beliefs. Ideas and movements based on the ideal of Turkishness and drawing strength from Turkish nationalism have become entrenched in people's minds as fearful, harmful and troublesome, while leftist and communist views and movements have been encouraged as profitable and harmless activities. In short, this is why our country was dragged into the eve of 12 March 1971. The recent events have made it abundantly clear what state the Republican People's Party has been reduced to. The events have proven that the person who was presented for years as the 'unique, great man' or 'second man' was someone who could not see even five minutes ahead. The Republican People's Party, founded by Atatürk and one of the fundamental organisations of the Turkish War of Independence, has been destroyed and fragmented, falling into the clutches of a fanatical group that has accepted Marxism as its ultimate goal. Since then, it has fallen into a state of decline that is unworthy of its historical stature.

In the world, for people, in politics, the highest office and position is that of head of state. In no country does a person who has held the office of head of state accept a lower position after leaving office. They retire and live as a respected elder of the nation, in the capacity of a former head of state, acting as an advisor, a kind of high supervisor. The only exception to this in our country was İsmet İnönü. After twelve years as President and dictator, he returned to the party leadership, became the leader of the opposition, then became Prime Minister, and after leaving the Prime Minister's office, returned to the party leadership. This ambition and misguided behaviour proved very harmful both to himself and to the country..." (A. Türkeş, *1944 Milliyetçilik Olayı [The 1944 Nationalism Incident]*, İstanbul 1972, pp. 4-9).

Other party leaders were aware of Türkeş's mission. They always treated him with respect. They met occasionally and exchanged ideas. Naturally, there were those who hated Türkeş... Those who harboured ill will towards Turkey also harboured ill will towards Türkeş. Türkeş was, frankly, a "national leader". When Türkeş passed away, he was not a Member of Parliament, he was not a minister, he was not the Prime Minister, he was only the leader of a party that had received 8 per cent of the vote in the last elections, but the number of people who attended his funeral exceeded the number of people who voted for his party... The sorrow he aroused in Turkey and among Turks worldwide could not be measured by the standards of a party leader. All these signs were evidence of the loss of a "national leader".

### **'s Meeting with the Armenians**

In the past, nationalist circles argued that "Armenians had their eyes on our lands," "Jews wanted to extend their borders to the Euphrates," and "Freemasonry was a cover for Zionism," and that it was necessary to fight against these forces. Türkeş engaged in certain behaviours that proved that these arguments were not used appropriately. He met with Armenians, he met with Jews...

Türkeş's meeting with the Armenians caused a great stir. There was a desire to hold an informal meeting with the Armenians to test the waters. To this end, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed that a figure such as Türkeş would be more effective. Journalist Mehmet Ali Birand met with both Foreign Ministry officials and Ter Petrosyan and wrote about Türkeş's role as mediator:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wanted to send a message to the Armenian leadership before this relationship was made official. To this end, Türkeş was asked for help, albeit somewhat hesitantly. It was expected that he would refuse.

On the contrary, Türkeş immediately accepted.

Armenian leader Ter Petrosyan was in Paris. Türkeş was also in Paris attending another meeting. An informal meeting was planned.

The Armenian leader himself told me what happened next:

'... I couldn't believe my eyes. I knew Türkeş's approach to us very well. When he started talking, a completely different Türkeş appeared before me.

He explained the necessity of making peace with the Azeris. He said he could act as a mediator. He repeatedly emphasised that Turkey and Armenia absolutely had to reach an agreement... We also exchanged messages with Türkeş indirectly once. Türkeş used to be known as the leader who spread fear, the leader of the armed and club-wielding actions of the nationalists. Just as in Turkey, I watched with concern among us Armenians how this leader later changed, how he softened, how he understood that nothing could be achieved through weapons or harshness... I saw it with my own eyes and began to respect him...

It takes courage to achieve such a change in attitude. It is not something every brave politician can do.

This is the most typical example of the great change seen in Türkeş over the years.

He knew how to become a symbol of renewal, overcoming the painful events of the 1970s and 1980s and, at times, his own mistakes.

May the same happen to other leaders..." (M. Ali Birand, "Listen to Türkeş from Ter Petrosyan and be amazed", *Sabah*, 7 April 1997).

We must say that we do not find it strange that M. A. Birand shares the same opinion as the President. M. Ali Birand, who conducted the first interview with Öcalan in 1988, thereby taking the lead in the race to portray the PKK leader sympathetically and making a major journalistic splash (twice, no less!), refuses to understand the "historical necessity." He does not want to understand because he has taken sides, perceiving issues like an Armenian leader or the head of the PKK. Had Türkeş followed the path desired by M. A. Birand in the 1970s, perhaps there would be no independent Republic of Turkey today.

M. A. Birand's statement about Türkeş: "He knew how to become a symbol of renewal, overcoming the painful events of the 1970s and 1980s and sometimes his own mistakes," is a grave insult to the deceased. The events of the 1970s and 1980s were a historical necessity.

Türkeş has not changed; others have only just begun to understand him anew.

Let us outline the stages of the negotiations with the Armenians up to the point described above.

In Ankara, on Binektası Street... The offices of *Yeni Düşünce* and Türkeş were in the same building, one above the other... Mesut Yılmaz had become prime minister just three months earlier. Türkeş called Rıza Müftüoğlu, owner of the weekly newspaper *Yeni Düşünce*:

-Be here early tomorrow. The Armenians are coming.

This was his first meeting with the Armenians. There were two visitors. One was from France, the other from Istanbul. They explained their problems. They said:

-We have various problems. Mr Mesut is not showing any interest in us. We need your help.

Türkeş tells them that historically we have had many similarities with the Armenians, that Armenians are known to be a loyal people, but that unfortunate events have occurred, and that because of these events, things cannot remain as they are; he shows them great warmth.

When Türkeş went to the US in 1992, Rıza Müftüoğlu was again with him. The head of the Armenian lobby and two other people came. Those who came were told who they would be meeting... Türkeş and Müftüoğlu were also informed... Despite this, Türkeş pointed to Müftüoğlu twice and said:

-He is my assistant. Rıza Müftüoğlu, Member of Parliament for Erzurum.

Why did Türkeş feel the need to repeatedly introduce them, even though he knew who they were and they knew him and the person next to him?

The head of the Armenian lobby begins to speak. He is accusing Azerbaijan.

Rıza Müftüoğlu suddenly interjects:

-What, so it was all the Azeris' fault! You had no part in it at all!

A chill descends. They look at Türkeş. Türkeş shifts the subject as if nothing had happened. The Armenian representatives leave. Türkeş turns to Müftüoğlu:

-Son, what have you done! I specifically mentioned twice that you are the MP for Erzurum.

Türkeş means to say: it's not just me who thinks this way. My assistant, who is the MP for Erzurum, the province that witnessed Armenian oppression, thinks the same way.

Türkeş continues:

-Son, we need to separate these people from the Dashnaks. They are the moderate group. We need to pit these two against each other. I am coordinating this, and you are disrupting it!

Discussions with the Armenians continued afterwards.

Due to Müftüoğlu's emotional behaviour in America, he is no longer invited to meetings with Armenians. He took his son Tuğrul Türkeş to the meeting in Paris. The President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister were aware of this meeting. The ambassador was also present.

### **'s Meeting with Armenians in Paris**

The meeting with Armenian President Ter Petrosyan in Paris was arranged by the Armenian lobby in France. According to Türkeş, an Armenian named "Özararat" from Turkey acted as an intermediary in this meeting. Prime Minister Demirel and Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin were aware of Türkeş's meeting. The meeting took place in March 1993 at the Crillon Hotel. The then Ambassador to Paris, Tansu Bleda, also attended the meeting. The Armenians had brought along an interpreter named Artun Şekercioğlu.

During this meeting, Türkeş offered Petrosyan friendship. The price of this friendship was, of course, their withdrawal from Azerbaijani territory. The meeting did not result in an agreement.

When they left the meeting at the Crillon Hotel, Türkeş said the following to journalist Tansu Sarıtaşı, who wanted to obtain exclusive information from him:

- There are some things that cannot be written. For the benefit of the state, some things should not be written.

In April 1994, they met with the Armenian representative to Europe at the Turkish Consulate General in Frankfurt. Ambassador Onur Öymen was also present at the meeting.

At this meeting, the Armenians demanded that Turkey show goodwill. Their demands included the lifting of the economic blockade and the provision of wheat. Türkeş again reminded them that Azerbaijani territories were under occupation; he proposed postponing the Karabakh issue, returning Azerbaijani territories, and exchanging prisoners.

\* \* \*

The then Ambassador to Paris later wrote his memoirs. In his memoirs, he describes Türkeş's meeting with the Armenians and his impressions of Türkeş as follows:

The passenger traffic, reminiscent of the intercity bus terminal in Paris during holiday periods, made the visit of Alparslan Türkeş, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, to Paris in March 1993 one of the most interesting for me. I only learned that he had come on a special mission after he had settled into his accommodation. Indeed, the very next day, he visited the President of Armenia, who was staying at the Crillon Hotel, and conveyed to him our government's views and some proposals it had formulated to end the suffering caused by the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Present at the meeting were Petrosyan's foreign policy advisor Liberyan, Foreign Minister Papazyan, whom I had met while serving as chargé d'affaires in Paris, and myself. The Armenians listened very attentively to what Türkeş had to say and largely agreed with him. The meeting addressed not only issues related to Upper Karabakh but also Turkish-Armenian relations. Turkish businessmen, led by Tuğrul Türkeş, and prominent Armenian businessmen living in France met at the embassy for a working dinner and discussed potential cooperation projects between the two countries. As far as I remember, the initial outline of the bilateral project that emerged during that first meeting amounted to \$600 million. However, the positive atmosphere created by this meeting and the process did not last long. Türkeş had barely left Paris when the Dashnak forces, beyond Petrosyan's control, launched an attack on the Lachin Corridor, rendering all decisions null and void. (...) It was on this occasion that I got to know Türkeş so closely for the first time. (...) I can say that I was impressed by his modesty, maturity and statesmanship. (Tansu Bleda, *Maskeli Balo*, İstanbul 2000, pp. 292-294).

### The Issue of Change

There has been persistent coverage regarding Alparslan Türkeş's change. Those who would know best whether Türkeş changed or not are his former colleagues. Dr Devlet Bahçeli, who took over the chairmanship of the MHP after Türkeş, responded to my question, "There were comments in the media about the late Alparslan Türkeş having changed. You were by his side for many years... Did you observe such a change?" as follows:

"I say this as someone who, in thirty years of being a nationalist, had the honour of being a colleague of our late leader for ten years. Membership of the presidential council, secretary-general, deputy chairman...

As someone who has done so, I state that there has been no change in the late Türkeş's thoughts, goals, or principles. I am personally very confident about this. However, after 12 September, people understood our late leader much better within this soft, conciliatory, dialogue-oriented political understanding and began to see his true nature. For this reason, some people put forward the claim that Mr Türkeş had changed. In fact, those who had the opportunity to understand and comprehend Mr. Türkeş thought he was different when they saw his true thoughts. Otherwise, there was no change whatsoever." (A. Tekin, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

### **If I Go Back, Shoot Me 's Case**

Türkeş later made a speech that was highly controversial, or rather, one that his opponents interpreted differently. At one point in this speech, he said: "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot anyone who joins the cause and then turns back!"

These words are extremely exciting among Ülkücüler, reinforcing their belief in the cause. But those who oppose them have sought to interpret these words as meaning that the Ülkücüler will kill those who abandon their cause. It is necessary to know the circumstances in which these words were spoken. First, we will take the full text of the speech in which these words appear.

The year is 1967. It is Sunday, 30 July... The Istanbul Provincial Congress of the Republican Peasants' Party is being held at the Sports and Exhibition Hall. At this congress, Türkeş delivers a speech as the party's general chairman:

"Esteemed Friends!

I wish our newly elected comrades success in their important duties and useful service to our party. Dear comrades, our party is an organisation that aims to implement nationalism in the political arena in Turkey. The CKMP itself is the practical application of nationalism.

Esteemed colleagues, serving the country is not easy; there are many difficulties and many injustices on the path of serving the country. Friends, there are principles, methods, and rules that must be observed in order to achieve success in these endeavours. It is necessary to know and adhere to them. One of these, friends, is to know that there is nothing to fear on earth except fear itself.



and to accept it. The only thing to fear on earth is fear itself. Apart from that, it is necessary to cling tightly to ideals and faith, to remain calm, to deal with matters calmly, and to join the path of service to the great Turkish nation, which awaits many services as soon as possible. Losing one's composure, losing one's determination, succumbing to panic and excitement on this path of service is the main cause of failure. Therefore, my request and advice to all my friends, above all else, is to be calm, patient, determined, persevering, and to embrace the cause in this way, carrying it forward without letting anything discourage them. Esteemed friends, we all know each other and are fellow travellers on the same path and for the same cause. I am a friend of yours who has been entrusted with the leadership of our party and our cause until our next grand congress by our esteemed friends at our party's grand congress, in which you were also involved.

Friends, I have embraced the cause entrusted to me, walking forward without hesitation, without looking back, without caring about anything else.

Friends, I am moving forward, striving to accelerate and run; we shall run. As we advance, do not lag behind—follow me!...

In this struggle, if for any reason I fall, grab the flag and go further; if I turn back, strike me down; strike down anyone who joins the cause and then turns back!...

Friends, our cause is to protect, elevate and perpetuate the existence of the Turkish nation. There can be no other idea or cause above this cause.

Esteemed comrades, do not be concerned about the duties and responsibilities that fall to you for this or that reason; do not be discouraged, embrace the service, embrace the service with a determined, well-intentioned heart, and then never doubt that we will be understood and supported by your comrades, by the entire nation!

The CKMP is a great party. From time to time, some of our friends, speaking with good intentions, say things like 'our party is a small party', referring to the number of votes our party received in the elections. I ask all my friends, please do not say this. Our party is a great party. Its greatness lies in the greatness of its cause.

The cause of the CKMP is the greatest cause in this country today. It is a cause that is entirely for the Turkish nation, entirely according to the Turkish nation, and entirely based on faith in the Turkish nation.

Esteemed friends, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, one of the esteemed nationalists raised by the Turkish nation, says: 'I am a man devoted to the ideal of Turkishness, to the Turkish national ideal. Even if I do not see this in my lifetime, I will close my eyes to life with its dreams.' For this reason, people and nations live and rise with great ideas, with long-term ideas. To live like an insect or a caterpillar, taking each day as it comes and without thinking about tomorrow, is unworthy of humanity. It has no place in our book. Our cause is based on the ideal and encompasses the next ten, fifty, one hundred, five hundred years. That is why the CKMP is a great party.

The number of citizens in our ranks today may be this many. But this number is increasing every day, and every day our party's organisation is spreading across the country. The children of our country, inspired by the ideas and ideals we spread, are joining our ranks and running shoulder to shoulder with us to serve the country. The CKMP is growing stronger and larger every day.

(...)

Esteemed friends, as the CKMP, we will make this cause our own and lead the Turkish people to victory and success. The Turkish nation is the true owner of this cause. Many attempts made to date have failed to gain the support of the people, the Turkish nation, and have therefore remained confined within the narrow boundaries of a few large cities, failing to produce the expected results. One of the principles we emphasise as the CKMP is to take these important national causes to the Turkish people, explain them to them, make them their own, gather them all into our ranks, and thereby lead them to success.

My dear friends, in these endeavours, Turkish youth represent our greatest hope. Young people have been entrusted with very important duties in the development of the Turkish nation. When we say young people, we mean not only those in higher education, as some young friends who spoke earlier pointed out, but also young people working as artists or in various fields.

Therefore, all Turkish youth should be the target of party activities, and we should embrace them all. Esteemed colleagues, as I mentioned earlier...

There are a few principles I recommend at our meetings, which I will repeat. These are to be patient in our work, to be forgiving and self-sacrificing, and to get things done without causing offence, hurt or resentment. I repeat, to be very careful, to get things done without causing offence, hurt or resentment. We must work and get things done without resentment or offence. These two are interdependent. As a nation, we are often very touchy. This touchiness has cost us dearly in our service to the country, and continues to do so. This is also the case in party activities. We must all pay close attention to this. We must be patient and calm. For our party to succeed, our goal is to gather and win the affection of the large citizenry and become the party that can win the most votes in the elections. Our friends must not forget this. My dear friends, Turkish nationalism is an action today. This action is being carried out and managed by the CKMP. Certain leaders who until yesterday considered nationalism a crime have now reached the point where they claim to be nationalists themselves. Those who until recently would not even consider talking about nationalism have now come forward to establish nationalist parties. These are the successes of the CKMP. It is the joint success of all our old and new comrades who have gathered under this roof and worked hard for many years.

Friends, the cause and the goal are clear, and the Turkish nation understands and embraces the cause.

Bilge Khan proclaimed:

‘O Turkish nation, shake yourself awake and return to yourself.’

My friends, my comrades, my fellow idealists; the return has begun. The goal will be achieved.

May God protect the Turks." (*Millî Hareket*, No. 14, September 1967).

We did not include part of Türkeş's speech. Those parts concerned Turkey's progress and economic situation.

If we evaluate the words, "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot everyone who joins the cause and turns back!" within the context of the entire speech...

Türkeş, as always, first speaks of courage. He states that those who embark on an action must be very courageous and not succumb to fear. As a leader, Türkeş is at the forefront. To show the audience that he is confident, that he will never compromise, that he will not turn back

: "If I turn back, shoot me! Shoot everyone who joins the cause and then turns back!"

Dündar Taşer was Türkeş's revolutionary comrade. They had been working together from the very beginning. They also joined the CKMP together. Later, Taşer became the party's deputy chairman. Taşer was not only a man of action but also a man of ideas and a man of principle. He never questioned Türkeş's leadership. His words about Türkeş's determination are noteworthy:

When the late Dündar Taşer was asked, 'Why aren't you the leader?', his answer was significant: 'If a wall needs to be knocked down, I'll try once or twice. If it doesn't work, I'll give up, but Türkeş will knock that wall down with his head. That's why he's the leader. Alparslan Türkeş's mistake is ahead of my truth.' (Namık Kemal Zeybek, *Ülkü Yolu*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 123).

The cause is not merely a quest for power. Türkeş has set aside day-to-day politics and begun to think on a higher plane. His calculations are long-term. That is why he focuses on young people in his speeches. Indeed, he did what he said he would do and succeeded in gathering hundreds of thousands of young people around an ideal. Such was his success that these young people also provided every kind of support to the Turkish people when the state faltered in protecting the homeland and engaged in a fearless struggle against the internal extensions of the external siege. For this reason, the supporters of the internal extensions of the external siege, who controlled certain media outlets, sought to wear down, crush, and destroy Türkeş and, through him, the Nationalist Movement with unimaginable attacks.

It is extremely important that Türkeş presented Turkish nationalism as an action-oriented movement in his speech.

Until now, nationalism has been seen as a natural, instinctive impulse and has not been considered as a system for the state order.

For the first time, Türkeş sought to establish a state system by turning nationalism into action. For him, abstract issues took precedence over concrete ones. There was greater excitement within the movement. The role of young people, who always made their presence felt, was significant in this regard.

### **Türkeş's Support for Militant Leaders**

Türkeş was recognised worldwide as the leader of Turkish nationalists. The activities of the Idealist Movement in Turkey resonated throughout the Turkish world, becoming a hope for independence in Central Asia, Crimea, the Volga-Ural region, East Turkistan, Kirkuk, and many other Turkish lands. Leaders waging national struggles, from Elçibey to Mustafa Cemiloğlu, from Cihangir Muhammed to Olcas Süleyman, held Türkeş in high esteem. The late Cehar Dudayev, who led the Chechen liberation struggle, was also his friend.

Türkeş was the leader who provided the greatest material and moral support during the Chechen-Russian war that lasted from 1994 to 1996. There was a great similarity between the youth trained by Türkeş and the Chechen youth who believed in Dudayev's struggle. Both sides possessed a structure that did not shy away from danger... Both sides were idealistic and both sides were also reckless... Sometimes they marched forward despite seeing the danger and death.

The leader of the Azerbaijani Turks, Ebulföz Elçibey (1938–22 August 2000), recognised Türkeş as the leader of the global Turkic world. We can say that the person who knew Turkey and Türkeş best was Ebulföz Elçibey, the symbolic figure of Azerbaijani independence. Elçibey was also the originator of the famous Grey Wolf salute. In an interview, Türkeş said that he had learned the Grey Wolf salute from the Azerbaijani Turks.

Apart from Dudayev and Elçibey, Türkeş had no friendship with the heads of state of countries that had suffered Russian occupation. The reason for this was that Dudayev and Elçibey had long held the idea of independence and fought for it. Both Chechnya and Azerbaijan were forced to fight against the Russians. The other Turkish heads of state, however, were at the helm of their countries under the former Soviet regime. When the Soviet Union collapsed, they suddenly found themselves independent. Consequently, they do not have idealised characters. They have not come to the fore with their militant identities. They have simply taken advantage of the situation.

Mustafa Cemiloğlu is the long-suffering leader of the Crimean Turks. He spent 16.5 years of his life in Soviet prisons. Journalist Kemal Çapraz managed to enter Crimea before the Soviet Union collapsed. Cemiloğlu was also fighting for the Crimean Turks to return to their homeland... Cemiloğlu described to Çapraz how he met Türkeş:

"I was in prison. At that time, Soviet newspapers were publishing articles mostly against Alparslan Türkeş. A leader whom the Soviets feared so much must have been a very important person for us. After reading these articles, I became even more curious about Türkeş. I read everything that was published about him. He was a great leader who had dedicated himself to the Turkish world."

Uzbekistan MP, former Director General of Uzbekistan's Radio and Television Agency, and founder of the country's first Turan Association, Cihangir Muhammed, like Cemiloğlu, was aware of the existence of the idealists and communicated with them telepathically. Cihangir Muhammed stated the following:

"In Moscow, writers had a multi-page weekly research publication called *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Newspaper). Each issue contained at least one article against Turkey. We would read it, conclude that the opposite was true, and thus obtain information about Turkey. They published the most articles about the Ülkücüler and Bozkurtlar, portraying the Ülkücüler as the most dangerous organisation in the world because they were 'Turancı'. As the Russians portrayed the Ülkücüler in this way, we understood that they were supporters of Turkish interests and unity. And we felt great sympathy for the Ülkücüler and dreamed of such an organisation in our country." (Cihangir Muhammed, *Şehitler Hıyabanı*, interview: Dr. Arslan Tekin, Istanbul, 1996, p.12).

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There is virtually no difference between the Azerbaijanis and the Turks of Turkey. The Azerbaijani language and the Anatolian Turkish are the closest to each other among the other Turkic communities, after the Gagauz Turks. While an interpreter is required during official meetings with other Turkic communities or during literary-philosophical conversations, we can engage in dialogue with the Azerbaijanis immediately. Azerbaijan also acts as a bridge between us and the Turkic communities of Turkistan (Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kazakh). The part of Azerbaijani Turkish that diverges from Anatolian Turkish is closer to the Turkish languages of other Turkic communities.

Azerbaijan achieved its independence during the collapse of the Soviet Union thanks to the strength of nationalist movements. In other Turkic republics, however, independence was essentially handed to them on a plate, which is why the leaders of those Turkic republics at the time remained as heads of state.

, those who were in power in those Turkic republics during the Soviet era remained as heads of state.

While gaining their independence, Azerbaijanis also had to resist Armenian attacks. However, they had no military or political experience. On the one hand, those who opposed Elçibey, who had come to power, and on the other hand, the Russians, who were working with all their might to cause unrest within the country, using their past experience to avoid losing the initiative, had overwhelmed the Azerbaijanis. The Azerbaijanis' only hope was Turkey. Elçibey was a leader who desired Turkish unity and spent his life pursuing this goal. He had followed Alparslan Türkeş's movements from the very beginning and felt sincere devotion and loyalty towards him. Türkeş also supported Elçibey's rise to power and, in addition, did not withhold either his prayers or material assistance in the struggle against the Armenians and internal enemies.

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Türkeş had analysed the Turkish people very well. He acted in accordance with the identity of the army-nation. His charisma came from a personality that was firm when necessary, extremely gentle when necessary, and kind to those around him, big or small, asking after them and winning their hearts. He would harshly reprimand young idealists when he saw their mistakes, even going so far as to slap those he considered to be sincerely devoted to him. Afterwards, he would always find a way to win back their hearts.

In 1944, İsmet İnönü, the president of the era who would have Türkeş imprisoned, would say the following about him:

"Türkeş is not a random or ordinary man. He embodies the passionate and combative staff officer type that we saw in many of the previous generation."

How was this type achieved? Türkeş emerged from a combination of his character and education. (Arslan Tekin, *Alparslan Türkeş and Leadership*, 2011).

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**NINE LIGHTS**  
**ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ**



## FOREWORD 'S WORDS

The happiness of individuals and societies begins with their being healthy and strong. Being self-sufficient and able to live by one's own strength constitutes the primary condition of human dignity. For this reason, thinking and working are the only paths to advancement for individuals and societies. For this reason, from the moment they reach maturity, people must work to determine their place and goals within society. The advancement of a nation requires, above all else, a spiritual conviction based on love for humanity, a desire to be useful to others, and respect for human existence. Being forced to bow down before other people, events, and the forces of nature, to become a servant, is the most degrading situation for humanity. Thinking of greatness, desiring nobility, is an honourable path that will lead individuals and societies to happiness. The foundation of greatness and nobility is spiritual greatness, the nobility of faith and love, and being knowledgeable with respect for the truth. Knowledge is the light that rescues humanity from darkness. Material wealth, the prosperity of societies, and economic excellence derive their source from spiritual greatness and nobility.

The Nationalist Movement advocates that the Turkish nation should quickly overcome its poverty, backwardness and weakness and develop; it presents greatness, grand thinking, lofty ideals and spiritual elevation as the goal, the solution and the method for the Turkish nation. Years upon years of successive disasters, hardships and troubles have caused dependency in weak spirits. In addition, the cultural and ideological attacks and spiritual invasions of enemy nations have led us, under the guise of so-called "realism" or "rationalism," to despise ourselves, accept our smallness, and consider small-mindedness a virtue. Thinking big, aspiring to grow as a nation, and desiring to achieve greatness have come to be seen as dangerous and harmful. This is the hidden method of neo-colonialism. To exploit

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1 **Neo-colonialism:** It is a new form of colonialism resulting from imperialism that emerged in the 19th century. It is the act of a state, despite its independence, indirectly

to subjugate the nations it wishes to destroy by convincing them of their inferiority and enslaving them. As Turkish nationalists, we are fighting to liberate and protect the Turkish nation from all forms of slavery and captivity.

The solution for the Turkish nation's salvation and rise lies in embracing its own religious beliefs and the ideal of nationalism. For the Turkish nation, salvation and advancement in a short time and by a short route lie in the national Turkish ideology and national Turkish doctrine <sup>(2)</sup>Dokuz Işık. A Turkey that develops rapidly with its own resources, freed from waiting for help from foreigners and seeking refuge in others, will only be possible with the great Turkish doctrine Dokuz Işık.

Our goal is a great, powerful, mighty, prosperous Turkey. At the end of the march of the invincible and unyielding Turkish nationalists, there is salvation, there is victory, there is honour and greatness. I herald to you the days of victory that will dawn on tomorrow's horizons.

## ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ

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exploitation through various methods. According to neo-colonialism, capitalism is a phenomenon that underdevelops the world. National bourgeoisies are being absorbed by foreign capital, and this effectively limits the industrialisation process. Some consider neo-colonialism to be an extension of official colonialism. Others believe that neo-colonialism incorporates the methods employed by monopoly capital to control and limit progress towards industrialisation in underdeveloped countries. Another view is that this new form of colonialism is the control of interests by foreign capital from developed countries through direct intervention after the war, thereby allowing Western capital to first recover from the crisis and then from the war, and to re-establish its global dominance.

- 2 **Doctrine:** (French: Doctrine, Latin: Doctrina = teaching; docere = to teach) Refers to ideas put forward on a specific subject, based on a scientific view, with the same objectives and principles. There are other definitions of doctrine: 1. The entirety of principles and dogmas that form a coherent view with distinctive characteristics. 2. The name given to the entirety of principles that form a coherent view in science. 3. A series of principles based on a particular understanding or thought.

4. The entirety of the principles and dogmas of a branch of philosophy, literature or science, a party, or a religion; a profession. 5. The entirety of the thoughts of a philosopher or scholar.

1. Philosophy: Doctrine: Knowledge; the sum of learned things; the totality of dogmas or knowledge constituting a religious, philosophical or political teaching (e.g. Christian doctrine, Aristotelian doctrine); dogmas and knowledge relating to a specific subject (e.g. the doctrine of the immortality of the soul); the totality of a philosopher's or scholar's beliefs (e.g. Spinoza's doctrine, Copernicus's astronomical doctrines).

2. Doctrine in Politics: The form in which the directives governing the policies of parties, states, and groups of states are set out in a programme.

## OUR GENERAL APPROACH IS LONG AND DIFFICULT

An ideological war is being waged throughout the world. A multitude of doctrines are clashing.

In Turkey, there has recently been an ideological conflict between capitalists <sup>3</sup>and communists <sup>4</sup>.

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- 3 **Capitalism:** A regime with an economic structure that permits limited private enterprise and property ownership, based on the principles of profit, competition and rationality, and generally exhibiting very diverse characteristics..

Capitalism in its current sense has been the scene of many different ideas and practices throughout history. Even within the capitalist system, counter-theses or theories have emerged against the theses put forward, and these have appeared in various forms.

In capitalism, the accumulation of wealth, the desire for unlimited profit and exploitation have existed throughout history. Following the great geographical discoveries in Europe, commercial capitalism began. Commercial capitalism was a period of excessive greed for profit, blind ambition, and expansionism. This situation continued until the mid-18th century and, to some extent, into the second half of the century.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, as a result of the opportunities opened up by the technological revolution, capital shifted its focus from trade to industry, thus ushering in the era of industrial capitalism. Industry, with its mining, textile and other branches, was at the forefront of the most profitable avenues for attracting capital. During this period, state intervention was reduced to a minimum and conditions of free competition were implemented to the greatest extent possible, leading to the slogan "Let them do it! Let them pass!" becoming dominant. Those living on wages and the middle class of tradesmen were crushed by hunger and misery. All power remained in the hands of the capitalists. This form of capitalism in Europe led to the disappearance of the tradesmen and the emergence of a wage-earning class subordinate to the capitalists. Socialists, observing the emergence of two classes—the employer (bourgeoisie) and the worker (proletariat)—as a result of capitalism's implementation, argued that communism would arise when the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie through revolution.

The period from the end of the First World War to the present day constitutes the third phase of capitalism. This period has been characterised by a mixed system. Alongside private enterprise, it has witnessed the entry and intervention of a broad public sector into the economy, pressure from trade unions, the replacement of the gold standard's international mobility and fluid operation with various restrictions and specific regulations, the transfer of corporate management authority from capital owners to the managerial class, and consequently the emergence of a bureaucratic system.

Much has been said and written both for and against capitalism. It has been defended on grounds such as the absence of state capitalism, as is generally the case with communism; the existence of parliamentary-based administrations where capitalism exists; the presence of religious and personal freedoms; the provision of opportunities and groundwork for private enterprise, albeit not always fair; and the recognition of property rights.

The fact that it leads to unequal distribution of wealth and income, that this situation creates an imbalance of power in the economic and political spheres, that it operates within a materialist system of thought, its emergence and development as a minority regime, the continued existence of ruling classes as capital owners, usury, unfairly redistributing income from low-income earners to capital owners, and the dominance of excessive greed for profit and gain.

- 4 **Communism:** A political movement based on the common ownership of all property. It must be distinguished from socialism, which is based solely on the common ownership of the means of production.

We saw them entering the fray. Both of these philosophies are imported goods, both are materialistic, and both are foreign to the Turkish nation. We countered this with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, one hundred per cent national, and spiritual. We called it the "Nine Lights". As you know, the number "nine" <sup>5</sup>has always been considered sacred by the Turks.

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Communism aims to create a classless society. Since the beginning of the 20th century, modern communism, one of the major forces in world politics, is generally associated with the Communist Manifesto written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. According to this, the capitalist society based on private property is replaced by a communist society where commodity production has ceased. The fundamental reason behind communism is the desire to establish a classless society based on common ownership. In classless societies, the most general meaning of equality for all individuals is attributed to "utopia" by those with opposing views, who believe that attempting to enforce it by force will lead to chaos. The Paris Commune was the first community to experience the communist system. Apart from this, communist communities based on the principle of collective land ownership were also established during the Ukrainian and Spanish civil wars, shaped by the anarcho-communist movement led by the Mahnovist movement, which lasted for about four years.

Among the movements advocating communism, the most widespread is Leninism (Marxism-Leninism). According to Marxism-Leninism, the process leading to communism will begin with the establishment of a proletarian regime that will bring about the demise of the bourgeoisie, followed by a transition to the preparatory stage of communism, socialism. In Marxist theory, the state will cease to exist with the realisation of communism, the final stage.

There are two other communist movements besides Leninism. The first is the movement known as left communism or council communism, which embraces the fundamental views of Marxism but claims that the goal of communism cannot be achieved through the Leninist model.

Another communist movement is anarchist communism. Distinct from the individualist and collectivist movements of anarchism, the idea of anarchist communism rejects the notion that communism can be achieved by seizing state power and criticises Marxism, which advocates this. Peter Kropotkin, Nestor Makhno, Errico Malatesta, and Carlo Cafiero are some of the thinkers and activists who laid the foundations of anarchist communism. Anarchist communism differs from anarchism in that it is based on acting and organising according to the reality of "class". Its advocates agree that communism can be achieved without scientific socialism. Anarchist communism considers the state to be a cover for capitalism and therefore believes that its use in the process of moving towards a classless society will result in "dictatorship", "state capitalism" or "the power of a so-called elite over society".

Communism is a regime that runs counter to human nature and serves as a tool of imperialism. The only communist regime effectively implemented in the world is the North Korean dictatorship. It was implemented in Russia for 70 years, costing millions of lives and trampling on human rights.

- 5 **The Number Nine Among the Turks:** Among the ancient Turks, nine was a sacred and important number. The Turkish khans had nine banners. In the Manas Epic, as identified by Radloff, when Manas' burial is described, it is recounted that his body was kept for nine days, and his embroidered garments were divided into nine pieces and distributed among the people. The tradition of measuring gifts by the number nine, also seen among the Ottoman Turks, dates back to ancient times. Similarly, Marco Polo states in his book *The Book of Marco Polo* that gifts given to the great Khan had to be presented in ninefold. The nine-fold *çargap* mentioned in the *Book of Dede Korkut* is also the greatest of gifts. Again in the *Book of Dede Korkut*, Deli Dumrul

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When he was born, his father killed nine bulls; his mother carried him in her womb for nine months; At the feasts of the Oğuz chiefs, they serve them nine black-eyed infidel girls (in cups, glasses), nine tables are set up, the Oğuz warrior boasts that he will count nine of the enemy as one, and among the four types of women, the worst is the one who eats nine porridges before even washing her hands in the morning.

The word "nine" in Old Turkic is tokuz. The word nine appears in the names of some of the old Turkic tribes. Examples include Tokuz Oğuz (Nine Oğuz), Tokuz Ogur (Nine Ogur), Tokuz Tatar (Nine Tatar).

In Altai shamanism, the number nine holds an important place. For example, Altai shamans always carry the symbols of nine arrows (Yebe) and a bow (Ya) on their shoulders. According to them, these nine arrows and the bow are things extended from Kудay, that is, from God. According to the Altai Turks, there are nine joints in the human skeleton: the palm, foot bone, head, waist, elbow, knee, wrist, shoulder and heel. Among the Altai Turks, the shaman (kam) ascends to the sky to offer sacrifices to Ülgen (God). This journey takes three days. When the sacrifice reaches the ninth level of the sky, it is offered to Ülgen. There are nine levels in the underworld and nine in the sky; humans live on the earth between them. In Altai shamanism, while Ülgen has nine daughters and nine sons, Erlik Khan (a type of devil), the symbol of evil, also has nine daughters and nine sons. Again, among the Altai Turks, the spring festival called Örüs Sara is celebrated on the ninth of March. Örüs Sara means the festival of taking the herds out to graze. The ceremonies of the Altai people's Sky God Sacrifice and Mountain Sacrifice festivals last nine days; nine innocent girls and nine innocent boys also participate in the spring ritual. The coat worn by shamans, called Manyak, has a total of nine bells, four on the right sleeve and five on the left. According to the Altay Turks' depiction of the apocalypse, there is a nine-pronged black stone at the bottom of the sea which, at the time of the apocalypse, will open in nine places, and nine horsemen riding iron and dark yellow horses will attack the surroundings.

In the Creation Epic of the Altai Turks, when God created the universe, he also created a nine-branched tree. Then God created one person from each of the nine roots and from each person a tribe sprang forth (a total of nine people, nine tribes). Anohin, while providing information about two great monsters named Abra and Yutpa, who live underground and feature in the beliefs of the Altai Turks, says: "A depiction of Abra, made of green fabric and decorated with embroidery, is hung on the shaman's robe. Abra's head is adorned with owl feathers (ülberk). His eyes are made of shiny brass buttons, and his feet are usually made of patches selected from red fabrics. Nine woven tassels are added to these."

The sacred tree (sky tree) of the Altai Turks also has nine branches.

In an epic told by the Minusinsk Tatars living in Southern Siberia, there is a black tree in front of Irle Khan's house. Nine trees rise from the roots of this tree. In a South Siberian fairy tale, evil spirits from underground strike the child, the hero of the tale, with nine chains and imprison him. North Asian fairy tales mention horses with golden manes, silver stirrups, nine-braided tails, and nine-pronged hooves. In the Yakut Turks' Er Sogotoh Epic, the sky has nine layers; again in this epic, Kara Khan has nine daughters. Furthermore, there are nine sky spirits.

As mentioned above, the Turkish khans had nine banners. In the Göktürk era, when a person became khan, he was placed on a shield (or a felt pad) and lifted up to the sky, where he was turned around nine times. Furthermore, the Göktürk Monuments mention a place called Tokuz Ersin (Dokuz Ersin). The name of the wife and closest advisor of the Ilkhanid ruler Hulagu, who was a Christian, was also Dokuz Hatun.



It is a figure. We paid attention to this when we set out our principles and established a wholly national doctrine. In this war of ideas and tactics being waged throughout the world, we could only prevail with an idea that was suited to our own national character, higher and more advanced than the others. The Nine Lights is beyond these materialistic ideas. The world's greatest weapon is the idea. No move without an idea can succeed. I am giving you this weapon. Try to understand the Nine Lights doctrine. Walk towards the great goal as an iron ring around it.

I am not promising you easy success. Those who hope for power in a short time should not join us. Our path is long and arduous. On this path, you will encounter offers of personal gain, threats, and a multitude of obstacles. Only those who can endure this arduous path should come with us. The brave, the strong, and those who truly believe should join our caravan.

We have taken up this cause and are marching towards our goal. I thank those who have given me this honour. We are marching without compromising our convictions, without straying. We are running towards our goal faster than ever, without faltering. We have not succumbed to temporary fortunes or interests. Those who believe are invincible. We are moving forward with this spirit and awareness. Look to the future with faith and confidence. Never doubt that the goal will be achieved.

*Those who run will surely arrive, those  
who fall will rise. Water drips drop by  
drop from black stone. It accumulates,  
then becomes a silver lake. Those who  
seek will find the Truth in the end.*

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The number nine also appears frequently in Turkish epics: nine trees, nine tribes, a nine-branched tree, nine giants, nine heavens, Nine Oguz, and so on. According to one legend, the Turks emerged from Ergenekon on the ninth of March, while another legend states it was on the twenty-first of March (the day Nowruz is celebrated). It is likely that the ninth of March marks the day the emergence from Ergenekon began, and the twenty-first of March marks the day it was completed.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NINE LIGHTS

In order to protect the last independent Turkish state, we must unite around a national vision. This vision is the Nine Lights doctrine. Nine Lights is a doctrine based on the Turkish nation, its history and culture, and belief in it. It has no connection whatsoever with National Socialism<sup>6</sup>.

6 **National Socialism:** (German: Nationalsozialismus) Combines nationalism with socialism and is based on race.

It emerged simultaneously with the fascist movement established under the leadership of Benito Mussolini in Italy. National Socialism, which originated in Germany and whose fundamental principles were laid down by Adolf Hitler, was implemented as Germany's official ideology during the period from 30 January 1933, when the National Socialist German Workers' Party came to power, until 8 May 1945, when Germany surrendered in the Second World War.

The doctrine of national socialism was first proclaimed in May 1898 by the French theorist Maurice Barrès. Barrès, who defined the fundamental doctrines of socialist nationalism, described socialism, which was spreading from Russia to the whole world at the time, as a poison. He explained that socialism was a "liberal poison", but that national socialism was a means of achieving collective nationalism. According to Barrès, workers should fight not against employers from their own nation, but against foreign employers and Jewish capital. Barrès' ideas inspired Adolf Hitler and contributed to the formation of the National Socialist ideology. Unlike socialism, the National Socialist German Workers' Party, led by Adolf Hitler, who imposed a direct "collective working nationalism system," began to announce Barrès' ideas, adapted to their own ideology, at numerous meetings. Adolf Hitler, while conveying the ideologies of Barrès, the originator of a "nationalist and socialist" doctrine, to the public, argued that German workers should fight not against the domestic employer class, as was traditionally the case, but directly against foreign powers outside the country. Hitler, who said that the German working class should fight against foreign capital of "Jewish" origin rather than employers from their own nation, pointed to Jews as the cause of all economic and socio-cultural problems. National Socialism, which overlapped with fascism, applied socialist attitudes only in the state's economic policies. From 1920, when German National Socialists began their political activities, National Socialism was referred to as Nazism (German: Nazismus) by German social democrats and communists in order to belittle the National Socialists.

The fundamental tenets of National Socialism (Nazism):

- 1- It believes in the superiority of the white race.
- 2- It believes that in order for a person to be considered Turkish, German, French, etc., they must first be of the white race.

The rapid development of our Turkey is possible by leaping over the ages and bringing the Turkish nation into the atomic and space age. This depends, above all, on creating a cadre of world-class scientists and highly skilled technicians.

According to our belief, Turkey cannot be developed by imitating foreign doctrines and administrative systems created under the conditions of foreign countries. Neither capitalism and liberalism<sup>7</sup> nor communism can be beneficial for Turkey. The system and view that will develop Turkey must be a national view that is appropriate to the characteristics of the Turkish nation, takes into account the reality of the Muslim Turkish nation, and accepts modern science and technology as a guide. This

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3- National Socialism is an ideology that aims for the welfare of the whole society without class distinctions. For this reason, National Socialists are as opposed to capitalism and extreme liberalism as they are to communism. National Socialism (Nazism) is completely different from the Turkish understanding of "nationalism".

- 7 **Liberalism:** It is an economic and political doctrine that advocates the recognition of the individual's freedom of belief, conscience and thought. In both economic and political philosophy, the rights and freedoms of the individual are emphasised in the relationships between the state, the individual and society. The word liberal is derived from the Latin word *liber*, meaning 'free'. The word was initially used in a derogatory and accusatory sense to describe non-national policies originating in England. In later years, the Spanish began to use the adjective "liberal" to describe policies originating in England and called members of parliament who defended Lockean constitutional monarchy and parliamentary principles "liberales". According to another view, Adam Smith was the first writer to use the concept of liberalism with the expression "liberal export and import system" in *The Wealth of Nations*.

This system, which argues that state intervention in the economy should be kept to a minimum, asserts that the ideal situation is for the state to refrain from interfering in any way in the economic relations between classes, individuals and states.

Liberalism argues that state authority should be restricted in every area and in every sense, and that those who hold this authority should not interfere in any way in how individuals direct their lives, citing any justification whatsoever.

Liberalism has been criticised by both 'leftists' and 'rightists'. The most fundamental criticism of liberalism from the 'right' is that it disregards the need for social structures and constraints in increasing individual freedom and is insensitive to established institutions and traditions. The 'left' criticises it for being a 'free market ideology' that offers no defence against the concentration of power in the hands of a few and lacks any analysis of human social and political nature.

The idea of liberalism was championed by thinkers such as Descartes, Milton and Spinoza in the early days of modern Europe (in the 17th century). The term itself takes its name from the political party called 'Liberales' founded in Spain in the early 19th century.

In short, its formula is the rational integration of Turkish labour potential into national production factors, the state taking all measures and providing facilities by opening up production channels to citizens, and playing its essential role in increasing national income.

We are a group that claims to possess such a national doctrine. The name of our national doctrine is the "Nine Lights Doctrine". This doctrine is based on nine fundamental principles. These principles are as follows:

### **Nationalism**

Loyalty, love and devotion to the Turkish nation, and service to the Turkish state, which can be summarised as "everything for the Turkish nation, with the Turkish nation and according to the Turkish nation".

### **Idealism**

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

### **Moralism**

It is based on principles that aim to preserve and develop the high status of the Turkish nation in accordance with its spirit, customs and traditions.

### **Intellectualism**

The principle is to examine events and existence with a scientific mindset, free from prejudice and ulterior motives, and to make science the guiding principle in all activities undertaken.

### **Socialism**

It is the view that all activities should be carried out for the benefit of society. It encompasses two separate sections: social and economic. As an economic view, it accepts ownership as fundamental but opposes the misuse of ownership to the detriment of the nation. It envisages a mixed economy and the state control of key strategic economic activities. As a social perspective, it advocates the establishment of a social justice system, equal opportunities

equality, social security, and the establishment of a social welfare organisation.

## Ruralism

It envisages development by merging villages into agricultural towns. It aims to liberate villagers from the clutches of moneylenders and to provide them with the credit and other assistance they need through cooperatives. It particularly aims to bring prosperity to villagers living in forest regions as a matter of priority and with speed.

## Liberalism and Individualism

It aims to secure all the freedoms enshrined in the United Nations Charter<sup>8</sup>. It considers the development of individuals as a useful path for the advancement of society.

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8 United Nations Charter: It came into force on 26 June 1945 as a result of the United Nations Conference on International Organisation. Part I of the United Nations Charter lists the 'Purposes and Principles':

Article 1:

The purposes of the United Nations are as follows:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to this end: to prevent and remove threats to peace, suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and take effective collective measures for the purpose of maintaining peace and security; to settle international disputes or situations likely to lead to a breach of the peace by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of justice and international law;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen world peace;
3. To promote international cooperation in resolving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature and in developing and strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and
4. To serve as a focal point for the coordinated action of nations in achieving these objectives.

Article 2:

1. The United Nations Organisation and its Members shall act in accordance with the following principles in order to achieve the purposes set out in Article 1:
2. The Organisation is founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. All Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under this Charter to ensure that all Members enjoy the rights and benefits arising from their membership.

## Progressivism and Populism

People and civilisations always develop by seeking and striving for what is better, more beautiful, and more perfect. It is a conscious effort not to be satisfied with what has been achieved, but to always strive for more and to exert effort to attain it. However, the goal is to rise and progress without severing ties with the history, national identity, and roots of the Turkish nation in these efforts and endeavours. We accept that being true to the people and working together with them in every undertaking is an indispensable principle of progress and advancement.

## Industrialism and Technicism

The Turkish nation must industrialise rapidly in order to develop. These are the principles of our Nine Lights doctrine in a nutshell.

Just as **Nine Lights** rejects capitalism and Marxist socialism<sup>9</sup>, it also rejects national socialism and fascism<sup>10</sup>. National socialism and

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3. All members shall resolve their international disputes through peaceful means in a manner that does not jeopardise international peace, security, and justice.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall render every assistance to the Organisation in the execution of any action taken by it in accordance with this Charter, and shall refrain from aiding any State against which the United Nations has taken preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organisation shall ensure that non-member states of the United Nations also act in accordance with these principles to the extent required for the maintenance of international peace and security.

9 Marxist socialism: In Marxist theory, socialism refers to a society that will replace capitalism and then, as the socialist structure will naturally wither away, transform into communism. Marxism is the theoretical and philosophical basis of communism, which is the social system that will develop as the continuation of socialism.

The term was first used in England in 1827 to describe the followers of Robert Owen. In France, it was used in 1832 in *l'Encyclopédie nouvelle* for the followers of the ideas of Saint-Simon, then Pierre Leroux and J. Regnaud.

In Turkey, nationalists rejected Marxism, and consequently socialism and communism, as ideologies with "foreign roots." Furthermore, before the regimes in communist countries changed, they held the view that socialism and communism were being used as tools of imperialism. Because socialism presented a softer image than communism, communists in Turkey introduced themselves as socialists.

10 Fascism: Initially, it was a term used to describe the nationalist, authoritarian and populist regime established in Italy. In a broader sense, it emerged particularly between the two world wars.

Fascism is a degenerate deviation of capitalism, representing reactionary dictatorships that do not believe in human rights and freedoms. Dokuz Işık, on the other hand, is a democratic ideology based on love and respect for humanity, seeking to realise individual and economic freedoms as a whole. We do not believe in deified fascist statism or idolised Nazi racism. It is not part of our political ethics to be fascist during one period of one's political career, capitalist during another, and socialist during yet another, as fossilised celebrities have done. We are Dokuz Işıklılar who love the Turks and the Turkish homeland. Our aim is to outline and defend the national vision that will ensure the eternal independence of the great Turkish nation on this sacred homeland.

Nationalism, which is at the forefront of the **Nine Lights** principles, is a broader concept than the principle of collectivism found among the other principles. Collectivism is also included within the concept of nationalism. However, in order to clearly express our views on economic and social development, it has been deemed useful to express our thoughts under a separate principle of collectivism. By collectivism, we mean to indicate that the existence of the nation and the interests of society are above those of individuals. At this point, let us reiterate that while National Socialism possesses capitalism, laboratory (anthropological) racism<sup>(11)</sup> and an anti-democratic political spirit, **Dokuz Işıklık** possesses Turkish communitarianism, **which** is socio-psychological.

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All political movements with an ultra-nationalist, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist and anti-communist ideology and an authoritarian political structure are defined by the term "fascist".

Later, capitalists and especially communists defined all authoritarian regimes and those who were not like them as "fascist".

Fascism emerged in Italy with the founding of the National Fascist Party by Benito Mussolini. It gained strength with movements such as National Socialism, which developed in Germany in the early 20th century, and Falangism in Spain, which were modelled on Mussolini's system.

Fascists aim to unify their own people through a totalitarian state that encourages mass mobilisation of the national community. Fascist movements, which oppose liberal democracy, socialism and communism, share common characteristics such as respect for the state, allegiance to a strong leader, and an emphasis on extreme nationalism and militarism. After Italian leader Mussolini, who embraced fascism as a worldview, came to power in Italy in 1922, it was implemented as the official ideology during Mussolini's rule.

- 11 Anthropology: It is the science of humanity. Anthropologists study all societies, cultures, human remains, and their physical and biological structures. Anthropology, which studies the physical structure of humans, such as the skeleton and skull, helps shed light on the earliest periods of human history. Eric Wolf defined anthropology as "the most scientific of the human sciences, and the most human of the sciences".

We believe in (spiritual) tribalism and true democracy. We do not believe in paths to power that do not pass through the hearts and minds, preferences and votes of the Turkish nation. Even after coming to power, we believe in and defend the true functioning of democratic processes. Those who constantly fear Turkish nationalism, internationalists who have never embraced the Turks, have always opposed every nationalist view. We must never forget this, not even for a moment.

Today, not only the destiny of the Turkish nation but that of all humanity is being shaped on the Anatolian plateau. In this regard, nationalism in Turkey, with its deep-rooted moral developments, must be supported both internally and externally. The Turkish nation, which has established sixteen great empires and offers humanity an exemplary morality, possessing superior spiritual values and a rich country with few equals in the world, cannot remain economically backward. To date, no government has identified and addressed this error. The spirit of revolutions has always been confined to the constitution, bound by formality, without delving into substance. The concept of democracy has remained abstract. Democracy is an expression of love for human existence and respect for human will. Imitation and plagiarism have damaged our national character; instead of bringing science and technology from the outside world to our society, Turkish intellectuals have brought the false and rotten beliefs and habits of the West.

Because the spirit of the National Forces, which saved the country, the state and the life of the nation from great calamities, was not transferred from the battlefield to the fields, from the fields to the laboratories and to the areas of balanced economic development, the nation missed a great opportunity and lost a great deal of time.

Turkey must today mobilise all its resources, primarily its human capital and workforce, within a framework of science, morality and justice. This movement must not be based on anxiety and fear of existence or non-existence, but must spring from the determination and resolve to become a great nation. The Turkish nation will undoubtedly achieve this goal and once again fulfil its historical and spiritual duty to call humanity to goodness, prevent evil and command righteousness. History is replete with evidence of this.

We must make these great strides for the rise of the Turkish nation. We know how many great difficulties and dangers we face in serving the nation; but these difficulties increase our determination and fighting spirit tenfold. We are confident that we will succeed.



## **RIGHT BELONGS NOT TO THE POWERFUL, BUT TO THE RIGHTEOUS.**

Human communities have always lived in nations, in separate states. Today, there are many states in the world, and within their administrations, different nations live, differing from one another in terms of social and physical structure, and in terms of history. The harmony of humanity and the civilisations it has created throughout history, the competitions between separate nations influencing each other, giving each other many new ideas and new perspectives, and the exchange of ideas in both the cultural and scientific fields, have resulted in the emergence of various advanced civilisations in human history.

The competitions and struggles undertaken by different nations, drawing strength from their own characteristics, have also caused leaps in human history. They have also led to the dawn of new eras in the history of human civilisation and the emergence of new developments.

Despite many different claims, the reality in the world has remained unchanged. Today, the policies and attitudes adopted by nations and states that have emerged under the banner of internationalism, each with their own distinct regimes, have effectively disproved their own claims. The clearest examples of this can be seen in the relations and attitudes of communist countries towards each other. For example, the disagreement that initially broke out between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and later the disagreement that arose between China and Russia, the two great powers of the communist world, have brought this view to the fore. Despite all these states having adopted Marxist philosophy and claiming to establish a communist regime, despite declaring that they were based on internationalism, despite advancing claims of world proletarian cooperation, they fell into such bloody and bitter disagreement with each other.

Today, it is common knowledge that along the border between the Soviet Union <sup>12</sup>and Communist China, both sides have amassed armies numbering in the millions against each other. Both states are preparing for war against each other, and no one would be surprised if this behaviour one day leads to war. So what is the reason for the disagreement between these nations, these states, which deny nationalism and promote internationalism, promote world proletarian cooperation, have embraced Marxism, and live under the same regime?

This factor has remained unchanged since the dawn of time. That factor is the reality that nations seek to secure their own national interests. The Russian people established a vast empire stretching from the Pacific Ocean to the heart of Europe. Within this empire, many non-Russian peoples exist as slave societies. The eastern and south-eastern parts of this empire are the territories of the former Chinese state. Communist China wants these territories from the Soviets. Since both are communist, since they live under a brotherly regime, and since Mao's Communist China is the former Tsarist Russia's former China

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- 12 Soviet Union: Known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In Russian: Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (SSSR). It was established on the same territory after the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 and continued to exist until 1991. Spanning across Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, the USSR was the world's largest country in its final years, with an area of 22,403,000 km<sup>2</sup>. It also ranked third in terms of population, with 293,047,571 people (June 1991). Following six years of reforms that began in 1985 during Gorbachev's rule with Glasnost and Perestroika, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics officially dissolved at the end of 1991, and some of the countries belonging to the union declared their independence. Twelve of the fifteen now independent states that formed the Union came together to establish the Commonwealth of Independent States ( ). The now independent Turkic states of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were part of the USSR. Nationalists strongly criticised the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union because they considered the peoples living in these countries to be "esik Turks".
- 13 Mao Zedong (26 December 1893 – 9 September 1976). Founder of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the People's Republic of China. He was born in Hunan province, China. From 1943 onwards, he was Chairman of the CPC Politburo, and from 1945 onwards, he was Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. He was the son of a wealthy peasant family. At the age of 27, in July 1921, he attended the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai. Two years later, at the third congress, he was elected to the Central Committee. During the first Kuomintang-CCP united front, he became the director of the Kuomintang's Peasant Education Institute.
- Mao was the organiser and planner of the guerrilla war in China.

He demanded the return of the Chinese territories he had seized by force from the Empire. This demand was rejected by the Soviet Union, and this is the main cause of the tension and disagreement that arose between the two sides. In other words, it is a conflict of national interests. China demanded the return of territories such as Manchuria <sup>(14)</sup> and Mongolia <sup>(15)</sup>, which had been occupied and seized by Tsarist Russian armies as a result of colonial policy during the Tsarist era.

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In 1927, he went to the Jinggang Mountains in Southeast China with his close friends. Here, between 1931 and 1934, he established the Chinese Soviet Republic in a liberated zone and was elected its president. Although he suffered defeat in the leadership struggle within the CPC, he later rose to prominence again.

During Chiang Kai-shek's campaign to eliminate the communists, CCP members began to retreat and walked 9,600 km from southeastern China to the northwest during a retreat known as the "Long March". During this march, Mao's leadership became indisputable. On 10 December 1949, the Chinese Communist Party forces completely defeated the government forces. Chiang Kai-shek also fled to Taiwan on the same day. With Mao's declaration in Tiananmen Square in Beijing on 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China was established.

Mao remained a dictator until his death and ruled his country ruthlessly. Under the name of the Cultural Revolution, he set about destroying his country's cultural values. With the Cultural Revolution that began in 1966, the party hierarchy was disregarded and power was handed directly to the Red Guards.

Mao announced the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1969. During the Cultural Revolution, a large number of scientists and intellectuals were purged.

After Mao's death on 9 September 1976, a power struggle began in China. One faction, later known as the "Gang of Four" and which included Mao's wife, wanted to continue the policy of revolutionary mass mobilisation. Another group, led by Hua Guofeng, advocated centralised planning based on the Soviet model. Deng Xiaoping, the leader of the reformists, advocated building the Chinese economy on a pragmatic policy basis and rejected the decisive importance of ideology in economic and political developments. Ultimately, Deng Xiaoping won the power struggle and China partially opened up.

- 14 **Manchuria:** A historical region in East Asia covering the northeastern part of the present-day People's Republic of China and the Primorsky Krai of the Russian Federation. It is bordered by Inner Mongolia to the west, China to the south, Eastern Siberia to the north, and Korea to the southeast. It lies north of the Amur River and south of the Yellow Sea. Its most important part is Southern Manchuria. Southern Manchuria is covered with vast steppes. Manchuria takes its name from the Manchus, the indigenous people of the region.
- 15 **Mongolia:** It is located in the east of Central Asia. It has no coastline. Russia lies to the north, and the People's Republic of China lies to the south, east and west. Although Mongolia does not share a border with Kazakhstan, the westernmost point of the country is only a few kilometres from the eastern edge of Kazakhstan. Its capital is Ulaanbaatar. The country's political system is a parliamentary republic.  
The territory of present-day Mongolia was ruled in the past by empires such as the Huns, the Xianbei, the Rouran, and later the Göktürks. The Mongol Empire was founded in 1206 by Genghis Khan. In the late 17th century, Mongolia's great

is demanding their return. Despite claiming to oppose the Tsarist regime and reject Tsarist Russian policy, Communist Russia is resisting China's demands, asserting that these territories belong to it. To protect its territory, it has deployed over a million Russian soldiers and Russian missiles with nuclear warheads along the Chinese border. Communist China, likewise, has amassed over a million Chinese soldiers and Chinese weapons along the Russian border to protect its own territory and defend itself against any attack. These facts clearly bring to life before our eyes the reality of the world we mentioned at the outset.

What is that reality? In that reality, people on Earth live in national communities, and there is constant competition and constant struggle between nations. The basis of this struggle, this competition, is the national interests of each nation. Every nation strives to advance its own people, to elevate them, to raise them to the highest level in morality and spirituality, and to make them the most prosperous society in the world in terms of economy and welfare. It pursues this endeavour even if it is to the detriment of other nations, even if it is at the expense of other nations. It is impossible for nations to live expecting favours from each other, hoping for mercy and compassion from each other. Like individuals, nations must rely on their own strength and their own efforts. A nation's ability to protect its interests and ensure its people live in prosperity, peace and security depends, above all, on its own efforts and strength. The principle and law that has prevailed in the world since ancient times continues to prevail today. This principle, this law, is the law of "might makes right" in relations between nations. If the righteous party does not have the strength, it is impossible for them to obtain their rights or have their rights respected.

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Part of it came under the rule of the Qing Dynasty. In 1911, during the fall of the Qing Dynasty, Mongolia declared its independence. However, it had to struggle to gain de facto recognition of its independence until 1921 and international recognition until 1945. Constantly threatened by powerful Russian and Soviet forces, Mongolia proclaimed the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 and became subject to Soviet policy during the same period. After the collapse of the Communist regime in Russia, a multi-party system began in Mongolia in 1990.

Mongolia has an area of 1,564,116 square kilometres and a population of around 2.9 million, the majority of whom are Mongols. The religion of the people is Tibetan Buddhism. Apart from the Mongols, Kazakhs and Tuva Turks also live mainly in the west of the country.

It was not possible in ancient times. It is not possible in today's world either.

Although people have taken many significant steps to ensure that rights and justice prevail in international relations, in relations between individuals and states, or within their own states. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been proclaimed and the United Nations Organisation has been established. The United Nations strives to guarantee human rights. However, despite all these advances, the principle that "might makes right" still prevails in the world. We can see vivid and painful examples of this in events that have taken place in the last three to five years, without having to look very far. One such example is the war that broke out between Pakistan and India a few years ago <sup>(16)</sup>. While it was possible to resolve the disputes between these two states through negotiation and peaceful means, and while this approach was necessary, India relied on its own strength and used its superior armed forces against Pakistan. Pakistan sought help from the United Nations to protect itself, its territory and its rights. It appealed to the United Nations, to other friendly countries, to states with which it had agreements, but received no help from any quarter.

And the United Nations has been unable to prevent Pakistan from being attacked by India. Another example is the wars between Israel and the Arabs. We could give many more examples. There are other wars taking place in other countries. All of these are realities that remain unchanged in the world today, despite the establishment of the United Nations Organisation and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: that rights can only be defended by force, and that the protection of our rights is only possible if we have that force. Having established this fact, I believe it is useful to examine the situation in our country, Turkey.

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16 **Pakistan-India wars:** Since the partition of India and the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, these two countries have fought four wars against each other in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999, and have experienced countless border clashes. With the exception of the 1971 India-Pakistan War, the main source of all wars and conflicts between India and Pakistan, whether direct or indirect, has been the Kashmir issue. The war mentioned in the book is the 1971 Pakistan-India War.

I have stated that the unchanging, immutable truth in relations between nations around the world is the principle that "might is right." Throughout history, the Turkish nation, both as individuals and as a society, has always prioritised justice and fairness. Today, as the Turkish nation, we oppose the view that might is right and that justice should be subject to force. As the Turkish nation, we are people who always believe that justice, rights and the law should be above all else. When our great Atatürk began the War of Independence, he used the words, "Of course there is justice in this world, and justice is above force; it must be above force," in opposition to the principle that "might is right." Our constant adherence to justice as a nation, our stance in favour of justice, and our desire for justice and law to prevail over force; our desire for force to be subject to justice and law, and our belief that this is right, is not enough to change the reality of the world. Our good intentions and correct views are not enough to change this crude, ugly reality that has prevailed for thousands of years and continues to prevail today. Although Atatürk said, "There is justice in this world, and justice is above force; it must be above force," he was forced to create and use force to secure the rights of the oppressed Turkish nation. He could not make anyone accept the rights of the Turkish nation unless he crushed the enemy armed forces with the Turkish Armed Forces he had reorganised and established with the national forces he had formed.

With these words, I also wish to express that we, as a nation, oppose the view that our youth and intellectuals should recognise nothing but power and worship it. Above all, we desire a social order that respects rights and justice, where rights and the rule of law prevail, and we also desire the establishment of a world order where rights, the rule of law, and justice reign unshadowed. We want a system to be established that will treat all nations and all people only on the basis of rights, law and justice, and that will manage relations according to this principle. We wish for such a system to come about. However, our good intentions and wishes are not enough to change the principle of "might makes right" that prevails in the world today. Changing this is only possible if we, as a nation, become stronger and more developed; if we become a powerful entity that can make its voice heard wherever and whenever necessary.

## A LOOK AT TURKISH HISTORY

The Turkish nation is one of the oldest nations in the world, and our nation's history is one of great civilisations, marked by many glorious events. Since its appearance on the stage of history, our nation has distinguished itself through its organisational skills, diligence, and inexhaustible energy and dynamism. We can examine the history of our nation in two parts. The first part is our history before we accepted Islam and converted to Islam, which is a period that took place entirely in Central Asia. This period saw the Turks spread to every corner of Asia, excluding the westernmost parts of India and the western regions, establishing great states through great struggles and creating great civilisations <sup>(17)</sup>. The period after Islam saw the Turks spread westward and

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- 17 **Turks in India:** In India, the Kushans, who originated from Turkestan, were influential between the 1st and 6th centuries. During this period, statues depict Turkish cavalymen wearing traditional clothing, and coins bear titles such as Kucula, which means "beautiful" in Turkish. The Turkish name Manas was also given to a tributary of the Brahmaputra River during this period. Later, the Akhun period began. The Akhun, moving from the city of Ghazni, organised raids towards the Punjab region, which was more fertile and received more rainfall than Central Asia. Under the leadership of Toraman and later Mihrakula (515-550), they completely conquered Northern India. In 557, following the alliance between the Western Göktürks and the Sassanids, the Akhun dynasty lost power in Afghanistan and entered a period of decline in India as well. They were eliminated by Indian rulers at the beginning of the 7th century. However, a group of Turkic Shahis maintained their presence in Ohint, on the Afghanistan-India border, until 870. Later, they played an important role in the Indian campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazni. They laid the foundations for Turkish rule in India and also led to the emergence of modern-day Pakistan.
- In the 10th-11th centuries, a new era of the Turks began in India. Sebük Tigin, who settled in the Ghazni region of Afghanistan, conquered north-western India. Later, Mahmud of Ghazni accelerated his conquests, spreading Turkish power throughout India with more than 15 campaigns. The Ghaznavids lost their dominance in India after being defeated by the Seljuks in 1040, maintaining control only in the Punjab region until the late 12th century. After the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids ruled over Afghanistan and India. The first Turkish sultanate in Delhi was established by Aybeg. (North-West India 1206 -1210).

This was the period when they made their presence felt in Western Asia, and later in Europe and Africa.

After embracing Islam, the Turks continued their activities in Asia and produced many works. They also established numerous states and spread throughout Asia. During this time, they entered India, where they created civilisational works that were the product of the Turkish nation and established long-lasting states. However, the greatest states in Turkish history and the most magnificent civilisations they created emerged in the West. These are the Seljuk Empire and the Ottoman Empire, which followed the Seljuk Empire.

The Ottoman Empire emerged as one of the world's greatest empires. Spanning three continents, it added a new great civilisation to human history with its works that still dazzle the eyes today. The Turkish nation spread from the easternmost shores of Asia to the heart of Europe, from the glaciers of northern Siberia to the Indian Ocean and the China Sea on one side, and to the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Great Sahara in the centre of Africa on the other. On the other hand, it reached the Atlantic Ocean in the west and Africa. This presence, which extends to Vienna and Poland in Europe and to the Russian plains in Russia, undeniably demonstrates the great energy, civilisational capacity, and organisational skills possessed by the Turkish nation. At times, our nation has not only been subjected to the malice and slander of foreigners or our enemies; but has also encountered the completely inaccurate accusations and assessments of many unwitting Turkish intellectuals who have fallen prey to deliberately conducted propaganda or to foreign cultures introduced into Turkey with the aim of invading it. From time to time, these states and empires established by our nation have been accused of meaning nothing and of leaving a bloody mark on history by brandishing swords and spilling blood.

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After this, the Kipchak Turks established the following dynasties: the Shamsids (1211–66), the Balabanids (1266–1290), the Qalajids (1290–1320), and the Tughluqs (1320–1414). In 1398, Delhi fell into the hands of Timur. After Timur returned to Turkestan in 1399, Mahmud Shah regained power and ruled until 1413. After the Tughluqs, the Muslim-origin Sayyids (1414–1451), Lodis (1451–1489), and Suris/Afghans (1540–1555) came to power in Delhi. In 1526, a new era began in India. Under Babur's leadership, the Turks regained power in Delhi. This dynasty remained in power in North India until 1858.



Behaviours have been observed that go so far as to suggest that these actions were meaningless beyond mere abandonment.

These are views and words that never correspond to reason, science, or reality. No society lacking in science and morality, lacking in faith and ideals, lacking in organisational power, can establish a state, let alone create great civilisations and build great empires. The states and empires established by the Turkish nation are all works based on careful calculations, deep knowledge and science, and brought about by the Turks' great organisational ability, high morality and character, faith and idealism.

Even in this day and age, no state can be established or sustained solely by military force or bloodshed. States are the highest achievements and institutions created by human communities. The establishment of these institutions is only possible if those communities possess a belief system, an ideal, high moral standards, and organisational power. Moreover, in ancient times, when people had not yet advanced as far as they have today in technology, when the motor had not been invented, when there were no means of wired or wireless communication, it was only possible to achieve such a success through the high qualities possessed by our nation: to bring almost the entire known world under their rule, to establish a system of justice without blemish or shadow in this region, and to enable all people within the borders of their state to live in harmony and happiness, without distinction of religion, sect, race or nationality.

Having noted these points, we shall now turn to the emergence of modern Turkey. Modern Turkey is a state that emerged from the Ottoman Empire, the greatest state the Turkish nation has ever established throughout its history and its greatest achievement. The Ottoman Empire aimed to realise three great ideals, both geographically and within its civilisational structure. The first of these was to ensure the happiness of people belonging to the same religion and to pursue the goal of ensuring their unity and togetherness.

The second was to achieve the unity and solidarity of the Turks. The third was to establish a united world and to establish a system of justice and fairness on earth.

This is reflected in the works of Ottoman intellectuals and writers through the expression *Nizam-ı âlem*. However, after reaching certain limits, the Ottoman state lost its energy. The reason for this loss of energy was that it had forgotten its ideals and goals, or had abandoned them. The Ottoman Empire suffered its first major defeat in 1683, during the Second Vienna Campaign. This great defeat at the gates of Vienna brought many disasters in its wake. Many European states, seeking to capitalise on this defeat, formed an alliance against the Ottoman Empire, known as the Holy League, and attacked the Ottomans. As a result, in 1699, the Ottoman Empire was forced to sign a treaty for the first time as a consequence of defeat. It signed the treaty known as the Treaty of Karlowitz <sup>(18)</sup>. After this date, Turkey

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- 18 **Treaty of Karlowitz:** A peace treaty signed on 26 January 1699 between the Ottoman Empire and the other Holy League states (the Archduchy of Austria, Venice and Poland), led by the Holy Roman Empire. It is considered the beginning of the Age of Decline. Karlowitz is a small town located within the borders of present-day Serbia. The treaty was signed as a result of the Ottoman-Holy League Wars between 1683 and 1698.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Karlowitz

1. All of Hungary and Transylvania, except for Temesvár and Banat, were ceded to Austria.
2. Podolia and Ukraine were given to Poland.
3. The coasts of Morea and Dalmatia were ceded to Venice.
4. The treaty was to remain in effect for 25 years. Consequences:
  - 1) With the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottoman Empire suffered its first major territorial loss.
  - 2) The Europeans shifted from defence to offence.
  - 3) The inadequacy of the Ottoman Empire's military power became apparent.
  - 4) This was the first treaty aimed at partitioning the Ottoman Empire's territories.
  - 5) With the loss of Hungary, the Ottoman Empire's dominance in Central Europe came to an end.
  - 6) Sultan Mustafa II, who led the campaign against the Holy League, was the last Ottoman sultan to lead his army into battle.
  - 7) Russia signed a ceasefire with the Treaty of Karlowitz. The peace treaty was signed a year later in Istanbul.

The significance of the Treaty of Istanbul:

- Russia took a step towards the Black Sea.
- By maintaining an ambassador in Istanbul, Russia gained the opportunity to monitor the Ottoman Empire more closely.
- The Ottoman retreat that began after these events continued for many years.
- It ended with the Battle of Sakarya, which we won during the War of Independence.
- After the victory at Sakarya, the Turks abandoned their defensive war and regained their offensive power.

During the two hundred and twenty-four years leading up to the founding of the Republic, the Ottoman Empire, that is to say the Turkish nation, suffered constant attacks, constant defeats and disasters.

Each of the wars we have faced and the defeats we have suffered over these two hundred and twenty-four years has been so great that any nation subjected to even one of them should have opened its eyes wide with the pain of it, awakened, shaken itself off, and been compelled to seek protective measures against future disasters. For the many calamities that followed led to continuous loss of territory and caused the annihilation of the Turks living on those lands. Those who were not annihilated were forced to flee before the enemy, abandoning their homes and hearths, escaping to Turkish lands that had not fallen into the hands of the enemy, destitute and wretched. These migrations also led to many painful events. The migrants perished in their new locations from disease, deprivation, and the myriad calamities they encountered. In short, these two hundred and twenty years were a period of continuous disaster, suffering, and pain for the Turkish nation. However, it must be noted with regret that none of these events fundamentally awakened our nation or led to an effort to rebuild and protect ourselves from future disasters with a new vitality for life.

The reason for this must be sought in the attitude and mindset of the leaders who govern the Turkish nation and guide it, as well as in the attitude and mindset of Turkish intellectuals. After every disaster, the suffering endured was forgotten, or the people and the nation's suffering was ignored and overlooked, and certain major centres pursued a life of luxury, debauchery and entertainment, leading to a path of forgetting reality.

The successive defeats we suffered, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, gave rise to the idea among Turkish statesmen, primarily the sultans, that in order to escape these disasters, they should resemble the West and adopt Western methods. However, neither Turkish statesmen nor Turkish intellectuals ever truly understood or identified the fundamental ideas that constituted the power of the West, nor the main factors that constituted its superiority.

In the early days, it was thought that a European-style army needed to be established, and when a European-style army was established, the Western armies that defeated us

It was thought that this could be countered. To this end, foreign officers and commanders were brought in from foreign armies in an attempt to establish an army based on European models. However, the life of a nation is a whole. The army of a nation cannot be considered a separate entity entirely distinct from the social structure of that nation. A nation's army is its essence and embodies all the characteristics of its own social structure. For this reason, it was necessary to recognise the fundamental ideas, views and factors that constituted the power of the West and, accordingly, to reorganise the Turkish nation and the Turkish state. Initially, efforts were made to establish a new army under the leadership of French officers and generals brought in from France. However, this initiative failed to protect the Ottoman state from successive new defeats.

After the French, German officers and generals were brought in, and the Turkish army was trained according to their methods and views. It cannot be said that these efforts were entirely useless, but it became clear that these attempts were insufficient to revive the Ottoman state and protect the Turkish nation from disaster. For the fundamental issue was the necessity of reawakening Turkish society, giving it a new belief in life, a new ideal, raising it to the highest level in morality and spirituality, rapidly advancing it in science and technology, and transforming it into an economically developed entity. but this was never grasped by the Ottoman rulers or the Ottoman intellectuals.

Later, they turned to imitating the armies of Western countries and the luxurious lifestyle and ostentation of the Western upper class, the aristocracy, at that time.

This imitation has led our nation to despise itself, to see itself as incapable, and to view Europe as superior, to accept Europe as superior, to believe that Europe can do anything and we cannot. In other words, the minds and spirits of our people have been spiritually chained. If a person believes, or is made to believe, that they are inferior, if a person is made to believe that others are superior to them, that person is bound by the most base chains of slavery. This deprives people of their creative power and renders them incapable of working or doing useful things. In addition, the result of imitating the Western way of life and the spread of Western mimicry is increased consumption, the Turkish society becoming consumers like the West, while production remains the same, continuing the same ancient Eastern production system that has existed for thousands of years.

It has been in this form. A production method based on the plough, farming and agriculture, primitive agriculture, has continued. The continuous increase in consumerism; the lack of any development in production, the continuation of inefficient, barren production, has led to our society becoming poorer and our state weaker with each passing day.

Turkish intellectuals and Turkish leaders have never recognised these realities.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to a period of great calamity for our nation. Even Anatolia, the last refuge of the Turkish nation, was invaded by enemy troops from all sides at the end of the First World War. The Turkish nation and the Turkish state were on the verge of being wiped off the face of history and ceasing to exist. It was in this situation that an exceptional figure such as Atatürk found the opportunity to take charge of the Turkish nation. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who knew the capabilities and characteristics of our nation well, secured the support of our nation and, and, making the best use of the resources available under the circumstances at the time, launched the nation's war of liberation. At the end of this four-year war, he succeeded in establishing the Republic of Turkey within its present borders and enabling the Turkish nation to live once again as an independent entity in the world.

Our National Liberation War was a great struggle that our nation achieved through tremendous sacrifice and heroism, fighting tooth and nail. Alongside Atatürk, the Turkish intellectuals and leaders who gathered around him played a major role and rendered great service in the success of this struggle. After four years of arduous struggle, internal rebellions, uprisings and external attacks, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, and the Republic of Turkey emerged on the stage of history as the new creation and new entity of the Turkish nation.

After the Republic was established, efforts began to rid the nation of its old ailments and troubles and to transform the Turkish nation into a strong, developed entity as soon as possible. Fifty-five years have passed since the founding of the Republic. During these fifty-five years, the governments, various leaders, administrations and parties that have governed Turkey have achieved many things on the path to the development of our nation. However, even after fifty-five years, their achievements have not yet brought the Turkish nation to the level of the advanced Western nations. The country...

The various leaders who have governed us, from various parties, have always claimed to have accomplished great things. They have taken the situation prior to their rule as a starting point and claimed to have created new achievements during their time in power compared to previous years, thus attempting to portray their own successful service.

None of these have addressed, nor do they address today, the extent to which they have served to place the Turkish nation in a position to compete with neighbouring nations or other advanced nations by comparing the situation of the Republic of Turkey with theirs. However, the real issue is not so much the claim that a government has added new facilities to those existing during the previous government, but rather determining the extent to which the gap between Turkey and its neighbours and other advanced nations has been closed, and how quickly this gap is being closed. I regret to say that our investigations have revealed very painful results. Far from diminishing or shrinking, Turkey's gap in underdevelopment relative to both its neighbours and advanced nations is growing wider with each passing day. With each passing day, week, month and year, Turkey is falling further behind its neighbours and more advanced nations, slipping into a state of backwardness. This is because those who govern Turkey have failed to take sufficient action to reduce the gap between Turkey and more advanced nations.

There are various reasons for this. The foremost of these reasons is their failure to galvanise the Turkish nation and the Turkish people into action, thereby making them allies and partners in their own endeavours. The rulers have always been distant from the people; they have failed to explain the realities to the people, show them the goals, convince them, and mobilise all their resources and energy to move towards these goals as soon as possible. In addition, they have failed to achieve harmony and cooperation between the intellectuals and the people. Our intellectuals are still distant from the people, living in big cities, in places with abundant entertainment opportunities, in comfortable flats, pursuing and thinking about a comfortable life. Since the days of the Ottoman Empire, there has been a huge gap between the lives of Turkish intellectuals and Turkish rulers and those of the people. Turkish intellectuals and Turkish rulers despise the people, look down on them, consider their backwardness and their way of life based on religious beliefs to be a sign of backwardness, and therefore treat citizens

It does not approve. The people have seen and continue to see their own leaders and intellectuals as people who do not understand their own problems, do not share their beliefs, do not live their religion and worship as they do, do not live alongside them, long for a life other than their own, live a different life, and despise them.

For this reason, they do not believe in or trust those who govern them or their intellectuals. Unless the dichotomy between intellectuals and the people is eliminated, and unless the unity, cooperation, and integration of the Turkish nation's intellectuals and people are achieved, it will not be possible to propel Turkey forward. Another reason why the gap between Turkey and advanced nations and our neighbours is widening rather than narrowing is the failure to understand the main factors that constitute the strength of a nation. These main factors are as follows:

Above all, a nation must possess a high sense of morality and hold strong spiritual beliefs. Along with these, the nation must have a strong sense of nationalism and be driven by the love, desire and determination to uplift and advance its own people. A society must rapidly rise to the highest level in modern science and technology. For a society to rapidly reach the highest level in modern science and technology and catch up with the most advanced nations, it must first and foremost rapidly establish a cadre of capable, knowledgeable, and talented scientists and technicians on a global scale. In addition, it is necessary to establish a modern agricultural industry and modern agriculture in the country. Modernising agriculture, establishing modern industry, achieving modern mass production based on automation, and thus becoming part of the global economy can ensure a nation's advancement. Unless these issues are resolved, it is impossible for a nation to rapidly reach the level of advanced nations by building a few thousand kilometres of roads, a few hundred bridges, and a few hundred schools. Indeed, despite the many achievements of various leaders and governments over the fifty-five years of the Republic, Turkey remains a backward country today, a weak country, and the gap between it and advanced nations has widened rather than narrowed.

## A LOOK AT WESTERN HISTORY

As the Turkish nation spread westward from Central Asia, it encountered the Byzantines in the north, who represented the Western world. As a result of this encounter, the Turkish nation, which continued to move westward, initially clashed with these states. The Russians were not yet a powerful force during the period when the Turks spread westward. Faced with Turkish power, the scattered Russian principalities chose to submit to the Turks and to survive by seeking refuge with them and paying them tribute.

The main force and great danger the Turks faced was Byzantium. However, the growing Turkish power and organisation succeeded in destroying Byzantium and erasing its last vestiges from history with the conquest of Istanbul. Even before Byzantium fell, Turkish forces crossing into Thrace had spread widely across Southeast Europe. This westward expansion of the Turks continually provoked counter-attacks from the West.

Until the late 16th and 17th centuries, the strength of both sides in the fields of civilisation, politics and military affairs always favoured the Turks. However, from the 17th century onwards, this superiority changed and the West began to demonstrate a conspicuous superiority over the Turks. Investigating and identifying the reasons for the superiority of the Western world is as important for understanding the history of the Turkish nation as it is for determining and establishing its future. In Western Europe

, a great awakening took place from the 14th century onwards. The Western world, which had suffered many hardships in the darkness of the early ages, showed a great awakening and development from the 14th century onwards. The first movement of this awakening began<sup>with</sup> the Renaissance<sup>19</sup>. With the Renaissance, developments also began in the field of science. Superstitious ideas that shackled human thought,

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19 **Renaissance:** In 15th-16th century Italy, the re-establishment of the connection between the West and classical antiquity in art, science, philosophy and architecture, the adoption of the works of ancient Greek philosophers and scientists through translation, the revival of empirical thought,



superstitions, prejudices and preconceived notions were abandoned, developments were made in the modern scientific method, and rapid strides began to be made in the field of science.

Meanwhile, the Western world, recognising that the great trade route passing through the Middle East and Iran, which traversed Asian territories by land, encompassing all of Central Asia from China and India, was in the hands of the Turks and other Muslim peoples, as well as other Asian nations, began to consider ways to secure the materials needed by the West via a new route, bypassing this route under their influence. To this end, they ventured into the seas. Until then, the nature of the world beyond the Atlantic Ocean was unknown. With the hope of discovering a route to India, explorations were undertaken, leading to the discovery of a new continent: the American continent. Once it became clear that America was not India, ways to reach India by sea were sought, and eventually the Cape of Good Hope route which circumnavigates Africa, was discovered, thus opening up the Western world.

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It was a period focused on humanism, when the invention of the printing press increased the sharing of knowledge with the masses and radical changes took place. This era heralded the rise of Europe, which had long been in decline, through trade and geographical explorers. The Italian Renaissance marks the beginning of this period, signifying the development of art and science. The term Renaissance originates from French. It was used by the French historian Jules Michelet and developed by the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt in the 1860s. Rebirth has two meanings. The first is the rediscovery of ancient classical texts, their study, and the identification of their applications in art and science. Secondly, it is the strengthening of European culture in general as a result of these intellectual activities. Therefore, when discussing the Renaissance, two distinct but meaningful paths can be mentioned: the rebirth of classical learning and science through the rediscovery of ancient texts, and the rebirth of European culture in general.

The Renaissance movement, which began in Italy, soon spread throughout Europe. The Renaissance developed mainly in the arts in France; in religious paintings and illustrations in Germany; in literature in England; and in painting and literature in Spain.

- 20 **Cape of Good Hope:** Although it is commonly believed to be the southernmost point of Africa, the continent's true southern tip is Cape Agulhas, located 160 km southeast of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape of Good Hope is located at coordinates 34° 21'26" S, 18°28'25" E. Cape of Good Hope was discovered in 1488 by the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias, who named it Cape of Storms (Cabo das Tormentas). Portuguese explorer Dias set sail on the orders of King John II to find a sea route to the east and the spices found there. At that time, only part of the trade routes passed by sea, so merchants travelling east had to cross the Middle Eastern countries from one end to the other. When Dias reported his discovery of the cape, the King believed that this discovery would soon open up a sea route to the East, and therefore renamed the cape the Cape of Good Hope. However, some sources indicate that the name Cape of Storms was later changed to Cape of Good Hope because it was thought that it could demoralise sailors.

Three continents, or four if we include Australia or Oceania, which were discovered later, began to acquire extensive colonies and gained vast opportunities by obtaining slave labour from the people of these colonies.

For hundreds of years, precious metals such as gold and silver, fabrics, and other valuable goods and materials were continuously transported to the Western world from newly discovered and conquered lands. These newly discovered and colonised lands also provided the West with vast markets. As a result of these new developments, it became possible to accumulate wealth and build up capital on a scale never before seen in any country at any time in history. This accumulation of capital on an unprecedented scale, along with the developments in science and art that began in the 14th century with the Renaissance, led to a great industrial and commercial boom in the Western world.

With the discovery of steam and the subsequent development of steam-powered machines, followed by the creation of more modern machines utilising other forms of power, the Western world gained the ability to produce large quantities of standardised goods using machine power, replacing the production methods that had previously relied solely on human and animal labour. Thus, after comfortably meeting its own internal needs, the West found itself with a surplus of various products far exceeding its own requirements. These products needed to be sold to other countries. To this end, colonies were found that would constitute large markets. While the people of these colonies provided labour for next to nothing, in return they provided large markets for the goods produced by the West.

This situation has suddenly made the Western world very powerful. It has made it economically incomparably richer and more developed than the East, enabling it to obtain machine power that exceeds human or animal power by hundreds of times, and to stand against the East with machine power, as opposed to the East's old existence based entirely on human or animal power. The development of the situation in this way has led to other

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Between 1497 and 1498, another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, circumnavigated Africa and made a sea voyage that reached as far as India. This sea route remained the only sea route between Europe and the Eastern countries until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

This was also detrimental to the East. It was particularly detrimental to Turkey. Until the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, all Asian trade was conducted via Turkey, and the Silk Road passed through Turkey. However, after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route, the West found it possible to conduct its trade with the Far East via the Cape of Good Hope routes.

Thus, Turkey was deprived of this vast trade route, which offered it great opportunities. The trade route passing through Turkey was abandoned and faded away. This constituted a separate reason for the economic weakening and collapse of Turkey and the East. Just as the Western world spread in all directions, it made it a policy to take countermeasures against the Turkish expansion that had threatened it for hundreds of years. As a result, waves of attacks from the West against the East continued. This Western orientation towards the East was not limited to the Ottoman period. These attacks had already begun <sup>with</sup> the Crusades organised during the Seljuk period. The Crusades were fundamentally religious in nature.

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21 **The Silk Road:** The historic caravan route connecting China to Anatolia and Europe via Asia. It was named the Silk Road because silk was the most commonly traded commodity. The Silk Road came into use before the Common Era. The Silk Road essentially started in Antioch, passed through northern Iran and Afghanistan, and reached the Pamir Plateau. Here, at a place called Taş Kule, goods coming from the west were exchanged for goods from the east. One branch of the Silk Road went to India via the Bactrian route, while another branch passed through southern West Turkistan. Eastern Turkistan was reached either from the south or north of the Taklamakan Desert. After this, the two routes rejoined and extended to the Doyang region. The Silk Road also played an important role in cultural history. Through this route, philosophies, and more notably art, ethics, customs and traditions were exchanged. With the compass and paper reaching the West, Europe's naval power developed. When Byzantium, the last representative of the Christian world in the East, was conquered by the Turks in 1453, the historic Silk Road lost its importance. European ships began to sail around the Cape of Good Hope to reach India and China in order to continue trade. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent made some attempts to revive the Silk Road, which had fallen into decline. He granted certain rights to the French in order to draw European trade to Anatolia. By granting these rights, he intended to separate France from the other European states, keep a Christian state under his protection, and revive trade.

22 **The Crusades:** These refer to the campaigns organised by Christian Europeans against Muslims, encouraged by the Papacy. The Crusades were initiated by Pope Urban II in his speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095. They continued for centuries, causing the loss of millions of lives and the destruction of states and countries.

The Byzantine Empire (395-1453), representative of Eastern Christianity, opened its doors to the Turks after its defeat in the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 against the Seljuk Empire (1038-1194). Within a few years, Seljuk raiders reached the Aegean, Mediterranean and Marmara coasts and began to threaten Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. In 1075, they established the Seljuk Empire of Rum and made Nicaea their capital, which was seen as a threat to Europe.

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It began to shake the Byzantine Empire, the largest Christian state, to its foundations. This situation alarmed the Europeans. Because the fall of Byzantium would lead to the Turks dominating Europe. The second major reason was economic. At this time, the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah had died, and internal turmoil had begun. Pope Urban II encouraged Christians to unite and attack the Muslims. Thus, this priest began his campaign to take the city of Jerusalem from the Turks. A poor French monk named Pierre L'Ermite alone had gathered 50,000 Frenchmen around him. When they arrived in Germany, they were joined by another 50,000 German vagabonds. This bandit army, which grew even larger in Hungary and the Balkans, became the first army of the eight Crusades organised between 1096 and 1270.

The First Crusade (1096-1099): Led by the priest Pierre L'Ermite and the knight Poor Gautier, this group arrived in Constantinople and was immediately sent to Anatolia by the Byzantine Emperor. The Anatolian Seljuk Sultan, Kılıç Arslan I, stopped these first Crusader forces at the gates of Nicaea and slaughtered them. Following them, the Crusader army under the command of Godefroy Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, set out. This army included many famous knights, nobles, counts and dukes. The army consisted of 600,000 people. This Crusader army, which had slaughtered 10,000 Jews on the banks of the Rhine in Germany, was heading towards Constantinople. Fearing that they would pillage and massacre in his country, the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos made an agreement with them. In exchange for supplying their provisions, the Crusaders would give the Byzantines the lands they captured in Anatolia. After the agreement, the Crusaders crossed into Anatolia and besieged Nicaea, the capital of the Seljuk Turks, in May 1097. The bloody battles resulted in heavy losses on both sides. Unable to withstand the losses inflicted by the 600,000-strong Crusader army, Sultan Kılıç Arslan I retreated after fighting. Nicaea fell into Byzantine hands. Sultan First Kılıç Arslan (1092-1107) began a war of attrition against the Crusader army entering Anatolia from the direction of Eskişehir. He caught the Crusaders in the most strategic areas of Anatolia and launched surprise attacks to destroy them, crushing many.

As a result of the First Crusade, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was established in Jerusalem, and Crusader states were founded in Antioch and Edessa. Christians thus became acquainted with the Middle East and settled on the eastern Mediterranean coast. The surrender of Jerusalem, considered by Muslims to be the holiest city after Mecca and Medina, to the Crusaders by the Shiite Fatimids caused great sorrow. Muslims immediately took action to expel the Crusaders from the Middle East. In 1144, Imad ad-Din Zengi, Atabeg of Mosul, recaptured Urfa. This situation led to the Second Crusade.

Second Crusade (1147–1149): Following the recapture of Edessa by the Muslims, the Second Crusade was launched at the instigation of Pope Eugenius and as a result of the propaganda of Saint Bernard. The expedition was commanded by Louis VII and the German Emperor Conrad III. The first contingent of 75,000 men under the command of the German Emperor arrived in the Konya Plain. This army was destroyed by Sultan Mes'ud I of the Seljuk Turks. The German Emperor barely escaped with his life and took refuge in Nicaea with five thousand men. King Louis VII of France set out with 150,000 men. He joined forces with the remnants of the German Emperor's army in Nicaea. Sultan Mes'ud, deeming it inadvisable to engage this large army in open battle, drew the Crusaders towards the Taurus Mountains pass. The remnants of the Crusaders, who suffered heavy losses here, took refuge in Antioch. Although they laid siege to Damascus, they were defeated by the Turks.

Third Crusade (1189–1192): After eliminating the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate and establishing the Ayyubid Caliphate, Saladin took action against the Crusaders. He captured Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Crusaders since 1097, in 1187 after the Battle of Hattin. The expulsion of Christians from the Middle East, with the exception of a few coastal cities, alarmed the Europeans. Encouraged by Pope Clement III, France and England

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The kings and the German Emperor participated in the Third Crusade. Although it ended in defeat, this crusade is famous for the participation of Europe's most renowned kings, emperors, and commanders. German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa travelled by land, while French King Philip Augustus and English King Richard the Lionheart travelled by sea. Although the Sultan of the Seljuk Turks of Turkey, Kılıç Arslan II, sent envoys to the German Emperor asking him not to enter Anatolia, he refused. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who did not listen to the Turks, lost a large part of his army to the Seljuk soldiers. Finally, he drowned in the river before reaching the Mediterranean Sea. Left leaderless and suffering heavy losses, the Crusaders reached Palestine in a miserable state. The King of England arrived in Cyprus by sea, expelled the Byzantine governor from the island, and established the Latin Kingdom. Richard the Lionheart, who travelled from Cyprus to Acre, and the French king, who arrived in Acre by sea, captured the castle after a long siege. Although they fought to recapture Jerusalem, they were unsuccessful. Realising they could not take Jerusalem after bitter experiences and heavy losses, the kings of France and England returned to their countries.

Fourth Crusade (1204): At the call of Pope Innocent III and as a result of Foutges de Neville's propaganda, German Emperor Henry VI joined this crusade organised by Boniface. Despite the Pope's objections, the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople on Venetian ships. In 1204, they captured Constantinople from the Orthodox Byzantines. The city's wealth astonished the Catholic Christians. They plundered and destroyed Constantinople. They committed all kinds of cruelty and evil against their fellow Christians. The Byzantine Emperor moved his throne from Constantinople to Nicaea. This was the first time such an event had occurred in Byzantine history. Finally, the "Latin Empire" was established in Istanbul, which lasted until 1261. This time, the Venetian and Genoese states gained great influence and land in the Near East and became wealthy. The Fourth Crusade harmed Orthodox Christians more than Muslims.

Fifth Crusade (1217–1221): Encouraged by Pope Honorius III, King Andrew II of Hungary arrived in Acre in 1217 with Crusaders from Northern Europe. King Andrew was unable to withstand the Muslims and returned home. Those who remained attacked Damietta and captured the city. They then turned towards Cairo but were defeated and scattered by the Ayyubids.

Sixth Crusade (1228–1229): Organised by the German Emperor Frederick III at the instigation of Pope Gregory IX. The German Emperor reached Jerusalem. At a time when Ayyubid Sultan Malik Kamil was overwhelmed by external pressures, the arrival of the Crusaders in Jerusalem led to the conclusion of a treaty. Under the treaty, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders. However, as a result of their defeat by the Turks, the city was returned to the Ayyubids.

The Seventh Crusade (1248–1254): Following the capture of Jerusalem by the Muslims, it was organised by King St. Louis of France. The newly established Mamluks in Egypt defeated the Crusaders in 1250 at the Battle of Mansura and took the French king prisoner. The Crusaders dispersed. St. Louis surrendered Damietta to the Muslims and returned to his country.

The Eighth Crusade (1268–1270): This crusade was organised by King St. Louis of France to avenge the conquest of Antioch by the Muslims and the Seventh Crusade. The target of this crusade was not Jerusalem, but the Muslim sailors on the Mediterranean coast. St. Louis landed in Tunisia but died of an epidemic. The French army returned home. This crusade also ended in failure.

Between 1096 and 1270, a number of Latin states were established as a result of the Crusades organised against the Muslims. These included the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Kingdom of Cyprus, the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Edessa, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the County of Morea.

While it is true that religious factors played a role, it is now scientifically established that economic factors were just as influential and important as religious factors. Seizing the fabulously wealthy East was the primary objective of those who joined the Crusader armies.

Another important reason for the Crusades was to conquer the wealthy Eastern countries, establish political dominance there, and turn them into colonies under Western political control. After the Crusades, the Ottoman Empire was, in a sense, a response to these waves of Crusader attacks against the West, and the Ottoman armies spread as far as Poland on one side, Moscow on the other, Vienna on yet another, Rome on another, and the westernmost edge of Africa. However, these expansions came to a definitive halt with the defeat at the Second Battle of Vienna in 1683 and after this date, the West...

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The Principality of Athens, the Duchy of Kefalonia, the Duchy of Naxos, and the Knights of Saint John. These Latin states were eliminated by the Turks, leaving no trace of the Crusaders.

**23 1683 Second Siege of Vienna:** The Second Siege of Vienna: The Ottoman army under the command of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha besieged Vienna.

In the mid-17th century, as a result of pressure exerted by the Austrian emperor on the Protestant population of central Hungary, the Hungarian nobleman Imre Tököli sought Ottoman protection. Imre Tököli encouraged Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha to recapture the central Hungarian castles held by Austria. Hasan Pasha, Beylerbey of Varad (Nagy-Varda, Germ. Gros-Wardein), also recaptured the castles belonging to central Hungary and handed them over to Imre Tököli. In response, the Austrian Emperor Leopold, taking advantage of Turkish forces, recaptured these castles. This led to a deterioration in Ottoman-Austrian relations. In April 1683, Sultan Mehmed IV and Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha set out from Edirne with a powerful army. The army arrived in Belgrade on 3 May 1683. On 13 May 1683, Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha was appointed supreme commander, and the Ottoman army marched on Vienna. The Ottoman army was the largest army to have ever been deployed up to that point. It numbered 350,000 men, including timarli sipahis, kapikulu soldiers, troops from Egypt and Damascus, forces from Wallachia and Moldavia, the 20,000-strong army of Imre Tököli, King of Hungary, and the 50,000 cavalry of the Khan of Crimea. In addition, there were 150,000 support troops and 50,000 carts carrying supplies. The Ottoman army, which crossed the Sava River near Belgrade, was joined by Imre Tököli's forces in Osijek on 10 June 1683. Moving from Osijek and crossing the Drava River, the Ottoman army arrived at Istolni-Belgrade in Erdel on 26 June. Here, Crimean Khan Murad Giray joined the army with Crimean forces. The Sultan had tasked Kara Mustafa Pasha with capturing Yanik Castle; however, the Grand Vizier considered this a trivial matter. His aim was to capture Vienna, the capital of Austria, and gain great renown. A war council was convened in Istolni-Belgrade. At this council, Kara Mustafa Pasha declared that his real aim was not to capture Yanik or Kommarom Castle, but to besiege the city of Beç (Vienna). The defterdar, the beylerbeys of Anatolia, Rumelia, Damascus and Diyarbakir, the reisülküttap, the agha of the janissaries and the serdar present at the meeting agreed with this decision.

Against the East, against the Turks who represented the East, against the Ottoman Empire, a series of uninterrupted attacks began. After the Second Vienna Campaign of 1683, the East suffered continuous defeats in the face of these attacks from the West.

The West emerged with a new force, a new entity, formed from the powerful influence of Christianity and ancient Greek civilisation, the Renaissance, and the developing modern sciences—a mixture of these three distinct sources. They found these three distinct

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. Only the Crimean Khan opposed this view. Uzun İbrahim Pasha, the governor of Buda and an experienced soldier, also supported the Crimean Khan. They proposed, first, the capture of the lands of the Hungarian lords loyal to the Austrian emperor in Hungary, along with the fortresses of Yanik and Kommarom, and then the siege of Vienna.

The Ottoman army's march on Vienna caused great excitement in Europe, particularly in Germany. Emperor Leopold withdrew to the town of Lenz, 60 hours away from Vienna, leaving a defence force of 20-25,000 in the city. The Ottoman army arrived before Vienna on 14 July 1683. In accordance with tradition, the city was asked to surrender. When the offer was rejected, the siege began. Kara Mustafa Pasha could not besiege the city as he should have because he had sent part of his forces into Moravia, Galicia and Slovakia. As in the First Siege of Vienna in 1529, there were no large cannons in the army this time either. Help began to arrive in Vienna from many parts of Europe. The Ottoman army began to experience food shortages. Due to lack of fodder, the animals in the army were dying. It became clear from captured prisoners that Polish and German forces had come to the aid of Vienna. Seeing that the situation was becoming difficult, Kara Mustafa Pasha launched a powerful attack on 26 August 1683 and captured some of the fortifications. Dysentery had broken out in the city. The castle commander urgently requested help. On 7 September 1683, the allied forces, under the command of Jan Sobieski, crossed the Danube and approached the Ottoman army's left rear. The Crimean Khan Murad Giray, who was tasked with securing the great Danube bridge to prevent reinforcements from reaching Vienna, turned a blind eye to the enemy crossing the Danube because of his hatred for Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. The necessary preparations were made for the enemy, who had fallen behind the Ottoman army; however, due to the defeat of Budin Beylerbeyi İbrahim Pasha by Jan Sobieski, the dispersal of the forces of Vezir Sarı Hüseyin Pasha, and the failure of the Crimean forces to come to the aid, a general rout began. Upon hearing of the defeat at Vienna, Sultan Mehmed IV returned from Belgrade to Edirne.

The Battle of Vienna was the last campaign of the Turkish army, which had advanced as far as the heart of Europe. The Grand Vizier returned to Belgrade on 16 October. On 29 October, the Fortress of Estergon fell into enemy hands. Deeply distressed by the situation, Sultan Mehmed IV ordered the execution of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. Kara Mustafa Pasha was executed in Belgrade.

- 24 **Ancient Greek civilisation:** The foundations of Greek civilisation were laid by the Dorians around 1200 BC. The actual history of Greece began in the 8th century BC.

Greek civilisation formed a system of government based on city-states. These city-states were called "polis". The person who ruled these polis was called a tyrant.

These Greek city-states were the first places where democratisation began. The most important of these city-states were places such as Athens and Sparta.

Great philosophers such as Aristophanes, Sophocles, Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, as well as the renowned literary figure Homer, were educated in Athens.

They believed in a polytheistic religion.

It is necessary to thoroughly understand the ideas and principles underlying Western civilisation and Western existence, which arose from the blending of these sources. At the heart of Western civilisation, born from the blending of these three sources, lies the concept of valuing human beings and thinking of doing everything for the sake of humanity. Alongside this view, there is the belief that people should ensure each other's happiness by living and coexisting without harming one another. In addition, there is the principle of seeking the truth, finding the truth, and respecting the truth. Furthermore, it is based on the principle of taking human reason as the basis in both scientific research and other work, evaluating events based on human reasoning, and directing events. In addition, it is based on adopting a moral system based on the principles of spiritual beliefs, in accordance with the spiritual beliefs of the Christian religion.

Along with all this, it is one of the civilisations with the most gods in the world, originating from ancient Greek and Roman civilisation <sup>25</sup>and associated with human development in modern times.

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It is one of the civilisations with the most gods in the world. The Olympic Games emerged because of the competitions held for these gods.

The seat of the Greek gods is Mount Olympus.

The most significant period of Greek civilisation began with Alexander the Great's conquest of Greek civilisation. Greek civilisation exerted its influence in many places, including Egypt, but after Alexander the Great's death and with the rise of the Roman Empire, Greek civilisation began to decline. Greek civilisation played the most significant role in the formation of Roman culture. Roman civilisation was most heavily influenced by this civilisation.

- 25 **Ancient Roman Civilisation:** Roman civilisation emerged in what is now Italy and spread across a vast geographical area. The Etruscans, believed to have migrated from Anatolia, formed Italy's first known political entity. After the Etruscans, who founded the city of Rome, the Latin people arrived in the region and formed the "Roman Civilisation". They were followed by the Phoenicians, who established colonies in North Africa, and the Greeks , who practised colonialism on the western Italian coast . The borders of Rome expanded very rapidly, particularly due to the presence of a very powerful and organised army. Its borders stretched from Britain in the north to present-day Somalia in the south, from the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Basra in the east to Morocco and Portugal in the west. Three different forms of government can be seen in the political history of Roman civilisation: Monarchy ( 735-510 BC) Republic (510-27 BC) Empire (27 BC-395 AD)

During the Kingdom period, the people were divided into three main classes:

- 1- Patricians: They were the first inhabitants of Rome and formed the aristocratic class. Patricians were organised into family units (clans) called gens. They were bound to each other by blood ties. Patricians formed the Senate. Patricians were organised into gens, curiae and tribes.



In ancient Rome, the gens united to form a larger community. This was called the Curia. The gathering of the Curiae formed an assembly called the Comitia Curiata (People's Assembly). This assembly came after the Senate.

Patricians were the people who ruled Rome and held positions as officials and soldiers. They possessed all kinds of income.

2. Plebeians: These were people who had come to Rome later and settled there, accepting Roman rule. They had no political rights, could not vote, and could not marry patricians. They were generally engaged in agriculture, trade, and the arts. This increasingly numerous class became a major problem for the patricians. Especially during the Republican period, the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians became Rome's greatest internal problem.

3. Slaves: This class consisted of those taken prisoner in wars and those born into slave families. They worked for the patricians. During this period, kings were nominated by the "Senate," composed of nobles, and elected by the popular assemblies called the "Curia." The king conducted all his affairs in consultation with the Senate. The king was the highest administrator, judge, and high priest. For this reason, the monarchy did not transform into dynastic rule. Especially in the 6th century, the aristocrats, who had become very powerful, completely overthrew the monarchy and initiated the republican system of government.

Assemblies in the Monarchy Period:

A) Senatus (Council of Elders): They were appointed by the king and remained in office until their death. They served as an advisory council to the king. They gained importance during the Republican period. The members of the Senate were the heads of the juntas in Rome.

B) Comitia Curiata (People's Assembly): This assembly was formed by the gathering of the patricians. Plebeians were not permitted to enter this assembly. This assembly functioned as a legislative body. Votes were cast according to the number of curiae.

Each curia had one vote. During the Republic, the Senate retained the same powers. The consuls possessed the rights and powers that had previously belonged to kings, as well as the power to command and a shared authority. The Senate elected the 'consul' who would govern the country. The consul was re-elected every year. The consul had all kinds of authority over the state.

Duties of the Consuls: 1. To command the armies, 2. To convene the Senate and the People's Assembly, 3. To impose and collect war taxes, 4. To conduct all state affairs in turn and jointly, to control each other.

This situation led to them becoming increasingly authoritarian, and when "Caesar" was elected consul in 56 BC, he seized power single-handedly but did not touch the republican regime or its laws. He left the assemblies as they were. He assumed the high priesthood. Caesar did not stay long in Rome, constantly engaged in wars. He adopted the Egyptian calendar. He expanded the territories. After Caesar's death (44 BC), great turmoil broke out in Rome. This turmoil continued until Augustus took control. During this period, large temples and theatres were built. Augustus constantly said, "I found a city of brick, I leave a city of marble." Punic Wars: These were wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians over control of the Western Mediterranean. Carthage was a Phoenician colony founded in Tunisia. Rome's increasing power made the Carthaginians suspicious.

The wars that began due to the Carthaginians' interference in the internal affairs of Messina in Italy lasted over 100 years. Three Punic Wars were fought. In these wars, the Carthaginians, who lost their power, became a state subordinate to Rome. Thus, the Romans, who established their dominance in the Western Mediterranean, turned their attention to the Eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the Alexander Empire had fragmented, and kingdoms had been established in its place.

A legal system has been established. This legal system is fundamentally based on the idea that people should be happy and should not harm or harass one another, but rather should protect each other's rights and contribute to each other's happiness. Alongside this, modern science has been the most influential factor in the formation of this civilisation. The view that observing, experimenting, analysing, and investigating events and matter in this way, free from preconceptions and ulterior motives, provides the most accurate information about existence and that this knowledge should be used to enable humanity to live more prosperous and happier lives has been adopted. Scientific research and advances in science have opened up broad horizons for humanity in terms of protecting people from the effects of natural forces and freeing them from the bondage of natural forces. The factors underlying the great developments that took place in the West can thus be summarised as follows.

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During the Punic Wars, the Romans also fought against the Macedonians, and Macedonia was brought under Roman rule. Following this, the Kingdom of Syria, one of the Hellenistic kingdoms, was also annexed to Rome.

With the annexation of these two important places, the Eastern Mediterranean came under Roman rule. Next in line was the Kingdom of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, Egypt was also annexed by Rome.

With the annexation of the Hellenistic kingdoms (Macedonia, Syria and Egypt), Rome's borders expanded and its way of life underwent major changes. Greek customs and traditions thus entered Rome. During the Republican period, the legal privileges between the Patricians and the Plebeians were also abolished.

During the imperial period, the borders expanded more rapidly. However, this brought with it a number of new problems. Despite all the resistance from the polytheistic Romans, Christianity was spreading rapidly and undermining state authority. The invasion of the Roman borders by barbarian tribes from the north placed the central government in a very difficult position. In 313, Christianity was officially recognised as a religion with the Edict of Milan, but the negative effects of the Migration Period could not be eliminated. Consequently, in 395, the empire was divided into two parts, known as "Eastern Rome" and "Western Rome." In 476, the Western Roman Empire collapsed, and feudal systems came to dominate Europe. Eastern Rome, known as "Byzantium," continued to exist until 1453.

The "Twelve Tables" established in Ancient Roman civilisation also form the basis of modern European law. These laws were created to end the conflicts between the Patricians and the Plebeians.

The Romans, like the Greeks, believed in polytheism. They accepted that their gods lived on a mountain called the "Capitol". However, in 313, Christianity was accepted as the official religion.

They finalised the alphabet developed by the Phoenicians, Ionians and Greeks, creating the "Latin Alphabet". The solar-based calendar they adopted from Egypt was revised by Caesar and Pope Gregory XIII, resulting in the calendar we use today.

Of course, alongside these factors, a strong wave of nationalism also emerged, particularly in the late 17th century. This wave of nationalism led to many new political developments in Europe. Compared to the East and the Ottoman Empire, Western countries, which were very well organised and powerful under the conditions of the day, sought to take advantage of this new trend against the Ottoman state. They also used the wave of nationalism in their attacks and expansions against the East.

Nationalist sentiments have long been present in the lives of nations and have been one of the main factors shaping political movements. However, this trend has played a particularly significant role in the Western world since the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, leading to the collapse of the great Western empires. Despite the collapse of the empires, there has been no change in the views and attitudes of the newly emerging powers towards the East, the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish nation. Even though we are now in the last quarter of the 20th century, the views of the Western world towards Turkey are still not very different from those of the West in earlier times. Religion has a separate place in these views, economic factors have a separate place, and political factors have a separate place. All three factors are fuelled by an attitude that is hostile to Turkey and the Turkish nation. They are supported by an attitude that is hostile to Turkey and the Turkish nation. In the issues that arise between Turkey and Greece, in the issues that arise between Turkey and other countries, the influence of this long-standing view is always present in the West's stance against Turkey. Every Turk must understand this well and not overlook this reality.

## Turkey's Geopolitical Situation

Turkey constitutes the westernmost point of Asia extending into Europe. Stretching between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, Turkey controls the access of all countries living on the Black Sea coast to the Mediterranean Sea and their connection to the rest of the world via the world's oceans. Moreover, for centuries, it has served as the route and focal point for travel, trade, and cultural relations between Asia and Europe. This situation continues today. Furthermore, it is the stronghold and key to the Middle East, which possesses the world's richest oil resources. All routes leading to Middle Eastern oil are under Turkey's control. Whether by air, sea or land, these routes either pass through Turkey or circle around it. Thus, Turkey always has the means to exert influence and maintain control over these routes.

Furthermore, Turkey is very close to various countries where other natural resources are found. Furthermore, due to its proximity to the Soviet Union, one of the world's great powers, it is in a position to exert influence over these regions in every respect. It is because of this characteristic that the famous former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill <sup>(26)</sup> in an article he wrote about Turkey, stated that "Turkey is Russia's soft underbelly."

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26 **Winston Churchill:** (1874 - 1965). British statesman. He graduated from the Royal Military Academy in 1895 and joined the army. He was taken prisoner during the Boer War and became a national hero after escaping. Ten months later, he was elected Member of Parliament for the Conservative Party. In 1904, he joined the Liberal Party. In 1911, he became First Lord of the Admiralty. His successful political career declined after the Gallipoli defeat in 1915. His insistence that the Dardanelles could only be crossed by the navy, after which Istanbul could be easily reached, led to the Turkish forces mounting a much more successful defence than expected, resulting in the historic defeat of the Allied forces. Churchill, who was considered the architect of this failure, found himself in a very difficult position with the British public and resigned from his post under pressure from his opponents. However, in 1917, he was appointed Minister of Munitions and Minister of War. In 1924, he rejoined the Conservative Party. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer (1924-1929). In 1939, he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty once more, and in 1940, he succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister. His wartime policies during World War II and the good relations he established with Roosevelt earned him a place among the most important statesmen in British history.

Turkey's geopolitical position has always placed it in a position where it could be attacked," he said. Turkey's geopolitical position has a significant impact on the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea and North Africa. The Straits of Istanbul and Çanakkale constitute the waterway for trade between the countries of the Black Sea region and the rest of the world, and between all the countries in the Mediterranean and beyond and the countries on the Black Sea coast. These straits have always been under Turkey's control. Furthermore, Turkey is the source of the Aras River, which irrigates a large part of the Caucasus, and the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, which make Syria and Iraq fertile lands, as well as the Zap rivers. In other words, Eastern Turkey is the source of the waters that irrigate and nourish neighbouring countries. This is a reality that provides Turkey with enormous opportunities. Furthermore, Turkey is a very large country, both in length and width; it almost resembles a small continent. With this situation, Turkey has very fertile agricultural opportunities, as well as very favourable military deployment opportunities.

Turkey's surface and soil resources provide the country with significant economic and military potential. The Turkish people living in Turkey are, by nature, hardworking, combative, and highly civilised, which also gives the Turkish nation additional capacity. It is precisely these characteristics that mean Turkey's geopolitical situation offers it great opportunities, but also exposes it to great risks. Faced with this situation, the Turkish nation must rapidly pursue the development, strengthening and power-building activities that this situation requires. Otherwise, in such an important geopolitical location,

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He got involved. During this period, he also worked with the Russians on the strategy the Allied Powers were attempting to shift towards the Balkans. However, he was also wary of the USSR gaining dominance there. For this reason, from the outset of the war, he tried to involve Turkey, which was of great strategic importance, in the war. In his meetings with Turkish leaders in Cairo and Adana on this subject, he was unwilling to provide the military assistance Turkey desired. He made great efforts to establish institutions such as NATO and the Eurasian Council, which facilitated the post-war unification of European countries. He returned to power in the 1951 elections. In 1955, he retired from politics, handing over his duties to Anthony Eden, who was also the husband of his niece Clarissa Churchill.

He spent his later years mainly writing and painting. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1953. In 1963, the United States granted him honorary citizenship. He died at the age of 91.

It is impossible for an underdeveloped society in Turkey, which has not yet achieved economic development and lags behind in science and technology, to live in a state of weakness. This is a situation that invites many dangers. The Turkish nation must quickly emerge from this situation and be saved. Otherwise, if this state of disarray, disorganisation and backwardness, this state of poverty and destitution, continues, it is clear that it will give rise to many dangers. Due to this geopolitical situation, we felt the need to equip our nation with a national doctrine in order to make a great leap forward.

We believe that the Turkish nation must make a great leap forward and, leaping across the ages, Turkey must enter the atomic, missile and space age that today's advanced nations have entered as soon as possible. To this end, we have presented the Nine Lights as a national doctrine to our nation in order to bring about a new leap forward. Those who govern Turkey must never lose sight of Turkey's geopolitical situation and its characteristics with regard to its neighbours. All of Turkey's neighbours today, all of the neighbouring lands that surround it, are lands that have lived under Turkish rule for hundreds of years. Due to these characteristics, there are sensitive aspects to the attitudes and policies of the people living in these lands. Therefore, when considering Turkey's geopolitics, it is imperative to take into account the characteristics of its neighbours, which are influenced by history. Managing Turkish policy without considering these factors has always been detrimental to Turkey. The reasons why the Cyprus issue has not yet been definitively resolved lie in the unresolved issues between Greece and Turkey concerning the Aegean Sea, continental shelf, territorial waters, and the demarcation line. These issues stem from the failure of Turkey's leaders to adequately consider the characteristics of Turkey's geopolitics. Considering these characteristics of Turkey's geopolitics, we feel it is imperative to awaken our nation and take decisive action. We must embark on a great leap forward. We must surpass the age of steam and the age of electricity and enter the modern age of atomic nuclear power, the space age, the age of rockets for the Turkish nation, and we must ensure rapid development in science and technology.

## 1 - NATIONALISM

### WHY NATIONALISM?

General overview:

I want to talk about today and tomorrow without dwelling on the past years and months. Because the present is the sum of the past and the seed of the future.

Today, the general outlook for Turkey can be summarised as follows:

Lips are chapped, stomachs are empty, villages are dark, mountains and hills are bare,

the people are poor, the nation is resentful of yesterday, and hopeless about tomorrow.

The simple and ugly weapons of deceit, slander, lies and conspiracy that we have witnessed in politics to date are weakening the political movements of the faithful Turkish people and shaking their faith.

On one side, the well-fed people watching the land; on the other, the hungry people tilling the land...

On one side, foreign technicians tilling the soil of our beautiful homeland, scattering seeds; missionary girls milking cows in our villages; on the other, the children of the country, caught up in the fashions of the day and filling the clubs to capacity...

On one side, the children of the homeland, burdened with responsibility from the age of six, sharing the noise of the engines in the factories and the heat of the sun in the fields, putting social justice into practice; on the other, an unjust, unconscious, soulless community preparing speeches on social justice in the shade of tall buildings and in their warm rooms...

On one side, laughter rising from alcohol expenses exceeding billions a year; on the other, villages parched by thirst, waiting in shifts from morning to night for a single drop of water...

All these lines are not the work of three or five years, or three or five people. They are the burden carried by centuries upon centuries.

We see the failure to fully understand and recognise Turkey's geopolitical power, productive value, and the moral and physical strength of the Turkish people as the main reason for this.

## **A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF TURKISH INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS**

### **Dominant Intellectual Currents**

When we look at the history of Turkish intellectual movements, we see Islamism, the idea of the Ummah, and, especially after the Tanzimat, the concept of Ottomanism as political ideas. Following these, we see the ideas of Turkism, Pan-Turkism, and Turanism. Later, during the National Liberation War and the period that followed, two main intellectual movements emerged. One was Anatolianism, the other was Turkish nationalism.

### **Islamism**

Islamism is a view that aims for the unity of all Muslim countries. One of the important reasons why this view was accepted in the Ottoman Empire was that the Ottoman sultans also held the title and duty of the Caliphate of Islam. However, over time, particularly with the influence of the imperialist activities of the great empires of Western countries, this idea, this view, was undermined and weakened, and although they were Muslim, the peoples of various Muslim countries were driven to wage wars and struggles against each other. Despite having a caliph at its head and despite the caliph having declared jihad, situations arose in which other Muslim nations allied and united with Christian Western countries and engaged in armed struggle against the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the Muslim Turkish nation, working in alliance with Christian states to destroy it.

### **Ottomanism**

The idea of Ottomanism became a more prominent intellectual movement after the proclamation of the Tanzimat. It was the notion of uniting the various nations within the empire's borders at that time



into a single nation under the name "Ottoman," regardless of religion or ethnicity, and to establish it as a unified entity;—which, due to various events and the many conditions created by the times—proved impossible and ultimately led to the belief that this idea was not viable.

## **Nationalism**

Turkish nationalism is a consciousness and sentiment born of the Turkish nation's desire for legitimate defence, its sense of legitimate defence. The Turkish people, who bore the entire burden of the empire for centuries, were the most oppressed and neglected element within the empire. As I mentioned earlier, Islamic unity, within the ideas of Ottomanism, has done everything in its power to realise all these ideas. However, over time, it saw that Serbia was gaining independence on one side, Bulgaria on another, Romania on yet another, and then the Arabs and other Muslim elements, despite being Muslim, were also saying, "We are not Turks," and were pursuing independence. These trends gave rise to a deep sense of national identity among the Turkish people, an awakening of national consciousness, and the idea and feeling of seeking help only from their own people, their own kind, their own nation, of being together, of uniting. This is a legitimate sense of defence; Turkish nationalism has never been chauvinistic. It has never had any connection with the idea or feeling of looking down on another nation, destroying it, or oppressing it. If that were the case, the nations that remained under our rule and control for 500, 800, or 900 years would have been unable to demonstrate a separate national identity and existence 500 or 900 years later; they would have dissolved within us.

Turkish nationalism, our understanding of nationalism, is based on spiritual awareness. On this basis, anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is Turkish. In defining Turkishness and the Turkish people, we do not believe in distorted criteria, particularly sectarianism, regionalism, or laboratory racism. Anthropological racism, which looks down on other nations and endangers world peace, is outside the scope of the Turkish nationalist ideal. Our understanding of nationalism is spiritual, rational, democratic, and contemporary. We oppose Nazi Hitler racism, communist racism, and all forms of anti-democratic

and imperialist racism that is not based on love for humanity. Imperialist racism does not recognise the idea of the nation state. The Nationalist Movement believes in the idea of the nation state, defends the equality and independence of all states, and respects the territorial and national integrity of every nation state.

Turkish Nationalism has been an expression of legitimate defence, high humanistic sentiments, and the Turkish nation's sense and will to defend and protect its natural rights and consciousness.

The idea of Turkism also arose from this awareness and sentiment. Turkism can be summarised and defined as follows: "The view that all activities should be organised and carried out in a manner consistent with the national interests of the Turkish nation."

### **Pan-Turkism and Turanism**

Before the First World War, the desire for separation among other elements that had emerged in Turkey gave rise to ideas of uniting with other Turks outside the Ottoman borders and creating a single entity with them. These ideas arose not only among Turks within Turkey's borders, but also among Turks outside Turkey's borders, and they found each other. Ismail Gaspirali in Crimea-in Kazan, Bashkir homeland...

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27 **Ismail Gaspirali:** 1851 – 11 September 1914). Crimean intellectual, journalist. He was born in Avcıköy, near Bahçesaray in Crimea. He took the nickname Gaspirinski (Gaspirali) in reference to the village where his father was born. At the age of ten, he was sent to the Akmescit High School. After two years there, he was transferred to a military school in the city of Varonej. He later went to the Moscow Military Academy. He left the school due to the Russians' Pan-Slavism policies. He began working as a Russian language teacher at the Zincirli Madrasa. During this assignment, which lasted about a year and a half, he read extensively and acquired substantial knowledge about Russian literature and intellectual movements. In 1869, his salary was increased to 600 roubles and he was appointed to the Dereköy school in Yalta. He remained there for two years. Returning to Bahçesaray, he once again taught Russian at the Zincirli Madrasa ( ). Gaspirali attempted to implement the innovative ideas that had formed in his mind up to that point for the first time at the Zincirli Madrasa. He taught Turkish to his students using new methods. One of his greatest ambitions was to go to Istanbul and become an officer. However, he thought that his interrupted education would prevent him from achieving this. For this reason, he went to Paris in 1871 and completed his interrupted education. He remained in Paris until the end of 1874. He went from Paris to Istanbul. Realising that his dream of becoming an officer would not come true, he returned to Crimea in the winter of 1875.

In 1878, he was elected mayor of Bahçesaray. In 1879, he applied to the Russian government to publish a newspaper. His application was rejected. However, he was determined to serve his people through publication. In 1881, under the pseudonym Genç Molla (Young Mullah)

In Tinde, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, and elsewhere... The Turkish communities scattered throughout these regions also sought to free themselves from foreign domination and establish cultural ties with one another, despite being separated into different parts.

As a result, a Pan-Turkism political movement spread throughout our homeland at that time, reaching even the state officials.

The idea of Turanism, however, found a broader scope. The Hungarians, Finns, and the Miszers living in Poland, that is, many nations of Turanian origin, were the first to put forward this idea. The Hungarians' goal in putting forward such an idea was that, especially at that time, they were caught between Slavic and Germanic pressure. Believing that their origins were Turanian, from the Turanian tribe, they put forward such an idea. All

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He wrote his articles entitled 'Muslims of Russia', which would later be published as a book. He published them in the *Tavrida* newspaper in Akmesic.

Despite being unable to obtain permission, he never gave up on the idea of publishing a newspaper. To test the waters, he began publishing small booklets under various titles such as *Tonguç*, *Ay*, *Güneş*, *Yıldız*, and *Mir'at-i Cedid* from 1881 onwards. Russian censors banned the publication of these pamphlets on the grounds that they constituted newspapers. He fought for four years to be able to publish a newspaper. He travelled to Petersburg many times to submit applications. In 1883, he obtained permission to publish *Tercüman-ı Ahval-i Zaman* on the condition that the Turkish section be translated into Russian word for word. He published the first issue on 10 April 1883. *Tercüman* was not the first Turkish newspaper published in Russia, but it was the most important in terms of its circulation and the role it played. It was published weekly until 1903, sometimes twice or three times a week between 1903 and 1912, and daily from September 1912 onwards, surviving for exactly 33 years before closing in 1916. Starting out as a small four-page publication, *Tercüman* soon achieved circulation figures that were remarkably high for the conditions and literacy rates of the time. It was sold in the Caucasus, Kazan, Siberia, Turkestan, China, and even Iran and Egypt. It took a keen interest not only in the affairs of the Turks of Russia but also in those of all Muslims. This also meant that the idea of linguistic unity was being put into practice. After the crisis of 1905, the 'Gaspıralı language' was used in more than 35 newspapers and magazines published in Kazan, the Caucasus, Turkestan and Crimea. Numerous stories and novels were written in this style. Thanks to the *Tercüman* newspaper, Ismail Gaspıralı, who created and popularised the Usûl-i Cedid (new method) school, as well as the idea of linguistic unity, which had been a dream in the past, also played important roles in the three congresses held after the 1905 Revolution with the aim of uniting the Muslims of Russia. At the Third Congress, where the issue of education was the main focus, he officially gained acceptance for his views on 'linguistic unity' among all Russian Muslims (1906).

The success of the Usûl-i Cedid movement and the freedom gained by Muslims after the October Manifesto, coupled with the congresses held for the 'Muslim Alliance', emboldened Gaspıralı. He made great efforts to convene an Islamic Congress in Cairo in 1907. In 1910, he travelled to India and participated in the meetings of the "Encümen-i İslamiye" in Bombay, where he presented his views. After the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy, he came to Istanbul and was greeted with great excitement (1909). On the eve of the First World War, he returned to Istanbul and tried to warn Turkey against entering the war. He passed away on Friday, 11 September 1914, in Bahcesaray. The following day, he was laid to rest near the tomb of Mengligiray Khan in a magnificent funeral ceremony.

The idea of establishing a union among Turanian peoples and tribes—an idea that has not found many supporters in Turkey—has finally found its place in scholarly books.

### **The Idea of Turkish Unity**

However, the idea that found its main supporters in Turkey and became established as a political view even among statesmen was the idea of Turkish Unity. The exemplary figure who sought to put this into action was Enver Pasha. Naturally, due to the circumstances and conditions at the time, this idea could not be realised, and indeed was not realised. At that time, and at the end of the First World War, Turkey suffered great losses and damage, causing the Ottoman Empire to become exhausted and weakened in this war. The reason I mention these is that those who shaped Turkey's foreign policy, the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey, drew lessons from the history of all these past Turkish intellectual movements and endeavoured to guide Turkey's foreign policy accordingly.

### **Turkishness and Anatolianism**

After the National Liberation War, two views known as Turkism and Anatolianism have occasionally been debated among intellectuals in our country. Those who defended the Anatolianism view argued that the Turks came to Turkey from Central Asia after the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071 and settled there, assimilating with the people living in Anatolia by converting them to Islam, thereby creating a new entity, a new body here. Therefore, they held the view that there was a difference between Turkish history before this period and Turkish history after this period, arguing that ethnic history and national history should be separated.

Turkishness, however, can be summarised as the view that one should concern oneself with the existence and destiny of the people within Turkey's borders as established by the Treaty of Lausanne, ensure their protection and advancement, and not concern oneself with Turks outside these borders, wishing that they resolve their own destinies and merely harbouring good wishes for them.

## NATIONALIST STRUGGLE

We nationalists are perhaps engaged in an unprecedented struggle for the first time in history. Our struggle is to obtain what is best, most correct, and most beautiful for the great Turkish nation, whatever the cost.

In our struggle, we may initially find very few comrades-in-arms who are well equipped in terms of ideals, cause and courage. But what matters is not quantity, i.e. numbers, but quality, i.e. action, movement. Our supporters are the elderly who remain young in spirit and mind, the young men and women with mature hearts and minds, the invincible vitality of the great Turkish state, and the guarantee and future of the Turkish nation: the youth.

We do not believe that those whose sole purpose in life is to preserve the status quo will join us. Rather than traitors and those with evil intentions, we will encounter more people who are mentally lazy and those who benefit from the preservation of the current order. They are mistaken. The fact that the struggle seems hopeless, on the contrary, increases the magnitude and nobility of the task we have undertaken.

We pledge to our beloved nation a prosperous, strong and great Turkey; we dedicate ourselves to the nation. And we lay our heads on the path of Turkishness.

### National Goals

Since the earliest ages of history, there has been constant struggle and competition between nations. Every nation strives relentlessly to elevate its own status and dominate other societies. To be unaware of this struggle between nations is to ignore the harsh realities of life. In our era, which is claimed to be one of great advances in civilisation and technology, the struggle for supremacy, power and prosperity among nations continues with all its intensity, just as it did in the past. The principle that "might makes right" has been the only principle governing international relations since the dawn of the world.

Despite the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, the severe attacks and violations suffered by Pakistan in December 1971<sup>28</sup> painfully demonstrated this once again. The events that befell Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956 are also vivid evidence of the harsh realities we face. Nations

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28 See footnote 16: Pakistan-India Wars.

29 **The 1968 Czechoslovakian Events:** This period began on 5 January 1968 and saw the communist regime in Czechoslovakia attempting to soften its stance. It began with Alexander Dubček coming to power and ended on 20 August of the same year with the invasion of the country by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies (except Romania). The movements of Soviet and Warsaw Pact allied state troops into Czechoslovakia, which began towards the end of June, ended with the invasion of Czechoslovakia on 20-21 August when negotiations in August failed to produce a result. During the invasion, approximately 5,000 to 7,000 tanks and between 200,000 and 600,000 soldiers entered Czechoslovakia. During the clashes, 72 Czechoslovakians were killed and hundreds more were wounded. As a result of the invasion, approximately 300,000 people were forced to flee to Western countries.

30 **1956 Hungarian Uprising:** The popular uprising launched in 1956 against the Stalinist government in Hungary, which was supported by the Soviet Union.

Matyas Rakosi, known for his allegiance to Moscow, who in 1952 assumed the position of secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party as well as prime minister, relinquished his post to Imre Nagy in July 1953, shortly after the death of Soviet leader Stalin. Nagy, who initiated some economic reforms by easing political pressure, was removed from office and expelled from the party in the spring of 1955 after losing Moscow's support. Although Rákosi regained his former position and halted reformist developments, he was removed from all his posts in July 1956. Erno Gero, who replaced Rákosi, immediately declared that there would be no concessions to the reformist line.

On 23 October 1956, a march organised by students in Budapest to present a petition to the authorities received widespread support from the public. Following Gero's harsh statement, the police opened fire on the crowd, and the peaceful demonstrations instantly turned into an uprising. With army units joining the rebels, the people began to arm themselves. Local councils emerged in almost every city in the country. Peasants began occupying nationalised land. The bureaucracy and law enforcement agencies rapidly disintegrated. The successive concessions made by Nagy, who returned to power, led to the revival of former political parties, which almost shared power. The Church also regained its former power.

As Soviet troops withdrew from Hungary, Nagy announced his decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact on 1 November, requesting the protection of the major powers through the United Nations. In response to this development, Soviet troops, reinforced and returned, occupied Budapest; Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest, while most of the reformist leaders were arrested. Meanwhile, János Kádár, who had served in Nagy's government, announced that a new government had been formed with a programme that envisaged reforms after the counter-revolution had been suppressed. Armed resistance against the Soviet troops was crushed overnight. It took several weeks to end the general strike initiated by the workers. After order was restored, widespread arrests began. Meanwhile, around 150,000 Hungarians fled abroad.

Societies that lack the awareness of the struggle between them fall under the yoke of others. Bearing these realities in mind, we are obliged to be strong and to find the path to strength in order to protect the rights of the Turkish nation and to always be able to assert them.

People on Earth live in communities of nations. Each nation has its own characteristics, way of life and world view. As a result of the activities of these diverse communities, various cultures and civilisations have emerged that colour the world. It is very dangerous for one society to blindly imitate other societies. Every nation must have its own spiritual beliefs, customs, national culture and national worldview. If these are absent or are dismissed as outdated and not replaced with new ones, that society will fall into a dangerous void of belief and ideas. Nations are enslaved by their spiritual and intellectual powers before they are destroyed by foreign armies and other material forces. The enslavement and destruction of a society that falls into such a situation becomes inevitable. The main principles that constitute the source of strength of nations and elevate societies can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Possessing strong spiritual faith and high moral character.
- 2) Possessing a strong national consciousness and spirit of nationalism.
- 3) To reach the highest level in science and technology.
- 4) Being able to produce modern, mass-produced goods in industry and agriculture.

At first glance, these principles may seem simple, yet they point to the only viable path for nations to achieve strength, prosperity, and happiness. For two hundred years, instead of addressing these fundamental issues, the Turkish nation has been caught up in trivial disputes over imitation and formalism, which have nothing to do with genuine progress. For Turkish intellectuals and leaders, becoming a satellite of Western countries has been adopted as an ideal. Nothing could be more disastrous for the Turkish nation. The idea of adopting the developments seen in the West, but creating our own national culture and civilisation and not being anyone's imitator, should have been the path we embraced. Development efforts have been undertaken since the time of Selim III <sup>(31)</sup>.

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31 **Selim III:** (24 December 1761 – 28 July 1808), the 28th Ottoman sultan and the 107th Islamic caliph.

However, no conclusion has been reached to date. On the contrary, due to sterile disputes that do not address the fundamental social and economic issues of the Turkish nation, we continue to suffer constant disasters and destruction. Our nation needs an unshakeable order based on a sound system of justice and diligent work.

Turkey's rise cannot be achieved with ideas imported from abroad. No foreigner can understand the interests of the Turkish nation as well as the Turkish nation itself.

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Selim III was born on 24 December 1761 during the reign of his father, Mustafa III. When his father died in 1774, he was only 13 years old, so his uncle, Abdülhamid I, ascended the throne. Abdülhamid I treated Prince Selim quite well, unlike previous sultans. Although Selim lived a life of confinement (imprisonment in a room), he was allowed to receive a good education. Prince Selim was interested in music and literature. He corresponded with Louis XVI, the last king of France before the French Revolution. Even before ascending the throne, he came to believe that fundamental structural change was necessary in the Ottoman Empire. When Abdülhamid I died on 7 April 1789, Selim III ascended the throne on the eve of the French Revolution, which would shake Europe to its foundations.

When Selim III ascended the throne, the Ottoman Empire was at war with both Austria and Russia. These unsuccessful wars ended with the Treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1792 and the Treaty of Yaş with Russia in 1792. This gave Selim III the opportunity to implement the reforms he had long desired for the Ottoman army. In 1793, he established the Nizam-ı Cedid army. Meanwhile, the French armies under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte had imposed their supremacy on all of Europe and attacked Egypt, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire (1798). The Ottoman army successfully defended Egypt. With the Treaty of El-Arif in 1801, France renounced its ambitions in Egypt.

In 1807, the Janissaries, who wanted the Nizam-ı Cedid army to be disbanded, revolted under the leadership of Kabakçı Mustafa. Selim III was forced to disband the Nizam-ı Cedid army and abdicate on 29 May 1807. Selim III was succeeded by his cousin, Mustafa IV, who sent Selim III back to the cage. On 28 July 1808, as Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Rusçuk, approached the palace with the aim of restoring Selim III to the throne, Selim III was strangled on the orders of Sultan Mustafa IV. It is known that a great struggle took place between Selim III and the janissaries who came to execute him. Selim III's body was buried in the courtyard of the Laleli Mosque, in the tomb of his father, Mustafa III.

Particular emphasis was placed on training officers in the military sphere. Selim III issued a 72-article decree concerning the reform of the Janissaries and the timar sipahis. Main topics:

The recruitment of Janissaries was prohibited.

Training sessions from Hıdırellez to November were increased to three. In 1790, he built a school in Tophane.

In 1792, he established an artillery unit in Halıcıoğlu. One section of this barracks trained engineers, while the other trained artillerymen.

In 1800, the Mühendishane-i Fünun-ı Berr-i Hümayun was established.

A shipbuilding department was added to the Tersane Mühendishanesi in Camialtı. In 1805, this school was divided into two main departments: construction and navigation.



cannot think. Today, communism, fascism, or capitalism, which have been imported into our country, seek to destroy the Turkish nation. Turkish youth must rise up against the destructive currents of thought that come from abroad and are introduced into our country not for the benefit of the Turkish nation, but for the benefit of others.

The solution to our problems lies in turning inward, joining hands in unwavering unity, and embarking on round-the-clock work. As the Turkish nation, we must rise up against the treacherous activities that target the integrity of our land and the indivisibility of our state and nation. For Turkish youth, nationalism and Turkism are the first requirements of national duty. A great new battle awaits our young people. A great battle against defeatism, laziness, immorality, ignorance, and dishonesty... A relentless battle against communism, regionalism, sectarianism, and all other forms of separatism that deny Turkishness and oppose the unity and integrity of the Turkish nation...

That is why we launched the Nationalist Movement.

The Nationalist Movement envisions the Turkish nation taking flight towards new horizons by blending idealism and realism. Our goal is to transform the Turkish nation, through humane and scientific methods, into a strong, prosperous, and happy society that can stand on its own two feet, possessing its rights and honour, and to bring it to the forefront of modern nations.

Our means of achieving this goal is to awaken the Turkish nation, to give it new vitality and momentum, and to inspire it to work and take action by instilling in it a new philosophy of life based on national history and Turkish consciousness, guided by modern science and high moral standards. It is to realise the great leap forward by explaining to our citizens the dangers that surround us internally and externally and by making the cause of our country's liberation and rise a matter for the people. Another way to achieve this goal is to train enlightened individuals who will lead the nation, filling them with love for the people, distancing them from selfishness, enabling them to live alongside the people and work for the people, and thus uniting the people with the enlightened.

For the Turkish nation, one of the most honourable and greatest members of the family of nations living on Earth, to survive, to rise, to become strong and happy, it must embark on a new struggle.

This struggle will be a struggle to establish a system of justice and rights that is completely fair and transparent among our citizens. This war will be a war to eliminate backwardness, ignorance and poverty. This war will be a war to free ourselves from being a market for others, from being exploited by others, from begging for help from others. This war will be a war to break the chains of every kind of economic, social, political and spiritual bondage that surrounds us. It will be a noble uprising based on love for humanity and deep respect for human dignity, free from all kinds of prejudice and preconceptions, which will not bow to injustice under any circumstances.

We will develop a movement to become the bearer of an honourable flag that refuses to be a servant within the human world, nor to use others as servants. We will fight to propel the Turkish nation forward through the ages, raising it to the highest level in science, technology, and high moral values. There are those who do not understand us, who do not want to understand us, and there always will be. Those whose narrow worlds make them slaves to their selfishness and interests will continue to be hostile towards us. It is only natural that those who thrive on envy, malice, deceit, dishonesty, and baseness will engage in all kinds of activities against us, and they will continue to do so. Nationalist Movement Party members, Dokuz Işıkçılar, and Ülkücüler will work to save, improve, and awaken those who are on the wrong path, without disgust, revulsion, fear, or hesitation, maintaining their dignity and faith. We, as Idealists, must overcome every obstacle and move forward without faltering in order to achieve the best, the finest, and the highest for the Turkish nation. We do not have much time to spare in reaching our goal. We must not forget that they will not leave a nation that has established the most powerful states in history and commanded the most glorious armies, on the richest lands in the world, in the most important region, to languish in poverty, backwardness, disorganisation, neglect, misery and fragmentation.

We must act, join hands, and stand shoulder to shoulder. We must not believe those who speak of scarcity. Impossibility and scarcity are enemies that people have always been capable of overcoming.

A new Turkish miracle must be born... It will be born. Perhaps tomorrow, perhaps even sooner.

## WE MUST LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES

Our country has fallen into great difficulties and crises in recent years. Many foreign ideologies and provocations originating from outside have disrupted the life of our country. Chief among these are communism, regionalism and sectarian provocation. These are corrupt activities nurtured and developed by foreign powers seeking to control Turkey in the ongoing struggle for world domination. However, the real reason they have spread in Turkey and found supporters is our own mistakes. People's souls, hearts and minds are like vessels; they cannot be left empty. If left empty, they will be filled with whatever comes along, whether harmful or beneficial. For many years, we have neglected to instil in our young people and the people of our country a sense of nationalism, love of country and national ideals. The love of serving society, the sense of loyalty to the Turkish state, and the belief in elevating the nation have been neglected. Thus, our people, left in a spiritual void, have been unwittingly drawn into destructive ideologies. Harmful movements such as communism are an ideology, a doctrine or a philosophy of life. An idea or doctrine cannot be prevented by harsh measures or material pressure. An idea or ideology can only be countered by another ideal or doctrine that is stronger and superior to it.

The sole source of strength for the Turkish nation is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. People raised with this awareness cannot be swayed by foreign influences.

Three main measures must be applied simultaneously in the fight against foreign activities

1) Instilling national ideals and nationalist consciousness, ensuring a solid national education,

2) Swiftly implementing social justice measures and eliminating poverty and injustice,

3) Enacting legal measures and enforcing them without any leniency.

Today, our country lacks a deep-rooted national education system that instils both national ideals and a sense of nationalism. Unless social justice measures are taken against the corrupt elements who skilfully exploit this situation in our country, it will be impossible to be effective. Moreover, as people who love our country and our nation, we are obliged to think about ensuring the happiness and prosperity of all of us.

The Nationalist Movement has ushered in a new era in Turkey with the national doctrine it has brought forth. This era is one of a national doctrine based on infinite respect for human love and human dignity. With each passing day, our cause is better understood and embraced by our citizens. We will continue our work with enthusiasm and determination. We will forge bonds based on mutual love and respect among our citizens, regardless of party, sect, race or region. We will rebuild a great Turkey as a sacred whole that does not accept division.

## **VICTORY, BELONGS TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THEMSELVES...**

It would be appropriate to first state the goal we have in mind and then discuss the ways to achieve this goal. The goal is to make the Turkish nation, through humane methods and by the shortest route, a strong, prosperous, happy nation that can stand on its own feet, possessing its rights and honour, and to bring it to the forefront of modern civilisation.

Just as individuals must first and foremost respect themselves and feel a sense of self-respect, nations must also respect themselves, have confidence in their own existence, and achieve happiness through working with respect and confidence in their own existence.

If a person lacks self-respect, looks down on themselves, or feels incapable, it is impossible for that person to accomplish great things or be useful to their environment. If a person approaches a ditch thinking, "I cannot jump over this ditch, I am not strong enough, I am incapable," feeling hopeless and hesitant, they will not be able to cross or jump over that ditch. If a person approaches with confidence, thinking, "I am strong, I can jump over this ditch without hesitation," they will jump. Victory can never be achieved by those who believe they are doomed. The life of nations is the same. If nations feel the value of their own existence, believe in their own power, hold their own dignity above all else, and respect their own existence, they will make a great contribution to the civilised world, produce great works, and at the same time bring happiness and prosperity to all the people living in their own societies. That is why we place nationalism at the forefront of our principles.

In our view, the Turkish nation is an indivisible, sacred whole. Regardless of which party they belong to or whether they are independent, we consider it our duty as members of this nation to protect and safeguard the welfare,

freedom, and honour as a matter of honour as a member of this nation. The purpose of our speeches is to demonstrate the measures we believe will make the Turkish nation the most powerful and prosperous society on earth in the shortest time and by the shortest route.

## **THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM TO DIVIDE THE TURKISH HOMELAND!**

No other idea or thought can take precedence over the idea of protecting, exalting, and perpetuating the existence of the Turkish nation. Concepts such as democracy and freedom exist only to serve this purpose.

There can be no such thing as the freedom to disrupt the unity of the Turkish nation or to fragment the Turkish homeland. Just like communism, regionalism and sectarianism have taken root and spread, and the government stands by helplessly and passively. Certain ignorant and cowardly individuals believe that by aiding communists and other subversives, they will secure their own miserable existence. As a party, we will crush, destroy and eliminate communism and other subversive movements within Turkey. But we will not only punish them; we will also impose the most severe penalties on the government, which has failed to fulfil its duty against this destructive activity, and on the traitors who aid and abet the subversives.

## NATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY

Another of the Turkish nation's sacred sources of strength is the ideal of unity, solidarity and internal peace.

It is an indisputable fact that a nation that fails to preserve its unity and solidarity will soon be brought to its knees. Today, efforts are being made to undermine our internal unity in order to sabotage and destroy our nation. Regionalism, minority racism, sectarianism and communism are extremely dangerous movements that hinder national unity. There are very few non-Turks living within the borders of Turkey in this day and age. Despite this fact, attempts are being made to create divisions and insidious minority racism, using language and dialect differences as an excuse. Turkish nationalism is opposed to all kinds of separatist movements, as well as all forms of minority racism. Opposing minority racism, which is harmful to our national existence, is one of the most important duties.

The Turkish nation has always held a superior position and fulfilled a superior role in human history and civilisational life. The Turkish nation has never embraced a life of isolation, cut off from the unity of the world and humanity, but has sustained a universal life for centuries by establishing "World Empires" across continents.

It has been a dense civilisation builder and bearer, and with its ideas of right, justice and order, and its organisational superiority, it has always given a positive direction to the life of nations and humanity, ensuring happiness.

Today, the Turkish nation is located in the region that forms the backbone of the old world, in the most dynamic sphere of international life and politics.

The disasters suffered and the serious struggles endured over the last century have not broken our nation's great vitality and power of sovereignty.



The virtues bestowed by the creative power inherent in our nation's character enable the Turkish people to overcome every obstacle and conquer every difficulty.

Turkishness has a positive and divine mission for humanity; the awakening of today's youth with national consciousness and their return to themselves will propel the Turkish nation towards a glorious new future.

In this second half of the 20th century, we see the Turkish nation once again in the conditions of Ergenekon<sup>32</sup>. The Nationalist Movement, which has begun to revive

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32 **The Legend of the Grey Wolf and the Legend of Ergenekon:** These two legends form a whole. They deal with the era of the Gök Turks. The Legend of Ergenekon is based on the main lines of the Legend of the Grey Wolf and can be said to be a freely expanded version of that legend.

**The Legend of the Grey Wolf:** The Turkish tribe that identified itself with the Legend of the Grey Wolf also recounted its development and strengthening, its periods of expansion and growth in the Legend of Ergenekon. Where the Legend of the Grey Wolf, also recorded in Chinese histories, ends, the Legend of Ergenekon begins. The Legend of Ergenekon is the continuation of the Legend of the Grey Wolf.

The Legend of Bozkurt is recorded in Chinese sources and has two separate versions. However, there is very little difference between the two.

First version: There was a country called So in the north of the Hun Country. The Gök Turks, who were of the same lineage as the Huns, lived here. One day, the Gök Turks left the country of So. At that time, they were led by a brave man named Kağan Pu. Kağan Pu had sixteen brothers. One of the sixteen brothers had a wolf for a mother. Because his mother was a wolf, known and accepted by the Gök Turks as one of the most sacred creatures, the young man could command the winds and rain, keeping these two forces under his control. However, after leaving their homeland in the country of So, the Gök Turks were attacked by their enemies.

In this raid, the enemies wiped out all the Gök Turks, and only one of the sixteen brothers survived. The young man who survived was the son of a wolf.

This young man had two wives, one of whom was the daughter of the summer god and the other the daughter of the winter god. After the raid, he had two sons from each of them. As the population grew and multiplied over time, they chose the eldest of the children as their khan; his name at that time was not in the Göktürk language. As soon as he was chosen as khan, he abandoned this non-Göktürk name and took the name Türk.

After that, Türk married ten women and had many children. One of them, named Asena, ascended to the throne of the khanate, and the name of the Grey tribe became Aşina.

Second Narrative: The Aşina tribe, a branch of the Huns, had settled on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. They were known as the first ancestors of the Turks. While they were living in peace and tranquillity, one day they were suddenly attacked by enemies. At the end of the attack, no one was left alive.

Somehow, a tiny child had managed to survive the raid and had taken refuge in a corner. The enemies saw him too. However, because he was frail and small, no one feared him or paid him any mind. Some even felt pity for him. But the enemies still considered every possibility and decided it would be better to cut off his arm and leg and leave him there than to kill him; they did as they had planned. They cut off his arm and leg, leaving him half dead, then took him and threw him into a reed bed in the marsh; they left him there and went away. At that moment, a female grey wolf appeared, from nowhere,

came, suckled the child, licked its wounds and healed it. From that day on, she fed and raised the child with the food she hunted, increasing its strength and vigour. Over time, the child the grey wolf had raised grew strong.

Many days later, the enemy chieftain who had raided and destroyed the Aşina clan learned that the child, whose arms and legs had been cut off and who had been thrown into the reeds, was still alive. He sent men to find out the situation and, if the child was still alive, to have him killed.

When the enemy chieftain's soldier arrived, he saw a female Grey Wolf beside the young man with his arm and leg severed. The female grey wolf sensed danger, grabbed the soldier with her teeth and carried him across to the other side of the sea; she did not stop there, but took him towards the Altai Mountains. There, in a meadow surrounded by high mountains, she settled in a cave, married him, and bore him ten sons!

The plateau where the cave was located was green; it had cool, abundant waters, fruit trees, and game animals. The sons grew up there and married there. A tribe descended from each of them. One of these tribes was called the Asine tribe.

Asine was the most intelligent, boldest, and bravest of his brothers. For this reason, he became the Turkish khan. He did not forget his lineage. He always erected a pole with a wolf's head on top in front of his tent. Many years passed. Another brave khan named Aseñçe emerged from the Aşina tribe. During his time, the Aşina tribe left their homeland and settled in more beautiful lands.

**The Epic of Ergenekon:** There was no place in the Turkish lands where the Turkish arrow did not fly, the Turkish arm did not reach, or the Turk did not rule. This situation aroused the envy of foreign tribes. The foreign tribes united and marched against the Turks. Upon this, the Turks gathered their tents and herds together; they dug a trench around themselves and waited. When the enemy arrived, the battle began. They fought for ten days. In the end, the Turks prevailed. Following this defeat, the khans and lords of the enemy tribes gathered at the hunting ground and discussed. They said, *"If we do not deceive the Turks, we will be in dire straits!"*

At dawn, as if caught in a raid, they abandoned their belongings and fled. The Turks, saying, "Their strength is spent, they are fleeing," pursued them. When the enemy saw the Turks, they suddenly turned back. The battle began. The Turks were defeated. The enemy came to the tents, killing the Turks. They plundered the tents and their possessions so thoroughly that not a single black hair tent remained. They put all the adults to the sword and took the children captive.

At that time, İl Kağan was the leader of the Turks. İl Kağan had many sons. However, in this battle, all his children died except for one. He had married off this son, named Kayı (Kayan), that year. İl Khan also had a nephew named Tokuz Oğuz (Dokuz Oğuz); he had survived. Kayı and Tokuz Oğuz had been taken captive. Ten days later, they both took their wives, mounted their horses, and fled. They returned to the Turkish homeland. Here they found camels, horses, oxen, and sheep that had escaped from the enemy. They sat down and thought: *"The enemy surrounds us on all sides. Let us find a place deep in the mountains where no one can find us and settle there."* They took their herds and migrated towards the mountains. They arrived at a place with no other way out than the road they had come. This single road was so steep that camels and horses could barely walk on it; if they stepped in the wrong place, they would tumble down and be torn to pieces. In the land where the Turks arrived, there were streams, springs, various plants, fruits, and game. Seeing such a place, they gave thanks to the great God. In winter, they ate the meat of their animals; in summer, they drank their milk. They wore their hides. They called this land "Ergenekon."

Time passed, the ages flowed; Kayı and Tokuz Oğuz had many children. Kayı had many children, Tokuz Oğuz had fewer. The children of Kayı were called Kayat. Some of the children of Tokuz were called Tokuzlar, some

the fire that will melt the Ergenekon barrier ahead and the will to overcome difficulties is developing. Beyond this barrier, which will be melted and overcome, broad horizons and happy tomorrows await the Turkish people.

These horizons and those tomorrows will be illuminated by the torch of the NINE LIGHTS carried in hands and hearts.

As we passed through yesterday's Ergenekon barrier, there was a BOZKURT before us. Today, we are marching as thousands of BOZKURT in the struggle to obtain the best and the most beautiful for Turkishness, whatever the cost. Tomorrow, we will run towards free and happy horizons as millions of BOZKURT.

Turkish Nationalism is a sentiment and consciousness drawing strength from the profound love and faith felt for the Turkish nation. Turkish Nationalism, a movement aiming for the Turkish nation to live freely and independently and to rise, was first introduced to the Turkish nation as a political movement by the Nationalist Movement Party.

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de Türlüken. For years, the children of these two heroes remained in Ergenekon; they multiplied, multiplied, multiplied. Four hundred years passed.

Four hundred years later, they and their numbers had grown so much that they could no longer fit in Ergenekon. They held a council to find a solution. They said: *"We have heard from our ancestors that there are vast lands and beautiful homelands outside Ergenekon. Our homeland was once in those places. Let us search among the mountains and find a way. Let us migrate and leave Ergenekon. Outside Ergenekon, whoever is our friend, we will be friends with them; whoever is our enemy, we will be enemies with them."*

Upon hearing this decision of the council, the Turks sought a way out of Ergenekon; they could not find one. Then a blacksmith said, "There is an iron mine in this mountain. It resembles pure iron. If we melt the iron, perhaps the mountain will let us pass." They went and saw the iron mine. They laid a layer of wood and a layer of coal on the broad expanse of the mountain. They filled the bottom, top, sides and edges of the mountain with wood and coal. They made seventy large bellows from seventy hides and placed them in seventy locations. They lit the wood and coal and blew the bellows. With God's help, the iron mountain heated up, melted, and flowed. A path opened up, wide enough for a loaded camel to pass. Then a grey wolf with a sky-blue mane appeared; no one knew where it came from. The grey wolf came, stood before the Turks, and stopped. Everyone understood that it would show them the way. The Grey Wolf walked; the Turkish nation followed. And the Turks, led by the Grey Wolf, emerged from Ergenekon on that sacred year, sacred month, sacred day.

The Turks remembered that day and that hour well. This holy day became a festival for the Turks. Every year, grand ceremonies are held on that day. A piece of iron is heated in the fire. First, the Turkish khan grasps this iron with tongs, places it on the anvil, and strikes it with a hammer. Then the other Turkish beys do the same thing to celebrate the festival.

When they emerged from Ergenekon, the khan of the Turks was Börteçine (Grey Wolf), a descendant of Kayı Khan. Börteçine sent envoys to all the provinces, announcing that the Turks had emerged from Ergenekon. This continued until, as before, all the provinces came under the command of the Turks. Some welcomed this, recognising Börteçine as khan; others did not welcome it and resisted. War was waged against those who resisted, and the Turks defeated them all. They established the Turkish State as sovereign in all directions.

Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness. Anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is Turkish.

Turkish nationalism, a conscious movement born out of the Turkish nation's legitimate sense of self-preservation, is the arch-enemy of all foreign ideologies that seek to divide and destroy our nation and our country.

We oppose any system that seeks to divide our national unity.

The Nationalist Movement is based on love for humanity. It believes in democracy,

and opposes any system or ideology that is hostile to humanity and seeks to divide it.

The aim of our nationalism is to embrace and love all our citizens living within our national borders, without any discrimination, regardless of religion, sect or race, and to provide them with humane living conditions.

Our understanding of nationalism is the relentless enemy of all divisive classist, sectarian and racist systems that threaten the unity of our country and nation. In our understanding of nationalism, there is no place for capitalism, classist socialism, communism, fascism or national socialism. These foreign ideologies, which are the product of the culture and history of other nations, have no place whatsoever in our state philosophy.

Turkish Nationalism is a movement free from all forms of imitation, bound to the values of its own society and dedicated to developing those values. It has no need for imitation. This great potential within our nation has been brought to the political stage by the Nationalist Movement Party, and the foundations and boundaries of Turkish state philosophy have been established through political action.

The Nationalist Movement is a sacred ideology that draws its strength and momentum from the values derived from Turkish history and the millennia-old past of the Turkish nation.

In short, "Turkish consciousness and pride combined with Islamic morality and virtue" has become the broad expression of our understanding of nationalism for the Turkish nation.

## TO BE AGAINST NATIONALISM IS TREASON (NO COMPROMISE ON NATIONALISM)

Throughout human history, weapons and tools of war have been in a state of constant development. Examples include swords, arrows, rifles, cannons, tanks, aeroplanes, and atomic weapons. Today, nations are engaged in what we might call a silent war, a cultural war. Cultural warfare is more comprehensive than ideological warfare. One nation strives to assimilate another nation or nations into its own culture. In war, the most vulnerable points of a human being are the heart and the brain. Cultural warfare targets the same points. For this reason, the cultural cause in the life of a nation is not a cause of reading and memorising the alphabet. It is a cause of developing and nurturing the mind, heart and body.

The fate of a leaf that has fallen from its branch is determined by the wind. It is now at the mercy of the wind blowing from any direction. It should not be forgotten that *"Whoever imitates a people is counted among them."*<sup>33</sup>

The most effective weapon against cultural warfare is nationalism. It is possible to protect and develop one's own values and identity through moral strength and national consciousness. Nationalism is also a springboard for intellectual, spiritual and physical leaps in social and economic endeavours. This is because no endeavour that does not rely on a person's intellectual and physical strength can succeed. Taking all this into account, every member of the nation must be equipped with moral values and national consciousness. Considering the difficult conditions Turkey finds itself in, I would like to state and remind you that opposing nationalist movements in their true value and meaning is tantamount to opening the castle gates to the enemy. Because every cell is the mortar and architect of the whole. If all the cells abandon their existence, life in the whole of the cells ceases to exist.

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33 Hadith-i Sharif.

The fundamental philosophy of the Nationalist Movement is love for humanity. We do not believe in systems that do not respect human dignity and freedom. Love for humanity and freedom are only possible by valuing human beings. Human beings are a whole, made up of cultural, social, economic, political and moral values. Our world view embraces human beings with all their values and in all their aspects. It seeks to develop and uplift them as a whole.

To be able to love a person, to be able to make them free, is possible by liberating them from all forms of bondage and enabling them to master themselves. For a person to be freed from bondage and become master of their own destiny means to attain freedom. Historical and political experience has shown us that property has enabled the growth of human initiative and has been the greatest factor in the development of personality. However, we are opposed to the use of property as a means of exploiting and oppressing others. We consider it necessary for the state to take all measures to ensure balance in the ownership of property.

True nationalism is loving every person who makes up the nation equally, without any distinction. The understanding of nationalism we believe in absolutely rejects any kind of distinction among the people who make up this nation. Nationalism is not divisive, but unifying; it is not segregating, but inclusive. Every individual who makes up this nation is a member of the same lineage, the same culture and history, and they are all bound by the same common destiny. In our worldview, no individual is considered superior to another. We are vehemently opposed to all kinds of divisive, separatist systems. The nation is a living organism and a living entity. Every individual has a specific place and role within this organism and entity. Every individual is a limb, a cell of this organism. Just as a normal human brain cannot consider some of the limbs and cells that make up the body to be superior to others, nor can it sacrifice them. For they know full well that in such a case, the body would either be incomplete and unable to perform its duties, or it would cease to exist altogether, losing its vitality. In the same way, a good system, a good state administration, cannot sacrifice one of the social classes or individuals that make up the nation for another. It cannot elevate one class or individual above another class or individual.

Systems that favour one social class or individual over other social classes or individuals are CLASS-BASED SYSTEMS. Nationalism opposes all forms of class-based systems. Class-based systems envisage one class oppressing and exploiting another. Class-based systems give rise to class dictatorship. The

9 LIGHT SYSTEM, which we advocate, treats the Turkish nation as a sacred whole without dividing it into classes.

The first of the class-based systems is MARXISM. Marxism, the greatest enemy of the Turkish nation, theoretically takes the working class as its basis. However, in practice, the working class has no place in state administration. All authority is concentrated in the communist party, which is called the vanguard of the working class. All institutions of state administration and social order are left to the monopoly of the communist party. According to communist theory, the working class is like a small child. Just as a child cannot see its own real interests and cannot protect them, and therefore needs a guardian or trustee, the working class also needs a guardian or trustee, that is, a representative, to protect its real interests. This representative is the Communist Party. In this system, everything the Communist Party does is considered to be in the interests of the workers. Since workers are not in a position to appreciate their real interests, just like a small child, they do not have the necessary intellectual and rational abilities and therefore have no right to object. This is the value that the Marxist structure, which claims to be the state of the working class, gives to the working class.

Based on this idea, Marxism ultimately established not a working-class administration, but a communist party administration and dictatorship. It should be noted that in the Marxist state system, the party and the state are similar. In this system, the communist party and the state are integrated and merged. The Communist Party has gained control over all state institutions. Senior state officials, high-ranking officers, judges and police chiefs are members of the Communist Party.

Marxism has nationalised private property. A single boss has become the owner of everything in the country. This is the communist state. However, the state is an abstract concept. For the machinery of the state to function, it needs organs and people. In the Marxist state system, the people who operate this machinery are only members of the Communist Party. Those who are not members of the Communist Party cannot hold positions in the state apparatus. Since property is under the control of the state, and the state is in the hands of members of the Communist Party, the owners of the means of production in the Marxist state are members of the Communist Party. It should be remembered that ownership gives a person the right to use and control something. The communist system has taken the right of use and control away from individuals and given it to the state and, consequently, to members of the Communist Party. Thus, communism is the first absolute

It has created PARTY OWNERSHIP or BUREAUCRATIC OWNERSHIP, a form of monopolistic ownership.

Although communists characterised property as the product of theft, an instrument of exploitation that gave rise to classes, they did not abandon it; on the contrary, by nationalising property and placing it under the control of the communist party, THEY CREATED A NEW CLASS. THIS NEW CLASS, THE MOST EXPLOITATIVE, MONOPOLISTIC AND ABSOLUTE CLASS IN HISTORY, HAS CORRUPTED A STATE AND PARTY BOURGEOISIE UNSEEN EVEN IN CAPITALIST SOCIETIES.

Thus, communism, which sought to establish a classless society, established the most absolute class dictatorship in history. Everyone except a handful of happy minorities who were members of the Communist Party was deprived of property rights and therefore deprived of freedom. The communist regime, while taking property from people's hands, also took their honour and freedom, condemning millions of people to slavery.

The second class-based system is CAPITALISM. Capitalism is a system that protects only CAPITALISTS, that is, EMPLOYERS, within the national community. The capitalist system, by its nature and operation, leaves economic life in the hands of capitalists, so that in this system the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In capitalism, economic activity is under the control of a few bosses. In this system, only bosses dominate industry, domestic and foreign trade, banks, and mines. The ownership of the means of production is in the hands of a handful of bosses. The taxes the state collects from the people and the money individuals deposit in banks for a rainy day end up in the pockets of the bosses.

Capitalism is a worldview. Like any worldview, capitalism has political and legal dimensions alongside its economic dimension. The political dimension of capitalism is called liberal democracy, and its legal dimension is called liberal law. The political institutions of liberal democracy, particularly parliament, government and administration, serve the capitalist class. In liberal democracies, only the bosses and their bureaucratic class participate in the management of the state. Parliament passes laws that protect the bosses, and the government meticulously enforces these laws. The machinery of the state works for the benefit of the capitalists. However, the bosses and the bureaucrats who serve them always talk about democracy and freedom. Liberal democracy and freedom are a false democracy and freedom.



In a liberal system, democracy and freedom are only granted to capitalists. For the vast majority of the people, those who are not bosses, democracy and freedom are nothing more than dictatorship and slavery. We do not believe in capitalism, which enslaves the vast majority of the Turkish people in exchange for making only the capitalist class masters. In this system, the castle of yesterday's feudal lords has been moved to the centre of today's big cities. In the 9 Lights view, the state is neither a guard at the feudal lords' castle nor a corner shopkeeper. THE 9 LIGHTS DOCTRINE IS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP, WHICH IS A SYSTEM OF PATRONS.

It is clear that the capitalist and Marxist systems, which have been defended for years as models for developing our country, are class-based and dictatorial systems.

In both systems, the unity of the nation is divided into capitalist or bureaucratic classes, and the vast majority of the people, except for a handful of individuals, are subjected to the enslavement and exploitation of these classes. The reason for the enslavement of the people in capitalist and Marxist systems is their inability to own property. As we mentioned above, the only guarantee of freedom is property ownership. For this reason, the goal of the 9 LIGHT system we advocate is TO MAKE EVERY MEMBER OF THE TURKISH NATION A PROPERTY OWNER.

As mentioned earlier, due to the nature of capitalist and Marxist systems, it is not possible for every member of our nation to be a property owner in these systems. However, since the Nine Lights system is based on the Turkish nation as a whole, every citizen will be able to become a property owner in this system. It is possible for every individual to become a property owner by participating in the construction of the means of production and, consequently, in the accumulation of capital. The first condition for capital accumulation is saving. In capitalist and Marxist countries, although this saving is imposed on the nation, ownership of the resulting means of production is, by virtue of the system, given to a few bosses or the communist party bureaucracy. In the Dokuz Işıklı system, however, ownership of the means of production will be given to those who save. In this way, all forms of theft and exploitation will be prevented, and just as Turks will not be allowed to rob Turks, non-Turks will never be allowed to rob them either. Everyone will own the fruits of their labour and sweat. Thus, national development based on our national resources will be achieved in a very short time. National social justice will also be achieved, as everyone will be able to receive their fair share of the national income.

In order to achieve our national development and enable every Turkish citizen to be free, WE MUST REORGANISE THE TURKISH NATION. In this organisation, the socio-economic position of the individual within society will be the basis. The Turkish nation is divided into SIX SOCIAL STRATA in socio-economic terms. These are the WORKERS, PEASANTS, TRADESMEN, CIVIL SERVANTS, SELF-EMPLOYED and EMPLOYERS. These strata

The Turkish nation will be reorganised. A SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT FUND will be established within each district to form the basis of our economic development. The compulsory savings made by our workers, farmers, tradesmen, civil servants and other citizens in the fund to which they belong will be invested in MACHINE-MAKING MACHINES and FACTORY-MAKING FACTORIES. With these machines and factories, our country will become an advanced and independent industrial nation in line with the requirements of the age. Our workers, villagers, tradesmen, civil servants and freelancers will be partners in the factories established and will share their profits. Thus, every Turkish citizen who is a partner and owner of our means of production will be happy and free, with neither capitalist nor communist bosses breathing down their necks.

## NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND NATIONALISM

Human communities around the world live as nations. Each nation strives to preserve and develop its own characteristics and to make its own community more advanced, superior and prosperous than other nations. This competition and mutual rivalry between nations is possible through the unification of the people who make up the nation in shared feelings and their gathering around a common national consciousness, thereby acquiring the awareness to direct their social existence towards specific goals. Nationalism and nationalist sentiment are the main factors influencing the activities of nations, their rise, and their efforts to achieve prosperity and development for their societies. It is impossible for a society devoid of nationalist sentiment to present the image of a nation. It is impossible for a community that lacks nationalist sentiment and national consciousness to live together. We see that communities deprived of such feelings and consciousness cannot protect themselves against even the slightest influence of external events; indeed, even without external influences, they disintegrate and lose their identity as a community with specific characteristics and specific goals.

The rise of the Turkish nation and its protection from dangers depend on each individual who makes up the Turkish nation becoming nationally conscious and having hearts that beat with love for the nation and love for the homeland. For this reason, we have established Nationalism as the first principle of the Nine Lights national doctrine. Undoubtedly, the nationalism referred to here is Turkish Nationalism. What is Turkish Nationalism? Turkish Nationalism is the expression of a deep love and loyalty towards the Turkish nation, a shared history and a shared sense of purpose. Turkish Nationalism is an understanding nourished by human emotions. Turkish Nationalism is a way of thinking based on love, not hatred and malice. Nationalism is loving one's nation, loving one's homeland, and protecting one's nation from dangers.

It is the feeling and thought of making every sacrifice for its protection. Turkish nationalism is a concept that considers all Turks as brothers. It is a concept and view that considers everyone living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey and who considers themselves a member of the Turkish nation as brothers.

Turkish nationalism expresses the mindset of viewing and evaluating events through the eyes of the Turkish nation. It can be said that another expression of Turkish nationalism is the sentiment and awareness of wanting, thinking and working to ensure that every event, whether inside or outside Turkey, does not harm the Turkish nation. In addition, seeking to maximise the benefit of the Turkish nation from events occurring both within and outside Turkey, considering how every event can maximally benefit Turkey, and striving towards this end should also be seen as a requirement of Turkish Nationalism. It is useful to define the nation in order to determine Turkish Nationalism.

What is the reality we refer to as the Turkish nation? Today, the reality we call the Turkish nation can be defined as follows: The Turkish nation consists of a community of people who share a common history and a common historical consciousness, belong to the same religion, are shaped by the same culture, established and sustained the same state, and today are the owners of that same state, living under its flag and within its borders. In other words, the people who live within the borders of the Republic of Turkey, embrace Turkishness, are shaped by the same culture, and belong to the same religion constitute our nation today.

The definition of the Turkish nation extends beyond these drawn lines. Because the Turkish nation is a great nation, it has spread and dispersed across vast areas of the world today. It is estimated that there are approximately 120 million Turkish communities living in the world today who belong to the same religion, share the same history, and speak the same language. Only one-third of these are within the borders of Turkey. Are we not going to consider the Turks outside the current borders of Turkey as part of the Turkish nation? The Turks outside the current borders of the Republic of Turkey are also part of the Turkish nation. They are also included in the term "Turkish nation". However, the Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey are in other lands, under the rule of other nations. Today, the Republic of Turkey is the only independent Turkish state in the world. The Republic of Turkey is the owner and fundamental entity of all issues concerning the Turkish nation. In this respect, the Republic of Turkey is paramount.

Its consideration, protection, and exaltation should constitute the primary concern. To be of the Turkish nation; to love the Turkish nation and to carry within oneself the passion to serve the Turkish state with loyalty, to possess a sense of devotion to the homeland, and to have the feeling and awareness to make every sacrifice and work for the advancement of the Turkish nation. Everyone who possesses this feeling and this awareness is Turkish. Everyone who does not harbour a longing or desire for another nation in their heart, who feels Turkish, who embraces Turkishness, and who carries a passion for serving the Turkish nation and the Turkish state is Turkish.

This is the fundamental view of Turkish nationalism. It is imperative to evaluate events in light of this view. Should we only concern ourselves with Turks within the borders of **the Republic of Turkey**? What should our relations and attitude be towards Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey? The answer to these questions is as follows: Turkish Nationalism is concerned with Turks wherever they may be in the world. It is filled with deep love and concern for them. Wherever there are Turks in the world, it is the unwavering principle of Turkish Nationalism that these Turks should be well, that they should rise, be protected, and be provided with every kind of help and support possible. However, Turkish Nationalism, in its concern for and relations with Turks outside the borders of the Republic of Turkey, is based on the principle that this concern and these relations must be conducted in a manner that does not endanger the Republic of Turkey or harm the Republic of Turkey. In situations that could endanger the Republic of Turkey or cause it harm, the primary concern of Turkish Nationalism is to protect the Republic of Turkey, the only independent Turkish state in the world, from danger and to safeguard it against all kinds of harm.

Today, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, humanity has made great strides across the world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been accepted and signed by almost all states. The United Nations Charter has been accepted and signed by all member states of this organisation. These two important documents uphold a fundamental principle of humanity. This principle is the view that every nation has the right to self-determination. The idea of self-determination is that every society, every nation, should be in control of its own destiny

is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights <sup>34</sup>and the United Nations

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- 34 Universal Declaration of Human Rights:** The United Nations General Assembly met on 10 December 1948 and published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:
- ARTICLE 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
- ARTICLE 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth herein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as national or social origin, wealth, birth or other status.
- ARTICLE 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.
- ARTICLE 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade are prohibited in all their forms.
- ARTICLE 5: No one shall be subjected to torture; cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment or treatment shall not be applied.
- ARTICLE 6: Everyone, wherever they may be, has the right to have their legal rights recognised.
- ARTICLE 7: Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination. Everyone has the right to equal protection against discriminatory acts contrary to the rights set forth in this Declaration.
- ARTICLE 8: Everyone has the right to appeal to the national courts against any attempt to abolish or impair the fundamental rights granted to them by the constitution or the law.
- ARTICLE 9: No one shall be arbitrarily arrested, detained or exiled.
- ARTICLE 10: Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law, in the determination of his rights and obligations or of any criminal charge against him.
- ARTICLE 11: a) Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. b) No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence under national or international law at the time when it was committed. For this purpose, no heavier penalty may be imposed than the one applicable at the time the offence was committed.
- ARTICLE 12: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.
- ARTICLE 13: a) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. b) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.
- ARTICLE 14: a) Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries from persecution. b) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the principles and objectives of the United Nations.
- ARTICLE 15: a) Everyone has the right to a nationality. b) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of their nationality or of the right to change their nationality.

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ARTICLE 16: a) Every man and woman of marriageable age has the right to marry and found a family without any restrictions based on race, nationality or religion. In matters of marriage, women and men have equal rights in the continuation and dissolution of marriage. b) The marriage contract shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. c) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State. ARTICLE 17: a) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. b) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. ARTICLE 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Accordingly, everyone is free to change their religion or belief. Furthermore, everyone has the freedom to manifest their religion or belief, either individually or in community with others, in public or in private, through teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19: Everyone has the freedom to think and express themselves. Accordingly, no one shall be disturbed on account of their thoughts. Furthermore, everyone has the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. ARTICLE 20: a) Everyone has the right and freedom to assemble peacefully and to form and join associations. b) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21: a) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. b) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in their country. c) The authority of government is based on the will of the people, which is expressed through periodic and genuine elections held by secret ballot or other equal and free voting methods.

ARTICLE 22: Everyone has the right to social security by virtue of being a member of society. They are entitled to the realisation, through national efforts and international co-operation, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for their dignity and the free development of their personality. ARTICLE 23: a) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. b) Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work without any discrimination. c) Everyone who works has the right to fair and adequate remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. d) Everyone has the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, particularly to a reasonable limitation of working hours and to periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25: a) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services. They have the right to social security in cases of unemployment, sickness, widowhood, old age or loss of livelihood through no fault of their own. b) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special protection and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26: a) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Primary education and schooling shall be compulsory. Technical and vocational training shall be available to all. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of full equality. b) The aim of education shall be the full and free development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and freedoms. All

It constitutes a sacred right enshrined in the Constitution<sup>35</sup>. Based on this right, many communities in Africa and Asia are now emerging as new states and new nations, declaring their independence. Many Asian and African communities that had never been states or established states in history have gained independence from colonial powers as new nations and new states and have become members of the United Nations.

Many communities of people who have never even had a recorded civilisation in history have declared their independence based on the principle of self-determination:

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Nations should encourage understanding, tolerance and friendship among peoples, races and religions, and should further the work of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. ARTICLE 27: a) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. b) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author. ARTICLE 28: Everyone has the right to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

ARTICLE 29: a) The full and free development of everyone's personality is possible through the fulfilment of their duties towards the society in which they live. b) Everyone is subject to such rules as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare. c) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30: Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein by any State, group or person.

35 See footnote 8: United Nations Charter.

36 **Self-determination:** The concept of nations determining their own future.

The concept of 'self-determination' or 'determining one's own destiny' has been interpreted in various ways and has always been a subject of debate since it began to influence international relations. States have always shown a tendency to interpret this concept in accordance with their political objectives. Self-determination has sometimes been used as an instrument of power politics. However, at the same time, the concepts of national integrity and international stability have been taken into account in all debates on self-determination and have played a limiting role in the application of this right.

One of the most frequently discussed concepts of the 20th century, the right to self-determination, exemplifies the various interpretations of terms such as state, nation, and ethnic group in terms of their diverse applications in today's international system. Self-determination is frequently discussed in relation to the shaping of the political map of today's world and the changes it is likely to undergo in the future. Although its roots can be traced back to Aristotle, the emergence of the concept coincided with the social awakening in Western Europe. This idea, fundamentally based on the principle of "popular sovereignty," developed within the liberal intellectual movement.



While other nations gained their freedom by forming new states, the failure to grant these rights to Turks living outside Turkey's borders is a shameful situation from a humanitarian perspective. Just as it is the sacred right of every nation to be master of its own destiny, it is also the sacred right of Turkish communities living as colonies under the yoke of other nations to exercise their right to "self-determination," as envisaged in the Declaration of Human Rights.

Asserting the rights of the Turks is, above all, a requirement of the high duty of humanity. In this regard, as another duty of Turkish nationalism, we insist that the right to self-determination, enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be recognised for Turkish communities living under the rule of other nations as a duty of humanity. We consider it our duty to say this. Saying this is not an expression of hostility towards other nations. It is to demand the rights of our own nation to live humanely. Demanding the right to live humanely is a human duty. Until now, many Turkish intellectuals have even shied away from expressing this.

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has held an important place. In this respect, it is entirely European in origin and closely related to the idea of liberal democracy. Despite these ancient foundations, the principle only began to rest on solid foundations after the second half of the 18th century, when democracy emerged in its modern form. On the other hand, the concept has also held an important place within Marxist thought. The Bolshevik doctrine was the first to interpret the right to self-determination as a principle of international law. Stalin defended the right of nations to sovereignty and even their right to secede from the state under whose sovereignty they lived. In his 1913 pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question*, Stalin argued that the right to self-determination gave a nation the right to complete secession from the parent state or to autonomy. However, Stalin stated that the interests of the Communist Party would take precedence over the rights of nations.

According to an old understanding, in accordance with the right to self-determination, nations should be left alone to "determine their own destiny" regardless of the circumstances. There should be absolutely no external interference in this matter. Assisting the ruling government, the right to revolt and revolution, and assisting those who revolt are contrary to the independence of the state. As required by the right to self-determination, one should not interfere and should leave the parties to their own devices. In other words, self-determination is, in essence and in the final analysis, a matter falling within the national jurisdiction of states.

Contemporary international law has moved far away from this understanding. Today, there is no doubt that self-determination is an issue of international law. Self-determination is among the main objectives of international organisations, particularly the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. These organisations also intervene, when necessary, to ensure the application of this principle in internal conflicts. (Assistant Professor M. Âkif Kütükçü, "The Right to Self-Determination in International Law and the Turkic Republics", *Selçuk University SBED*, No. 12, 2004).

I hereby declare! Every self-aware Turk must express this truth everywhere. They must explain this to everyone. They must also clearly state this to the nations that hold these Turkish communities captive with their colonialist attitudes, and explain to them that abandoning this behaviour, which is contrary to human dignity and humanity, will, above all, elevate themselves. In our homeland, internal political struggles and political interests have trampled on the noble causes of the Turkish nation and caused it harm. False and misleading claims have been made about the idea of Turanism in Turkey, and the concept of Turanism has been presented to the Turkish nation as a bad and harmful idea. What Enosis<sup>(37)</sup> is to the Greeks, Panslavism<sup>(38)</sup> is to the Russians:

- 37 **Enosis:** Within the framework of the Megali Idea objective, it refers to the annexation of Cyprus to Greece. Enosis, which literally means "annexation", has been on the agenda since 1791, when the first Megali Idea map was drawn. Greece's claim to Cyprus was made on 30 December 1918. On 18 October 1828, Greece sent a note to Britain, Russia and France, formally proposing the idea of Enosis for the first time and requesting that the island be annexed to Greece.

Following the First World War, at the Peace Conference held in Paris, Greek Prime Minister Venizelos presented Greece's territorial demands, requesting the following regions, including Cyprus:

- 1- Western Anatolia (Izmir, Bursa, Çanakkale, İzmit and surrounding areas),
- 2- Pontus (Trabzon, Sivas, Kastamonu and surrounding areas), 3- Northern Epirus (Southern Albania), 4- Cyprus, Rhodes, Meis, Crete, Bozcaada and Imroz, 5- Western and Eastern Thrace.

On 25 March 1921, in the village of Serhatköy in Güzelyurt, Greek leaders held a plebiscite demanding the annexation of the island of Cyprus to Greece. An appeal was made to the British administration, but this request was immediately rejected. After 1925, the situation escalated and Turkish-Greek clashes began. Inspired by the idea of uniting with Greece, which they considered their motherland, the Greek Cypriots launched their first uprising against the British administration on 21 October 1921, led by Nikodimos Milanos. This uprising resulted in the deaths of six people and caused injuries to many others. The government building in Nicosia was set on fire by demonstrators.

- 38 **Panslavism:** A doctrine aiming to unite the Slavic peoples. Slavs, who had lived under Ottoman and Austrian rule for many years (after the French Revolution of 1789), began to advocate the idea of uniting after gaining independence from Ottoman rule. The first ideas along these lines were put forward by Safarik Havlicek, the philologist Dobrovsky and Jan Kollar; they resonated widely among the Czechs and Slovaks.

The idea of Pan-Slavism is based on two separate concepts.

- 1-To liberate Slavic communities living under the rule of a foreign state;
- 2-To maintain propaganda that would create an environment conducive to the Tsar's foreign policy. The first idea took tangible shape at the Congress of Slavs of the Austrian Monarchy, convened and chaired by Palacký in Prague. However, unity could not be achieved. The Slavic Ethnography Congress convened in Moscow in 1867 also served as a propaganda tool for the Tsar.

Well, just as German Unity is for the Germans, Arab Unity is for the Arabs, Pan-Iranism is for the Iranians, Turanism is for the Turks.

For Russians, it is not a crime or a fault; for Germans, it is a crime and a fault-for the Greeks, not considered a crime or fault, not considered a crime or fault for the Arabs, not considered a crime or fault for many other nations, the idea that people of one's own nation should be freed from slavery and become a single entity within a close cultural union and close cooperation, why is this ideal portrayed as bad for the Turks? Why is it presented to the Turkish public as if it were a crime? Undoubtedly, some of those who do this have exploited and vilified this great ideal of the Turkish nation for their own selfish political interests. Others are enemies of the Turks. They are the heralds of slavery, brought into our midst by foreign slave regimes, with communists at their forefront. They are the chief enemies of the idea of Turanism. Everywhere, they have sought to ridicule this idea, to show that it is dangerous for Turkey, and have endeavoured to destroy the national thought that constitutes the strength of the Turkish nation.

Nationalism is an expression of deep love for the Turkish nation. Anyone who does not harbour pride for another race in their heart, who sincerely feels Turkish and dedicates themselves to Turkishness, is Turkish. Since we belong to the Turkish nation, since we are people who have emerged from this nation, we will, of course, be deeply attached to our own nation and consider it our duty to work for the advancement of this nation and to ensure that the rights of this nation are always kept above all else, free from any kind of influence. For these reasons, our nationalism

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could not advance. The Pan-Slavists' ideas about the Balkans could be put into practice with the arrival of the Russian ambassador Ignatiev in Istanbul.

Ignatiev's idea was to establish a South Slavic state under the rule of Prince Michael III of Serbia. The independent Bulgarian church, established in line with Ignatiev's views, spread Pan-Slavic movements among the Bulgarians. These efforts eventually led to the uprising of the Christian population of Herzegovina (1875). The Serbs and Montenegrins declared war on the Ottomans (1876). They received extensive support from Russia.

After the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, Bulgaria gained independence but did not embrace Pan-Slavism, causing the movement to lose its momentum. Apart from Russia, which wanted to use this idea as a tool in its foreign policy, no one else was interested in Pan-Slavism. Despite the efforts of the Balkan Slavs, who received significant assistance from the Russians during the Balkan War, to revive the Pan-Slavism movement, they were unable to achieve anything significant beyond a few congresses.

- 39 It is an ideological movement advocating the unification of peoples who speak Persian and its derivatives.

Our nationalism draws its strength from a deep, profound love for the Turkish nation and the desire to ensure that the Turkish nation, currently in a difficult situation, is rescued from it as soon as possible using the most modern, scientific methods and is brought to the forefront of modern civilisation by the shortest route. Our nationalism is not fuelled by feelings of hatred or resentment towards others. In other words, Turkish nationalism is the feeling created by the desire to rescue the Turkish nation from its difficult situation through deep love and loyalty, and to make it strong, free from all kinds of fear and oppression, living with honour, prosperous, happy, and at the forefront of modern civilisation. This is a summary description of our nationalism, our first principle.

In addition, we add the word Turkism: We are nationalists, we are Turkists. Why are we Turkists? Because our nation is the Turkish nation. What does Turkism mean? Turkism means that everything the Turkish nation does in every phase of its life should be in line with the Turkish spirit and Turkish tradition, and that the aim and idea of being beneficial to the Turks should be at the forefront. We will speak Turkish, we will always put Turkish above everything else. In everything we do, we will not lose sight of the requirement that it be beneficial to the Turkish nation, in accordance with the Turkish spirit and the characteristics of the Turks. This, in short, is the definition of Turkishness. Nationalism and Turkishness, which we have adopted as our first principle, are thus presented in this way through this brief explanation and definition.

## **RACISM ALLEGATIONS AND TURKS ABROAD**

We are facing certain accusations. Let me be clear. We are not racist. Let those who haven't heard it hear it: We are not racist. However, we consider it our duty to care for and love every Turk, wherever they may be in the universe, not just the world. We do not believe that the world, with millions of Turks living in captivity, will ever find peace. That is why we care about all Turks. However, we have a principle here. While caring about Turks outside Turkey, there should be no danger whatsoever to Turkey. We say that everything should be conducted in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

## OUR FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE

Our cause is to exalt the existence of the Turkish nation and to perpetuate it eternally. No other idea, no other cause can take precedence over this idea, this cause. No behaviour, no action that does not serve the idea of protecting, exalting and perpetuating the existence of the Turkish nation, that is not in accordance with this idea, can be legitimate for the Turkish nation. There is a constant competition, a struggle, between nations. Every nation strives and struggles to make its own nation superior, more prosperous, happier, more civilised, and more advanced.

Nations deprived of this consciousness, this feeling, this sacred passion, are doomed to extinction and decline. Throughout the struggle between nations, recorded by history since the earliest times, the Turkish nation must urgently free itself from its current state of neglect, poverty, backwardness and weakness, to stop begging for help from others and stand on its own two feet, to become a powerful nation that commands respect and honour everywhere, a nation that is most advanced in civilisation and prosperity... This is our cause. The Turkish nation can only achieve such a state of being by first and foremost possessing a sense of nationalism and the ideal and ambition to make the Turkish nation the most prosperous, powerful, and civilised nation on earth.

Today, the purpose and meaning of this movement, which we have launched under the banner of Nationalist Movement, and which is listened to more attentively and gathered under its banner with greater affection by our beloved nation and esteemed citizens, is this.

Today, the gap between Turkey and the advanced and modern countries of the world is widening rather than narrowing. The gap between Turkey a century ago and, for example, the Germany and England of that time and the Germany and England of today has grown rather than shrunk. Our country—

The development programmes implemented are propaganda in nature. According to studies conducted by scholars of the European Economic Community, the current plan and programme in force in Turkey assumes an annual growth rate of seven per cent. Three per cent of this seven per cent is allocated to the needs of the annually increasing population. If the remaining four per cent is achieved, Turkey will only be able to reach the same level as today's advanced European countries in 249 years at this rate. Consciously rebelling against such slow progress, such meagre development that forces the Turkish nation to remain in misery and destitution, to struggle, is the most sacred duty for those who seek to save the Turkish nation as soon as possible. As the Nationalist Movement, this is what we are doing.

For our nation to survive and rise, it is necessary, above all else, to beat as one heart, to be united as one spirit, one voice. Today, despite having suffered many disasters, the Turkish nation is one of the greatest nations on earth. From the Danube River to the Balkan Mountains to China, the Turks still extend, and the land of the Turks is still traversed. The great deeds this great nation has accomplished in history and the great presence it will re-emerge with in the future are causing concern among certain foreign powers and foreign circles that have their eyes on this region and are anxious about the strengthening of the Turkish nation. For this reason, in order to prevent the Turkish nation from growing stronger and developing, attempts are being made to spread and instil within our people and among our nation schemes of corruption and acts of sedition that will first and foremost destroy our national unity and integrity. For the advancement of the Turkish nation, every Turk must always prioritise the preservation of unity and solidarity, and stand united against any scheme that would divide us, alienate us from one another, or pit us against each other. At the forefront of the schemes targeting our unity are communism, regionalism, and sectarianism.

Partisanship is also one of the main factors dividing our national unity. Today, a democratic system is being attempted in our country. There are many parties. However, partisanship, party interests, like a cancerous disease, are trying to shake the nation's body so much that our nation, our country's children, our people, who are afflicted with this disease, are losing their minds, forgetting national unity, the high interests of the country and the state, and are being dragged in a dangerous and painful direction by personal interests and partisan interests.

towards a dangerous and painful direction. Therefore, above all else, every Turk must remember this: any attitude that does not ensure the unity, solidarity, and free and independent existence of the Turkish nation, or that is detrimental to its free and independent existence and advancement, has lost its value for the Turkish nation and must be eliminated. Therefore, when speaking of democracy and partisanship, the interests of the Turkish nation, the unity, integrity, solidarity, and higher interests of the Turkish nation must be the unwavering motto and principle of every Turk. Behaviour contrary to this is detestable to every Turk and must be crushed.

Today, states with interests in the Middle East, due to the great importance carried by Turkey and the great vitality possessed by the Turkish nation, seek to divide the Turkish nation, poison the Turkish nation, corrupt its morals, and lead it astray; to weaken it and reduce it to a society, a nation, where people fight each other, strangle each other, and destroy each other. The Turkish nation is a capable, great nation. It is a nation with the common sense to understand these things. We must all remain vigilant, always mindful of these noble qualities inherited from our ancestors, and find ways to protect our existence against these corrupt activities.

For the advancement of the Turkish nation, it is essential that the Turkish nation first return to its national identity and national existence. The rise of a nation is only possible through the creation of national values. A nation can only preserve its strength and rise by possessing national morality, by adhering to its own religion, faith, morality, customs, history and traditions. A nation that distances itself from its own identity, despises its own identity, does not appreciate itself, considers others superior to itself, and considers copying others a virtue, has lost itself and is already dead. Therefore, in the struggle we have embarked upon to uplift our nation, the foremost point we emphasise is this: We are Turks, we are like ourselves, we are a strong, capable, virtuous, and moral nation. We are in no way inferior to others. It is not possible for us to rise by copying others. We will trust in our own identity, we will rely on ourselves, we will return to our own characteristics, we will return to our own national customs and morals. But we will embrace modern science and modern technology.



We will take it and find ways to rise above it as soon as possible, thereby ensuring the country's development.

All kinds of activities in the country, and especially intellectual activities and the fine arts, must be mobilised to protect and develop the national identity of the Turkish people, to awaken and elevate the Turkish nation. It is unacceptable for artistic activities to be left unchecked, used as a tool and plaything by various hostile ideas and activities to corrupt the morals of the Turkish nation, destroy its culture, kill its intellectual activity, and render it thoughtless, soulless, alienated from its national identity, and devoid of its national spirit. For this reason, the Nine Lights national doctrine, in its efforts to uplift the Turkish nation, particularly emphasises that our cultural and artistic life, our intellectual life, our intellectual movements, and our literary life must be directed towards 100% national goals, and mobilised in the service of national goals and the national ideal, and in a direction that will ensure the advancement of the Turkish nation. We will never tolerate vagrancy, leftism, communism, Marxism, vagueness, baseness, or attacks on Turkish morality in culture, art, or intellectual movements.

I am pointing out a major principle to you: As Turkish nationalists, we only grant freedom in Turkey for activities that will benefit the Turkish nation. We do not grant freedom to any action that will undermine the Turkish nation, cause it harm, or pose a threat to its existence. There can be no such thing as freedom to destroy or annihilate the Turkish nation on this soil.

The planned mobilisation of the fine arts towards national objectives and the activation of the entire Turkish nation's national energy can bring about the development of the Turkish nation in a short time. Because there is no capital accumulation in Turkey. There are many impossibilities in Turkey. Overcoming these is only possible by mobilising the Turkish nation, awakening it, making it the owner of its national causes, and mobilising its national energy, the energy of the Turkish people.

Throughout its thousands of years of history, the Turkish nation has possessed certain national qualities, traditions, beliefs, and character traits that have ensured its invincibility, enabling it to overcome every disaster and trample every danger underfoot. Foremost among these is an unyielding spirit.

To refuse to accept defeat, to never accept being defeated, to refuse to bow down; to resist bowing down and being defeated is the essence of character. Refusing to surrender, refusing to be defeated is the secret of invincibility. No matter how dark the situation may be, no matter how impossible our circumstances may seem, never accepting defeat, never accepting surrender is the eternal motto of Turkishness. Remember: this great idea, this great spirit, is what will make us great in a short time, what will save us. You will always keep this great spirit alive and carry it everywhere. Along with this, it is also necessary to be filled with great enthusiasm, great excitement, great determination and passion in order to rise, to rise as a nation, as a people, to become the most powerful, most just, most advanced in science and technology, and the greatest entity on earth. Personal ambitions diminish people. However, being filled with great love and passion to elevate one's nation is a secret that elevates people.

Above all else, you shall carry the ideal, the passion, the love of safeguarding the national interests of the Turkish nation and establishing a great Turkey. You shall become filled with this love, you shall lose yourselves in this love, you shall become a blaze of this love; you shall ignite every Turk you touch, and thus every obstacle before us shall be destroyed, and the paths shall open before us. As a nation, we shall know how to rise above petty interests and shall take care to nurture a deep love and respect for one another and to embark on this path. We shall hold the sense of justice and fairness above all else. We shall protect the rights of our citizens as if they were our own, indeed as if they were more sacred and more valuable than our own. People can endure hardship, hunger, living in misery, and face all kinds of adversity for their nation, their friends, their family, and their loved ones. But there is one thing they will never tolerate: injustice, unfairness. While thinking about the advancement and development of the Turkish nation, we must establish a sense of justice and fairness above all else, everywhere, and make it prevail everywhere. Without doing this, the advancement of the Turkish nation is unthinkable. The safety of the Turkish homeland is unthinkable. But as individuals, as families, as groups, as parties, we must all make this an indispensable, sacred principle, a rule of conduct. A major reason for the great difficulties our country is experiencing today is the injustices and inequities we face. The hatred, malice, hostility and strife that divide our nation are all the result of injustice and inequity.

While on the subject of justice, it is necessary to briefly mention social justice, social solidarity, and equality of opportunity and means. The banner of nationalism that we have raised, the banner of Dokuz Işıkcılık, has adopted as its guiding principle the establishment of complete social justice and justice in every sphere in our country. Social justice means a system that ensures the burdens, obligations, income, and benefits borne by citizens are distributed fairly according to their work, effort, merit, and ability. Social solidarity means that a nation living under the same state, in the same homeland, is like a household living in the same house. Just as members of a household are responsible for each other, bear each other's burdens, are obliged to keep each other in good condition, extend a helping hand to each other, assist each other, and care about each other's suffering and troubles, so are the people of a nation. We must establish a Social Assistance and Security Organisation that encompasses the Turkish nation, including its villagers, farmers, and workers. In this way, the need or situation of having or not having connections, having or not having money, will disappear in the country, and it will be possible to provide the necessary assistance and protection to all citizens.

I would also like to highlight another important point. This point is as follows: We are unlike anyone else. Nor do we wish to be like anyone else. We are Turks. We are a great nation with honour, dignity, a glorious history, having ruled over three continents and created great civilisations. We have no need to imitate other nations or other countries, or to copy their systems. I say this because the Nine Lights movement we have started, the Turkism and Nationalism movement we have started, is developing rapidly within the Turkish nation. As it develops rapidly, both the campaigns and propaganda launched against us by the communists and the propaganda launched against us by enemy activities accuse us of being "Nazis" and "fascists". We will explain this in the following pages. However, let me say this much here: our movement is neither a Nazi nor a fascist movement; it is a nationalist movement.

Throughout our history, we have had great figures such as the Metes, Ertungas, Cengizs, Timurs, Fatih, Yavuz, Alparslan, Kılıçarslan, and countless others who have accomplished great deeds and produced great works that serve as examples to the world. Yet, we copy the views put forward by another nation as our saviour, and we

We have no need to adopt it. We would consider such a thing a blow to our national pride. We regard imitating others as the greatest dishonour. Our path is the path of Nine Lights. Neither communism nor capitalism! The path of Nine Lights, which is one hundred per cent national, one hundred per cent local, and which has adopted modern science and technology as its leader, is the path that will strengthen Turkey and the Turkish nation once again and raise them to the highest level in science and technology. This is the path to salvation.

## THE WOLF SYMBOL AND THE WOLVES

In recent years, a campaign of hostility has been waged against the Grey Wolf <sup>(40)</sup>, which has featured in our national epics and traditions throughout our nation's thousands of years of history. Communists, separatists, and minority racists, aided by external provocations against the Turkish nation, are opportunists who are afraid to openly express their hostility, yet they show fierce hostility towards the Grey Wolf, the national symbol of the Turkish nation. In some schools, students who wear Bozkurt badges are subjected to severe pressure and are even expelled from school.

Every nation has its own national symbol. For example: the kangaroo is the national symbol of the Australians, the dragon is that of the Chinese and Japanese, the lion is that of the Indians, Iranians and British, the wolf is that of the Italians, the eagle is that of the Germans, the rooster is that of the French, the bear is that of the Russians, and the grey wolf is that of the Turks. Throughout history, the Turks have considered the Grey Wolf sacred. They have carried the Grey Wolf on their flags. Khans, Emperors, and Commanders addressed their soldiers as "my Grey Wolves" or "my Wolves". Today, as we bring a new wave of initiative and revival to Turkish youth, we recommend the Grey Wolf.

The last 250 years of our nation's history, dating back to the founding of the Republic, constitute a period filled with great calamities unseen in any other era of our history. The fifty-five years of the Republican era were a period in which lessons should have been learned from these great calamities and major efforts undertaken. These fifty-five years of peace have not been properly appreciated. Today, the Turkish nation is once again in a miserable state, in the grip of backwardness, ignorance, poverty, injustice and unfairness. It is excluded from the race for advancement and progress being pursued among civilised nations. Moreover, it is exposed to slavery, fragmentation and disintegration.

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40 See footnote 31: The Legend of Bozkurt and the Legend of Ergenekon.

Like communism and regionalism, which will lead to destruction, it is under attack from foreign ideologies. Against these, nationalists and nationalist youth must gather under the banner of ideals and wage a more organised, more planned struggle in the light of knowledge. Once again, Bozkurt will show us the way in this struggle. Turkish nationalists, as Grey Wolves, will embark on great endeavours to revive Turkishness in the footsteps of their ancestors. We are Grey Wolves and we are Grey Wolfists. We take pride in this. As long as we live, we will carry and keep the Grey Wolf, the symbol of the Turkish nation's sacred existence for thousands of years, on our chests as a badge, around our necks as a necklace, and in our homes as a painting. We will recognise those who show hostility towards the Grey Wolf as enemies of the Turkish nation and we will respond to their hostility with hostility. Grey Wolfism is not fascism, imperialism, or idolatry, as claimed by the enemies of the Turkish nation, the traitors, and the sell-outs. They are as Muslim as Mount Hira<sup>(41)</sup> and as Turkish as Mount Ararat<sup>(42)</sup>; they oppose imperialism in all its forms. For this reason, we hold Bozkurtçuluk, which represents free living, truthfulness, and national existence, sacred. No matter what anyone says... We are Bozkurts, we are Bozkurtçular, and we are the army of Bozkurts.

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41 **Mount Hira:** One of the holy sites of Muslims. The cave where the Prophet Muhammad withdrew into seclusion. It was in this cave that the Holy Qur'an began to be revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. It is located on Mount Nur, approximately 6 km north of Mecca.

42 **Tian Shan Mountains:** The ancestral homeland of the Turks. They extend across the central parts of East Turkestan, within the borders of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and China. The Tian Shan Mountains are estimated to cover an area of 1,000,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

## NINE LIGHTS, ONE ACTION

We are Turkish nationalists. We are people who fight to protect, elevate and perpetuate the existence of the Turkish nation. This is our fundamental principle. For Turks, for everyone who says "I am Turkish", this is the fundamental law. Every idea, every action must comply with this and strive to achieve it.

You will spread nationalist ideas to the entire Turkish nation, to Turkish youth. I am giving you a torch, with which you will show everyone this path. With this torch in your hands, you will evaluate everything. You will look at any action, word, or idea, and if it is in line with our Turkishness, you will accept it; if it is harmful, you will eliminate it. We are engaged in a great struggle. We have started a great movement. Our cause is sacred. We are defending the greatest cause. You are greater and stronger than everyone else. Until now, you, the Grey Wolves, the 9 Lights, have done the greatest service to the Turkish nation. Never forget this.

Capitals have always ruled over countries. To overthrow and seize power, it has been sufficient to influence the institutions that dominate economic and social life and to take control of the centres of state administration. History is full of examples of this. Those who dominate the streets of the capital, for better or worse, can dominate the state administration. This has also been the main idea behind the communists' recent actions: to gain absolute control of universities, to intimidate the capital through student movements, to support this intimidation through professors, and to break the people away from the previous regime and prepare them to accept their own rule.

Furthermore, by appearing very strong and determined, they implanted the belief in people's minds that they were unbearable individuals, thereby paralysing their resistance. This method was employed, and as they progressed towards success, the IDEALISTIC YOUTH, the BOZKURLAR, who represented the constructive power of Turkish Nationalism, stood in their way.

The Communists caused anarchy in the country, attacked the workers and peasants; but when they failed to achieve anything from this, they turned to the intellectuals and the university. The fact that the left achieved such success and gained popularity among intellectuals and the university in the country was due to the CHP administrators, primarily İnönü. They used every means possible to crush nationalism and committed every kind of evil. They removed the concept of nationalism from the education that shaped Turkish youth, and as a result, the generations that grew up were deprived of a nationalist spirit. Engineers thought, "The less concrete and iron I use, the more profit I make," in order to earn a lot of money. As a result, buildings collapsed. Doctors thought the same, "How can I fleece the patient who comes to me?" If there was no money, he would not examine the patient, even if he was dying. With their empty heads, devoid of beneficial ideas and beliefs for their nation, whatever ideas came their way entered their minds, and they became cosmopolitan and self-serving.

The communists have taken advantage of these intellectuals, who are devoid of ideals and spirit. Therefore, those who trample on nationalism, crush it, and prevent the growth of nationalist generations have betrayed this nation.

The communists have easily exploited the social and economic wounds caused by these faithless intellectuals. The administration is corrupt; bribery, favouritism and usury are rife. There is no one to bring a solution and put a stop to it... They immediately jumped in and put forward communism as the solution. It is true that the country's administration is corrupt, but the cure is deadly. That is why the soulless, faithless, poor children of our country became communists and brought the country to the brink of a great catastrophe.

However, it was the Grey Wolves who thwarted the communists' plan to take over the university and prevented the country from being dragged into even greater disasters. They died, they were victims of slander, but they did not yield. If the university did not become communist, it is largely due to the struggle of the Grey Wolves. Many martyrs were sacrificed for this cause.

İmamoğlu <sup>43</sup>was shot in the carotid artery; 35 kuruş was found in his pocket. When doctors cut open his stomach for the autopsy, they found he had not eaten for 36 hours.

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43 **Yusuf İmamoğlu:** (1945-8 June 1970). He was a nationalist student who was killed by communists on 8 June 1970 at Istanbul University Faculty of Literature, where he was studying.



Afterwards, the communists and their supporters launched a smear campaign, saying, "Sir: the commandos are eating money."

Friends, we do not want you to cause trouble today. They may provoke you, they may want to beat you up. Their aim is to make you look like you are against the army, to make you look like anarchists. They want to pit the "right" against the "left". They do not want nationalist cadres to grow up and graduate from university. Therefore, do not clash with them. This does not mean we are withdrawing from the struggle. No!... You will continue the struggle with knowledge, morality, and hard work. That is the essence of it.

Communism is an idea. Ideas cannot be suppressed by brute force. An idea can only be defeated by another idea that is stronger than itself. That is why police measures cannot eliminate communism and separatism. Because they do not put forward a national ideology that is stronger than it. The ideology that must be put forward against these harmful ideas is Dokuz Işık. Its

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He was the child of a Bulgarian immigrant family residing in the İnegöl district of Bursa. At the time of his death, he was studying in his final year at the Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, Istanbul University. At that time, students at the Higher Teacher Training School in Istanbul were also taking their classes at Istanbul University's Faculties of Science and Literature, but the nationalist students attending this school were unable to enter their school at that time because these faculties were dominated by opposing groups. On the day he was killed, Yusuf İmamoğlu had entered the faculty to have the report cards of some Higher Teacher Training School students, who were waiting at the faculty entrance to have their report cards signed but were unable to enter the school, signed by their teachers.

Yusuf İmamoğlu entered the faculty and had his documents signed by the professors. As he was leaving the door of room 339 at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature, known as the "Assistant Room" where the assistants sat, he was shot dead by a group of people. The press and media outlets of the day reported that this group consisted of communist militants led by Vural Yıldırım, Yusuf Kayabaşı, Ali Menekşe, Feridun Şakar and Vahram Apik.

Yusuf İmamoğlu did not die immediately despite his bullet wounds, succumbing to them 23 minutes later. During this time, no one was allowed near him by the group that committed the murder, and an ambulance that had been called was also not allowed into the faculty courtyard.

The group responsible for the murder left the faculty without encountering any intervention, accompanied by marching songs. The police arrived at the scene 1.5 hours after the incident.

Yusuf İmamoğlu's body was sent to his hometown of Bursa by ferry in a crowded ceremony and buried in the Bursa Emirsultan Cemetery.

- 44 **Commandos:** A term used for young people who attended training camps during the period when Ülkü Ocakları (ideological youth organisations) were being established. Opponents of the Ülkücüler (ideological youth) constantly used this term. Alparslan Türkeş's comrade Dündar Taşer used the phrase, "Commandos are silk wrapped in steel." After the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, the term "commando" fell out of use.

As nationalist youths, you must understand our ideology very well. The strength of the Nationalist Movement lies here. For the first time, nationalism has become a political action, entering the life of the nation. We have endured material hardships, but we are still progressing, growing a little more each day.

You must understand very well that we are not merely a reaction against communism. We are an action that opposes it with ideas, opens horizons for the Turkish nation, and is stronger than communism, crushing it.

The National Doctrine of Nine Lights is not a reaction. It is a national doctrine, a national action.

As for communism: Communism is an ideology. The main differences between communism and Nine Lights are as follows:

1) We are Turkish Nationalists. We consider the existence of the Turkish nation to be the foundation of everything. Communists do not recognise homeland or nation. They aim to make the world proletariat (the working class) dominant on earth. Their ideal is to eliminate all classes other than the workers through a bloody revolution and establish a proletarian dictatorship. Communists may be able to deceive the world. But the world's workers mean nothing to us. For us, the independence and exaltation of Turkishness is important. We do not accept class struggle like the communists do. We see the nation as a whole. We take as our basis the exaltation of Turkishness and working for Turkishness.

2) Communists regard hatred and resentment as the foundation of their movement. They harbour endless hatred towards those outside the working class. We, on the other hand, base ourselves on endless respect and love for people, without regard for class differences. There is no place for hatred and resentment in our movement.

3) We are in favour of property ownership. However, we have a different view from capitalism. We believe that everyone should be able to own property, provided that it is used for the benefit of the nation and not as a means of exploiting others. Communism, on the other hand, is based on the abolition of property, the denial of property rights, and the state ownership of everything.

4) We are based on nationalism; they are based on statelessness. But depending on the times, they talk about nationalism when it suits them.

5) We have set ourselves the goal of protecting Turkey as a whole. The communists, however, claim that there are separate peoples within Turkey. They have made it their principle to grant independence to these peoples within Turkey and to act according to Moscow's plan.

6) We are opposed to communism not only because it is such a flawed ideology, but also because it is a tool of exploitation in the hands of the Russians, who are the greatest enemies of the Turkish nation.

## THE TURKISH NATION IS BEHIND US

We are fighting for the liberation of the Turkish nation. This struggle is against all the calamities that have befallen Turkey.

An idea and a just cause are the greatest forces. There is no force that can defeat a true idea. In people's personal lives, firm beliefs, sound ideas, ideals, knowledge and material power are the real forces. We are pursuing the cause of the Turkish nation, we are pursuing its cause of advancement. We have no foreign power behind us, we have the Turkish nation behind us. In this struggle, we draw our strength from our nation, saying, **"Only Turks can benefit Turks"; "Turks have no friends but Turks"**. All enemies who fear this have targeted us. That is why our path is true and sound. Allah is with us, for He is the helper of the righteous. We are invincible, for our faith is complete. The secret of our invincibility lies in never turning away from our beliefs, our ideals, our great cause, never compromising, and never accepting defeat.

We will definitely win this case. You are part of this. Our enemies seek to identify the source of the threat to themselves, which is why all enemies have targeted us. For this reason, they have done everything, are doing everything, and will continue to do everything. Even if we were in power, this would still be the case. As long as we remain idealistic, moral, and faithful, our enemies' despicable games will not affect us, and we will grow stronger every day.

Our enemies even used "National Socialism" against us. They accused us of "National Socialism". These are lies. We are, above all, Turkish Nationalists. We consider it dishonourable to take foreign ideas and statesmen as examples. We draw our inspiration from our own ancestors, from our own history. Today, those in power are trying to use the country's security forces against us to undermine and divide us. They know that we are the only party, the only force that will save and elevate the Turkish nation

yet they attack us. They are doing everything to divide us and turn us against each other. But they will not succeed.

Since we entered the political arena, we have pursued a clear and honest path towards a specific goal. That goal is the ideal of a strong, prosperous and secure Turkey. We have never compromised on this, never wavered and never hesitated. We have been open and honest. We have explained our ideas and opinions to the nation, tried to convince them, ignored the slanders against us, and did not even confront the slanderers.

Some betrayed us by appearing to be one of us, some grew weary while among us, but instead of admitting their weariness, they blamed us. Some sought to satisfy their lust for power by taking shortcuts and winding paths. Our deep, serious and legitimate path seemed troublesome to them, and they stood against us. Others, while attempting to carry out their betrayal, became our enemies after colliding with the rock of the MHP.

We paid no heed to these hostilities. We continued to walk the path we knew to be right. Events proved that we were not mistaken in the diagnosis we made from day one and the measures we took. We said that communism was the first and greatest danger in Turkey. We constantly reminded the highest authorities and those with the greatest responsibility of this. Those in power described us as paranoid and pessimistic.

The communists and their allies, however, declared us to be whatever negative labels they knew, such as "fascist," "reactionary," "ultra-rightist," "nationalist," and "racist," and tried to pin these labels on us. But they failed. They could not succeed, because these labels have no connection to reality whatsoever.

No one refrained from joining the race to portray the MHP as equally evil as the communists in the eyes of the citizens; despite all this, we continued to point out the evils of the present and the dangers of the future.

**Communism had chosen universities as its bases of operation. It had calculated that it could reach its goal by prying young minds and fresh hearts away from the concepts of homeland, nation and state. We warned the youth against this, instilling in them respect for the homeland, the nation, the state, and history. We tried to prevent the nation's children from becoming detached from the nation. Those who opposed us said, "You are dividing the youth." What were we supposed to do? Were we expected to stand by and watch them all fall into the communist net so they wouldn't be divided?**

This time, a campaign was launched against nationalist youth, and all the negative labels they knew were pinned on them. They subjected nationalist youth to every kind of state security and law enforcement institution. This oppression continues to this day. Despite everything, nationalist youth resisted for the sake of their homeland, their fellow citizens, and their nation. They were shot and killed, slandered, and accused of crimes committed by others... But despite all this, they persevered, suffering oppression from the administration and punishment from the courts... Yet they did not give up...

Thanks to this, the university was saved from falling under the absolute domination of the left. Thanks to this, those who carried out 12 March found the opportunity to carry out the 12 March movement.

For years we have witnessed the following: Communist gangs, managed, funded and trained from abroad, robbed banks, kidnapped people, blocked roads, killed soldiers, and attacked our allies and foreign guests. They are still continuing these actions. Nevertheless, when state officials talk about them, the communist anarchists, they cannot shake off the habit of labelling and attacking the Idealist Youth and nationalists as "extreme right-wingers".

Did the people these officials vilify as "right-wingers" rob a bank? Did they demand ransom? Did they kill a consul? Did they kidnap the British? Or did they fire bullets at their armies for nine hours? <sup>45</sup>...

It is a shameful lack of foresight that, even after witnessing such blatant events, some officials still cannot shake off their habitual language and, while listing their precautions against the left, lash out at nationalists, even if only with a single word.

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45 Bank robbery, consul assassination, kidnapping of British nationals These events took place before and after the 12 March 1971 Memorandum. Communists had launched armed attacks in an attempt to seize control of the state. On 11 January 1971, the Ankara İş Bankası Emek Branch was robbed in the name of the THKO. On 4 March 1971, four American soldiers were kidnapped from the Tuslog Facilities in Belgat and later released. On 26 March 1972, two British and one Canadian technicians working at a NATO radar station in Ünye were kidnapped by THKP-C militants and taken to the village of Kızıldere in Niksar. Communist militants killed the three foreigners in the village headman's house where they were hiding. Soldiers surrounded the headman's house on 30 March 1972. Ten militants were killed in the ensuing clash.

## FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES AND TURKISH NATIONALISM

The only alternative to the ruling powers in Turkey is the Nationalist Movement and the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. All other alternatives have been tried to date, and none of them have been able to develop our country. We will build a Turkey that is strong and developed internally and whose voice is heard among the family of nations externally. It is not possible to achieve this with corrupt, foreign systems.

I would like to touch upon a point that we have repeatedly emphasised on every occasion. Today, the basis of international struggle is constituted by national cultures and ideologies. History, which we perceive as a struggle between nations, has shown that every powerful and great nation seeks to establish dominance over others. Any movement that transcends national borders seeks an international ideology for itself. For this reason, international ideologies today serve as a vehicle for imperialism. Since we accept the world order in the form of a family of nations as a natural composition that will make humanity happy, we advocate the establishment of relations based on the principle of always respecting national entities and oppose international ideologies on this grounds.

The ideologies seen in Turkey can be grouped into two main categories. These are foreign-sourced ideologies and indigenous, national ideologies.

Foreign-sourced ideologies have never been favoured by us, nor can they ever be. This is because some of the ideologies in this group are tools of imperialism due to their internationalist character. As for ideologies that are foreign in origin but do not have an internationalist character, these are also extremely dangerous in our national and state life because they make Turkish intellectual life dependent on and guided by external forces and are unrelated to the historical realities and claims of the Turkish nation.

In light of this brief explanation, regardless of whether they are capitalist, Marxist, or Nazi-fascist in origin, all these ideologies are harmful to the Turkish nation because they are foreign in origin. The former serve imperialism, the latter render the Turkish people incapable of thinking for themselves, sever them from their national history and society, and drag them towards a divisive, fragmenting, adventurous direction. The Nationalist Movement draws its strength from the values it has carried forward from Turkish history and the Turkish nation's thousands of years of past; this sacred source is the foundation of its ideology. For this reason, the Nationalist Movement is a local and one hundred percent national view.

The only powerful ideology that can fight foreign ideologies is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism. Unless the ideology of Turkish Nationalism is in power, it is impossible to see and solve problems. The antidote to all kinds of foreign ideologies that seek to divide and destroy our nation and our country is the ideology of Turkish Nationalism.

The Nationalist Movement believes in love for humanity and full democracy. We oppose any system or ideology that is hostile to humanity and divisive. Our aim is to embrace and love all our citizens living within our national borders, without discrimination, regardless of religion, sect or race, and to provide them with humane living conditions. We are the relentless enemy of all classist, sectarian, and racist systems that seek to divide our nation and country. We oppose classist socialism, capitalism, and their deviations, communism, fascism, and national socialism. These foreign ideologies, which are the product of other nations' cultures and histories, have no place in the philosophy of the Turkish state.



## FASCISM, NAZISM AND OUR NATIONALISM

Turkish Nationalism is a sentiment and a state of consciousness that draws its strength from a deep love and faith in the Turkish nation. It is a movement that aims for the Turkish nation to live freely and independently and to rise up. Turkish Nationalism is the name of the Turkish nation's ideal of liberation from all forms of bondage, a nation with a glorious and honourable history stretching back thousands of years. We have embarked on efforts to transform our national goals into a political movement. Those who hope to perpetuate the Turkish nation's current state of decline and those who wish to erase Turkey, the last bastion of Turkishness, from the stage of history are the mortal enemies of Turkish Nationalism. They attack Turkish Nationalism with various slanders in order to discredit it and undermine the Nationalist Movement, which emerged as the political action of Turkish Nationalism. Every kind of slander and lie has been told against Turkish nationalists to date. Although many of these claims and accusations contradict each other, they have all been persistently used to deceive both the Turkish public and the world public. Communists, who work to make Turkey a slave to red imperialism, are at the forefront of the implacable enemies of Turkish nationalism.

There are two bogeymen they constantly repeat in Turkey. One is "Nazism," the other is "fascism," and they raise a ruckus at every opportunity. They raise a ruckus, shouting "Hand in hand against fascism" or "Racists and skull-measurers are dividing the country." In this way, they appear to be people striving to protect the concepts of humanism, democracy, and equality. The left-wing press, radio and television controlled by the left, and simple-minded intellectuals join the chorus, declaring their opposition to fascism and Nazism. In this way, communism is sought to be legitimised and made acceptable.

Fascism is a corporatist system specific to Italy, a movement founded and led by an old Marxist as a reaction against Marxists.

Nazism, on the other hand, is Hitler's doctrine, in keeping with the Germanic spirit, which turned the principles of "Aryan racial superiority" and "anti-Semitism," with roots stretching far back among European nations, into a political practice.

From a spiritual perspective, fascism is Catholic, while Nazism is anti-clerical. It is opposed to religion. These are the systems of other societies and other nations, with their strengths and weaknesses. Until the 19th century, fascism changed hands through inheritance between Austria, France and Spain, never quite becoming a state structure, but rather principles conceived with the aim of uniting a nation and giving it a conquering character.

Since the day they invaded Europe, the Germans have established dominance over other nations and kept them under their rule. However, they themselves only achieved the status of uniting around a single state and central authority in the late 19th century, thanks to the genius of Bismarck <sup>46</sup>. It is a view put forward to encourage people to become accustomed to living in a single state and to achieve national unity by propagating the idea that there are enemies both outside and inside.

The Nazis claimed that all good things were done by the Germanic race and that races other than the Germanic race or mixed races were bad. They believe that Jews scattered throughout the world have corrupted it, and to fix the world, they plan to exterminate the Jews, whom they consider the source of corruption, and enslave other inferior peoples to the Germans.

Anti-Semitism (Jewish hatred) is widespread throughout Europe and the Christian world. In the spirit of Christianity, which believes that Jesus is "the Son of God and God" and considers Jesus' crucifixion by the Jews to be the greatest sin, the belief in punishing the perpetrators of this sin and taking revenge for Jesus has roots stretching back 2000 years. For this reason, all European states have at times carried out massacres of Jews.

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<sup>46</sup> **Otto von Bismarck:** (1 April 1815 - 30 July 1898). He played the most important role in transforming 19th-century Germany from a loose confederation into a powerful empire. Otto von Bismarck, whose titles were Count of Bismarck-Schönhausen and Duke of Lauenburg, was given the name "Iron Chancellor" (prime minister) because he said he would build the New Germany according to a policy of "sword" and "blood".

He organised mass deportations. Hitler and the Nazi leadership, despite being anti-clerical themselves, used this sentiment as a lever in their political movements.

It is evident that Nazism has historical roots in German society and fascism in Italian society, and that these are consistent with the social psychology of these peoples. The Turks were the first nation to embrace the idea and practice of a single state. National and ethnic consciousness has always prevailed over issues such as regionalism, tribalism and sectarianism. Even when the Turks established empires in Asia, Europe and Africa, the state was still considered to be one, and the "Karakorum Khan" in the east was considered the great khan of the entire Turkish world. Following Fatih's conquest of Istanbul, the Great Khanate moved westward.

The Iranian campaigns of the 16th century were essentially a great struggle for supremacy between the Uzbek Khan Muhammad Shaybak <sup>47</sup>, the Safavid Shah Ismail <sup>48</sup>, and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. Contrary to what some claim, these wars were not based on Shiite-Sunni rivalry or Persian-Turkish competition... Shah Ismail's most powerful commander, Ustashi's son Mehmet Khan, Begdili

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47 **Muhammet Saybak Khan:** (1451 - 2 December 1510). Also known as Shaybani Khan or Shibani Khan. He was an Uzbek khan. He was the son of Shah Budak. In 1468, his father Shah Budak, who had succeeded his deceased grandfather Ebülhayr, was assassinated. With only a small force remaining around him, Shaybani Khan engaged in various battles with the Kazakhs in Transoxiana to avenge his father; defeated, he fled first to Bukhara, then to Samarkand. He gathered his forces and marched against the Kazakhs again, but was defeated once more and took refuge in Khwarezm. He entered the service of Mahmud Khan, one of the sons of the deceased Chagatai Khan Yunus who was fighting for the throne (1488). In return for his services, he received the city of Turkistan (Yesi) as his domain. Taking advantage of the internal strife among the Timurids, he became ruler of Transoxiana (1495-1500) and proclaimed his sovereignty in Samarkand. He expelled Babur from Samarkand, which he had captured for a time. He defeated his former protector Mahmud Khan in Fergana and seized control of Tashkent and Shahruye (1502). He then conquered Khwarezm and all of Khorasan. He made the Uzbeks his greatest power. Shah Ismail became his only rival. They faced each other in 1508. Emerging as the leader of the Sunnis in the region, Shaybani Khan accused the Shiite Shah Ismail of straying from Islam. On 2 December 1510, he was ambushed by Shah Ismail at the Battle of Merv. Despite his army's numerical superiority, he was defeated and killed while trying to escape, or died from wounds sustained in battle.

48 **Ismail Shah:** (17 July 1487 – 24 May 1524) Founder of the Safavid Empire. His father was Sheikh Haydar, and his grandfather was Sheikh Cüneyd. Ismail's mother, Alemşah Halime Begüm, was the daughter of Uzun Hasan, ruler of the Akkoyunlu tribe. In 1514, he was defeated by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I at the Battle of Chaldiran. After this defeat, he suffered a mental breakdown, tried to stay away from war, began to pay little attention to matters concerning the country, and delegated state affairs more to his commanders. He died of internal bleeding at the age of 37 and was buried in the Safavid Mausoleum in Ardabil.

He was a Sunni Turkmen by birth. The janissaries in Yavuz's army were also Bektashi. Indeed, there are even rumours that Yavuz Selim was a Bektashi, based on the single earring in his ear. Sultan Ahmet Tembel, who sided with Shah Ismail in the struggle between Shaybak Khan and Shah Ismail, was also a Sunni emir. Moreover, there was not a single (Persian) soldier in Shah's army. In these conflicts, the term "Iran" refers only to a terrain and a geography.

A nation with such a strong and deep-rooted concept of statehood and national consciousness had no need to invent external threats to inspire a sense of unity; therefore, Turkish nationalism is not aggressive either.

The principle of the Turkish state and the ideal of the Turkish nation have manifested themselves on the basis of world peace and the order of the universe.

A nation striving for the ideals of order, justice and peace could not, and did not, behave hostile towards other peoples, religions and races.

Genocide does not exist in Turkish history. Jews expelled from Spain, Poles who lost their country, and Russians persecuted for their religion (Malakan<sup>49</sup>) sought refuge in the Ottoman Turkish state and were granted protection and justice. In a Turkish society shaped by such a history, it is impossible to imagine the implementation of a plan to exterminate people of other religions or races. Therefore, a "Nazi" movement cannot arise from within the Turkish nation; if a handful of people who have lost their minds to imitation do emerge, they will achieve nothing but ridicule.

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49 **The Molokans** are people who oppose the policies of Tsar Peter the Great of Russia and accept Molokanism, a religious movement and way of life, as their philosophy of life. Molokanism is a sect that broke away from the Orthodox Church. This separation began on 28 March 1805 and lasted until 22 March 1809. The Molokans living in the Saratov and Dumbag regions fell into conflict with the Russians during that period. According to Russian belief, there was a tradition of drinking milk only two days a week. The Molokans, however, objected to this belief and argued that milk could be drunk every day of the week. The Russian word Moloko means milk. Molokan is derived from this word. In 1682, these people, who separated from the Orthodox Church for this reason, were first settled in the north of the Caucasus and later in the provinces of Tiflis, Yerevan and Baku along the Ottoman and Iranian borders.

Following the Ottoman-Russian Wars of 1876-1877, these people, who were settled in Kars by the Russians, remained there for many years before moving to other countries, primarily the United States and Australia.

Turkish nationalism is a movement free from all forms of imitation, committed to the values of its own society and dedicated to developing those values. It has no need to imitate others.

An Englishman who travelled among the Turks in the 18th century wrote: "We are actually in constant conflict with the Turks, and our religions are opposed to each other opposite, but they treated me so well that I was actually embarrassed. Everyone was smiling . Everyone wanted to show their friendship through their actions, but also by looking down on me a little."

This is the nature of the Turkish nation; it is dignified, and because it is not selfish, mercenary or cowardly, it is not cruel, aggressive or oppressive. For this reason, we cannot see any possibility of fascism and Nazism taking root in our society.

Nevertheless, communists, centre-leftists and admirers of dictatorship continue to proclaim the non-existent as fascism, Nazism and reactionism.

A number of narrow-minded administrators also embrace this clamour and show zeal in creating panic. They should avoid falling for these games.

These accusations have reached such a degree that communists have accused the Army and Force Commanders, former Prime Minister Erim <sup>50</sup>, the Chief of General Staff,

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50 **Nihat Erim:** He was born in 1912 in the Kandira district of Kocaeli. He completed his secondary education at Galatasaray High School. He graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law in 1936. Between 1936 and 1939, he completed his doctorate at the Paris Faculty of Law. In 1939, he began working as an assistant professor at Ankara University Faculty of Law as a lecturer in public law. He was promoted to professor in 1941. In addition to teaching public law at Ankara University Faculty of Law, he also taught international law at the Faculty of Political Sciences. In 1943, he served as Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1945, he was among the Turkish delegates who attended the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. In the 1946 elections, he was elected as an independent member of parliament from Kocaeli. Shortly afterwards, he joined the CHP. Between 1948 and 1950, he served as Minister of Public Works and Deputy Prime Minister. When the CHP went into opposition in 1950, he was appointed as editorial advisor and chief writer for the party's organ, the *Ulus* newspaper. He published the *Yeni Ulus* and *Halkçı* newspapers.

At the request of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, he took part in drafting the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. In 1961, he returned to the Grand National Assembly as a CHP deputy. He later left the CHP and joined Prof. Dr. Turhan Feyzioğlu, who founded the Republican Trust Party, in opposition. Following the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, he was tasked with forming a government on condition that he leave the CHP. On 26 March 1971, he formed the non-partisan First Erim Government, which served from 29 March to 3 December 1971. He was tasked with forming a government again; The 34th Government of the Republic of Turkey (second Erim Government), which he formed, served from 11 December 1971 to 17 April 1972. He served as a quota senator in the Senate of the Republic until 1977.

They attributed the same characteristics to the President. In fact, a prominent member of the centre-left party called another prominent member reactionary. What is surprising is not these accusations, but the fact that those who are accused fail to grasp the reality and continue to level the same accusations at each other.

Thus, the centre of gravity of the forces fighting against the left is shifting, the left is gaining relative breathing space, and this is the main goal pursued for now.

We, as Turkish nationalists, will expose those who seek to maliciously label us with these lies and slanders, revealing their true faces to the Turkish nation. We will resolutely pursue the movement to liberate Turkishness from all forms of bondage and to elevate it. We will realise a Great Turkey that stands at the forefront of the world's nations in science, technology, civilisation and prosperity, as it once did, in the shortest possible time.

### **Nationalism Against Communism**

Turkey today is under the influence of communist imperialism from the east and capitalist imperialism from the west. Of these two systems of materialistic outlook, communism holds a large part of the Turkish nation captive and has seized its lands. While the aims of this system, which has always been contrary to the Turkish people, and its main proponent in the world, Soviet Russia, in Turkey are well known, there are those in our country today who wish to show affinity with this northern enemy and defend its system. The Turkish nation has never been swayed by a materialistic view in history. After embracing Islam, it has always fought against such systems and ideas.

Today, communists are endeavouring to divide our nation into hostile camps. We will not permit these disruptive and divisive elements to turn our people against each other or cause discord among them.

For a long time now, the broad atmosphere of freedom brought about by our constitution has been exploited to the fullest extent possible. Certain individuals, particularly those belonging to the extreme fringe, have adopted a highly erroneous and unrealistic stance. The primary targets of their divisive, destructive propaganda, which spreads hatred and malice, are Turkish youth, Turkish villagers, and Turkish workers. On 19 July 1980, he was assassinated in a armed attack by Dev-Sol militants at a seaside club near his home in Dragos, Istanbul.

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was killed in a gun attack by Dev-Sol militants at a seaside club near his home in Dragos, Istanbul, on 19 July 1980.

The favourable nature of the impoverished and neglected conditions in which they find themselves also bolsters their courage. We know that Turkey is in a difficult economic situation. The people are poor, capital is ruthless and insensitive, and labour suffers. There is a deep chasm of mistrust between those who enforce social justice and those who are subjected to it. As if this were not enough, opportunistic and ambitious politicians are forcibly driving the masses towards two opposing camps.

To escape this situation, we must seek new solutions and new measures to ensure that we live side by side and in harmony as citizens who love and respect each other, even if we belong to different parties and different camps.

The extreme leftists say: "The system is flawed; with this system, it is impossible to reach the level of modern civilisation. The only way out is to establish a government where the labourers will be in control..." However, they do not say what they will solve or how they will solve it. None of those who put forward this claim have ever been manual labourers, nor are they people who have grown up in the poor and destitute neighbourhoods of our workers and peasants, or who have lived in these neighbourhoods and sympathised with the suffering of the people. Most of them are people who have never ventured from the comfortable neighbourhoods of Istanbul and Ankara to the poor neighbourhoods, and whose monthly incomes are in the tens of thousands. Every evening, their meeting places are the famous luxury hotels of Ankara and Istanbul. These people strive to be at the forefront of every popular and prestigious idea and tendency. They always defend extremes. Their aim is to undermine normality and disrupt the status quo. They are fanatical about their beliefs and have no tolerance for criticism. When faced with even the slightest criticism, instead of responding to our ideas with ideas, they resort to slander and fabrication, striving to intimidate and silence thinking minds. They strive to silence educated, cultured, knowledgeable, and thoughtful intellectuals. For them, manual labour is superior to thinking minds. However, we argue that the stratification and class divisions necessitated by civil and professional division of labour and social life do not justify exploitation and a hierarchy of domination. We maintain that the rights of all working people, whether manual labourers or intellectual labourers, are sacred and must be protected. We maintain that in the administration of the life of a nation and a state, and in the organisation of social activities, it is the educated, cultured, nationalist intellectuals who should have the final say and lead. Claiming that 291 of the candidates they put forward for the 450 seats in parliament were manual labourers

We say that the attitudes of those who boast are contrary to the interests of the country. Today, the number of manual labourers in the country is around two million. This means 1/20 of the total population. If it is desired that people from every class be represented in parliament, then there should be around 30 representatives of manual labourers. However, the claims and actions of the extremists show that they want to place the country under the dictatorship of a single class: the manual labourers, who are not prepared to govern the state in terms of education and culture. We are opposed to this. The development of our country depends, first and foremost, on enlightened minds having a say.

In this regard, combating communism within our country is our foremost duty. We will stand against those individuals and attitudes that would drag the country down this path. Their lies and slander cannot intimidate us. We will resolutely overcome every obstacle on the path to raising the Turkish nation to a position of power, prosperity and civilisation.

### **International Communism and Anarchist Activities**

International communism, in collusion with traitors within, seeks to destroy the last independent Turkish state. These treacherous hands, which threaten the unity of our nation and homeland, must be broken. To this end, it is essential that all nationalist forces unite around a national ideal. It is time to put aside petty, inconsistent party interests, abandon Byzantine intrigues, and cling tightly to the ideal of Turkish nationalism. The ideal of Turkishness and the consciousness of nationalism must be an ideology that every institution applies and defends uncompromisingly.

The servants of international communism, traitors, and sold-out anarchists seek to tear apart and divide this country, the eternal homeland of the Turks, and turn it into communist territory. The country is not a simple piece of land, a soulless geographical area. The country is the sacred homeland that our ancestors created with their blood and souls and entrusted to their children and grandchildren for the continuation of the great entity called the nation throughout thousands of years of history. Our duty is to protect and defend this heavenly homeland, and if necessary, to die for it. For, as the poet said, **"The land is the homeland if there are those who die for it."** It must never be forgotten that the Turkish homeland is of geopolitical and geostrategic importance, coveted and sought to be divided by all kinds of external and internal imperialist forces. Considering the importance that the Middle East has gained in international politics in recent years



, the importance of the Turkish homeland within the National Pact can be more easily understood.

The true intention of the communists who created anarchy under the slogan of "**a fully independent Turkey**" was to separate Turkey from NATO and bind it to Russia within the Warsaw Pact. We respect the integrity of every nation and its territory. However, despite our desire to establish good neighbourly relations with Russia at all times, Russia has constantly had its eye on Anatolia, both during the Tsarist era and today under communist ideology. The will known to history as "Tsar Peter's Testament (52)"

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- 51 **Warsaw Pact:** A twenty-year agreement signed on 14 May 1955 between the states known as the Iron Curtain. Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Russia gathered in Warsaw to sign the agreement. The purpose of the pact was that if one of the allies was attacked, the other members would provide all necessary assistance, including the use of military force. Albania withdrew from the pact in 1968. The agreement expired in 1975, but was extended at that time for 10 years, in 1985 and in 20 years and again . During the Second World War, Russia received extensive aid and tolerance from its allies in order to defeat Germany. It was predicted that Russia, which had suffered heavy losses, would not seek world domination but would focus on healing its own wounds. Never abandoning their desire for world domination, the Russians stalled their allies at the Tehran and Yalta Conferences, but made their intentions clear at the Potsdam Conference on 17 July 1945. This revealed deep differences in opinion and understanding in their relations with the West. The successive establishment of communist regimes in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany was seen as the implementation of Russia's ideas. It signed separate non-aggression pacts with these states. Following the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty by Western states in 1949, Russia also began preparations to establish a joint army with its satellite states. Between 1951 and 1952, the Eastern Bloc satellite states were incorporated into the Russian army system. With West Germany joining NATO in 1955, Russia, claiming it was obliged to protect the integrity of Eastern European countries, established the Warsaw Pact. The command and control of this pact, established for military purposes, belonged entirely to Russia. The satellite states were forced to participate in this agreement. The events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, their suppression bloody as this suppression resulted in . The pact's largest body was the political advisory committee. The committee, fully organised, consisted of the General Secretaries of the Communist Parties, Heads of Government, and Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence of the member countries. This committee was based in Moscow. In the event of any war with the West, the armed forces of the pact would be under the operational control of the Soviet High Command. In terms of the balance of power, the Warsaw Pact had one million more soldiers than NATO. After the collapse of communism and the dissolution of the USSR, the Warsaw Pact became history on 1 July 1991.
- 52 **Tsar Peter's Will:** Tsar Peter I's (1672-1725) will, written in 1725 and announced in 1738: All my children shall, one after another, reign over the countries of Europe, for all the state institutions of Europe are outdated and decrepit.

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However, the Russian Empire is developing, and we have achieved this development through our own intellect. I have written my "Will" in the form of the following testament so that it may serve as a "guide" for future generations.

1-The Russian state must always prepare for balanced conditions of war, and efforts must be made to ensure that these preparations lead to Russia's progress.

2-During times of war, it should attract as many military strategists as possible from Europe, and during times of peace, it should attract scholars to Russia.

3-It is necessary to sow discord among European countries, create antagonism between them, and collaborate with one of them in this endeavour. In particular, we should strive to play an active role in the conflicts and unrest among the German people. For they are our neighbours and close to us.

4-We must stir up unrest in Poland, bribe their leaders generously to undermine their power, strike at the heart of the state, and bring soldiers from Moscow to settle there. If other states object to these measures, we should tear off a piece of Poland and give it to them as a "hush money", then take that piece back once the job is done. We should consolidate Russian rule.

5-We must establish as much of a foothold as possible in Sweden and Norway. For if their governors are in our hands, it will be easier to ensure that Sweden and Norway sow the seeds of enmity towards Denmark.

6-Russian nobles must not forget to marry German nobles, influential figures, governors, and high-ranking officials. For such kinship will always be beneficial to us.

7-Join forces with the British government and intensify contacts. This will benefit us in trade and state administration. All necessary materials for shipbuilding will be obtained from them. These contacts are very useful both for arms and for shipping.

8-The borders of the Russian state should extend from northern Europe to the Baltic Sea and south to the Black Sea. It is the duty of my sons to preserve this situation and expand the Russian frontier.

9-In order to make Russia a world power, its capital must be Istanbul, the key to the treasures of Asia and Europe.

It is necessary to work diligently and without delay to gain control of Istanbul's western territories. Undoubtedly, the Shah who possesses Istanbul will be the divine ruler of the world.

To achieve this goal, seeds of discord and strife must always be sown between Turkey and Iran, and conflict and war must be provoked.

The conflicts between the Sunni and Shia sects are the sharpest weapon and the invincible army for this task.

The Sunni-Shia conflicts are the best means to spread Russia's influence in Asia. The balance between Turkey and Iran must be disrupted (through discord and strife) so that they can never agree with each other.

Neither Iran nor Turkey should be allowed to establish contact with the peoples of Europe. If the Muslims of these countries were to open their eyes and understand their rights, it would spell great trouble for us.

It is necessary to win over the religious leaders of both Turkey and Iran and, through them, to stir up Sunni-Shia conflicts.

It is imperative to remove Islamic doctrine from Asia and to seriously propagate and spread Christian doctrine and civilisation there.

Keep this confidential.

The interference of our scholars in state affairs up to now has hindered the progress of the Russian state. Using my own authority and independence, I have removed them from state affairs. I have refused to allow the clergy to interfere in state affairs, and now they are bound hand and foot like ordinary people.

I did this at great risk. I removed the clergy from state and national affairs and limited their authority to performing religious duties in churches.

In addition to this, various measures must be taken so that Iran becomes a little more penniless and trade-less with each passing day. In short, Iran must always be driven into decline and kept in a state of dependence so that the Russian state is able to kill it effortlessly whenever it wants.

But it is not advisable to take Iran's life before the Turkish state is destroyed. The country of Georgia is the lifeline of the Caucasus, that is, Iran's jugular vein. If Russia's scalpel reaches that artery, then weak blood will flow from its heart and it will become so weak that even if a thousand Plato were to rise from the dead, they could not reform it and restore it to health.

Then Iran will be as obedient to the Russian tsars as a camel. And Turkey's last spark will be extinguished.

After finishing off Turkey, a region of material needs, it will be possible to destroy Iran without difficulty and cut off its head.

To this end, you must seize Georgia and the Caucasus without delay and make the influential figures within Iran your servants and subjects.

After that, you must set your sights on India. That country is a very large and extensive trade region. If you seize it, the revenue obtained through England will be much greater than before, and it will be exported from India.

The key to India is \_\_\_\_\_, the capital of which is \_\_\_\_\_, the capital of Turkey is \_\_\_\_\_.

Advance as far as you can through the deserts of Kyrgyzstan, Khiva and Bukhara so that your goal draws nearer. Do not waste time, but also refrain from panic and haste.

Austria should be ostensibly friendly. However, measures should be taken so that Germany and Austria gradually lose their power.

Turkey must be separated (removed) from Europe, and Austria must also benefit from this cooperation. There are two ways to achieve this: one is to keep Austria busy elsewhere, and the other is to...

A piece of land should be given to Austria from Turkish territory in such a way that it can be easily taken back from Austria later.

10- Treat the Greeks with peace and friendship; they will help you in times of war, for the Greeks have always suffered harm from Turkey.

11- After invading Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Iran and Poland, form an alliance with Italy and France and establish contact with them. If none of them accept our friendship, then find an opportunity and destroy those places and countries. Once you have seized these places, you will become the ruler of the world.

12- If any of the countries mentioned above refuses to accept the battle, it is necessary to take such measures that discord and strife may arise between these two governments (Italy and France). In this way, over time, one of them will disappear and be destroyed. You will plunder the remaining governments and establish dominion over all of Europe without any trouble. In the end, you will annex all the other countries to your own and rule the entire world.

Articles 9, 11, and 13 clearly reveal Tsarist Russia's ambition.

The sections of the aforementioned articles relating to Turkey are as follows: Article: 9 — "We must expand and advance as far as possible towards Istanbul and India. Whoever seizes these points once will become the true ruler of the world. To this end, we must constantly create disagreements, first with Turkey and then with Iran... Article: 11 — "We must draw Austria's attention to the expulsion of Turkey from Europe and eliminate its jealousy regarding the capture of Istanbul... Article 13 — "When Sweden falls into our hands and Poland comes under our yoke; when Iran disappears and Turkey is occupied, we must separately and secretly make offers to the Palace of Versailles and then to the Palace of Vienna to divide world domination..."

During the Tsarist era, Russia declared war on us 13 times with the aim of eliminating the Turks, who were a major obstacle to its country and nation, in order to establish world domination and gain access to warm seas and climates. The goal of establishing world domination and eliminating Turkey was pursued by Soviet governments even after the communist revolution of 1917. In 1945, they demanded territory from our country (Kars, Ardahan, bases in the Marmara straits) and also wanted a friendly and reliable government in Ankara. It was stated that for the government in Ankara to be "friendly and reliable," it had to be like the governments in Sofia, Prague, and Bucharest. This brief explanation probably reveals the Soviet imperialist ambitions regarding Turkey.

Over the past five or six years, our country has witnessed some very serious and tragic events. The memorandum issued by the Turkish Armed Forces on 12 March 1971 marked the beginning of a new phase in the life of the nation. Meanwhile, many young and educated people who had drifted towards communism, regionalism and separatism were prosecuted. Armed gangs were formed and partisan warfare began. Foreigners visiting our country were attacked, kidnapped and murdered. Some of those responsible were shot dead during clashes with state forces while resisting with weapons.

Many young people were arrested. It is clear that the path they took was wrong and was found to be harmful and destructive to our country. However, even if they were wrong, the young people showed behaviour that showed they would not hesitate to sacrifice everything, including their lives, for an ideal they believed in.

. What a great sorrow this is for our country and what a great loss for the Turkish nation.

Why have hundreds of young people and some educated members of the Turkish nation been drawn into these destructive currents and movements that are harmful to the homeland... Why have these unfortunate children of the country committed the treason of dividing Turkey into separate small states according to regions? Why have these people, who studied for years at our universities, made statements such as, "I am not Turkish, I am not Muslim, I do not recognise the existence of Turkey"?!

These young people, the children of our country, were not steeped in these bad and wrong ideas when they were in their family homes before coming to university. Indeed, many of them were genuinely patriotic and nationalistic. The reason for their loss to the nation is the void of ideas and beliefs into which our country has fallen for many years. People live, find happiness, and rise with faith and ideals. A person without faith or ideals finds themselves in a void and is swept along by events under the influence of their instincts alone; their behaviour and life remain dependent on chance.

The age we live in is, above all, an age of ideological and cultural warfare. Nations that do not pursue the path of developing their own national culture, and societies that do not define their own national ideals and educate their people in accordance with these ideals, become prisoners of foreign cultures and ideologies.

For many years, our Turkey has been exposed to the assault and invasion of foreign ideologies and foreign cultures. In the age we live in, before the enemy arrives with guns and cannons, they attempt to invade our cultural and ideological life, our thoughts and beliefs, and our artistic world. Once they have succeeded in this, it becomes a simple matter for the enemy's armed forces to seize our state and our homeland.

Since 1917, Russian imperialism has taken on a new guise and acquired a brand new, extremely powerful, even formidable weapon: the ideology of communism. Russian imperialism has skilfully used and continues to use this ideology to devour the nations and territories it wishes to exploit. Turkey is at the centre of the secret and open struggle between states. For this reason, it is the target of the most relentless attacks by foreign cultures and ideologies. Attacks by foreign cultures and ideologies aimed at destroying the Turkish nation have never

It will not stop. It will take on new forms, apply new methods, bring forth new people, and continue its struggle. To counter this and rapidly strengthen the Turkish nation and the Turkish state, a national ideology and a national cultural movement must be put forward. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can never be crushed, prevented or defeated by military force, police power or brute force. Ideas, ideals and beliefs can only be defeated by ideas, ideals and beliefs that are more correct, more powerful and superior to them. The Turkish nation's strength against all kinds of foreign ideological and cultural attacks **is the Turkish ideal and the ideology of Turkish nationalism, based on the consciousness of Turkish nationalism.**

When discussing attacks from foreign cultures and ideologies, alone

It would be an incomplete approach to consider communism. It is necessary to take into account any foreign cultural and ideological influences that hinder the advancement of Turkishness in all areas and the development of the Turkish nation as a strong society with an independent identity. It would be highly misguided to adopt a reactionary stance aimed at protecting against destructive currents and divisive, fragmenting propaganda. The best defence is attack. National cultural developments based on the Turkish ideal and Turkish nationalism must be conceived and developed not as a reaction against foreign cultural and ideological attacks, but as an independent, powerful and dynamic force based on high and noble beliefs that will suppress them.

### **The Struggle of Nations and the National Doctrine**

History is a history of the struggle of nations. To achieve victory in this struggle, it is necessary to be a strong nation, powerful in every respect. Nations that fail to adapt their social, political, and economic structures to their national conditions are doomed to defeat in this struggle. For centuries, our great nation has been subjected to attempts to govern it with regimes and ideologies originating from outside. All national values are being targeted for destruction. The aim is to erase this nation, which is organisational and a founder of great states, from the stage of history.

Our Turkey, our great nation, has become a breeding ground for destructive ideologies. On the one hand, the imperialist servants of Western capitalism and, on the other, those of Eastern communism have entered into a race to destroy this great nation. We will not give them the opportunity. We will not tolerate these hotbeds of corruption and treason. The foundation of a nationalist Turkey has been laid.

have joined the front. Turkey's most powerful minds are on our side. The most powerful goals, the most dynamic ideology, and the most nationalist views have been outlined.

The fundamental goals that will lead us to a nationalist Turkey have been outlined in the Nine Lights ideology. The system that will realise these goals is nationalist socialism. Our ideology is the most dynamic ideology of the age: Turkish Nationalism.

The Turkish nation can only be victorious in the struggle of nations through the reorganisation of our state and nation. In this reorganisation, the state will have a new structure.

## NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

The fundamental ideology of our age is the ideal of nationalism. The ideology that today encompasses Africa, South America, Asia, and even Europe is nationalism. Our constitution, in its preamble and in many of its articles, has declared the ideal of Turkish nationalism to be the fundamental philosophy of the state. The ideal of nationalism is to unite with the Turkish nation and to establish the great, powerful rule of the Turkish nation. The nationalism we defend is democratic nationalism based on love for humanity. **We oppose any system that rejects democratic nationalism. We vehemently reject foreign ideologies that divide the Turkish nation into classes or sects, peoples or regions, and seek to fragment the Turkish nation under the slogan of "the peoples of Turkey."** We are the relentless enemies of totalitarian socialism, communism, exploitative capitalism, and all forms of fascist systems. Our understanding of nationalism is based on spiritual awareness. Anyone who has attained Turkish consciousness within our national borders and sincerely declares, "I am Turkish," is TURKISH. We do not believe in elements of nationalism and the definition of the Turk, anthropological racism, sectarianism, or regionalism. We oppose Nazi racism, communist populism, sectarianism, and imperialist geography. Our nationalism believes in the idea of the nation state, respects the equality and independence of every nation state, the unity of country and nation, and opposes all aggressive ideologies, socialist and capitalist imperialism.

### National Integration

The Nationalist Movement bases all its actions, movements and thoughts on a single truth, a single social value. This value is the Turkish nation. In this sense, our party is always opposed to the absolute individualistic and class-based system.

The realisation of our fundamental philosophy of national sovereignty requires the integration of the individuals and social strata that constitute the nation.



and their participation in decisions that concern them. To summarise in one sentence, our ideal is national integration. National integration is the political, economic and cultural unification and amalgamation of the people living in a country within the consciousness of belonging to the same nation. In the movement for national integration, the idea of unity rather than division, and integration rather than differentiation, prevails. Atatürk sought to explain national integration with the phrase, "We are a classless, privileged, integrated nation." National integration occurs with the emergence of national consciousness, the belief in belonging to a particular nation. In societies where the individuals and social strata that make up the nation are largely differentiated politically, economically and culturally, there can be no talk of national integration.

## NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY

The happiest ideal for a nation is to live as an independent, free, strong and prosperous state. Although it is true that civilisation has advanced greatly in the world today and that the United Nations Organisation exists, the life of every nation depends on the defence and security measures it takes. The attacks and events that our friend and brother country Pakistan has suffered in recent years have shown that every nation must be strong and ensure its own security in order to protect its national rights and interests. Otherwise, neither the United Nations Organisation nor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can sufficiently protect a state's independence and territorial integrity. As the Republic of Turkey, we too are obliged to maintain our own security and national defence. Today, modern weapons, equipment and tools have advanced considerably. They require industrial power and advanced scientific and technical capabilities. As our nation has not yet advanced sufficiently in science, technology and industry, we cannot produce the equipment and tools necessary for our national defence ourselves. We are forced to obtain them either through the assistance of our allies or by purchasing them with money. Today's advanced modern weapons and equipment are very expensive. However, a nation's independence and freedom are above all else. The protection of our state and the security of our homeland's integrity are matters worthy of any sacrifice. For this reason, Turkey must be superior to all its neighbours in the region, except for the Soviet Union, in terms of national defence capabilities and must maintain this superiority. In doing so, it is the duty of the administrators to find a way to achieve this without hindering economic and social development.

It is impossible to live in security by trusting in the good intentions of others. Those who have governed Turkey in recent years have made serious mistakes and neglected Turkey's national security. Above all, we must rely on our own armed forces.

Union, must be an unchanging national policy for Turkey. The characteristics of the Turkish nation and the peaceful stance pursued since the founding of the Republic are useful factors in enabling Turkey to explain itself to other nations.

The Middle East and Far East are pregnant with surprising and momentous events. We must transcend domestic political concerns by prioritising national unity and solidarity above all else, and we must be self-sacrificing, patient, loyal, proactive, and take bold steps to protect our national existence and integrity.

## 2 - IDEALISM

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Idealism denotes the same meaning as the word idealist, which has entered our language from Western languages. Idealism or idealism means designing the most perfect, most beautiful goals that will make oneself happy, which can be achieved and attained within the human mind, and showing desire and working towards the realisation of these goals. If there were no idealists among people, humanity would not have been able to achieve the progress it has made in many areas that illuminate the world today. Every truth, every idea is first born as an imagination in people's minds. People imagine. They dream. These dreams express a set of desires, a set of longings that are good for them, that they yearn for, that will make them happy to achieve. People become human to a large extent through their dreams. People distinguish themselves from other living beings through their dreams and truly acquire the quality of humanity. Idealism is the conception and shaping of a dream in the human mind, a dream that will bring happiness to individuals and human communities, and whose realisation will bring about the most advanced and elevated state.

Every society has idealists and idealists, and the presence of idealists and idealists is a blessing for societies; it is a great fortune! What is the ideal we envision for the Turkish nation? What is the ideal we have designed for the Turkish nation? First and foremost, it is for the Turkish nation to be and live at a high level in terms of morality, spirituality and human feelings, to become the most advanced entity in the world in terms of science and technology, and to become a prosperous society that has developed its agriculture according to modern technology, established modern industry, and become a prosperous society. These constitute a significant part of the fundamentals of the ideal that a Turkish nationalist would envision for Turkish society. Are these the only things within the boundaries of Turkish nationalism and idealism? No, there are other thoughts and other goals as well. These goals are that the Turkish nation will not beg for mercy,

It is the idea of becoming a being that does not beg for favours, that stands on its own two feet, that can protect its existence by its own power, and that can make its voice heard throughout the world.

In addition, it is the idea that the Turkish nation should always be able to assert its rights to the world and make them known to the world. Furthermore, it is the idea that all Turks should be freed from slavery and from living under the rule of foreigners and that, in accordance with the sacred principle of **self-determination, i.e. being masters of their own destiny**, and for all of them to become independent, to be independent, is another view, another idea of Turkish Idealism. For this reason, we have adopted Idealism as an important principle of the national doctrine.

We have only generally indicated the views and ideas of Turkish nationalists that fall within the limited definition of Ülkücülük. The ideas embraced by Turkish Ülkücülük are not limited to the principles outlined above. Within our Ülkücülük, Turkish nationalists from all professions will also hold the view that they should strive to achieve the most advanced, highest, and most beneficial results for both our nation and humanity in their respective fields. A Turkish nationalist will always keep idealism in mind for his own society and his own nation. Along with these general principles of idealism, he will also identify and pursue his own brand of Idealism within his own field and profession, in a manner consistent with and integrated into the fundamental and general principles of Idealism. Ideals are distant goals, long-term goals. It may not be possible for an ideal to be realised tomorrow. Ideals may encompass the coming years, the coming centuries. But an ideal is a light that illuminates the human heart. An ideal is a guide that enables people to determine their direction. For nations, the national ideal is the nation's guide, the sun that illuminates the nation's path. A person without ideals is like a being made of mud. A person without ideals is like a ship without a rudder or a compass. For this reason, every Turkish nationalist, every Dokuz Işıklı (Nine Lights adherent) must be an idealist, must have ideals. They will possess both a national ideal and a human ideal, and they will also possess an idealistic personality related to their own profession, so that they may develop as successful and useful individuals in their own profession, render useful services to the community and nation to which they belong, and engage in activities beneficial to humanity. For this reason, we attach great importance to the idealism that is one of the most important principles of the Nine Lights doctrine.

We are idealists! The human family consists of all people living on earth, brought together by separate members called nations. If a person wants to be human, if they want to serve humanity, they must first serve their own nation, strive to elevate their own nation, and strive to make their own nation happy. By doing so, they will also be serving humanity. Because if a person thinks of their own family and remains loyal to them, their feelings of humanity will reach the highest level, and they will be helpful and loyal to people outside their own family as well. If a person cannot be useful to their own nation and does not feel loyalty towards their own nation, then their talk of humanity ultimately becomes a fantasy. A person must ensure the prosperity, goodness, happiness and honour of the land where they grew up and the nation where they grew up. If they do so, they will have served humanity as well, because that nation is part of humanity.

What is our idealism? Our idealism is to elevate the Turkish nation to the highest level of modern civilisation in the shortest time and by the shortest route; to make it happy and prosperous, and to secure for it an independent, free life in which it enjoys its own rights.

Freedom for individuals and independence for nations are among our foremost principles. People are born free and equal in rights. People should be fully entitled to their rights, beyond their abilities and duties.

Within society, people should be assigned duties and ranked according to their personal merit and abilities. Along with all this, equal opportunity should be provided to everyone without distinction. By equal opportunity, we do not mean equality in the abstract sense.

Does anything pertaining to Turks outside our current borders fit into our Idealism?

Everyone bearing the Turkish name is within the scope of our love and concern. We cannot abandon this. Just as it is the natural right of every nation, it is also the natural right of the Turkish nation. Today's United Nations Charter proclaims the principle of "self-determination" as a sacred principle for every nation living on earth. Today, even the Black people living in Africa, who have never been able to establish an independent state until now, are recognised as having the sacred right to self-determination. As each of them gains independence, freeing themselves from foreign domination and the hands of the colonisers, those who remain captive under the domination of others

To desire and wish for the liberation of the Turks from captivity, and to harbour good intentions for this purpose, is the most natural and sacred right of every Turk.

However, in our idealism, we always strive to be realistic and to pursue a path that will never expose Turkey to dangers, risks, or adventures in the activities we undertake. Our idealism is not an idea of adventure. Our idealism is the aspiration to elevate the Turkish nation to the highest level of modern civilisation in the shortest time and by the shortest route, to bring it to a prosperous and happy life, to make it capable of standing on its own feet, and to enable it to live freely and independently, free from all kinds of fear and oppression. This ideal also encompasses an idealism that involves showing interest and affection towards all Turks, wishing for their happiness, and striving to ensure their happiness without exposing Turkey to risks and dangers, without compromising, and on condition that it does not compromise.

## IDEALISTIC GOAL

Ultrationalism means "idealism". The goal of our idealism is to bring the Turkish nation to the forefront of contemporary civilisation in the shortest possible time and by the shortest possible route, without begging others, to make it the strongest nation on earth in science, technology and civilisation, and to exalt Turkishness. Our ideal is for all Turks to be freed from captivity and become free and independent. Ideals are realised step by step. There are certain goals on the path to realising ideals. These goals have always existed in Turkish history and have been expressed with the phrase "RED APPLE<sup>(53)</sup>". "Kızıl elma" indicates the distance that must be covered on the path to the ideal, the goal that must be achieved. Ideals may not be realised within a person's lifetime. However, these goals can be achieved within the life of the nation. Do not forget that a person without ideals is no different from mud.

## The Ideal of the National State

The Nationalist Movement believes in the ideal of a national state. The National State embraces every Turkish citizen living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey,

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53 **Red Apple:** In Turkish mythology, it represents ideals that seem to recede the more one thinks about them, yet their allure increases in proportion to their distance. It symbolises a goal and purpose for Turkish states.

It is a form of state that embraces all. In our view, the Turkish nation is a sacred whole that does not accept division based on region, sect or party. The national state views its citizens as sacred trusts of Allah, regardless of region or sect. The National State is opposed to all forms of social, economic and political privilege. In the National State, there is no separatism, only unity and integrity. The Nationalist Movement will unite our forty-five million citizens within the ideal of the national state and mould them with the ideal of Turkishness.

### **Lack of Ideology**

Lack of ideals... One should not say, "What does it matter to me? I'll leave here, finish this faculty, set up a business here or become a civil servant there, take charge of that department, get my money, enjoy myself; I have nothing else to think about." That is not how it should be! The children of this nation will have ideals for their own nation. They will devote their entire lives to the progress and advancement of their nation and adjust their lives accordingly. They will always pursue their ideals... A person without ideals is like a corpse without a soul. A person without ideals is no different from mud. What makes people human are their ideas, ideals, aspirations, and passions, their noble feelings, and their noble beliefs!

### **THE CURRENT STATE OF TURKISH NATIONALISM AFTER EXPERIMENTS**

As Turkish Nationalists, when considering the future of our nation and our country, we always regard drawing on past experiences as a necessity of positive thinking. Just as laboratories are for positive sciences such as physics and chemistry, past experiences are the same for social issues. Insisting on attitudes that have been tried and have not yielded results is not a rational approach.

Following the Tanzimat reforms, Turkish nationalism emerged as an intellectual movement among the enlightened segments of Turkish society and developed rapidly. Numerous intellectuals, foremost among them Ziya Gökalp, devoted their efforts to the ideal of Turkish nationalism. Although it had certain shortcomings by today's standards, it became the dominant ideology within Turkish society. Thus, the era of the Republic began. Turkish nationalism, which the Great Liberator sought to establish as state policy, lacked the necessary personnel and time.



Due to its nature, it could not be implemented as desired. For the ideological system owned by the Turkish nation to become the basis of a consistent policy that dominates state and national life, there was a need for strong, idealistic cadres who had fully grasped its essence and objectives. The most perfect idea, in the hands of inadequate teams, not only yields harmful results but also falls prey to exploitation by various hostile circles; it becomes a tool for insidious ambitions.

### The Significance of 1944

After Atatürk's death, changes occurred in the administration of the state. During the period from 1938 to 1950, while communist movements were gaining strength and audacity on the one hand, Turkish nationalism was being dealt heavy blows on the other. In these years, which could be described as a period of satellite politics dependent on foreign powers, the consequences of the Second World War fundamentally affected our domestic political life. With the successes of the Russians, Turkish nationalism, which had been established as state policy during the Atatürk era, was opposed in order to appear favourable to them. The infamous "1944 Nationalism Incident," which those governing our state perpetuated as a black mark on history, is a typical example of the dangerous, wrong, unlawful, and arbitrary administration of this period. At that time, there were no leftist youths in universities as there are today. All young people in higher education were committed to the ideal of Turkish Nationalism. The problem stemmed from the reckless activities of a handful of Marxist faculty members who had infiltrated the university. The communist "actions" that launched an armed insurrection to destroy the Turkish state and still refuse to abandon their claims are the result of those who governed the state in the 1940s siding with a handful of Marxist faculty members and launching "Crusades" against Turkish Nationalism. As is well known, prominent Turkish nationalists were imprisoned and almost tried for "treason" because they wanted measures to be taken against the spread of communism in the country. Even before the trials began, the National Leader <sup>(54)</sup> in a speech delivered on 19 May 1944, accused the Turkish nationalists of treason and declared that they would all be held accountable. This mentality, which is completely incompatible with statesmanship and an understanding of law and justice, has always been the enemy of Turkish nationalism to this day. During their time in power, they used the resources of the state; when the Turkish nation took this trust from their hands, they used everything they could find.

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54 **National Leader:** İsmet İnönü, President of the Republic at the time.

They used their resources to engage in activities against Turkish nationalism. The Turkish nationalists, whom the National Leader declared "traitors to the homeland," were acquitted by a military court during his administration, despite all kinds of pressure. However, the anti-Turkish nationalist mentality manifested itself in state radio broadcasts, school textbooks, and speeches delivered at all kinds of official and private ceremonies. It was as if the state itself wanted to erase the founding philosophy of the state.

### **Attempts and Results**

The blow dealt to Turkish Nationalism in 1944 was repeated in 1953 with the closure of the 83 branches of the Turkish Nationalists Association spread across the country as a result of arbitrary and personal concerns. Those who came to power by stepping on the shoulders of Turkish Nationalists turned their backs on them once their work was done, even joining forces with their relentless rival İnönü to extinguish the hearth where the National Ideal burned brightly.

These two events in our recent history alone have reminded us of the necessity to re-examine our stance and take precautions against the calamities that befall us. Until this point in history, Turkish nationalists have stated, "We have no interest in politics. We wish to pass on the national ideal to future generations. Our concern is one of culture and ideas. Once this ideal has been embraced by society, and since all state administrators come from this society, Turkish nationalism will be implemented by the state." As a result, associations were established and magazines were published. During this period, filled with great sacrifice, the idea of Turkish nationalism, with its own organisation, came to power.

This was not considered. This policy was almost perpetuated by the circles that determined Turkey's destiny. The inclusion of one or more nationally-minded individuals in party governments was neglected. Looking back at previous periods, during the CHP and DP administrations, a few nationalists were always included in the party's high command and administrative bodies. Thus, the participation of Turkish nationalists in politics was intended to be confined to individual events, and the emergence of the National Ideal as an organised state policy before the Turkish nation was prevented.

The two coup attempts carried out by the state in 1944 and 1953 demonstrated that it was impossible for them to gain strength without targeting the government and to make the National Ideal state policy. Ideological movements that did not engage in political organisation were closely monitored by the powers that held the government, and the moment any development

, a coup is carried out using any means necessary. Therefore, Turkish Nationalism had to pursue a new path that targeted power.

Today, the fundamental issue for Turkish Nationalism is to attain power. No idea that does not attain power can achieve its goal. It remains a fantasy discussed in salons. The avoidance of power by systems of thought that claim to shape the destiny of the nation is nothing more than an expression of an internal contradiction. With this view and thought, we have given Turkish nationalism a political organisation. Since the Tanzimat, Turkish nationalism has matured into a perfect system of ideas. It is more developed and refined than the nationalisms of other nations that have attained power. Our national ideal provides consistent explanations for world and domestic issues. It possesses strong, scientific and enlightened views on every political, social, economic and cultural issue. Therefore, the era of chasing new discoveries is over. Turkish nationalism has been turned into an ideology. What follows is the need to spread the powerful idea system of Turkism throughout the country and to introduce this idea, which belongs to the Turkish nation, to the Turkish people. To this end, we need to organise ourselves and unite in a spirit of solidarity for the sake of our sacred responsibility. This is the path to power for Turkish Nationalism, which has been developed into a mature, refined, and perfect system of ideas. In Turkey in 1978, the main issue is gaining power. The solution to gaining power is to organise, coordinate, and mobilise our material and spiritual forces towards the same goal. Idealists, who bear more responsibility than anyone else, must see these realities above all else and organise their struggle accordingly.

Halfway along the road lies far behind. The heralds of victory rising from the horizon are near.

## **TURKISH NATIONALISM AND TURKISH UNITY**

### **A- Turkish Nationalism**

It is high time to examine the concept of Turkish nationalism and Turkish unity, which has become a bad habit, especially since 1944, with arguments full of slander, lies and falsehoods.

It is high time to examine the ideals of Turkish nationalism and Turkish unity.

After Turkish nationalism and the ideal of Turkish Unity were deemed a crime and subjected to massive propaganda campaigns, being Turkish and even talking about Turkish nationalism in Turkey had become a frightening prospect. Thank God that on 14 May 1950 with a glorious decision made by the Turkish nation, the sinister single-party mentality was destroyed and the horizon of Turkish nationalism was illuminated once again.

When we ask the question, "What does Turkish nationalism mean?", the things that should come to mind vary from person to person today. It is very likely that, faced with such a question, some people, under the influence of propaganda created by deep ignorance and base self-interest, will think of fascism, while others will appear completely unaware of the meaning it conveys. The fact that most young people know nothing substantial about this is a matter that must be taken seriously. I cannot refrain from mentioning a painful example of this here. In 1948, while in America, a young friend of mine was one day browsing through the *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* in the school library and read the explanation opposite the word "Turk". There he found written that "Turkish nationalism, a form of chauvinism, has made the Turks enemies of the non-Turkish elements that have lived in their homeland since ancient times, and that this had caused nationalist sentiments to awaken and develop among these foreign elements." This young Turkish boy, who had no knowledge of this matter, could not help but believe the statements mentioned above. "How can that be?" he said. "Can the things written by an encyclopaedia with scientific authority and recognised worldwide be wrong?" For this reason, he engaged in quite a few arguments with me. However, in the end, he changed his mind, understanding that Turkism arose from the Turks' concern to protect their own existence due to the systematic and ungrateful hostility and treachery shown towards them by all foreign elements, Christian and Jewish.

For the reasons outlined above, I believe it would be useful to briefly explain what Turkish nationalism signifies and its origins.

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55 In the general elections held on 14 May 1950, the CHP was defeated at the polls, and the Democratic Party came to power.

A cursory glance at Ottoman history reveals that nationalism bordering on chauvinism never dominated state policy or Turkish social life. People from all walks of life were appointed not only to minor civil service positions but even to the highest offices, such as the Grand Vizierate. Until the Tanzimat, a tolerance towards other religions and nationalities prevailed within the country that was unheard of in any other country at the time and could be considered excessive. This went so far with Muslim Arabs and Persians that millions of Turks in Syria and Iraq, and even in Palestine and Egypt, gradually assimilated into Arab culture and slowly disappeared. Turkish was neglected everywhere, and the use of Arabic and Persian words became a sacred fashion and pleasure. After the Tanzimat, alongside Islamism, the idea of Ottomanism officially emerged. This idea was the fantasy of creating an Ottoman nation from the amalgamation of elements of various religions and nationalities.

In light of these truths, to speak of the Turkish nation's chauvinism is nothing more than turning one's back on the impartiality required by science and becoming a prisoner of base prejudice.

The Turks were forced to react only after the systematic hostility and betrayal they encountered, despite the infinite tolerance and generosity they had shown. Turkish nationalism and Turkism arose as a means of self-preservation under the influence of the nationalism and separatist sentiments of the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Armenians, Albanians, Arabs and other elements, and has never been unjust or aggressive.

Turkish nationalism is an ideal that aims to develop the Turkish nation in science, art, agriculture, economics, culture and all other fields in a manner consistent with national traditions and the national character, and to preserve it as free and independent, protected from all kinds of aggression both internally and externally. Such an ideal is a sacred right for every nation, and it is also the most sacred and natural right for the Turkish nation and every individual who constitutes it.

Attempting to slander or accuse Turkish nationalism, for whatever reason, in any way whatsoever, requires one to doubt, to put it mildly, the good intentions and love for the Turkish nation of those who do so. Having summarised our thoughts on Turkish nationalism here, we must now say a few words about the ideal of "Turkish unity".

## B- Turkish Unity

The ideal of Turkish unity is the ideal of all Turks on earth coming together as one nation and one state, under one flag. At first glance, this may seem impossible to some. Many may even describe it as a harmful fantasy (utopia). But we must not forget that every truth begins with a dream. It should also be remembered that in 1919, the decision to wage war in Anatolia against the victors of the world in order to establish a free and independent Turkey was also described as madness and a fantasy. However, those who believed and devoted themselves to an ideal succeeded in saving their homeland and establishing an independent Turkey.

Turkish unity will also one day become a reality through systematic work, seizing opportunities and, above all, striving to protect and elevate Turkey.

From time to time, certain individuals, enslaved by selfish and insidious ambitions, have attempted to portray this as an adventurous idea that would immediately drag Turkey into war and conflict with Russia and other countries where Turks reside. They accused those who pursued the idea of Turkish unity of plunging Turkey into disaster by involving it in matters beyond its power and of having found "the perfect solution for destroying the country," subjecting them to all kinds of **slander**, insults and torture. However, those who carried the ideal of Turkish unity were people of faith who were well aware of the power and capabilities possessed by the Turkish nation. Their national consciousness, ideas, and intellectual abilities enabled them to understand the necessity of protecting the Turkish nation from all kinds of adventures. None of them even considered, let alone desired, dragging the country into war and exerting efforts outside the current borders at an inopportune time. The ideal of those who pursued the idea of Turkish unity was:

1) First, to protect the rights of Turkish prisoners, who have been deprived of all human rights and subjected to torture and attempts at extermination, through publications and propaganda.

2) To endeavour to provide them with all kinds of assistance through diplomatic channels.

3) In the meantime, strive to establish cultural unity to the extent possible and strengthen it.

4) To strive to ensure that the captive Turkish homelands gain their independence separately and take their rightful place within the community of free nations.

5) It consisted of welcoming those who came as refugees and migrants from the countries where they were held captive with warm interest and striving to achieve all kinds of feasible immediate goals. Furthermore, as a distant goal, it was hoped that the Turkish countries, having gained their independence, would establish a strong cultural unity among themselves and then, by a joint decision, create a great Turkish union.

Now, in these thoughts, could there be any harm for the Turkish nation? In our opinion, there is no harm whatsoever. On the contrary, there are enormous benefits. Such an ideal would be a source of excitement and momentum for the people, especially the youth, and would encourage greater efforts towards Turkey's development. Then the Russians have "Panslavism" (Slavic unity), the Germans have "Pan-Germanism" (German unity), the Arabs have Arab unity, the Jews have Greeks pursue "Enosis," seeking Cyprus and pursuing a Greek union, Bulgarians make empty claims over Macedonia and Thrace in the name of a Bulgarian union, why is it considered a sin for Turks to want to establish unity among their 150 million brothers? When establishing national unity is considered a sacred right for every nation, why should this not be recognised for the Turks? Why, moreover, is this sacred right and desire treated as a crime and offence in Turkey? And why were the proponents of this idea subjected to the most severe insults and torture in 1944? Why is it considered a crime to wish for millions of Turks, deprived of all kinds of human rights by those notorious enemies of Turkism who have attempted to present themselves as champions of humanitarianism and respect for human rights, to be granted the right to live like human beings?

How can those whose hearts beat for Turkishness in these lands where Turks live and the Turkish flag flies proudly, be accused of plotting mischief by certain wretched individuals who spread all manner of slander and insults and report them to Moscow and portray themselves as opponents of this, claiming to be those who wish for the benefit of the Russians. How can they possibly stir up trouble with such accusations?

But all this effort is in vain, gentlemen! All in vain! It is impossible to curry favour with the Russians. It was impossible to curry favour with the Russians by attempting to crush the Turkish nationalists or by killing hundreds of Turkish refugees in violation of the principles of humanity and international law

We carry the ideal of Turkish unity high in the skies like a glorious flag. This ideal is understood today by the Turkish nation with greater importance than ever before. Our clash with the Russians is an inevitable destiny. Their insatiable greed will be their undoing. We will definitely defeat them in the war we are about to wage. Because we will defend justice and humanity. Because we will fight for the eternal and everlasting rights of the Turks. Because we will fight with the slogan "INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH"..."(\*)

## DIŞ TURKS

What shall we do about the Turks outside today's Turkish borders? Until now, those who have governed the nation have always considered engaging with the Turks abroad to be detrimental. This is a mistaken view. Wherever there are Turks in the world, they are within the sphere of interest of Turkish Nationalists. We consider it the duty of Turkish Nationalists to do whatever we can for the Turks abroad.

Seeking to liberate the Turks abroad is not imperialism, as some claim. Imperialism is the occupation of foreign states. It is our legitimate right to seek the liberation and freedom of the Turks abroad. And this right is protected by the United Nations Organisation.

In our era, cultural dissemination and friendship initiatives are widely practised in international relations. Every state strives to spread its culture as widely as possible. This makes it easier to secure significant economic, strategic, and political benefits. We, too, should focus on this issue to the extent of our capabilities. The first step is to support and strengthen Turkish cultural communities and maintain close relations with them. In return, we must be cautious and strategic in preventing the spread of foreign cultures in our country.

In this regard, we would like to emphasise the importance of equipping TRT with more powerful and newer facilities. In its current state, TRT broadcasts are difficult to receive in many regions of our country.

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\* First broadcast: 10 November 1950.



and our broadcasts are being replaced by foreign broadcasts with malicious intent. Our broadcast programmes also need to be organised more comprehensively. Special and continuous broadcasts should be made for communities outside our borders that are connected to Turkish culture.

Whether within Turkey, outside Turkey, or anywhere in the universe, wherever they may be, Turkish nationalists are filled with interest and respect for the Turks there. Since they are part of our nation, who else but us will care for them? We must care for them. This is one of the principles of our understanding of nationalism. However, the implementation of this principle is subject to one condition: we will care for them, but showing them affection must in no way harm the Turkish state and nation. We will care for them on condition that this condition is met. If harm is to be caused, we will immediately abandon these relations. Why?

Because Turkey is the only independent state of the Turks on earth. Not putting it in any danger is the greatest service to the great idea of Turkishness.

## FACTS AND FALSE ACCUSATIONS

Three of the eight great empires in history were founded by the Turks. These are the "Genghis Khan Empire", the "Great Seljuk Empire" and the "Ottoman Empire". The Turks, one of the five nations that established eight empires, established three empires on their own, while the other four nations could only establish five empires. As a result, there is a lingering fear and resentment in the hearts of these nations. Today, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Russians, British and French are all against us, because we crushed them all in the past. There is a fear within Western states. It is the fear that we will rise again as we did before and, in accordance with historical tradition, do great things and crush them.

Today in Iran, <sup>a country</sup> with a population of 28 million, there are 15 million Turks. Bulgaria is the same. All Turks abroad are held captive in other countries. Due to poor education, foreign states' hostility towards the Turkish nation has not been explained to our generation; they have been portrayed as "innocent" and "friendly states".

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56 According to the 2013 census, Iran's population is 77 million 177 thousand. According to information provided by the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 40% of this population speaks Turkish.

In times when we were victorious in history, we treated the people of the defeated nations with great honesty and humanity. We did not oppress them. But when we were defeated, they brutally destroyed our people, sparing neither women nor children, committing every kind of immorality. At such times, the "**civilised**" world remained silent. When an action was taken against us, against our national security, and we suppressed it, taking the necessary measures, they said, "Oh! The Turks are committing barbaric acts!" The civilised world remained silent in the face of the massacres committed against us. There are many examples of this.

There was a city called Constanța in Romania. Turks lived there. When the Russians occupied this place, they destroyed it by burning and hanging everyone, including women and children.

Finally, in 1963, this type of atrocity occurred in Cyprus. The unarmed wife and child of a Major Doctor were riddled with bullets from a machine gun in the bathroom. The world powers did not react to this. Various factors played a role in this:

1. They favour Christian nations over us.
2. There is also their hatred towards Turks and their desire to eliminate them.

As Turkish nationalists, we will be aware of these factors, prepare ourselves accordingly, educate ourselves, use every means at our disposal, and strive to restore the Turkish nation to its former strength.

## THE LAST PIECE OF THE HOMELAND

Reading Turkish history, as I approach the twentieth century from the eighteenth, my heart is filled with great sorrow and anguish. My soul is gripped by an irrepressible fury and a need for action.

Every day, armies retreating before attacking enemies... Every day, flags falling to the ground atop toppled castle towers... Countries abandoned... and migrations that have continued unabated for two centuries... Migrants perishing from hunger, cold, and neglect... After each defeat, a period of mourning and the stirrings it awakens... But soon enough, a deep slumber and indifference once more...

The era has changed, and we are finally entering the twentieth century. There is tremendous movement and competition in the West. Here, we are still stagnant...

The 1911 Western Tripoli War... Our ambassador in Rome sends reports to the government about Turkish-Italian friendship, like a reassuring door... The Italians, however, are busy, busy, preparing! It's clear, it's clear, along with the great state and the great nation, the ambassadors are also asleep.

While we're talking about Western Tripolitania, the Twelve Islands were also occupied. At that very moment, the Balkan War broke out. While the Balkan nations were preparing for war, ours demobilised the army. As we said... Both the state and the ambassadors are asleep.

The disgraceful Balkan War wiped out the whole of Rumelia. It was as if our connection to Europe had been completely severed... Then came a revival and a counterattack... Anyway, we regained the beautiful Turkish city of Edirne. Thank God, after losing millions of square kilometres of land in Europe, we were able to hold on to at least a small piece of land.

As a result of the excitement and movement created by this disaster, while work was being done, the First World War also began.

A struggle lasting more than four years, fought with heroism and honour... Such a struggle that heroism and sacrifice became the grave of poverty and backwardness.

Such was the struggle that ignorance and treachery became the executioners of victories and miracles. And in the end, a great state collapsed. Syria, Palestine, Iraq—Anatolia too fell under the threat of disintegration. Finally, a tremendous surge and the War of Independence... After miracles that those who had lost their faith could not comprehend, came the Great Victory and Liberation. After that, a free and independent Turkey.

Anatolia and Thrace, separated from Eastern Rumelia, with its edges and corners cut off and trimmed, consisting of a handful of homeland consisting of Thrace, with Mytilene, Chios, the Twelve Islands, Cyprus, Hatay and Northern Syria, Mosul, Azerbaijan and Batum... And millions of tearful Turks beyond the borders...

After the years of liberation, there was renewed national enthusiasm and a wave of development. Then, after a while, stagnation, forgetfulness and slumber returned... Great dangers and calamities loom around us and at our doorstep. Demons and monsters whistle and sigh...

Act, O son of Turkey! Act now... There is no Rumelia, no Hungarian lands, no Syria, Iraq, Palestine, or Egypt, no Tripoli, no Tunisia

or Algeria, nor Crimea and the Caucasus. What remains is a fragment of the homeland!... The last fragment of the homeland...

Act<sup>t</sup>like a Grey Wolf. Get motivated... Get to work. Let the old days be reborn... Let the flags of victory and glory rise again towards the horizon... Above all, **Great Turkey**... Let our **Happy Turkey** rise!... \*

## TUNA

This is not a name, not a river, but a history flowing in our hearts. Without the Turks, the Danube is orphaned; without the Danube, the Turks are bereaved.

Thousands of years ago, this water flowed desolate and strange. Lifeless, uncivilised people crawled along its banks. On both sides, savagery and ruin embraced each other. In its sky. In its sky, there was no sun. Its stars were dull, its moonlight dim. Its birds were songless, its flowers faded.

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

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

From within the approaching cloud, mountain heroes appeared on horseback like mountains themselves. Their faces radiated light and movement. Their eyes were full of light and energy. Their names were harmonious, sonorous syllables embodying bravery and strength:

Turk!

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

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

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\* First published: 17 November 1950.

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

The Turk, whose mission was to conquer civilisation, justice and nature, trampled, crushed, overcame and passed not only the hybrid herds and sluggish human caravans that emerged, but even the mountains and rivers. He placed a bridle on their heads, made of justice, civilisation and strength. For centuries, he fought and fought as the protector and propagator of civilisation.

The war seemed endless. But that was precisely what the Turks sought. They fought and fought... They emerged victorious in every battle, dominating everywhere they went.

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

Many of our battles took place along the Danube. The Danube's raiders flowed towards the Danube. Turkish blood joined the Danube like a waterfall. For this reason, the Danube is the most passionate of hearts and the most powerful of waters.

In those ancient times, we were celebrating Tuna's wedding. Tuna arrived. And we had married Tuna.

How quickly those long centuries filled with joy and triumph passed! How did it end?

Who tore Tuna from my arms? Who took her?

My Danube! My beloved, whom I carried in my bosom for centuries and could never get enough of! You are not roaring today, you are not weeping...

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

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

Won't you give me water, my Danube?\*

## THE MOBILISATION OF THE HEART

According to Dokuz Işık, first and foremost, one must observe thrift, avoid waste, and, in addition, mobilise labour and value human effort. There is abundant human labour in our country. However, human labour has a certain characteristic: if it is not valued in time, it becomes a reserve.

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\* First broadcast: 19 March 1939.

It cannot be stored or saved. It is not possible to say, "Let's fill these places, these warehouses with human labour, and then take it out and use it when we need it in five years' time." Human labour is also lost over time. Human labour must be mobilised rationally and used to counter the capital crisis. To this end, the foremost solution envisaged by DOKUZ IŞIK is, first and foremost, to awaken our people, our nation; to instil national ideals and national consciousness, to mobilise the HEART. Without this MOBILISATION OF THE HEART, it is impossible to make the great strides necessary to resolve all of Turkey's problems. It is impossible to make great sacrifices. It will not be possible to generate great dynamism. We must absolutely ignite and excite our people with national culture, show them national goals, and first mobilise their hearts. And only by moving from this mobilisation of hearts to a mobilisation of labour, by making strides, can we shake off the situation Turkey finds itself in. This is one of the important principles of the NINE LIGHTS! We have accepted as another principle of the NINE LIGHTS the use of art, the fine arts, as a tool to mobilise the HEART. Theatre, cinema, literature... All of these, that is, all fine arts, will be mobilised to spread the NATIONAL IDEAL, to stir national enthusiasm, to organise our people, and to drive them towards great breakthroughs. The mobilisation of labour, the evaluation of idle labour, the pooling of small savings to take action, sacrifice and hard work, giving priority and focus to initiatives that increase production and income, avoiding dead investments, and avoiding dead investments will be at the forefront.

### **I Want You to Present Yourself Well**

I know that you are young Anatolian children who act with deep conviction, that you are young intellectuals, that you are true Idealists. I consider it very beneficial for you to know yourselves well, to know our country well, and to know the world well. The world is in a state of struggle. Every nation is engaged in the activity of imposing its own views, exploiting and using other countries to the greatest extent possible for its own purposes and interests. Every nation that knows itself must protect itself against this activity and assert its own will. The Turkish nation asserts its own will, as it has done throughout its centuries-long history.

As it is, it will inevitably prevail and establish itself as the dominant force. It is a will that aims not only to preserve and elevate the Turkish nation with human dignity, but also to establish world order, alleviate the suffering of others, provide assistance to others, and create flawless, unshadowed justice throughout the world. The direction of Turkish Idealism will continue to be in this direction. No matter what the slanders may be, no matter how they try to portray it, the power and energy of the Turkish nation has always manifested itself in this way and will continue to develop in this way. I am certain that such action will undoubtedly find great respect and support in the hearts of nations. Moreover, I am certain that God Almighty will always support us.

### **The Most Just Cause is Ours**

We are the strongest in terms of ideas, ideals and causes; noble ideas are our ideas. The most legitimate, most just cause is our cause. We are the champions of the cause of a noble, honourable and oppressed nation, the cause of not trampling on its rights, the cause of not placing chains of slavery around its neck. No other cause can be imagined with such lofty, such noble goals. The power of a movement, the power of an idea, lies in its reliance on such noble goals. Therefore, our cause, our ideal, is the strongest idea, the strongest cause, both in Turkey and throughout the world. With this certainty, filled with this excitement, we must strive to fulfil the duties it imposes upon us. We must be conscious of it. We must be courageous about it. I consider it useful to reiterate a point I have always made. As Turks, our nation is courageous; it is courageous enough to sacrifice its life when necessary for the nation, for the homeland, for high causes, for ideals. But that is not enough. In the times we live in, that is not enough. Is it possible to show even greater courage? It is possible!

### **We Must Also Be Courageous Against Rumours**

You will also be brave against the slanders, plots, and assassinations fabricated against your honour, your integrity, and your dignity. You will be brave against gossip. Because those who seek to enslave the Turkish nation, to tear it apart and erase it from the stage of history,

We are confronted with malicious and destructive actions. Those who seek to destroy are merciless and cruel towards those who wish to preserve the Turkish nation. They resort to every kind of slander and every kind of baseness. You must be strong-willed, patient, and cool-headed in the face of these forces. You must walk your path intelligently, using your intellect, making your ideal the sun in your heart and your scientific leadership your guide. As always, we need and must act intelligently in this struggle. We are certain that you understand this better than anyone. However, I believe it is useful to repeat it. Explain your cause everywhere, teach it. The Turkish nation's ability to escape the dangers it faces depends, first and foremost, on each and every citizen learning about these dangers and knowing how to act against them, what they must do. None of us should tire of this. We must explain this to every citizen in the villages, in the cities, on the streets, at home. The salvation of the Turkish nation depends on this. It depends on the citizens living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey, the only independent state of the 150 million Turks living on Earth today, learning about these dangers and understanding what to do about them. Your duty, our duty, is to educate, to teach. You may call it propaganda if you wish. You may call it telling the truth. But it is the most important duty. They want to divide Turkey. Today, in the eastern region where our own brothers and sisters, our own kin, live, there are provocations to establish a separate state. We are all aware of this. Never before in our history have we faced such movements to divide our nation. And never before has there been such a weak administration, such an indifferent group of intellectuals, in the face of these destructive, divisive acts of treason. For our service to be successful against these, the most effective measure, as I have just brought to your attention, is to educate our citizens, to inform them and to explain the solution to them.

### **The Idealist is the Idealist's Own Brother**

For all of this to be effective and successful, we must cling tightly to one another within ourselves, unite completely, and bond with one another in a state of deep love and respect. The Idealist is the true brother of the Idealist, and we will act under the motto, "We are all one, and we are all for one."



They want to destroy and fragment this unity. To this end, they try to sow discord among us, spread rumours, divide us into a thousand pieces and pit us against each other, and scatter our dust. With a high level of understanding and our Idealism, we have not given them this opportunity, and I am certain we will not do so in the future.

We must understand our goal well and grasp the cause thoroughly. The goal is to preserve the unity of the Turkish nation, protect the integrity of the land, safeguard the Republic of Turkey, and at the same time reach the highest level in science and technology. It is to reach the highest level in morality and spirituality. It is to industrialise, to achieve high production, and to create a strong, Great Turkey that stands on its own feet and whose word is respected all over the world... The intermediate goal that must be achieved in order to reach this goal is for the Idealists to come to power. Therefore, recognising the mechanism that will achieve this, the machinery that will achieve this, the organisation, supporting it, and developing it is a matter that must not be overlooked.

### **The MHP is the Ideological Movement of the Nationalists**

Gather in the Nationalist Movement Party, the strongest and most powerful party against communists, fake socialists, regionalists and minority racists who want to destroy the last independent Turkish state!

The Nationalist Movement Party is the party of true nationalists, of the hard-working Ülkücüler. Nationalism is not just words! Nationalism is faith and action, it is movement. Nationalism means protecting the integrity of the homeland and the nation everywhere, at all times, against everyone, fighting for it, even giving one's life for it if necessary. Those who practice nationalism with words in halls, clubs or on the campaign trail, who only talk about nationalism within four walls or on paper, cannot be nationalists! They are exploiters who abuse nationalism. Nationalism is the BELIEF MOVEMENT OF IDEALISTS who always and everywhere oppose the false left, communism, and separatism, who work for the unity, togetherness, brotherhood, and happiness of the entire Turkish nation, and who, if necessary, put their lives at risk for this cause!

The Nationalist Movement Party stands against communism, the fake left, and separatists everywhere. I call upon all nationalists to unite under the Nationalist Movement Party.

### 3 - MORALITY

*Indeed, you have a fine example in Allah's Messenger  
(Prophet Muhammad).*

The Holy Qur'an/Surah Ahzab: 21

*I was sent to perfect good morals.*

Prophet Muhammad

### THE BLESSED SOURCES OF POWER OF THE TURKISH NATION

The idea of protecting, exalting, and immortalising the Turkish nation must take precedence over all other causes and precede all other actions.

Every event that occurs, both in Turkey and abroad,

should be examined and evaluated in the light of this idea mentioned above. The most sacred source of power that will ensure the rise of the Turkish nation is nationalism and Turkism.

#### **Nationalism**

Nationalism means loving the Turkish nation, the Turkish homeland and the Turkish state, and possessing a deep passion and awareness for their welfare and advancement. Idealism, on the other hand, means desiring and ensuring that everything in culture, science and technology, politics, economics and trade is unique to and suitable for the Turks.

It is a view expressed by the phrase "**Everything for Turkishness and according to the Turk.**"

It is a sacred duty of Turkish nationalism to care for Turks living outside Turkey's current borders and to do everything possible for their welfare, liberation and safety. However, no Turk should ever forget that there is a prerequisite for fulfilling this duty. This is the condition that any aid and services provided to Turks outside Turkey must be done without causing any harm to the Republic of Turkey. Protecting the Republic of Turkey, the sole independent state of the Turks and the foundation of the Turkish ideal, from all kinds of harm and danger is a fundamental principle of Turkish nationalism. At the same time, we must always keep the Turks of Eastern and Western Turkistan, Azerbaijan, Crimea, Kirkuk, Cyprus, Western Thrace and many other places in our hearts and maintain close ties with those who come to Turkey from these places by keeping our arms open to them.

### **Islam**

Another sacred source of strength for the Turkish nation is the Islamic religion, which has been embraced and adopted by almost all Turks for over a thousand years.

The genuine face of Islam and its lofty principles, which guide the philosophy of life and moral views of the individuals who make up our nation, will give Turkishness new strength and momentum. Viewing Turkishness and Islam as separate entities, or even as two opposing or hostile forces, is detrimental to Turkish nationalism and Islam. Our nation has embraced Islam and integrated Turkish-Islamic institutions, creating a Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Today, some people in our country who oppose Turkishness or attempt to deny it claim that everything is solely about religion. Such individuals are either prisoners of ignorance and negligence or servants of evil intentions seeking to destroy the Turkish nation.

### **Unity and Togetherness**

Another of the Turkish nation's sacred sources of strength is the ideal of unity, solidarity and internal peace.

It is an indisputable fact that a nation unable to preserve its unity and solidarity will soon collapse. Today, the minority racism, sectarianism and communism undermining our nation are extremely dangerous movements obstructing national unity.

movements that obstruct national unity. There are very few non-Turkish people within the borders of Turkey. Despite this fact, attempts are being made to create divisions and insidious minority racism, using language and dialect differences as an excuse. Turkish nationalism is opposed to all kinds of separatist movements, as well as all forms of minority racism. Opposing minority racism, which is harmful to our national existence, is one of the most important duties.

The Turkish nation has had a superior place and duty in human history and civilised life.

The Turkish nation has never embraced a life of isolation, cut off from the unity of the world and humanity, but has sustained a universal way of life for centuries by establishing "World Empires" across continents.

It has been a founder and bearer of intense civilisation, and the ideas of right, justice and order, with their organisational superiority, have always given a positive direction to humanity and the lives of nations and people, ensuring happiness.

Today, the Turkish nation is located in the region that formed the backbone of the ancient world, in the most dynamic sphere of international life and politics.

The disasters suffered and the serious struggles endured over the last century have not broken the great vitality and power of our nation.

## NATIONAL

The Turkish nation must embark upon a new path and become the master of a new destiny. This path would be the path of those who wish to make Turkey the most advanced country on earth in science, morality, technology and industry. For at least two centuries, actions such as degeneration, detachment from national identity, becoming subservient to others, imitating foreigners, aspiring to the debauchery and crude outward appearance of the West, and attempting to copy systems born of the realities of other lands have continued. These will be crushed and eradicated so that they never rise again.

We consider the shameless intellectual type, who scrambles for the scraps of the old, who attempts to lord it over others by wearing clothes taken from their backs, to be the Turkish nation's chief enemy. By working day and night, by sweating and toiling, they will produce their own intellectual works and, without uprooting the Turkish nation, will give it wings in science and art, across the ages.

We are in need of true enlightened individuals who will lift us up. Throughout history, the Turkish nation has had a powerful and magnificent existence. It is necessary to pull it out of its current state of decline and steer it rapidly towards the good. To do this, there is no need to copy sadistic Slavic Marxism or cling to cold Anglo-Saxon capitalism. We need another path, a third way. This third way must be a national ideal that aims to strengthen the Turkish nation as a whole, rejecting the utopia of establishing a dictatorship of the world proletariat. It must be a wholly indigenous, wholly national doctrine that will destroy materialistic, exploitative capitalism **and** ensure social justice **and** the rapid development of the Turkish nation as a society. The spirit of this doctrine must be the principles of **"Everything for the Turkish nation, for the Turks and according to the Turks"**.

Today, the great difficulty encountered in moving the nation forward is the self-interest and corruption seen in the majority of the so-called enlightened class. However, the fact that brave, faithful people who can tear through the darkness of society can be found everywhere gives us hope for our future.

### The New Path of the New

I am opening the third path. I am pointing to the new path that will save Turkey. I have raised the Nine Lights flag against all kinds of storms, waving it...

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57 **Anglo-Saxon:** After the Roman soldiers left England in the 5th and 6th centuries, the Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons and Jutes settled on the island and were collectively known as Anglo-Saxons. These three tribes formed the core of the modern English nation. The Jutes were the first to arrive in England. The Jute tribe came from the Jutland peninsula in Denmark. After helping the Britons, the island's original inhabitants, defeat their main enemies, the Scots, the Jutes then waged war against the Britons themselves, seizing the regions of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire. Seeing the Jutes' success, their northern neighbours, the Saxons, also came to the island and took southern England. The Angles settled in central and northern England and southern Scotland. After settling in England, the Anglo-Saxons established small kingdoms. In 830, King Egbert of Wessex sought to unite these kingdoms. He forcibly subjugated the other kingdoms. Alfred the Great also stopped the attacks from Denmark in 878. He also made great efforts to unite England. The kings who came after him bore the title of King of Great Britain. The Germanic tribes known as the Anglo-Saxons worshipped idols when they first settled on the island of Britain. However, Towards the end of the 6th century, they adopted Christianity. The Anglo-Saxons used a language known as Anglo-Saxon until 1154. This language was used in the lower part of the western branch of the Germanic languages. The Anglo-Saxons also established their own legal system. According to this system, fines were more common than imprisonment. The death penalty was also applied for serious crimes. This system was based on the principles applied by the kings who lived between the 5th and 8th centuries.

I am calling upon you. I am calling upon the Idealists who will work tirelessly and sweat profusely under this flag for the Turkish nation, without considering any personal gain. I am calling upon the virtuous warriors who, for the sake of their nation, their state, and their ideals, will never think of taking, but will always be prepared to give and sacrifice everything. I call upon warriors who will fight with self-sacrifice, without being enslaved by the desire for fame and glory, and without fearing anything. I call upon you to rise up and carry the Turkish nation towards new horizons under the leadership of science.

### **Our religion, our history, and are our path.**

At the time when the Turkish-Islamic Seljuk civilisation was emerging, while European churches were striving to parcel out and sell heaven, the winds of change forming over the Anatolian plateau and the rain-laden clouds they carried towards the West cooled the barren lands of Europe, which had a low atmosphere at that time, and breathed life into the seeds in the soil. This Renaissance is the foundation of today's European civilisation. The contribution of the Turkish nation to this is an undeniable historical fact.

As in the Seljuk civilisation, the philosophy of the founding and expansion of the Ottoman Empire was based on the virtues of the Turkish nation and the virtues of Islam.

Alongside examples from past centuries, the spirit and movement of the National Forces, which began with the War of Independence, has demonstrated once again that movements originating from the Turkish nation affect the entire world and humanity. Today, Turkey possesses the same potential power and character in terms of its land and people.

**Our meeting place is neither east nor west, neither north nor south. Our meeting place is Great Turkey.** Our meeting point is the mind of the Turk, the heart of the Turk, the faith of the Turk, the essence of the Turk. At this place and point, we will unite as a nation, not on the minimum common ground, but on the maximum common ground, and we will definitely unite. Because this is the general character of this meeting place and point. Those who do not know the Turkish nation and are unaware of this character are in a state of helplessness, insecurity and ignorance, accepting to unite on the minimum common ground.

Turkey's plan for salvation must be drawn up by taking into account its own realities, based on material and spiritual calculations. No matter where it comes from, ordering a model from other countries is not considered appropriate or accurate for our nation.

We are in the process of building ourselves. It should not be forgotten that every nation builds itself. Today, the Turkish nation, which is compelled to transcend the ages, possesses this power and capability. We have no doubt about this. The Turkish nation suffers not from impossibilities, but rather from its inability to utilise its existing power and capabilities.

Today, while a new continent of social, economic and political character is emerging on one side of the world, on the other side, people steeped in culture are killing each other, and countries are burning and blazing. It should not be forgotten that those who incite and encourage these actions will one day suffer the same fate.

In our view, the concept and sentiment of mutual benefit should prevail in international relations, rather than the notion of exploitation and being exploited. For mankind today, the distance between where the sun rises and where it sets is no longer as great as it once was.

Whatever the circumstances, the Turkish nation has always been the representative of justice and truth in every field, with behaviour befitting its honourable history and dignity. It cannot be praised enough for this character. The Turkish people are beings raised within a philosophy of humility. They are modest, but never feel inferior. Those who misunderstand and misjudge them on this point should take note.

### **'s War of Ideas**

A battle of ideas is being waged across the world. Numerous doctrines are clashing. In Turkey, we have recently witnessed capitalists and communists engaging in an ideological conflict. Both of these philosophies are imported goods, both are foreign to the Turkish nation. We have responded to this with a doctrine that is one hundred per cent indigenous, one hundred per cent nationalist. We call this the "Nine Lights". As you know, the number "nine" has always been considered a sacred number by the Turks. We paid attention to this when setting out our principles and presented a 100% national view. In this global war of ideas and tactics, we could only prevail with an idea that was suitable for our own national structure, higher and more advanced than the others. Nine Lights is beyond these materialistic ideas. The world's greatest weapon is the idea. No movement without an idea can succeed. I am giving you this weapon. Try to understand the Nine Lights perspective. March towards the great goal, united around it like an iron ring.

I am not promising you easy success. Those who hope for power in a short time should not join us. Our path is long and arduous. On this path, you will encounter offers of benefits, threats and a host of other obstacles. Those who can endure this arduous path should come with us and join our caravan.

### **We are not racists.**

We are facing certain accusations. We are not racist. However, we consider it our duty to care for and love every Turk, wherever they may be in the universe, not just in the world. We do not believe that the world, with millions of Turks living in captivity, will ever find peace. That is why we care about all Turks. However, we have a principle here. While caring about Turks outside Turkey, there must not be the slightest danger to Turkey. We say that everything must be done in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

We have taken up this cause and are marching towards our goal. We are marching without compromising our ideas, without deviating. We are running towards our goal faster than ever before, without faltering. We have not succumbed to temporary fortunes or interests. Those who believe are invincible. We are moving forward with this spirit and awareness. Look to the future with faith and confidence. Never doubt that the goal will be achieved.

### **The Great Goal: THE PATH OF ALLAH**

I condemn the Turkish nation,

to a democracy sold on the streets for the price of spinach, to legal systems trampled upon and violated by bribery and fraud,

To a freedom devoid of morality, to usury, to an economic structure that accommodates the black market.

I call upon the consciousness and pride of Turkishness, Islamic morality and virtue, the fight against poverty, the pursuit of justice, unity, brotherhood, in short, the path of righteousness, the path of truth, the PATH OF ALLAH. I call upon you to leap across the ages to take your place at the forefront of modern civilisation. To those who ask for the name of the movement, I declare it openly:

**A return to spirituality...** Our goal is not to make Turkey a country of hungry free men and well-fed slaves. Those who accuse us of being compromising politicians on this path are those who do not understand the sublime nature of the Turk. Remember



that when a farmer sows seeds in the soil, it does not mean he is compromising the field. It means he is valuing the soil and making it fertile. This is the meaning and spirit of our movement. It should also be remembered that civilisations and states are built on faith, not money; they collapse not because of poverty, but because of lack of faith.

Turkish intellectuals, Turkish youth, our meeting place is **Greater** Turkey. Our meeting point is the mind, heart and true essence of the faithful Turkish individual. As has been the case until now, do not call upon the Turkish nation to read only the book you have written, to listen only to what you have said. You too must rush to listen to what they say, to read the books they read, to get to know them, to understand them.

Then, at the meeting place and point, we will unite not on the minimum common ground, but on the maximum common ground.

The view that sees the Turkish nation as a stepping stone to power and democracy as merely a voting system is not our view.

Our ranks are formed by nationalists and patriots who think about the eternal life of the Turkish nation and state.

We invite the farmers and workers of Anatolia, who labour with the patience of the Prophet Eyyub in its mountains and plains, enduring hardship and suffering, to join our spiritual cause.

Our duty is not to mock or ridicule the beliefs of these people who work and walk in the belief that "**Allah does not burden any soul beyond its capacity.**" It is to shoulder their burden. It is to fight those who steal their rights; those who lay their hands on their sustenance and their labour.

This struggle of ours will continue relentlessly, both internally and externally, and with Allah's permission, we will surely succeed on this path. For our path is the path of justice and truth. **In this country, the laboratories of technical universities and science faculties must be united with the corridors of high theological academies.** Today, the philosophy of "matter" and "meaning" is dragging humanity towards a dead end. However, matter and meaning are neither the same nor different from each other. The only path that will lead humanity and nations to true happiness must pass through the steps of science and reason.

The Turkish nation has set many examples on this path and has led humanity. Today, the seeds of happiness for our nation and, at the same time, for humanity are hidden in the soil.

The character of Turkey and the Turkish nation must be thoroughly appreciated both internally and externally. A storm that breaks out on the Korean plateau only returns to its own shores. A storm that breaks out in Vietnam can only wash over its own shores. Even a storm that breaks out in the Himalayas can be broken in the Indian Ocean; but a storm that breaks out on the Anatolian plateau can affect the whole world. This must be understood and appreciated.

## **NATIONAL CULTURE**

### **NATIONAL E AND ETHICS**

Civilisations are built not with money, but with science, wisdom, faith, and morality; civilisations collapse not from poverty, but from ignorance, lack of wisdom, lack of faith, and immorality.

Today, one can speak of the greatest enemy in the life of nations. But not of the greatest friend. Remember that the greatest friend of the Turkish nation is the Turkish nation itself, and the greatest helper of the Turkish nation is its own work and effort.

In the near future, all doctrines and practices built without fully and correctly valuing human existence will be in need of reform or doomed to collapse.

### **The Moral Crisis of the Nation**

One of the reasons for the crisis our country is experiencing is the moral crisis and the spiritual void that surrounds society.

The peace of societies is only possible if people are moral and honest. If the people of a society are extremely degenerate, there can be no peace in that society.

The strongest foundation of a society is morality. In a country where morality is corrupt, respect for rights is absent, and injustice prevails, there can be no peace, order, or prosperity. Such a country is doomed to collapse. As Turkish nationalists, we view justice as an indivisible ideal in all its political, economic, social and legal aspects. We accept it as an unwavering, constant will to give everyone their due rights.