

Now everyone has become a know-it-all, thinking they can fix the world in a flash by repeating the same old things over and over again. When we look at the political clowns who say anything, even treasonous things, and then shout 'there is no freedom,' and at those who make impossible promises, telling lies like they are deceiving children, we have to believe that the end of the world is coming... Mutual accusations... If one says white, the other insists on black. One says, "We are progressing," while the other shouts, "We are sinking." Madmen who consider themselves smarter and more advanced than everyone else, shameless people who talk about nationalism while acting like foreign clowns, and shameless writers who advise giving up Turkish lands have turned the square into a circus. In the circus, animals and clowns perform antics, and a crowd floating in social ignorance applauds or boos them.

What has been given to this society for years in terms of goodness, humanity, virtue, and Turkishness? Nothing! But everything that can be called disgrace, shame, and depravity, every lie that comes to mind, has been presented as science, art, and progress. Cruelty has been called justice. The majority of the people have been called 'tail' and humiliated. There were times when four hundred thousand people were arrested based on the immoral denunciations of a certain group. Disgraceful individuals referred to a backward anarchist who shouted 'Turkish peoples' while engaging in plunder as the 'Second Atatürk.' Those who claimed to recognise no principle other than Atatürkism, did everything in their power to erase Atatürk's name, removing his pictures from money and official buildings, preventing his grave from being built, and declaring İnönü a national hero and burying him at Anıtkabir. Traitors who called the national enemy a brother emerged.

Are all these people normal? What can be said about them? A person is either one thing or the other; one cannot be both Turkish and English, Muslim and Catholic, nationalist and fundamentalist at the same time. None of them are what they claim to be; they are simply hypocrites.

A person who claims to be a nationalist knows that their history is 3,000 years old. Anyone who looks at their history as 1,000 years old is ignorant, bigoted, corrupt, and not Turkish.

Turkish people, wake up! Come to your senses. Don't believe every word and everyone. Use your brain. Remember your past. Think about what has elevated you and what has lowered you. Stay away from sophistry. Don't follow this or that.

You cannot get silk from a tripe pot. Even after being deceived a hundred times, will you still be unable to distinguish between good and evil? Do not waste your time trying to teach the truth to those who are so brainless and dishonourable that they hang the pictures of monkey-faced, bloodthirsty, hypocritical Asian and European vagabonds on their walls while hundreds of great national heroes stand by. They will get what they deserve. Don't waste your time, try to become the handle of an axe. Becoming the handle of an axe means finding a place to serve the nation, a position of authority. Positions and titles are only useful if they serve the Turkish nation.

If you can't even do that, the Turkish nation will remain nothing but a page in history.

### The X Issue

A newspaper reader's opinion on whether the letters 'x' and 'w' should be added to our alphabet has sparked quite a debate. The opinions of many people, including some university professors, were sought. Ultimately, some argued that foreign names should be written according to their original spelling, while others maintained that they should be written according to our pronunciation.

However, when considering the incompleteness or completeness of our alphabet, there are other points to consider. These are whether our current letters can represent all the sounds of the language and whether our spelling system, in its current form, is suitable for a rich language.

Our current alphabet is very incomplete for modern Turkish. Sometimes we represent two sounds with a single symbol, causing the richness of our language to be lost. Moreover, there are two letters for which separate symbols have not been accepted, and without these, many ambiguities in Turkish will be impossible to avoid, ultimately leaving our language impoverished. These two letters are the 'open e' we call 'ä' and the 'deaf nun' we call 'g'. In today's Turkish, only a single 'e' shape is accepted for the 'e' and 'a' sounds. However, the 'e' letter is a sound distinct from "a" and closer to 'i'. For this reason, many different words are written with the same spelling. For example, the word 'el,' which means 'country,' is spelled the same as the word 'el,' which refers to a person's hand. However, based on pronunciation, the first should be written as "el" and the second as 'al.' Similarly, there are two words written with the same spelling, 'ekmek,' but in reality, one is pronounced "ekmek" (the well-known food) and the other 'ekmäk' (seed). These examples could be multiplied many times over. Due to space constraints, we will not do so at this time.

Regarding the 'deaf nun' issue: This is more important than the other. With the exception of the Turks of Istanbul, almost all Turks around the world pronounce this letter. Since this very old letter was used before the letters v, f, h, and c existed in Turkish (i.e., in the eighth century), and since we did not include it in our new alphabet, we are now forced to write many words with the same spelling. Here are a few examples:

ben (pronoun) ben (black spot on the human body) = correct: beh

son (newborn child) zari son (finally) = correct: son

on (number) on (healing) = correct: oh

ban (imperative form of banmak) ban (call to prayer) = hah

in (animal den) in (cry) = correct: lh

However, the problem is not limited to the spelling of a few words. Sometimes it is difficult to understand the meaning of an entire sentence. When we say 'Take Ahmet and go home,' the true meaning of the word 'home' is unclear—does it refer to Ahmet's home or the addressee's home? However, if we use the silent nun, we can understand the meaning of this sentence depending on whether it is written as 'Take Ahmet, go to his house' or 'Take Ahmet, go to your house.' It is clear that our current alphabet is inferior to the old one in terms of the silent nun.

Admittedly, adding these two letters would undoubtedly make our alphabet more difficult. However, if the purpose of accepting the new letters were solely to make them easier to learn, this objection would be valid. But the purpose of accepting the new letters was, above all, to enter the framework of Western civilisation. Because as long as the Arabic letters remained in the language, spelling and writing would not conform to the new civilisation. For this reason, this objection is not so valid. If the aim were only to make it easier to learn, then it would be necessary to accept the principle of writing as it is spoken.

For example, words ending in 'n' would have to be pluralised with 'ner, nar' instead of 'ler, lar.' Because today, most people say the plural forms of 'güvercin' (pigeon) and 'insan' (human) as "güvercinner" and 'insannar.' However, doing so would be to disrupt the discipline of the language for the sake of convenience. However, we sacrificed two letters that enriched our language for the sake of convenience. Moreover, one of these letters (namely the silent 'n') was unique to Turks and, as stated by Kaşgarlı Mahmut, who lived in the 11th century, could not be pronounced by anyone other than Turks, thus distinguishing Turks from others.

Among the members of the former Language Committee that accepted the new letters, there was no linguist other than Ragıp Hulûsi Bey. A committee composed of mocking linguists, scholars, and poets could not be expected to produce a more scientific result.

We draw the attention of the country's language experts: There is still time. They should resolve the issue of the letters 'a' and 'n.' If these are not accepted, Turkish will not be a language rich in rhyme.

We will discuss the issue of spelling in a separate article.

### The Destruction of National Defence

Everyone knows that national defence is based on two foundations, one material (i.e. people and weapons) and the other spiritual (ideals and morals). The material elements are visible to the eye, so it is easy to measure and weigh them. It is possible to say that we have so many hundred thousand soldiers, so many planes and tanks, and to boast about this and calculate that our future is secure. However, the moral element is invisible. It only reveals itself in the realm of definite results. Its value, power, and capabilities can only be calculated by expert 'ideal engineers' before the realm of definite results.

It is easy to prepare material elements. A nation can always prepare its soldiers and equip them with weapons manufactured in its own factories or, if this is not possible, in foreign factories. This can be done in a short time.

Preparing spiritual elements is not so easy. It takes a long time to instil an idea in people's minds and love in their hearts. This preparation begins in schools and families. In countries where families are too inferior to accomplish this, the task of schools becomes twice as difficult.

Schools mean teachers and curricula. Nothing can be achieved with teachers who are not imbued with national love and with curricula that aim to instil international culture and brotherhood instead of national culture and love. National culture is the culture that teaches national ideals and national enemies.

Children are raised from primary school with the idea of 'Great Turkishness.' They learn how many Turks there are outside political borders. The idea that saving them is a sacred cause is engraved in their hearts with letters of fire. They are taught that Russia and China, which are exploiting their homeland, are national enemies.

If this is not done, and children are raised with socialist and humanist nonsense, with the fairy tale that all people are brothers, then we will end up with a mass of fools, as we see today, who are incapable of counting the steps of ten great Turks but display an unparalleled ability to recite the names of famous artists and professional footballers like nightingales.

I address those cowards who are terrified of Turanism and are responsible for this disastrous outcome: Of course you will be Turanists. If you are Turkish and not Turanist, you are not a man. If you do not know that the Turk is a single nation, and yet you do not strive to liberate your enslaved kinsmen, you are no different from an animal. For it is only great ideas that make a human being human, that distinguish him from an animal. Profit and prosperity, economic development, are not the goal. Even gangsters want that. Economic development is ultimately a means to prepare the Turkish race for the great and sacred war.

Your homeland will be burned and destroyed, the Turks will be annihilated, and you will stand here reciting empty slogans like, 'We are working for the prosperity of 32 million people.' Do you have no enemy? Then you are already dead. Are you unable to risk death for great ideas? You have lost your humanity. If you cannot see those who are digging your grave right beside you or within you, you have lost your mind.

What does it mean to be afraid? Fear is an animalistic emotion. A person and a nation devoted to an ideal fear nothing.

What is left today after the national ideal has been destroyed in the name of 'adventure'? Even the Atatürkism taught to children in schools has been reduced to a hypocritical ceremony and fed to the communists.

The national ideal is one and unchanging. Its name is Turkishness. Unless we adhere to it, unless we introduce it into schools, unless we put an end to hostility towards Turkishness in the press and media, our future will be dark.

Will the Turkish nation be saved and rise up through these democratic squabbles? Will it develop through sectarianism and religious parties? Our ally right next to us, Greece, the illegitimate child of Europe, has its eyes set on our lands. While it is taking steps toward the Megalo Idea, taking advantage of the West's support and our complacency, what are we doing? We are merely 'watching the events closely.'

The spiritual element of national defence is being destroyed and burned in Turkey. Some faculties and higher education institutions are filled with leftist snobs. There is no authority dealing with these issues, no one thinking about them, no one clearly stating the danger of these events. Everyone is optimistic. Everyone is cheerful. So much so that one of the seven large facilities to be built for the Russians in our country will be a vodka factory. Do you see where intelligence and awareness have fallen in this country? Even this vodka factory alone is a terrifying blunder sufficient to ruin a state, yet the fact that it does not affect us is again a miracle of Çağrı Bey and Tuğrul Bey: They laid the foundation very firmly.

As long as national ideals, national enmity, and sacred selfishness do not enter the minds and hearts of the people, and as long as the spiritual aspect of national defence is undermined, even if we have 50 divisions, 20 tank brigades, and 10,000 aircraft, they will be worthless. First comes the heart and faith, then the weapons...

To achieve this, a national spirit must first be instilled in the country. We need bold ministers who can get things done. We need new laws. We need to rebuild Turkey. And for that, we need a national leader. The deliberate and inadvertent destruction of the spiritual elements of our national defence must be stopped. If this is not done, the outcome is clear.

Consider Czechoslovakia, which surrendered to Germany without firing a shot despite its formidable weapons, favourable geographical conditions, and a population of 15 million, due to its lack of spiritual strength, and Finland, with a population of 3 million, which fought Russia on equal terms thanks to the strength of its spiritual elements. This is sufficient for those who can think.

### Village life

Marble buildings cannot be built on mud foundations.

The growth and advancement of our country and our nation depend on the growth, increase and advancement of our villages. We all know this, but we do not apply this knowledge when we set out to do anything.

In our country, rural development was first initiated outside of official organisations by the late Turkish Ocağı. The Ocağı branches conducted various rural development experiments in different regions and achieved some success. However, this success was merely a drop in the ocean compared to what was hoped for. The Ocağı viewed rural development more as a matter of show, luxury, or decoration. This was more of a show of love for rural life. Meanwhile, the most notable activities were opening dispensaries, caring for village patients, and distributing medicine. Undoubtedly, the gratitude and appreciation of people in pain and suffering are easier and quicker to earn. The Ocak also began its work on this path to win hearts.

This may also be necessary in rural life, but it pales in comparison to the material suffering of the villagers, the deep darkness, misery, and poverty of the villages.

The Ministry of the Interior was the first to take steps towards rural development within the state organisation. The Village Law was the first heart-winning work in this direction. After that, rural development came into the organisational sphere. However, it would be more accurate to call this 'district administration' rather than 'rural development.' Because, in essence, it is a top-down organisation that is completely similar to others and to the old ones. It descends from the district to the sub-district and strives to establish fully organised sub-districts. Although this movement appears to be rural development in form, it is not based on the same principles in essence. The salvation of our country depends on the salvation of our villages. Therefore, our primary duty is to save and elevate our villages. The villages will sustain and elevate Greater Turkey.

The more we strengthen these foundations, the stronger our social structure will become. Our form of government will become solid. Only then can we look forward with complete faith.

In our view, the most important issue to consider above all else is our villages. Everyone, from individuals to communities and ultimately to the government, every group and every organisation, is obliged to devote all their efforts, great and small, and all their strength to our villages and to establish institutions for the welfare of our villagers.

While village houses are in ruins, cities cannot be built in Turkey. In Turkey, cities are built and expanded at the expense of permanent villages. Since we do not have an industry, we also do not have industrial cities filled with factories that are beneficial to national production. Thus, in our country, cities are places where officials, merchants, intermediaries between villagers and merchants, and who knows what else reside. In other words, the servants of the villagers live in the cities; yet strangely enough, our masters live in ruins, while their paid servants are the inhabitants of large cities. It is not right to electrify cities without first electrifying villages.

It is not permissible to build large buildings in large cities without first starting a planned development programme in villages in accordance with our national tastes and in line with village architecture. It is forbidden to allow city dwellers to listen to the radio without first providing radios to villages.

While manure-filled ditches turn village streets into swamps, it is not appropriate to spend money on sewage systems in large cities.

While village schools are located in limited spaces and under mud roofs, it is not appropriate to build fancy and large school buildings in cities and even in districts.

Since there is a difference in the essence of the subject and the starting point of thinking, it is possible to increase the number of these examples and find various examples in every field. Our intention is not to criticise the state's practices in this or that field. We want to highlight a principle that must be considered at the forefront of all our goals. That principle is ruralism.

From individuals to communities, professions, social classes and state organisations, the welfare of villages and villagers must be considered at the forefront of everything we do. If we want to build something in a place, we must first do so in our most needy villages. If we want to plant a tree to provide shade in a place, we must start with our most barren village. If we intend to open a health facility in a place, we must first consider the needs of the villagers.

It is immediately apparent from what we see today that we are primarily concerned with cities. We want our villages to take precedence. Nowhere are servants' quarters built before the master's house. Nowhere can servants light their homes with electricity while their masters sit in darkness. Some may see a hint of dark thoughts and intense feelings in these words. But since we consider the villagers superior to everything else and recognise them as the source of all our successes, it is our duty to think of them more than ourselves and to try to meet their needs before doing anything for ourselves, that is, for our cities.

As long as we see villagers walking around in woolen trousers and patched shoes, tying their children's bleeding ears with dirty handkerchiefs, and going door to door to write petitions, while colourful cars drive by on asphalt roads and people in beautiful costumes pass by, we are obliged to engage in rural development.

This field is vast. It requires a comprehensive programme and methodical work. We must have a clear and positive programme in every field, from economics to health, from administration to housing. With this in mind, we must begin with the most necessary areas according to our means and capabilities and mobilise without delay. Our villagers must be freed from isolation, filth, and orphanhood. Villages must be filled with life and joy.

Let us not forget our villagers, who are our life, our heart, our everything, while we live and enjoy ourselves in cities that have advanced centuries ahead of our villages; perhaps as we remember them, we will feel compassion, and as we feel compassion, we will love them, and as we love them, we will begin to work for them and take pleasure in this work.

Village architecture and planning, village agriculture, village health services, village administration, village education and entertainment, village law and village obligations must be examined separately and areas of work identified. We will outline the main points of this programme as far as we can when the time comes. It is our heartfelt desire that everyone, from schoolchildren to the highest officials, should think every day about our villages and ways to improve them. For our villages are the foundation of our revolution and our future. We must always remember that a large and enduring tree cannot grow from weak and diseased roots.

### The Green Island of the Turks

The Turkish race descended upon Anatolia like a mighty avalanche; it settled and took root with the grandeur befitting the Bozkurt lineage, and after defending it against foreign invasions from the West for a century at the cost of blood and life, it seized the title deed of these lands from the hands of ancient history with the power of its right.

Once Anatolia became a homeland, the adjacent lands could not be left in foreign hands... By necessity, those lands must also be reunited with the motherland. And so it was done.

Cyprus, a part of Anatolia separated by the sea, was one of the last pieces to be added to the motherland. The Turkish armies, which had been fighting from one frontier to another, only found the opportunity to turn their attention to Cyprus at the end of the sixteenth century.

It is futile to seek only material reasons, such as the Venetians' desire to harm the Turks, for the conquest of Cyprus. Since it was once an Islamic land, the Turks, as the protectors of Islam, should have been the heirs to Cyprus. The great Turkish scholar Sheikh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi declared this point to the entire world in his fatwa regarding the conquest of Cyprus.

On 15 May 1570, a Turkish fleet carrying 60,000 Turkish soldiers set sail for Cyprus. On 1 July, the fleet anchored in Limasol Bay and troops were landed the following day. Leftari Castle surrendered immediately. On 9 July, Kyrenia Castle was captured. On 22 July, Nicosia was besieged. According to their own claims, this fortified castle, defended by 10,000 men, was captured on 9 September after three general assaults, and the governor Nicolo Dandolo was killed in the battle. Upon hearing this news, Baf and Larnaca surrendered.

On 18 September, Famagusta was besieged. On 1 August 1571, it was captured, completing the conquest of the island of Cyprus. As was the custom of the Ottomans, Yeşilada was immediately turned into a Turkish province with Turks brought from Central Anatolia.

From that time onward, over the course of more than three centuries, Cyprus became, in every material and spiritual sense, a partner and helper of the great motherland in times of happiness and misfortune, victory and defeat, becoming everything and itself.

What a strange twist of history! We took Yeşilada from the Venetians through war. We left it to the British without a fight. Now the Greeks, who have not shed a single drop of blood for it, want it. The most painful aspect of the annual celebrations in Lausanne is undoubtedly our acceptance of the loss of Cyprus.

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Yeşilada is ours, and it will remain ours. With the 90,000 Turks living there, the 200,000 Turkish Cypriots in Turkey, and the blood of our martyrs buried in its soil in the 16th century, Cyprus is ours.

The fast champions of the Afyon-Izmir marathon want to claim Yeşilada by looking at the 350,000 Greeks there. Is being numerous a right? Does a small number mean a lost cause? Just as Crimea, where not a single Turk remains today after the red savagery, is our ancestral heritage, so too is Cyprus, where 90,000 Turkish brothers live, our own property. Let it not be forgotten that 350,000 Greeks are not, have never been, and can never be more than 90,000 Turks... Green Island, with your bowed head and pale face! You will truly become Green Island on the day you achieve your goal, that is, when you are reunited with your motherland!

23 May (1040) and 3 May (1944)

There are many glorious, sorrowful, and ill-fated May days in Turkish history. In this article, I will discuss one May that has been definitively decided (23 May 1040) and another May on which the final word has not yet been spoken (3 May 1944).

23 May 1040, a Friday, is the most important and luckiest day of May. Because on that day, after the famous Battle of Dandanakan between the Seljuk and Ghaznavid armies, our state, Turkey (or more accurately, Western Turkestan), was established, and over the course of its nine-century-long existence, this state has sometimes been divided and torn apart by civil wars, and on a couple of occasions, it seemed as though it would be erased from the pages of history. However, it managed to regroup and survive thanks to the great strength of its people and its past.

The Turks who founded our state were predominantly Oghuz Turks. A prince from the Karakhanids, the main Turkic state at the time, joined the Oghuz Turks with his followers due to a rift with his own dynasty, participated in all the wars, and played a role in the establishment of Turkey.

The Oghuz Turks, who had been caught between the Karakhanids and the Khazar Khanate in the west, which was not affiliated with the Karakhanids, spent many difficult and dangerous years in Khorasan, which was under the control of the Ghaznavids, the Turkish state outside their homeland. Finally, on 23 May 1040, they defeated the Ghaznavids' army of 100,000 soldiers, composed of Hindus, Afghans, Persians, Arabs, and Kurds, with only 16,000 soldiers, and established their state on the same day. Indian, Afghan, Persian, Arab, and Kurdish forces of 100,000 soldiers with only 16,000 men, thereby establishing their state on the same day.

It is noteworthy that in this battle, a portion of the Turkish troops in the Ghaznavid army joined the Oghuz Turks, while the Arab and Kurdish vanguard fled in the initial assault, followed by the Indian, Afghan, and Persian troops. Those who remained loyal to Ghaznavid Sultan Masud until the end were once again the Turks.

The supreme commander and greatest hero of this battle was 'Çağrı Beğ', one of the 'Deli Dumrul' figures of Turkish history, while the greatest hero of the Ghaznavid army was Sultan Mesud of Ghazni, despite his drunkenness and lack of caution.

If we forget Çağrı Beğ, who laid the greatest foundation for our state, this would be a greater disgrace than any shame for us. The greatest proof that Çağrı Beğ is not forgotten is that many intellectuals today name their sons 'Çağrı.' However, it is not enough for this hero to live only in the hearts of intellectuals. Until he is given his rightful place in history books and a grand monument is erected in his honour, we cannot consider our duty fulfilled.

This year, 23 May 1975, which again falls on a Friday, marks the 935th anniversary of the founding of our state. In these days when we have been abandoned by our supposed allies and betrayed by internal elements of chaos, commemorating the 935th anniversary is one of our sources of spiritual strength.

May God's mercy be upon Çağrı Beğ and all the Seljuk and Ghaznavid Turks who fought in the Battle of Dendânekan!

The day in May on which the final word has yet to be spoken is 3 May 1944. As is well known, a march against the communist-protecting Minister of National Education of the then single-party regime and the communists he had pampered was silenced by censorship in a country plunged into silence, exploding like a bomb, causing the then head of state and his entourage to panic, leading to mass arrests, imprisonment, and torture; The sell-out and enslaved press also launched a disgraceful smear campaign against this guardist movement (they couldn't call it fascist because Germany was still standing at the time) and continued it for months.

May 3rd is now the day of the Turkish nationalists. It was first celebrated on May 3rd, 1945, at the Military Prison in Tophane, with a cup of tea at a table, and later became a ceremony held in fields and halls.

This year's May 3rd marks the 31st anniversary of this ceremony. This means that it has not yet become part of history. According to the rule that at least 50 years must pass before an event becomes part of history, 3 May will become history at the beginning of the 21st century.

However, there are some things to be said about 3 May today: 3 May is a warning: a warning from a few thousand Turkish youth who marched... 3 May is also an awakening. The awakening of the nation with the cries of those young people...

May 3rd is the awakening and anger of a nation that has been drugged by a left-leaning president and his entourage of leftists, communists, fools, opportunists and sycophants, who have seen the truth.

The march prevented the country from being turned into a communist state under the guise of social justice and liberation through insidious plans, and the cowards were forced to abandon their destructive plans.

Otherwise, it would have been only a matter of time before Turkey became communist like Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

How the country was enveloped by a treacherous network has now been partially revealed through publications.

For this reason, 3 May is an important day, and its significance is better understood as the years pass.

The young people who organised 3 May are now elderly citizens. They have started families, some are happy, some are unfortunate, and they are scattered across the country. The fact that none of them have spoken out in pride shows how noble and sincere their movement was.

Empty vessels make the most noise. The May 3rd activists were not empty vessels; they were filled with love for their country and their people. That is why they remain silent. But silence, as Abdülhak Hâmid said, is sometimes more meaningful than the most beautiful poem.

### Hasan Âli Must Give Account

Today in Turkey, there is a Hasan Âli issue, or rather, a Hasan Âli who is obliged to give an account to the nation. This man, who has drawn the general public's hatred upon himself with his eight years of actions at the Ministry of Education, cannot be considered to have given an account for his actions through newspaper criticisms, satirical attacks, and being reduced to a laughingstock. He has not heeded either explicit or implicit warnings, and for promoting registered communists to high positions in the Ministry of Education while removing nationalists from their posts, and even for purchasing the recently established 'Yurt ve Dünya' magazine with public funds and protecting it, despite its treacherous intentions, and for introducing this magazine into high school libraries, Hasan Ali must be held accountable before the High Council.

The former Minister of National Education considers himself innocent and, when referred to as the 'representative who protects communists,' asks in surprise, 'Am I that representative?' We, too, are surprised by his surprise and wonder, 'Has he lost his intelligence along with his seat of power?' Hasan Ali's philosophical mind, which finds the crux of every matter, must have been somewhat blinded, or at least shaken, for him to dare to take on a legal giant like Kenan Öner, who single-handedly threw the People's Party into disarray, in the courtroom. He dares to argue with Çakmakoglu Müşür Fevzi Paşa, one of Turkey's most beloved figures, and claims that it is natural for him to have some opponents, comparing himself to Roosevelt. These are probably the habits of eight years of prosperity and the drowsiness of not having fully awakened from a sweet dream. We will not allow him to remain in this daze any longer and, using his own frequently used phrase, we will demand answers to the following 10 points:

First point: Here is a quatrain from a long poem:

If he says 'Yes' (Belimi) and 'I am God' (Enelhak),

Will they still worship the big fool?

Has İsmet not yet been thrown into prison?

Has Kel Ali's neck been cut?

Here, 'the great tyrant' refers to Atatürk, who was the president at the time the poem was written, and 'İsmet,' who is desired to be imprisoned, refers to İsmet İnönü, who was the prime minister at the time. Kel Ali is the well-known Ali Çetinkaya. The author of this poem is Marko Paşacı Sabahattin Ali, who, despite being a graduate of the five-year Teacher Training College, was appointed professor at the State Conservatory by Hasan Ali. What other qualities did Sabahattin Ali have besides communism that he was given such great protection by a Minister of Education of the People's Party, even though he insulted the first and second presidents, who were considered two sacred figures by the People's Party, and was sentenced to 14 months in prison for doing so?

Second article: Here is an excerpt from an article:

'In dark nights, thousands of stars appear in the sky! This world is also a star! Such a small, tiny star! So what do 'borders,' 'nationality,' 'homeland,' 'war,' and 'enemy' mean in this world? Young brothers, all the manifestations of the world are not prisoners of delusion. And let us know that the world of illusions is crumbling. Run towards the real world where we see the first rays of the rising sun on the horizon, where great spirits fly, where warm hearts beat together with the same desire for goodness, and where real life is lived—the world of humanity established by world socialism!...'

This call to Turkish youth to embrace communism was written by Şevket Aziz, who was dean of the Faculty of Languages when Hasan Ali was there. Today, Şevket Aziz is known as a Turkish nationalist who would make all the broken people of the world Turkish, yet he bears a surname belonging to a foreign race...

Third Point: Hasan Ali, who published the communist magazine 'Aydınlık' and was imprisoned for two years for communist agitation, was made a professor at Istanbul University without even taking the associate professorship exam. Answer: Was Sadreddin Celâli's background suitable for this? From which university's institute of pedagogy did he graduate, and what scientific works has he written in this field?

Fourth article: Was it Hasan Ali or perhaps Marshal or Kenan Öner who was responsible for the professorship of Pertev Naili Boratav, who was extradited to Turkey for communism while studying in Germany? Was Hasan Ali so ignorant that he did not know all this? If he was ignorant, why did he not come to his senses after the open letters I wrote to Saracoğlu?

Fifth point: As if there were no one left in the world to protect, did Hasan Ali, who appointed Hasan Ali Ediz, one of Turkey's first and most famous communists, to a position in the Ministry of Education's capital organisation and national education printing house, do so solely out of a desire to share the same surname?

Sixth point: When Professor Zeki Velidi and other Turkish nationalists were dismissed from their posts on charges of racism and Turanism (!), they were denied even their legal right to a salary, yet Abdulkâhi Gölpinarlı, who was arrested for communism, not only received his salary, Hasan Ali also had him translate some classics for his protection. Let him explain: Why?

I am asking this as someone who knew Abdulkâhi Gölpinarlı very well and was his friend until he strayed to the left: How did Abdulkâhi, who did not know French, pass his associate professorship exam during the era of Hasan Ali?

Seventh point: Why did he insist on keeping teachers of various ranks such as Muzaffer Şerif Odabaşıoğlu (1), Niyazi Berkes, Mediha Berkes, Behice Boran, and Adnan Cemgil, some of whom had been persecuted for communism and all of whom had propagated communism through articles, books, and conferences, at the Faculty of Languages? Was it so that, whereas there was not a single leftist student in the past, today there are enough to gather 108 of them?

Eighth point: Another very important point: While Turkish nationalists were taken into the Ministry's service 'as deemed necessary,' why were communists taken into the Ministry's service 'with reasons stated'? Let us answer: If a minister takes someone into the Ministry's service without stating a reason, the civil servant taken into the Ministry's service does not have the right to complain to the Council of State. If they are placed under the Ministry's orders with a reason stated, they have the right to complain. The communist teachers were placed under the Ministry's orders for a trivial reason such as 'writing political articles,' so they all appealed to the Council of State and regained their rights within two or three months. Did Hasan Ali do this to appear as if he was conducting investigations against leftists by deceiving the Turkish public opinion? If not, let him answer: Why did he not state the reason when assigning Turkish nationalists to the ministry?

Ninth article: For some reason, why did he hastily reappoint the grey-haired Abdulkâhi Gölpinarlı, who became a communist after the age of forty, to the position of university rector before Abdulkâhi was arrested?

Tenth article: There is no doubt that Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, who is currently detained and has been previously investigated, is a Moscow agent. It has also become clear as day with the latest statement from the Ministry of the Interior, which confirms that the magazine 'Yurt ve Dünya' was published under the leadership of Şefik Hüsnü, as evidenced by his letters. Hasan Ali subscribed to 300 copies of this communist magazine and distributed them to high school and teacher training college libraries. Why? This alone is sufficient grounds for Hasan Ali to be brought to trial.

While Turkish nationalist magazines were being shut down one by one by the government of the time, which wanted to curry favour with Moscow, in a blunder that history will never forgive, Is it true that Hasan Ali, frightened by the silent but deep resentment of the Turkish nation and especially the youth, called the owners of Yurt ve Dünya and told them that it would be right for them to close their magazine before the government did, and that he would personally cover the financial loss that would result from not putting the last issue on the market? We want an answer.

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One of the greatest virtues is to admit one's faults. For Hasan Ali, admitting his faults is not a virtue, but a return to life. For the Turkish nation, there is no longer a chair to sit on for Hasan Ali, a political dead man who will not be remembered with mercy. He was a long, sweet dream. He came and went. Despite its sweetness, it had many nightmares. The nicotine-poisoned sleepless nights spent in turmoil and scenes that caused shame and torment, such as riding around on motorcycles under the protection of the police, were certainly not pleasant things. The only way to escape from these was to admit his mistakes before the nation.

Hasan Âli protected communists, and even though he did not publish a single Turkish classic in the collection of classical works, he did not shy away from leftist propaganda, such as translating many Russian works and giving the leading roles in these translations to leftists and communists. In the face of all this evidence, he can no longer say, 'I did not protect communists.' If, instead of covering up his mistakes with denial and sophistry, he does not openly admit his mistakes, then he will have no choice but to recite a prayer for himself.

### Destruction from Within

The classic way to destroy a state is to march against it and defeat it. If this does not succeed, then the method of destruction from within is used.

The method of undermining from within is to sow enmity among the leaders of the state (princes in ancient times), to inflame the rivalry between the various sections of the nation (tribes and clans in ancient times), and as a last resort, to kill those who form the foundation of the state through open or covert assassinations (by shooting or poisoning).

Our oldest enemies, the Chinese, have often resorted to these methods to destroy us, and have sometimes succeeded.

In recent centuries, a new element has been added to the method of internal destruction: buying people in key positions of the state to be destroyed in order to learn its secrets and intentions. There is no need to explain how devastating it is for an enemy to know the secrets of a state.

At the beginning of the First World War, the commander of the French gendarmerie was a German spy, while Colonel Redel, head of the National Security Organisation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time, was a Russian spy. This was perhaps the main factor in Germany's sudden invasion of France and the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian army in the initial battles.

During World War II, it was later revealed that Wallace, the assistant to US President Roosevelt, was Stalin's agent. It is clear that Wallace was responsible for the theft of America's atomic secrets by the Russians.

We now learn from newspaper reports that Gunther Guillaume, an advisor to German Chancellor Brandt, has been arrested on charges of being a spy for communist East Germany. This advisor, who should have been of French origin according to his surname, passed on the secrets of both West Germany and its NATO allies to the Kremlin via East Germany.

If a presidential aide, a gendarmerie commander, a national security chief, and a prime minister's advisor can be bought by the enemy, we need to think deeply and find preventive measures. In our time, communist states do not allow any foreigners into their countries and openly follow those who enter with permission, while democratic countries, adhering to the principles of human rights and freedom, open their doors to everyone from outside. States with minorities are in a more dangerous position in this regard. Of course, members of minorities who harbour hostility and resentment towards the state and nation they live in are very susceptible to serving foreign interests. The prevalence of materialism and the desire for quick gains increases the number of such susceptible individuals.

Given that we have learned from experience that the countries around us are not our friends, what would be the harm in taking some legal measures now to prevent Turkey from facing such a situation tomorrow and to prevent a high-ranking traitor from undermining the foundations of the state?

#### A Tombstone from the Year of the Conquest of Istanbul

A cemetery containing the tombstones of 18 Turkish soldiers who captured Istanbul is on the verge of disappearing due to neglect.

In Istanbul, there is a street called On Sekiz Sekbanlar Sokağı (Eighteen Sekbanlar Street) next to the Şehzadebaşı Police Station. In this neglected and dusty street, there is a small cemetery. Despite part of its wall being collapsed and overgrown with weeds, one of the tombstones inside remains intact, along with the wall inscription. This tomb, which has gone unnoticed until now, is the oldest in Istanbul. It bears the Hijri date of the conquest of Istanbul, 857. The wall inscription is too high to photograph.

There are two sarcophagi in the cemetery, but the stone of one of them is missing. The other belongs to Sekban Kethüdası Hızır Oğlu Hamza. However, it is not correct to conclude from the words 'Kethüdâ-yi Şühedâ-yi Sekban' on the gravestone that Hızır Oğlu Hamza was definitely the general Sekban Kethüdası. This phrase could also mean the commander or the most heroic of the Sekban who fell as martyrs there.

I would like to draw the attention of the committee for ancient monuments and the governor of Istanbul to the circular sent by İsmet Pasha some time ago to the provinces regarding the protection of ancient monuments. This cemetery should be repaired immediately and turned into a monument. This is because, apart from belonging to Turkish heroes who fell as martyrs 480 years ago, it is also the oldest Turkish monument in Istanbul. Although it can be concluded that the inscriptions on the tombstone and the grave were repaired a century or two ago because they are not too worn, this does not diminish their historical value. On the contrary, it shows that our ancestors were more respectful of our national heroes than we are.

This cemetery is about 100 steps away from the 16 March Martyrs' Square, where a monument will soon be erected in their honour. A maximum of 500 lira is needed for its restoration. I would like to draw the attention of the National Turkish Student Union to this matter. If the government persists in its refusal to grant permission for the Çanakkale monument, it should at least repair this site and fulfil its national duty in another location.

### The Limits of Freedom

Freedom and democracy arose from the oppression of old regimes and, in many cases, from the arbitrary nature of this oppression. Oppressive regimes were contrary to human dignity, so people, especially the educated, rose up against them; this ultimately led to the emergence of free and democratic regimes.

In countries that have attained these regimes through social development, the abuse of freedom and democracy has not been seen much until now. However, it is an undeniable fact that in countries that have become democratic merely through imitation, without passing through the social stages, both freedom and democracy have become corrupt.

Freedom of thought and behaviour must be reasonable, dignified, and not harmful to others. If every deviant idea is recklessly put forward in the name of freedom of thought, the consequences of such chaos are unimaginable.

In France, considered the homeland of freedom and democracy after England, Blum, a Jewish and socialist prime minister after the First World War, put forward an idea that would shake society to its foundations in the name of freedom of thought, encouraging men to marry their sisters.

It was an idea, after all. It had been seen in ancient Egypt, but rejected by every other human community. Among the Turks before Islam, members of the same clan were considered close relatives, so marrying outside the clan was one of the fundamental principles of Turkish custom.

Even if we set aside the great harm that Blum's idea would cause in terms of racial health, what good would it do other than destroying a thousand-year-old social order and leading to moral chaos? It was clear that this nonsense had been put forward to destroy the French nation. The French, who had been contaminated by such absurd ideas, reaped the fruits of this in World War II: 800,000 German soldiers, imbued with national ideals, defeated the two and a half million-strong French army hiding behind the Maginot Line, both by breaking through the Maginot Line in two places and by advancing from Belgium, in ten to fifteen days. French honour was tarnished. Because French soldiers did not fight. They only fled, shouting, 'Die? For whom and for what?'

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Before speech and thought, what distinguishes humans from animals is their willingness to die and feel shame for their beliefs. The sense of shame is one of the foundations of morality, honour and dignity. Do you want to destroy a society? First, you must remove its sense of shame. This has been done in Turkey for years.

A few years ago, hundreds of university students, both male and female, who went on a so-called visit to the Çanakkale Martyrs with the Kadeş ship, behaved disgracefully on the ship and on land. These incidents were reported in newspapers and magazines at the time, and photographs were published, but no investigation was conducted, and the government covered it up.

Now, the words spoken by leftists here and there, supposedly for the sake of nationalism, are deeply hurting national sentiments. After reciting the line from Mehmed Akif's unique poem for the Çanakkale Martyrs:

'O soldiers who fell for this land,' they added, 'stand up and shake off the dust on you.' This is nothing but the greatest example of human dishonour and disgrace. Even gypsies would not stoop so low.

People can make jokes and be humorous. However, there are some issues that are never a laughing matter. In such cases, it is our duty as human beings to be serious. You cannot mock the flag. You cannot make fun of national history. You cannot make the Quran a subject of humour. You cannot disregard family honour. These are national sacred values. A nation without national sacred values is not a nation, but a herd of animals.

The flag is actually a piece of cloth, but a nation has turned it into a symbol and shed blood for it for centuries. Once you look at the flag as a piece of cloth, it becomes possible to find fault with everything and deny everything that makes a person human. Such deniers have appeared from time to time. They are psychopaths who live outside the asylum. Defending evil is much easier than defending goodness and morality, so the words of the khans will dazzle people: there are, of course, some points.

Even though we live in the space age today, there are many unnatural things in people, both from the past and from the mental illnesses created by civilisation, that cause discomfort in our hearts. People must attach themselves to an idea or a belief. Those who cannot find a thought or belief to cling to must naturally be expected to attach themselves to abnormal thoughts and beliefs, just as small children who lack calcium in their diet resort to licking walls. If Turkish nationalism, the national ideal of the Turkish people, had not been undermined by successive governments over the past fifty years, and if this ideal had been nurtured as it is in all other nations, the current spiritual unrest would never have arisen, and the nation would not have been divided into enemy camps. When Turkish nationalism was struck down, it was replaced by communism, partisanship, Nurculuk, Süleymancılık, ummahism, Freemasonry, and cosmopolitanism, all of which promised material or spiritual rewards. Consider also the magnificent display of national unity during the critical days of the Cyprus issue. This scene is the greatest testimony to how the national ideal can inspire and strengthen a nation.

When Turkish nationalism was rejected and Turkish nationalists began to be called fascists and skull-worshippers, those who did not care about the tragedy of the Turks of Turkistan began to write epics about Lumumba, Guevara and Vietnam. They even denied Turkishness and claimed that we were a Turkicised Anatolian nation, the descendants of the Hittites. All these abnormal behaviours were gaining supporters because the glue that held the nation together had melted away.

Under these conditions, if someone were to emerge and say, 'Turkish is a backward language. High science, philosophy, and literature cannot be produced in this language. Therefore, let us adopt French as the official language,' and establish an association, you can be certain that this association would attract hundreds, perhaps thousands of members. In fact, in the 1930s, a professor who has since passed away made such a claim.

One of the abnormal behaviours seen in our country recently is the efforts to promote the number one traitor and Slavic seed, Nazim Hikmet of Yoldashi, as a great poet and patriot. According to intelligent people who attribute the acquittal of the Turanists in the strict court to 'insufficient evidence,' the sentence once imposed on the number one traitor was a judicial error or intentional.

Nâzım Hikmet was a great patriot... Once the act of handing over one's homeland to the Russians is called patriotism, there is no claim left in the world that cannot be made: The world is square. The Sheikh Said rebellion was a great patriotic uprising. The Hacihüsrevli pickpocket Gypsy women were selfless champions of social justice, and so on.

A patriot does not speak against his own country when he goes abroad, does not say 'Stalin created me,' does not take a foreign surname, and does not speak against his country on the radio. The reason I am forced to repeat these words, which I have already mentioned once or twice before, is an article by a prosecutor who praised Nâzım Hikmet to the skies while defending him: This article, titled 'An Open Letter to Faruk Sükan,' appeared in the 'Opinions' section of the 15 March 1968 issue of Cumhuriyet newspaper. It was written by a citizen named Şiar Yalçın (but what kind of citizen?) from Koyulhisar. This open letter, which asked Çetin Altan whether he still considered Nâzım Hikmet, who had been convicted by Turkish judges, to be a great Turkish poet during the budget debates in the National Assembly, contains the following gems of wisdom:

Nâzım Hikmet was a man who believed in an ideology, was honourable and patriotic. It has been proven by published documents that he was unjustly convicted due to the efforts of certain individuals. Therefore, no one has the right to disparage or belittle Nâzım Hikmet because of his ideology or his conviction. If we are mature and cultured individuals, we must respect his personality.

Even if we were to accept, for the sake of argument, that Nâzım Hikmet was a bad, immoral person, or even a traitor to his country, this would not detract in the slightest from his great poetic talent, which has earned him fame throughout the civilised world. Oscar Wilde, Rimbaud and Verlaine were homosexuals, and the latter two were perhaps vagabonds. François Villon was a bandit and a murderer who was sentenced to death twice. Despite this, they have not ceased to be the pride of English and French literature. For this reason, we cannot agree with Faruk Sükan's words about Nâzım Hikmet.

We can express our personal opinion without hesitation that Nâzım Hikmet is not only one of the greatest poets Turkey has produced, but perhaps one of the greatest poets the world has ever known, and that he was an extremely honourable and patriotic man.

Şiar Yalçın

Koyulhisar C. Savası

We cannot find words to describe how a lawyer can praise a traitor as a patriot. We do not even want to think about what logic this prosecutor used to gather evidence on the issues he took on. He must have spoken without thinking. Otherwise, he would not have attempted to evaluate Nâzım Hikmet within the framework of world literature. How much does he know about world literature? Even though I graduated from the Faculty of Literature, I don't know anything about this. When it comes to Turkish literature, what does he know? Or does he mean a few poor imitations of Orhan Veli when he says Turkish literature? How many of the famous Turkish poets from the Uyghurs and Karakhanids to Yahya Kemal does he know? Would he be able to understand them if he read them? Which literature teacher inspired him?

If it is not a crime for a public prosecutor to defend a notorious traitor while addressing a minister, then there is no such thing as crime in this world. It is not difficult to imagine what kind of citizens Turkish children who read such articles and see that they go unpunished will become tomorrow.

Another defence of Nâzım Hikmet was made by the ultra-leftist writer İlhan Selçuk in the 19 March 1968 edition of Cumhuriyet: Erenburg, a Russian Bolshevik of Jewish origin, mentioned Nâzım Hikmetof in his memoirs while recounting the early years of communism, writing that Nâzım could not even bear to look at Stalin's bust. Therefore, the news that Nâzım Hikmetof said, 'Stalin created me,' cannot be true.

This logic leaves one speechless. No traitor, no thief, no prostitute is born a traitor, thief, or prostitute. They too may have lived an honourable life during their childhood, early youth, and perhaps even into adulthood. However, this does not absolve them of their later crimes of treason, theft, or prostitution. Nazim Hikmet, during his early years in Moscow, when he was more influenced by Marx and Lenin, may have been angry at Stalin's bust. But later he said, 'Stalin created me.' He had to say that. If he hadn't, he might have died of a heart attack or appendicitis in his first few months.

In the final years of World War II, Nazım Hikmet was a Turkish patriot. He wrote a war poem called 'The Wounded Ghost.' Just as one cannot claim that he was a nationalist based on these works, one cannot claim that he did not say 'Stalin created me' based on Erenburg's account of the incident.

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The conclusion that can be drawn from all this is that our current laws are flawed in ways that prevent them from preventing the abuse of freedom and democracy and the poisoning of the nation. Just as insulting Atatürk is prohibited by law, a new law should be enacted to prohibit the glorification of traitors, immorality, and anything that would debase society, and a 'Law for the Protection of National Culture and Morality' should be enacted. I believe that, in addition to the two major parties, the CKMP, MP, and GP can also unite and produce a work of complete national unity on this issue.

### Those who are tired

When a race begins, all the runners start at the same line with the same energy. After a while, one team falls slightly behind. Later, it is inevitable that the runners will divide into several groups at the front, in the middle, at the back, and at the very rear. However, none of them have given up yet. In fact, as time passes, it is normal for some of those at the back to overtake some of those at the front, and for some of those at the front to fall behind and drop back.

Finally, the critical moments arrive. The distance has increased, the lungs and muscles are tired, and the nerves are worn out. From this point on, it is a matter of faith, character, and honour.

As the laps pass one by one, the distance between the runners will increase. Those who are tired will drop out one by one, using various excuses, while those who consider it a matter of honour and faith will continue the race. It will be noticeable that some of the runners are exhausted but do not give up because of their character. Among these exhausted runners, there are even some who are among the front runners. Some are far behind because they lack physical strength, but they continue to race with spirit and faith.

Very few finish the long race compared to those who start. Some of them may even die of heart failure after finishing the race.

There may be a long time between the first and last to cross the finish line. However, the latter have won the reward of honour and character in a race they lost materially.

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All races are like this. It is often seen that those who are very cheerful at the start of the race, rush forward at great speed and overtake the others in the first move, soon tire and give up the race.

There is also a difference in character among those who abandon the race. Very few brave souls admit that they are out of breath or have run out of strength. The majority are eager to find fault with their fellow competitors. They say that their race mates deliberately blocked their path, deliberately bumped into them, or started before the starting signal. There is no truth in any of this.

As long as the world exists, races will be like this. The weak who enter the race without measuring their strength will give up halfway and then make up an excuse.

Complaining is in the nature of many people. People who cannot educate themselves remain complainers even when they grow old. Complaining is a disease of blaming others for one's own shortcomings and failures.

Anyone who thinks they are an athlete and enters a race without knowing their own limitations in that field is lacking in seriousness.

Every race is a challenge. One must be up to that challenge. What business do a weightlifter and a wrestler have in a race? Can they compete in a race with their bodies unsuited to running? Weightlifting and wrestling are sports, so it is a great mistake to confuse them with racing sports. Lifting weights is one thing, running is another. A man who lifts weights may be a weightlifter. But a racer... Never!

That's how races are. There are those who get tired halfway through and give up. There may even be those who trip up their neighbours before giving up halfway. These things are normal.

As long as the world exists, there will be races, and there will always be those who finish with honour, even if they are few.

## Those Forced to Live in Exile

The history of humanity is filled with claims of rights, justice, and equality on the one hand, and the most terrible injustices and evils on the other. In a sense, humans are the most savage of all living creatures, and the most original in their savagery.

One does not need to be a scholar or conduct lengthy research to understand what kind of creature humans are. It is enough to take a bird's eye view of some of the events of the twentieth century.

The crimes committed by communism, which emerged with the cause of humanity's happiness, equality, and the freedom of nations, have never been committed by any nation in any era of history. Leave foreigners aside, no nation has ever shown the savagery that the Russians have shown against their own people.

Despite this, great efforts have been made to develop feelings of humanity among people, and remedies have been sought to free people from material and spiritual distress, some of which have been found.

The savagery in humans may come from their chromosomes, dating back to the days when they were 'primates.' Whatever the case may be, when left to its own devices and granted complete freedom, the creature known as man tends to develop a character that is mostly evil rather than good. The social order known as the state was established to eliminate this evil, and the institution known as morality came into being for the same reason.

The establishment of the republic in Turkey marks a new chapter in both Turkish and Turkish history as a whole. The era of ministers and sultans is over, and the era of ministers elected by the people has begun. This does not constitute a reason to deny the old days or to disparage the past. Just as our ancient times were filled with glory and honour alongside great mistakes, our former heads of state, the khans, khans and sultans, were mostly great personalities who served the nation on a large scale. It is our duty as human beings and as citizens to respect them and teach our children about their greatness.

At the beginning of the history of the Republic of Turkey, as with the beginning of every new regime, there were some instances of harshness, excesses and injustices. However, when compared to the French and Russian revolutions, these actions were very mild and humane. This is one of our national sources of pride.

As the republican administration took root, excessive measures were gradually abolished, injustices were eliminated, and attention was paid to strengthening the bonds between all citizens. This was a wise and humane measure.

For example, the Hundred and Fifty, who were expelled from the country for opposing the War of Independence, were pardoned in 1937 and returned to their homeland, and among them were writers who supported the republic with their pens.

The law requiring the forced resettlement of some families who sided with the rebels during the Sheikh Said rebellion in the western provinces was also repealed in 1950, allowing innocent children to return to their birthplaces as adults and find peace of mind.

In fact, during these amnesties, things went a step further, and even Nazim Hikmet, the number one traitor to the nation, was pardoned and released, and he continued his activities against Turkishness until his death after fleeing the country.

Amidst all this, there is a small group of people who are living a hellish life in this world, suffering material and, above all, spiritual hardship and sorrow.

I am referring to the Ottoman princes.

After the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate, all male and female members of the Ottoman dynasty, along with their spouses who were not members of the dynasty, were expelled from Turkey and thrown into material destitution.

Their crime was belonging to the Ottoman Dynasty. The last sultan, Mehmed VI Vahdettin, who fled on a British ship, was considered a traitor, so these innocent princes were also viewed with suspicion as members of his family and expelled from the country.

The expulsion of the princes from Turkey can be seen as a measure taken to protect the newly established republic from danger. It was possible that any Ottoman prince in Turkey could have gathered followers around him and caused great turmoil. For this reason, it can be said that there was a historical necessity for these innocent princes to suffer injustices that we have seen many examples of throughout history.

However, 45 years have passed, the republic has taken root, and in Turkey, there are only a few mentally ill individuals who want the caliphate, while no one wants to bring back the sultanate. More importantly, in these 45 years, not a single person has attempted to regain the throne among the Ottoman princes. Even the offers of kingship made to them by one or two Muslim countries were rejected by these princes.

After 1950, thanks to the efforts of the then Millet Party, a law was passed allowing female members of the Ottoman dynasty to return to Turkey, and most of these elderly Ottoman sultans experienced the joy of returning to their homeland amid tears.

During the final days of the Democratic Party, an attempt was made to bring the princes back to Turkey, but this attempt was forgotten with the coup d'état of 27 May.

The Ottoman princes are a legacy of history. All of them are loyal to their homeland, have never entertained the idea of reclaiming the throne, and are people of strong character. In the 45 years since the establishment of the republic, not a single one of them has ever made the slightest move against the republican government. A few of them committed suicide due to financial difficulties, while the others continued to earn their living in various ways. Returning to their homeland is their greatest and most natural right. Depriving them of this right is nothing but shameful cruelty.

Today, there are about 25 Ottoman princes still alive. Fourteen of them live in Turkey, while the others were born abroad after the dynasty was abolished. Some of them are entitled to a state pension as Turkish citizens. For example, Osman Fuat Efendi, the eldest member of the dynasty, served as commander of the Ottoman and Senussi forces in Tripoli during the First World War until the armistice. Is he not entitled to a pension as a Turkish officer?

Ömer Faruk Efendi, who recently passed away, was living a melancholic life in Egypt. Although he hid in the hold of a ship to participate in the War of Independence, he was not accepted and returned because the Sakarya victory had already been won and the foundation had been solidified.

There are also those who earned their living through painting and teaching. Mehmet Abid Efendi, the only son of Sultan Hamit, studied law and Oriental studies in France. He now earns his living through modest work in Beirut.

The fact that these individuals were not allowed to return to their homeland solely because they were nephews of Sultan Vahdettin is both a great injustice and a contradiction to the unification and integration policies pursued by republican governments to date. Even though republican governments exist in Germany and France, members of the former imperial and royal families live in their homelands and retain ownership of their properties. If the republican regime in Turkey is truly established and the principle of justice is to be applied to all citizens, then it is our greatest human duty to ensure that the last unfortunate representatives of the greatest Turkish family are able to spend their final years in their homeland.

The birth years of the surviving Turkish princes are as follows:

Osman Fuat 1894 Grandson of Murat V

Mehmet Abdülâziz 1901 Grandson of Sultan Aziz

Ali Vâsib 1903 Son of the grandson of Murat V

Mahmut Şevket 1903 Grandson of Sultan Aziz

Mehmet Abid 1905 Grandson of Sultan Hamit

Orhan 1909 Grandson of Sultan Hamit

Mehmet Nâzım 1910 Grandson of Sultan Reşat

Osman Ertuğrul 1912 Grandson of Sultan Hamit

Ömer Fevzi 1912 Grandson of Sultan Reşat

Hüsâmettin, 1914, son of Sultan Aziz's grandson – mentally ill.

Ertuğrul, 1915, grandson of Sultan Hamit

Alâattin, 1917, grandson of Sultan Hamit

Burhanettin Cem, 1918, son of Sultan Mecit's grandson

Bayazid, 1923, son of Sultan Mecit's grandson

The remaining 10 princes were born outside Turkey and are under the age of 44. They bear the names Orhan, Selim, Osman, Selâhattin, Ömer Abdülmecit, Harun, and Dündar.

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey should repeal the law prohibiting these unfortunate descendants of the Ottoman dynasty from entering Turkey with a new law, thereby proving that Turkey is a state governed by the rule of law and that justice prevails, and showing the whole world that the Republic of Turkey has taken root and is a land where justice prevails.

When the female members of the Ottoman dynasty returned to Turkey, they were welcomed with love and respect by many, but no one had any thoughts or behaviour reminiscent of royalism.

There are a few fanatical bigots in Turkey who want to revive the caliphate, it is a duty of honour for a state that has signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to allow the Ottoman princes, who have no connection to the caliphate, are good Turkish citizens, have lived in exile for years, and have renounced their princely titles, to return to their homeland, settle there, and live and die in the land their ancestors elevated.

We call on the members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey to fulfil this duty.

#### Turkish Language

A nation that loses its army is in danger. A nation that loses its independence has fallen into a terrible disaster. A nation that loses its language is doomed.

History tells us that nations that lost their independence were able to revive themselves after a while by jealously preserving their languages. However, there is no example of a nation that lost its language and was able to revive itself.

The powerful Assyrian state and nation were destroyed. Because it lost its language, it remained only as an entity read about in history books. Many nations that were not as powerful or important as the Assyrians (the Lechs, Czechs, Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Finns, etc.) were able to revive centuries later by preserving their languages.

The Turkish language was a powerful and pure language spoken and understood in the same way from shepherds to khans in the earliest times. It contained no foreign words or rules. However, towards the end of the eighth century, a Turkic khan who conquered the Chinese capital forced his people to convert to Manichaeism, and the language began to lose its purity. Many words belonging to the new religion and the new civilisation that came with it entered the language. However, at that time, this corruption of the language remained limited.

The real great corruption occurred two centuries later: A new Turkic khan again forced his people to convert to Islam, thereby changing the civilisation of the Turks, and the words of the new religion and new civilisation enveloped the Turkic language. First, the word 'Allah' entered our language, replacing 'Tanrı.' Then came 'Muhammed.' Then, because they were religious phrases, clichéd sentences and compounds flooded our language and were accepted with tolerance.

Today, we are entering a new civilisation. However, this time we seem to have learned from the painful lessons of the past. This time, we will not allow the languages that represent Western civilisation to corrupt our language.

The Turkish language will be richer and purer than all other languages. All new words added to our language will come from Turkish roots. There will be no international terms... We detest international terms that remind us of communism, cosmopolitanism, Freemasonry, and statelessness. It is not a strong objection to say that there is no language in the world that has not borrowed words from foreign languages. Is it so bad that Turkish is like this, even though no other language is like this?

There are pessimists who say that this cannot be achieved... So what? We will work to achieve 100%. If we achieve 70%, will we have lost?

A Turkish nation with a language purer than all other languages is stronger than all other nations in one area of life. For a nation that strives to be superior to all other nations in all areas of life, it is not surprising that it should seek to make its language, its most valuable asset, superior to all other languages.

The army of the Turkey of tomorrow will be stronger than all other armies, its technology will be superior to that of all other nations, its literature will be superior to that of all other countries, and its language will be richer and purer than all other languages.

We are behind in our language work. We must speed it up.

Young Turks! Your duty in this matter is to use as few foreign words as possible in your written and spoken language, to memorise and adopt the new Turkish words that will be shown to you, and to always remember that this work is part of a great ideal.

### Fake Nationalism

Consistency between words and actions is one of the basic principles of morality. If a person who claims to be religious does not believe in God, if someone who advocates social justice exploits the people, if those who shout about democracy incite dictatorship, then these people are not moral.

The same applies to nationalism. You cannot be a nationalist and oppose nationalism; you cannot champion the cause of a nation and link its roots to seventy-two nations at once; you cannot claim to be a nationalist and participate in campaigns in favour of the enemies of nationalism... Such ridiculous and fabricated nationalism can only be found among drunken fools who do not know what they are saying or doing.

Despite all these moves, despite having come much further than 40 years ago, despite the literacy rate rising from 8.2% in 1927 to 40% in 1960, one of the reasons why our nationalism cannot escape its troubles is the contradictions in the situation of those who claim to be intellectual leaders. Sincerity, which is abundant in the composition of heroism that people always respect, is one of the conditions of being valuable. Where there is no sincerity, hypocrisy begins. Those who give heroism or value to hypocritical people are fools and opportunists.

Today in Turkey, there are two developing and influential schools of thought: nationalism and religious fundamentalism. These two currents, which are often confused even among the educated, sometimes run parallel and sometimes run counter to each other. Strangely, among those who lead the religious movement, apart from the sincere ones, there are also enemies of Turkishness, enemies of the Turkish people, gamblers, and alcoholics.

There is no difference between a man who frequents taverns and gambling dens and claims to be a champion of Islam and a prostitute who talks about family virtues.

It is a clear fact that nations rise in proportion to the superiority of their political and intellectual leaders. Dying for an idea is as honourable as dying on the battlefield. If these leaders act according to the principle of 'friends are martyrs, we are veterans,' but act like bullies when there is no danger and cowards when the situation is serious, then no good will come of that community.

Although he was neither a nationalist nor a religious fanatic, Professor Ali Fuat BaŞgil, who considered himself to be such and was also regarded as such by many, was responded to in 1961 for his insults against the Anatolian Turks. Using examples from his own writings, I revealed that the thoughts of the Ordinary Professor, who was then being presented as a candidate for the presidency, about the Turks were identical to those of the Kremlin.

BaŞgil repeats the same rhetoric in his article titled 'On Nationalism' published in the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper on 30 November 1963: While discussing nationalism with his friends during a trip to the countryside in Switzerland, they said to him, 'You are a well-known nationalist, let us hear what you have to say.' He first stated that he was not a racist, then claimed that nationalism was based on unity of heart and that the Turks of Turkey were formed by the amalgamation of various ethnic groups around a Turkish core.

BaŞgil's constant references to the synthesis of races and the amalgamation of various ethnic groups inevitably attract attention and make one wonder, 'Is there something he is afraid of?' Yes, nationalism is based on unity of heart, but this is the unity of heart of those who come from the same ethnic group. The more a person knows that they come from a different lineage, the less likely they are to warm up to the nation they live in. I see no need to list hundreds of examples of this terrible truth, so I ask BaŞgil: Can you form a unity of hearts with a Black person, a Gypsy, or a Greek, and consider yourself to be of the same nation as them? If you say yes, then there is no problem. I wish him well and consider myself to have lost the argument. If he says no, then he has lost the case. He should remain silent and refrain from engaging in meaningless discussions on historical topics he knows nothing about.

A nationalist, in the simplest definition, is someone who considers the nation and nationality superior to everything else. BaŞgil, who considers nationalism to be his own, attempts to explain nationalism with Islam in his article dated 30 November, saying that Islam permits this type of nationalism but not that type. We are nationalists and Turkish nationalists, above all forms of oppression. BaŞgil's invocation of Islam here is nothing more than populism and an expression of weakness. Is this the only aspect of Islam that is not in force? Cover women, abolish interest, govern the state according to Sharia law!

There is no possibility of doing these things. But Islam is alive and will continue to live. It will live strongly to the extent that it can adapt to life, and it will remain a matter of the hearts and consciences of individuals, without interfering in the state. That being the case, it is not clear what Ba§gil means, what he wants, or what he hopes to achieve by constantly bringing up a personal matter of belief, namely 'religion,' which should never be mixed with nationalism.

What he does not know, understand, or comprehend is the difference between the mixing of a few races and the assimilation of one race by another.

In mixing, none of the mixed parties are superior to the others in any particular way. Certain things are taken from all of them. Even the superior elements of languages lose their originality and undergo structural changes. The French are like this. The Latins (i.e., the Romans) came and mixed with the Celts (i.e., the Goluva), and a people emerged who spoke a crude language derived from Latin, which had become corrupted and altered in the Celtic tongue. Five hundred years later, the Germans (i.e., the German-speaking Franks) came and brought about another mixture. During the time of the Gauls, the people were fair-haired, but due to their mixing with the Latins, they became dark-skinned, and a blond element was added to their composition. Their assimilation took about four centuries, and in the ninth century, a new nation emerged. This nation is a community that takes its name from the Franks, its language from the Latins, and its temperament from the Gauls. This is a mixture.

In melting, a large mass swallows up smaller masses, makes them like itself, and after a while nothing remains of what melted. This is what happened to the Turks who conquered China and India. The Pakistanis are the children of those who were converted to Islam by the Turks, especially during the Ghaznavid era. Many Turks also mixed with them. However, no one can say that 'the Pakistanis are a mixture of Turks and Indians.' This is because there are no Turkish characteristics in the Pakistanis.

To give an example, we can say that if two tablespoons of lemon juice and twenty grams of sugar are mixed into a glass of water, the result is neither lemon nor sugar. It is lemonade, which has all the characteristics of both to a greater or lesser extent. However, if five drops of lemon juice or one gram of sugar are mixed into a glass of water, the taste and nature of the water will not change. A chemical analysis is necessary to determine whether lemon or sugar is present in the mixture.

The mixing of the Turks who came to Anatolia from Turkistan with others is of the second type: assimilation. This is not something to be exaggerated. The great conquests made by the Turks when they opened Anatolia, the fact that the state did not pursue a policy of Islamisation in order to collect taxes, the general inability of the Turks to represent other nations, and their meticulous customs, which continue to some extent even today, of not mixing with foreigners, meant that the foreign elements that mixed with them remained insignificant and did not reach a level that would destroy our originality.

It is not clear what BaŞgil meant by the Muslim and Christian ethnic groups that he said mixed with the Turks. I am sure that he himself was not aware of what he meant. It is possible that by Christian groups he meant the devşirme Janissaries. Let us repeat once again what we have said many times before: the Janissaries numbered only eight to ten thousand in the entire Ottoman army, and they were forbidden to marry before retiring.

For some reason, BaŞgil also addressed the knotty issue of the 'mixed Anatolian nation' in 1961 (in the 7 October issue of *Son Havadis*) in an article titled 'My Election Speeches,' which was election propaganda, even though there was no need to do so. In an election article, this claim, which was nothing more than a display of intellectual poverty aimed at currying favour with minorities at the expense of the majority, was also contrary to historical fact. At the time, he responded with an article titled 'The Ordinary Professor's Gross Errors,' demonstrating from his writings that BaŞgil was neither a nationalist nor an Islamist, and reminding readers that portraying the Turks of Turkistan and Turkey as separate nations was precisely the thinking of the Kremlin, and that he had participated in a campaign to pardon the traitor Nazım Hikmet, signing a petition for the communist to be pardoned. (1)

At the time, Ordinaryüs was unable to respond. Now, two years later, in a footnote to his article entitled 'Milliyetçilik Bahsi' (Nationalism Debate) (Yeni İstanbul, 30 November 1963), he says:

We had previously written about this truth (i.e. that the Turks of Turkey are a halita) in one of the Istanbul newspapers and were attacked by a writer. This ignorant person, pretending to forget the Muslim and Christian ethnic groups that made up the Ottoman Empire just yesterday and the fact that they mixed with the Turkish element, tried to prove his rotten argument by quoting bits from British and French authors, that is, trying to cover the sun with mud...

Poor old drunkard! As if he thought that the mixing of all the elements in an empire was an inevitable fate, he was unaware of the Turks brought to Anatolia by the Seljuks, the Ilkhanids, and the Russian wars, and believing the racial mixing he had created in his imagination to be real, he called me 'ignorant.' And to prove that he was not sober while writing this article, he quotes passages from English and French authors.

Even if BaŞgil's inappropriate words were 100% true, being ignorant is more honourable than being a coward and licking up your own spit. He lost himself in dreams of becoming head of state, made heroic gestures, and uttered grand words such as, 'If I turn back, may I be a traitor to my people,' but when he saw two men in uniform in front of him, he was so terrified that he renounced both the presidency and the senate.

Without responding to any of the evidence and claims I presented in my 1961 article, this Ordinary Professor openly calls me ignorant and spouts vulgarities such as 'you can't cover the sun with mud.' He has written articles claiming that the Turks should be divided, that Nazim Hikmet should be pardoned, and that nationalism and religion are incompatible with today's realities. (2) has truly pleased the spirits of Lenin and Stalin. What do you say about such a man sitting in the Çankaya mansion? Is Todori's tavern in Kalamış not enough for him?

(1) During the campaign launched by Ahmet Emin Yalman, Ali Fuat BaŞgil signed a petition for the pardon of Nâzım Hikmet, a Slavic lackey of the Russians. At that time, a discussion took place between him and one of his students. The young student asked BaŞgil in class: "Sir! As a nationalist Turkish youth and your student, I ask you. Why did you sign the list requesting the pardon of a communist?" The professor replied, 'I signed this list at the request of the highly esteemed Halide Edip Adıvar!' Upon this, the nationalist young man asked, 'Professor, would you become a communist just because someone asked you to?' Losing the argument in a rather painful manner, BaŞgil resorted to his authority as a professor and replied, 'I am the professor, you are the student. Know your place, shut up, and sit down!'

(2) My writings on how religion and nationalism do not conform to today's requirements and the responses to them are in my brochure entitled 'The Ordinary Professor's Gross Errors.'

### The Beginning of the Cultural Struggle

Our eyes are always on the high ground. We want to do everything in a grand and imposing manner. We do not condescend to small tasks. Are we going to furnish a newly established office? The first thing that comes to mind is leather armchairs. The director's desk is very luxurious. The inkwell set of the office chief, whose only job is to sign 40-50 documents a week, is of the most expensive kind.

Are we going to build a National Assembly? While the people are struggling in poverty, we want to build a structure that costs millions of pounds. We see nothing but luxury. Luxurious positions, luxurious chambers, luxurious furnishings, luxurious lives...

But these things are not in balance with other things. Who thinks about that?

Are we going to start a cultural movement? First, we will begin by translating the classics. Greek classics, Latin classics, Persian and Arabic classics. German, English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Scandinavian classics, even Russian classics (!) will be translated into our language. It is believed that these classics will bring about a tremendous intellectual awakening and that we will progress through humanism. But these classics are not being translated from the original texts, but from second-hand translations... No harm done. But there are no Turkish classics among these classics. What does it matter? Turkish, Latin, Ottoman, Russian—aren't they all the same? Our goal is to love humanity. We are not going to be nationalists... Let's give the youth works that will bring them the knowledge, ideas, feelings, genius, beauty, and aesthetics of foreign worlds... Just wait twenty years, and you will see what kind of art and intellectual life will begin here.

While we are translating the classics and trying to replicate the Greek miracle of two thousand years ago here, we are not even aware that we do not have a proper spelling system. Our eyes are so high that we do not even pay attention to trivial things like spelling. What does it matter? We have revolutionised the alphabet. We have simplified spelling. We will write as we speak. What is so difficult about that?

After spending some 20 years with this destructive mentality, we have finally become a very strange society: civilised, but without spelling... We are certainly not wrong to consider ourselves civilised, for better or worse. But we do not think that there is any other civilised society in the world without spelling. Bulgarian, Armenian, Georgian, and even Albanian have spelling. Turkish does not. Why? That is not known. So why has this not been addressed until now? That is also unclear.

Can the people have an official spelling system if the state does not? Even the regime has not yet determined its spelling. Is it Cumhuriyet or Cümhuriyet? Sometimes it is one, sometimes the other. The Language Institute is busy with important work and wants to produce a comparative Turkish dictionary and grammar in I don't know how many volumes, so it has not been able to establish a spelling system. The spelling dictionary hastily compiled when the new letters were adopted has lost its credibility today. It does not even exist anymore. Even if it did, it would be useless because it is incomplete. There is no established spelling system in schools because teachers do not know how to spell. In short, everyone, every newspaper, and every institution has its own spelling. For a civilised nation, there can be no greater disgrace than this. I do not wish to prolong this discussion with examples. If things continue in this manner, and if the Ministry of National Education does not find a solution, there will either be no spelling in Turkey, or there will be different spellings used by different institutions and groups.

Please, let us give up large-scale projects and focus on small matters such as spelling, which are considered insignificant. It is absurd for those who cannot do small things to talk about big things.

Let us not forget that our national enemies also play a role in the instability of spelling. Moscow's agents have been the main factors in our spelling taking on its current harsh appearance, so that we would not be united even in spelling and would not possess one of the conditions of being a single nation. Let us not forget that our enemies also played a major role in the adoption of separate writing systems in primary and secondary schools. How else can the bonds between a people be broken? Is it not by introducing differences in language, writing, spelling, and customs between generations? All of this has been done. If we do not open our eyes, this disintegration will take on a terrifying form, and the classics will not be able to raise the nation in a miraculous way.

In the atomic age, the proliferation of those who expect a miracle of national development from Greek and especially Russian classics (!) is a great disaster. May God protect the Turkish nation from this disaster.

### National Symbols

One of the conditions for living as a nation is to respect national symbols. As humans become civilised, they are compelled to sacrifice a portion of their freedoms and respect certain rules. A civilised person cannot lie down and sleep anywhere like an animal. They cannot shout or sing whenever they want. They cannot do whatever they want, whenever and wherever they want.

Civilised people also behave respectfully towards living or non-living things that are considered sacred by the nation. Sacred objects include things such as flags, coats of arms, national anthems, honour and dignity. For animals, all these things, including flags, are worthless. Because they are not enough. It is impossible for animals to have feelings or instincts such as honour and dignity. Animals do not understand national symbols. This is because they are not a nation, and national symbols are nothing more than objects such as stones and trees to them.

Since national symbols are among the principles that make a nation a nation, those who want to destroy a nation also attack its national symbols.

If a society has no national symbols, it has become a herd. Despite its scholars, professors, and everything else, it is no different from a flock of sheep or an anthill.

Attention must be paid to those who attack national symbols: are they doing so out of ignorance or stupidity, or do they have hidden motives?

If anyone speaks ill of Oğuz Khan, a national symbol, know that they are working for the enemy, whether knowingly or unknowingly.

The same applies to those who call Bozkurt, a national symbol, a dog. Moreover, they see themselves in the mirror.

### A Lesson for Sadri Maksudi Beğ from the Mocking Scholars

None of the mocking scholars could respond to my criticism of the childish errors in the four-volume history book. However, Sadri Maksudi Bey, one of the accomplices of this great crime (i.e., the four-volume history), supposedly responded to me by saying, 'It is not Orhun, it is Orhon,' during one of his Turkish history lectures at the university, thereby proving his scholarly authority (!). Sadri Maksudi Bey, who charged 25 lira per hour for his lectures and earned one kuruş per word for speaking an average of 2,600 words per hour, apparently earned three kuruş for breaking an academic pot by saying, 'It is not Orhun, it is Orhon.' Three kuruş for an academic lie... What a beautiful profit! Despite its poverty, the Turkish nation could donate a few more 25 lira to Sadri Maksudi Bey. However, in return, Sadri Maksudi Bey should speak a little more scientifically and truthfully to the children of that nation. I am showing with the evidence below that the name of this river is not Orhon, but Orhun. He must either prove the contrary or admit his ignorance once again. I do not know if Sadri Maksudi Bey is brave enough to admit his ignorance. However, like all mocking scholars, his admission will be silence.

I- The word Orhun appears in Turkish texts as early as the Moyunçur Khan monument. The word Orhun is mentioned in the third line of the northern face of this monument and in the tenth line of the southern face in the form of Orkun. The Finnish scholar Ramstedt, who discovered and published this monument, reads this word correctly as 'Oruqun.' This is because the letter "Orkun" in the old Turkish alphabet is a compound letter read as 'ko,' 'ku,' 'ok,' or 'uk.'

II- The reason Ramstedt did not read it as Orokun is due to a feature of Turkish harmony. This is because in Turkish words with more than one syllable, the sounds O and Ö cannot appear in any syllable other than the first (except for the hal sigası in the Istanbul dialect).

III- Although Ramstedt's reading is correct, this word can also be read as Orqun. This is because the spelling rules were not strictly followed in ancient Turkish inscriptions, so even though Orkun was written after the letter Orkun, the spelling Orkun may have been used instead of Orkun.

IV- However, this word can only be Oruqun or Orqun or Uruqun or Urqun. It cannot be read as Orqon (=Orhon). Because in neither Old Turkic and Uyghur, nor in Chagatai and Ottoman (i.e., all old and new literary dialects), the vowel 'O' does not follow the 'O' in the first syllable. Here are some examples: dol-du, yor-gun, sol-gun, O-dun, o-lur, yo-lu-muz, dol-dur-mu-Şuz. Even the Turkish people adapt foreign words to this pronunciation rule, saying doktur instead of doktor.

V- Today's Saka, In the Altay and Kyrgyz Turks, the harmony rule has progressed further, taking a form opposite to this feature in literary dialects. That is, in these dialects, the second syllable of a word beginning with 'O' may also contain the vowel 'O'. However, these dialects are not literary dialects but small dialects that have deviated from the general Turkish rules. At the same time, they are not a direct continuation of the Gök Turkish language. And since none of these Turks live in the Orhun region today, the pronunciation ORHON is not an issue among Turks.

VI- Today, Mongols live around the Orhun River. I do not know if they call this river Orhon. But even if they do, it is of no importance. This is because when that region was historically a Turkish country, the Turks called it Orhun (without the 'h,' hence Orkun). With the exception of a few small Turkish tribes with corrupted dialects, all Turks today pronounce this word as Orhun. The great scholar Ramstedt also read it this way. Therefore, there is no meaning or reason to teach Turkish university students the incorrect pronunciation 'Orhon.'

\* \* \*

If the Ministry of Education cannot select international scholars to teach Turkish history at universities, it should at least ensure that they are not international ignoramuses.

#### Sacred Places of a Country

Today, everyone knows that we took the place we now call 'Turkey' from the Greeks and their Armenian and Georgian allies in wars that began in the eleventh century.

These lands were conquered through years of attacks and then defended for years, so that every inch of it is undoubtedly sacred, having been drenched in blood like a gutter. However, in the memories of nations, there are certain wars and the heroes who led them, whose battlefields, where they fought, died, and killed, become symbols of the 'belief in nationhood' and are sanctified.

The memory of the past, that is, history, is the memory of the nation. Just as a person who has lost their memory cannot be considered alive, a nation without memory cannot be called a nation.

On 26 August, the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Malazgirt will be commemorated. The Battle of Malazgirt, the second major clash of the fierce Turkish-Greek wars (the first being the Battle of Pasin in 1048), will be remembered, and a monument will be erected in honour of Alp Arslan, the martyrs of Malazgirt, and the veterans of the battle.

Malazgirt is just one of the great monuments we are tasked with erecting, and Alp Arslan is just one of the nation-builders we will honour by commemorating him. When the opportunity and means arise, commemorating them all and erecting their monuments, even renaming Anatolian cities with foreign-rooted names after Turkish conquerors, will be one of the first things to consider when national consciousness rises. No harm done, let some encyclopedia entries be changed, let foreigners stumble a bit. Let us say, "Let's call Bursa "Orhankent" or "Orhanbalık"; let's call Edirne "Muratkent" or "Muratbalık" Let us make everything from the material to the name Turkish in these lands, and let the world say what it will. Just as we once renamed 'Keşiş Dağı' to 'Uludağ' and "Ayastafanos" to 'Yeşilköy' and everyone grew accustomed to these changes, so too will all the names of cities, great and small, be Turkified in due time, and the demands of national consciousness will be fulfilled.

Today, in Anatolia, there are places like Aydın, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Çorum, Kınık, Karaman, Elmalı, Söğüt, Akseki, Turgutlu, Kula, Denizli, Demirci, Dursunbey, Bozkır, Bozdoğan, Yatağan, Kırşehir, Akşehir, Beyşehir, Suşehri, Taşköprü, Eskişehir, Yenişehir, Karaağaç, and so on; alongside river names such as Yeşilırmak, Kızılırmak, and Göksu, we will Turkify hundreds of city and river names that are not in Turkish, ensuring that no trace of the foreign remains here. This will be one of the great tasks that future Turks will take into consideration. Our cities will be named after their conquerors; statues and monuments will be erected with majestic images of these conquerors, and when the people see them, they will understand where they came from and where they are going, they will come to their senses, and they will cling more tightly to their national identity.

People are influenced by what they see and hear. This is propaganda. The disgusting actions carried out today in Turkey by a group of degenerates are the poisonous fruits of years of treasonous propaganda. If those addressing the youth were patriots instead of these despicable writers, professors, teachers, novelists, and playwrights, the national landscape would be entirely different.

What drove us to write these lines was a news item we read in a newspaper that was both laughable and infuriating. In the 2nd and 3rd May issues of the Milliyet newspaper, there was an article, or perhaps an interview, about the famous Kasım Gülek. We wanted to warn those concerned about the initiative mentioned in the article, which we consider dangerous for the future. The news is as follows:

Kasım Gülek, a former minister, was in Rome when the Pope summoned him for a meeting and asked him for information about Tarsus. Kasım Gülek reported that there was a Saint Paul's well, the ruins of a Saint Paul's church and the house where the same man is said to have lived in Tarsus, and made statements about them. The Pope, who was very pleased with this information about Paul, one of Jesus' 12 disciples, decided to declare Tarsus the number one holy city of Christianity. This would enable Christians to go there and become pilgrims. Kasım Gülek, who was a fellow townsman of Paul, immediately established a 'Saint Paul Association' in Tarsus. The area around the well would be cleared, and the ruins of the church and houses would be repaired. Thus...

Perhaps Kasım Gülek travelled around the villages of Tarsus, shaking hands with thousands of villagers and trying to gather votes, making himself a laughing stock in the newspapers. However, his latest move is not comical, but rather sad. Despite his talk of bottling the water from Saint Paul's well and selling it to Christians to earn foreign currency, his initiative cannot escape being thought-provoking. Because:

If action is taken based on this twisted thinking, it may be possible to turn all of Anatolia, all of Turkey, into the holy land of Christianity. For we took these lands from the Christians. In every city of this country, where Christianity flourished for centuries before us, there are remnants of their presence. While we could revive the memories of these cities, mountains, and rocks that belong to the Turks and their conquest, what is the meaning of trying to preserve the memories of a more ancient era that belongs to foreigners? Are we seeking to revive the notion of a Holy Land?

The current Pope, who accepted Kasım Gülek and exploited his desire for showmanship, revealed himself to be a pig of a Catholic during his visit to Istanbul when he disregarded Turkish laws while touring Hagia Sophia and knelt down to pray in front of Foreign Minister İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil. Now the same Pope, as if there were no other work left to do on earth, wants to make the city where Paul, one of the 12 disciples of Jesus, was born, namely Turkish Tarsus, a holy Christian city, and Kasım Gülek is helping him do so.

The man called Paul was actually a Jew named Saul, who was converted to Christianity by the Roman Paul and was later executed in Rome. Now, Turkish Kasım Gülek is establishing an association in Tarsus to revive and perpetuate the memory of this Jew, opening up the area around the well that bears his name, restoring his church, and grinning smugly as if he has accomplished something great.

Kasım Gülek is a former minister who graduated from several faculties and speaks half a dozen languages. It seems that even such merits cannot prevent a man from going astray.

If Kasım Gülek were a sensible and nationally conscious Turk, instead of reviving the remains of this obscure Jew, he would think of commemorating the memory of the conqueror who won Tarsus for the Turks and would take action in that direction.

Tarsus was conquered in 1082 by 'Süleyman Shah,' the son of the famous Anatolian conqueror 'Kutlamiş' (I) and considered the first of the Anatolian Seljuks. Kasım Gülek should learn this and, if he is truly a son of this homeland, abandon this Jewish Paulus and establish an association now for the 900th anniversary of the conquest of Tarsus, which will take place in 11 years. With the assistance of institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism, the History Institute, and the Seljuk History Institute, a grand monument should be erected in Tarsus. Tarsus should be rebuilt. If the purpose is to show tourists something, they should be shown the monument of the Turkish hero Süleyman Shah, not the well of the Jewish Paulus, which is probably filled with bones.

In a moment of negligence, as if it were necessary to show tourists only Christian works, millions were spent on restoring works left behind by Christianity.

They turned a church in Ephesus, which the Holy Virgin Mary, who had a Jewish wife and became famous in history for giving birth to a child without a father, never visited, into a tourist attraction in her name. The Papacy accepted this with joy. They established an office in Antalya in the name of Santa Claus, a man of unknown origin. Many hidden churches were uncovered and restored.

Instead, the beautiful works of art left behind by the Seljuks, which were falling into ruin, could have been restored and shown to tourists. Furthermore, most of the tourists who come to Turkey do not come for history and archaeology, but to relax and enjoy the sea.

Earning foreign currency is desirable, but there is no need to turn Turkey into a collection of Christian holy cities and shrines for this purpose. This would be a national crime and would play into the hands of the Greeks who want to revive Byzantium in Anatolia.

Acting solely out of materialistic considerations to earn foreign currency, converting Hagia Sophia into a church will earn us billions, but converting the entire nation to Christianity will earn us trillions.

We hear that the government is preparing a new law for associations. We hope that this new law will close down associations that are contrary to national interests and save people from being ridiculous and harmful.

In a city like Tarsus, home to brave Yörük tribes, we must refrain from actions that hurt the national spirit, such as repairing church ruins in the name of Paulus, a hesitant Jew, for the sake of the Pope, a dark-hearted man, and remember that there is such a thing as 'seriousness' in the world.

(I) It is not 'Kulmuş' or 'Kutalmış,' but 'Kutlamış.' Other similar names belong to the beys named Sülemeş, Beklemeş, and Aşglamış.

### Bigotry is a Special Kind of Thought

My article titled 'Bigotry Against Turkishness' (Ötüken, March 1970) was met not with a response but with incoherent popular slogans and veiled insults.

Hasan Bağcı, a writer for the Konya-based magazine Oku, claimed that Ziya Gökalp had pitted Turkish nationalism against Islam, that Turkish nationalism had received significant Jewish support, but that Gökalp was unaware of this, and went on to make a prophecy: 'Ziya Gökalp, who could not navigate the turning point of death in the great reckoning between worlds and rolled into the abyss of denial.'

As if Hasan Bağcı were standing guard at that turning point, we responded to these words by explaining that Gökalp was a Muslim, that Judaism had never exploited Turkish nationalism, and that Gökalp did not invent Turkish nationalism. We also posed the following questions to him:

1) What is meant by the turning point of death?

2) What protection did Gökalp receive on his path to Turkish nationalism?

3) What is the door of exploitation that was opened to Jews?

Hasan BaĞcı could not answer any of these questions. He cannot answer them either... Because just as what lies beyond death is an unknown void, Hasan BaĞcı has neither read Gökalp's works nor seen anything written about him. He is unaware that Gökalp said, 'I am from the Turkish nation, I am from the Islamic ummah, I am from Western civilisation.' He is hostile to Gökalp solely out of religious fanaticism, simply because Gökalp was a Turkist.

Bigotry is an international disease. It comes in red and green. Because they are incapable of respecting ideas and opinions and discussing them, they always tear things apart, curse and slander. and since they are incapable of speaking within the realm of science and logic, they always come before us with verses and hadiths. They believe that all humans descended from Adam and Eve, that Adam lived for 1,050 years, that Eve gave birth to twins, one boy and one girl, every year, and that these siblings were married to each other. The flood and Noah's ark, which originated from a Sumerian myth, are historical facts. It is also true that Noah, whose technical university degree is unknown, built a market boat that could fit a pair of every animal and that they all sat quietly for 40 days without eating each other, and so on... Now consider the tragedy of engaging in a debate with someone of this mindset. Hasan BaĞcı, who is at this level, says the following in his article titled 'Bigotry Against Islam':

Among the various trends that have gained courage in our country in recent years, there is also a disease of appearing to be a true Turk and casting aside religion and Allah. These types of diseases, which the true Turkish spirit violently despises, are unfortunately also found among the 'half-educated' people we have unfortunately produced in abundance in recent years.

While they rejoice in their strange boasts, which are expressions of a painful poverty, such as 'I am foolish,' 'I am heartless,' and 'I am a thief,' on the other side, we see that true thinkers, who have enlightened the world with their discoveries even in the field of science, have always worked to illuminate the paths that lead humanity to God...

There are so many errors in the article by Mr. Atsız, who deserves the title of our article by attacking our ideal outside his field, that correcting them one by one would resemble correcting a middle school student's composition. we will begin our response by correcting only those errors that concern us and are very important, with his permission.

There can be debate and discussion even among people whose ideas and ideals are completely contradictory. However, this should be within the bounds of decency and good manners. What else can the level of decency in the lines we quoted above from Hasan BaĞcı be but clear evidence of his wretchedness? We are half-educated. We have cast Allah aside in our desire to appear as true Turks. This is an expression of a painful poverty, such as being foolish, unscrupulous, and thieving.

Such is the level of decency and manners of the Muslim intellectual Hasan Bağcı...

Our misfortune is also revealed: despite our many years of teaching literature, our writing is full of mistakes, like a draft in need of correction.

After all this, he does not hesitate to say, 'Muslims are above attacking those around them.' If this is not attacking, then may God protect all humans and animals from Hasan Bağcı.

We could not find answers to our claims and questions in his series of articles that continued in three issues of the magazine 'Oku.' His article, which began with an attack on Gökalp, had no intellectual value. While the first condition for criticising or even condemning Gökalp is to read his works, this poor man had no knowledge of them. He was just babbling something against Gökalp, who was a Turkish nationalist, out of Islamic fanaticism.

Now, let us repeat some facts that we have stated countless times, but which some people still fail to comprehend:

People are not equal. There is no such thing as equality in nature. Since nature was created by God, it means that God did not conceive of equality among living beings. People have never been equal in terms of rights and laws. The law does not punish insults against the head of state and insults against any other person in the same way. However, people have tried to establish relative justice and equality by reducing the differences between them as much as possible in order to alleviate suffering.

According to what Hasan Bağcı taught us, Islam does not recognise race or colour. Communism does not either. The American constitution does not either, but in reality this difference always exists. The era when Islam did not recognise race or colour is gone forever. We have not forgotten how our Islamic brothers, the Arabs, joined forces with the British and stabbed the Turkish army in the back during the First World War. At the forefront of this Arab betrayal were the Sharifs, descendants of the Prophet, the memoirs of one of whom are serialised in *Hayat Tarih Mecmua*. Hasan Bağcı should read it.

We Turks recognise race. We do not accept equality, which does not exist, and we believe in the superiority of our race based on past examples and achievements.

Islam survived and rose thanks to the Turks. It was not Islam that elevated the Turks, but the Turks who elevated Islam. We were great even before Islam. If miracles existed in Islam, every Muslim nation would have risen. As we have repeated several times, Iran, which was a great state before Islam, would not have fallen into its current state after becoming Islamic.

Hasan Bağcı says: 'All people are Allah's caliphs in terms of developing and working the earth and benefiting from its treasures. All people are brothers.'

If we remove the phrase 'God's vicegerents' from this statement, isn't what remains a completely Marxist idea? Are Stalin and Moshe Dayan also among all people who are God's vicegerents? If all people are brothers, does Hasan Bağcı accept brotherhood with Gypsy citizens and that the crescent can also rise through the hands of Gypsies?

Hasan Bağcı also says the following: "There is no colonialism in Islamic thought. Because in Islamic tradition, all humanity is a single ummah."

This is in complete agreement with the words of today's communists. But it is not the truth. There is colonialism in Islamic thought. Conquering countries and imposing tribute on them is nothing but colonialism, and all of humanity is not one community. The Prophet, when he said 'my ummah,' was referring only to Muslims, and according to Islamic tradition, he will intercede only for his own ummah on the Day of Judgment. He will certainly not ask God to let Lenin into heaven, but if he has to choose between Pasteur or Koch and Hasan Bağcı, he will undoubtedly choose the first two infidels.

Hasan Bağcı has demonstrated his intellectual and scientific level by accusing Turkish nationalists of 'casting God aside.' Turkish nationalists have not cast God aside, nor will they ever do so. 'May God protect the Turks' is the slogan of Turkish nationalists. We are against constantly bringing God into the discussion and engaging in destructive debates about Him, as He is beyond the comprehension of human intellect and understanding. The ancient Turks did not refer to beings they held in high esteem by their proper names. God is not, as described in religious texts, in human form, nor is He on a throne in the heavens. It is impossible to know what He is like or what He is. If it were possible, religious scholars would not have been arguing with each other for centuries. Just as it is primitive for the Torah to describe God and man in the same way, it is equally foolish for a Russian astronaut who was launched 400 km above the Earth to forget that space is infinite and say, 'I went into space but I did not see God.'

As various advances in science develop, it is being proven that the universe was not created in six days as written in religious books, that this formation took place over billions of years, and that humans did not originate from an imaginary Adam and Eve created 6,000 years ago. Science has now reached the level of creating living cells, albeit short-lived.

After all this, unless religion is accepted as a system of morality and conscience, it will inevitably fail in the face of science, and the absurdity of thinking of God as an entity that interferes in people's daily affairs becomes evident on its own.

Today's religious knowledge explains things differently and accepts that God inspires certain individuals, namely prophets, through revelation. They also explain the historical and scientific errors in religious books by saying that the inspiration came from humans. If this were not the case, religious books would be full of truths that would remain unchanged until the end of humanity, explaining humanity's future and the dangers it faces. For example, alcohol, which is relatively harmless, would not be forbidden, while tobacco, which is ten times more dangerous, and heroin would not be mentioned. Did God not know that one day humans would discover and use tobacco and heroin, and that this would be a great disaster? The apocalypse was foretold billions of years ago, so why was no mention made of a poison that would appear a few centuries later?

Because religion, even if inspired by God, is a social institution, and every prophet ultimately established rules and prohibitions based on his own knowledge and experience.

In a society corrupted by gambling, alcohol, and every kind of debauchery, where men changed wives and showed such savagery as to bury their daughters alive, Muhammad had no choice but to act as he did. He would show them the terrible torments of hell and promise those who lived righteously in this world palaces, rivers of milk and honey, food, and beautiful houris in the next.

However, doubt in enlightened minds prevailed from the very beginning, and many people were lost in this cause. Some wavered between two extremes and went astray, some were declared saints, and some were declared heretics. (Ibn al-Arabi), some went mad and claimed to be God (Hallaj al-Mansur), and others became completely fanatical, accepting religion as a set of rigid and indisputable rules, thereby dragging Islam into its current miserable state and spending their lives accusing each other of apostasy.

The great Islamic scholar and thinker known as 'Hücetü'l Islam' (Proof of Islam), Ghazali (or Ghazali), in his work 'el-Munkız' declared Farabi and Ibn Sina to be heretics. Yet these two were not only the greatest geniuses of Islam but of all humanity. After Aristotle, Farabi was regarded as the 'second teacher' of humanity, and Ibn Sina as the 'third teacher.'

After Hücetü'l-İslam ate this nonsense, it is not surprising that Hasan Bağcı also declared Gökalp and the Turkish nationalists to be infidels. Despite everything, Ghazali is knowledgeable. We do not know what Hasan Bağcı is.

According to the bigots, God determined how people would act before He created the universe. All of this is written in the *Levh-i Mahfuz*. (The language of these writings is probably Arabic.) So why punish people? Since people commit crimes according to God's will, their minds, ideas, and wills are useless in the face of God's eternal decision, so why punish them?

I am not asking this question. Ibn Yemin, who lived in the 14th century, is asking it. Ibn Yemin was an Iranian poet of Turkish descent. According to him, the world is nothing but a series of meaningless events. Ibn Yemin cannot understand the wisdom behind holding people accountable in the afterlife for their actions, which were predetermined by God.

Many poets and scholars have touched upon this point, using cautious language so as not to be accused of heresy and bring trouble upon themselves. For example, the famous Baghdad poet Ruhi, in his famous poem, condemns the bigots to the depths of the earth and rejects the prohibition of wine. even the great Turkish poet Abdülhak Hamit, in his masterpiece 'Makber,' blamed God for the death of his young wife Fatma Hanım, rebelled against Him, and then likened the Creator to a mighty child who plays with humans like toys, saying to Fatma Hanım:

Did you come out to the presence of the Almighty?

Did you learn what the great thunder is?

He could not refrain from saying this.

According to Hasan Bağcı, all of these are blasphemy, of course. Those who say such things and reject Allah will burn in hell, while he will enjoy himself among the houris in the palaces of paradise. (Waiting at the gates of Paradise with a stick, not letting anyone in, if he gets the chance from Birgili).

A nice thing about Hasan Bağcı is that he tells us some stories about the Prophet as if he were his personal secretary, writing down everything that happened to him. He mentions a conversation between the Prophet and his uncle Abu Talib. Where did he learn this? From fabricated hadiths? Given that he seems to regard us as half-educated and ignorant of Islamic knowledge, he should present himself as a fully enlightened and knowledgeable person by citing witnesses and sources.

Ibn Ishaq, who wrote the first book on the life of the Prophet, died in 151 AH. That means there is more than a century between him and the Prophet. Even if he had lived, Ibn Ishaq's work does not exist in its entirety today. The British prepared the existing fragments for publication. I do not know whether they were printed or not. The only complete work we have about the Prophet is the sira of Ibn Hisham, who died in 213 AH, which also includes some fragments from Ibn Ishaq. However, there is still a gap of two centuries between this work and the Prophet. After two centuries, it is well known to those who have some knowledge of historical methodology how much historical events written based on rumours collected from word of mouth correspond to reality. For this reason, it is clear that most of the events presented about the beginning of Islamic history do not go beyond the realm of legend, and that none of the events narrated by many people can be trusted.

To see and understand that the Prophet sought solutions to the moral decay around him, withdrew to the mountains to think of measures, and rejected Arab idolatry by accepting the idea of 'one God' that came from ancient Egypt and passed to the Jews with his mind and feelings, one does not need to become a bigot, believe in fairy tales, or accepting the beliefs that came from ancient Sumer and Egypt and were passed on to other nations through the Jews as divine truths. Especially, presenting the Jewish kings as prophets to the Turkish nation, making them forget their national heroes, and promoting Israelism as a way of life and morality is a national crime.

Hasan Bağcı offers me some advice: 'Please seriously research and learn who Muslims are.'

I advise him to research Turkish history and culture, how Tanrıkuş Mete created this nation, how Çiçi Yabgu's nationalism (i.e., Turkism) as a national policy for the first time in history, what is written in the Orkun inscriptions, how the fine arts prohibited by Islam developed among the Uyghurs, and what kind of object the law of the blessed Genghis Khan is. Then I will ask: Which Muslim is it that I am being asked to research?

Is it Farabi, the pride of Turkic identity, or Ghazali, who declared others as unbelievers? Are they the founders of the sects mentioned by al-Shahrastani, or the Wahhabis who destroyed their graves? Is it the Birgili ox who sought to destroy the Ottoman state, which was founded on the endowment of money (i.e., the timar system), by declaring it blasphemy, or is it Ebussuud, who issued a fatwa allowing the endowment of money and thus saved the state?

Is it Muhyiddin-i Arabi, who declared himself the last saint yet fell in love with a young girl, or Ibn Yemin, who implied that God was unjust? Is it Mevlana, who wrote a vast divan filled with passion for Shams-i Tebrizi and danced with the white-bearded sage, or Vanli Mehmed Efendi, who became his sworn enemy?

Which of these contradictory individuals should be taken as an example and model Muslim, and judgments made accordingly, is an intractable question. That is why viewing religion as a social institution is both accepting the truth and saving religion from the quagmire of internal struggles. Religion exists even in the most primitive societies. And the ridiculous commandments of these primitive religions were certainly not taught by any of the 124,000 prophets said to have existed. As humans progressed in reason and science, religions also became more rational, evolving from many gods to two gods and then to one god, reaching their final stage. There is no other way out but to rid religion of superstitions and absurd beliefs that cannot be accepted by reason and science, to make it entirely a matter of conscience, to refrain from discussing it, and to leave publications on these subjects to scholars alone.

Prophets are human beings. As human beings, they have faults. Many works have been published in the West against Jesus. There is a record in the sirah fragments of Ibn Ishaq (Journal of the Institute for Islamic Studies, vol. I, p. 126) that Muhammad sacrificed to the idols of the Quraysh before he became a prophet and that his cousin Zeyd prevented him from doing so. The 'Garanik' issue after he became a prophet is also well-known throughout the Islamic world, and a childish interpretation has been offered, saying, 'The devil entered the prophet and spoke in his name.' So, while Satan was causing this confusion, what was God, who is 'alim' (all-knowing), 'basir' (all-seeing), and 'habir' (all-aware), doing? It is clear that there is no way to cover up human weaknesses with such absurd interpretations.

The reason I am explaining this is as follows: God is beyond human comprehension. The Qur'an is Muhammad's instruction. There are many proofs of this. One of them is that in many places, oaths and vows are made by the moon, the sun, the dawn, and the mouths of horses crossing a bridge. Who swears an oath? A human being swears an oath in the name of a being superior to himself. Does God swear an oath? Since there is no being superior to God, why would He swear an oath by the moon and the sun, which He created? It is clear that these oaths originated from Muhammad's heart and mind and were even made according to the customs and traditions of the pre-Islamic Arabs.

The Quran begins with 'I praise God, the Lord of the worlds.' It is clear that this statement is Muhammad's. Because God does not praise Himself. Although the exegetes have resorted to interpretations along the lines of 'God meant to say this,' would God not have thought to add the address 'say, tell' at the beginning of the surah, as He did in the short surahs at the end of the Qur'an?

It is well known that during Muhammad's twenty-odd years as a prophet, some verses were abrogated, i.e., they lost their legal force. This means that even in twenty years, some changes in life caused God to change His commands, rendering the old ones invalid and sending new ones. If life changes slowly and with difficulty, and even in the 20 years of the 14th century, needs and rulings changed, then in the subsequent 14 centuries, when development accelerated greatly, did nothing change?

Such questions are endless. Because religion, as a social institution, evolves with life. Those who freeze it, fail to adapt it to the demands of life, and leave society behind are the bigots. Bigotry exists in all religions. Just as Christians turned Christianity into idolatry by considering Jesus the son of God because he was born without a father, our people did the same by claiming that God created the world solely for Muhammad.

Of course, there were those who saw the truth, but they were silenced. The most reasonable and scientific of the sects and factions listed in Shahrastani's 'Mülel ü Nihel' could not survive, the Mu'tazila, who wanted to establish reason, were oppressed, and finally, Sunni Islam and Shi'ism, which remained, spent their time fighting each other and declaring each other infidels. Where is Islamic brotherhood? Which of these is correct?

Bedreddin, the famous judge of Siavnakadisioğlu, who was declared an apostate by some and recognised as a great scholar and mystic by others, begins his work 'Varidat' by stating that the matters of paradise, houris, and palaces are not as the ignorant imagine them to be. He then proceeds to explain the universe, life, and the afterlife in a manner that seems to reflect the scientific mindset of today. Whether his execution was due to his religious interpretation or political reasons is a separate issue. By accepting that the universe is eternal (i.e., without a beginning), he puts forward an idea that is completely contrary to Islam and, in order to reconcile it with Islam, claims that he created himself because he owes his existence to God. He believes that God's absolute power is limited to what is possible in the nature of things. In other words, fire does not freeze humans by God's will, but burns them. Similarly, Bedreddin does not accept the afterlife and claims that the universe is eternal and everlasting. Since he does not believe in the Day of Judgment, he does not believe that corpses will be reunited and become human beings again. He believes that even if all humans were to perish, a new human race would emerge due to the nature of the earth. He does not accept paradise and hell, Satan and angels in the sense that everyone understands them, but sees angels as forces of nature, and even claims that the prophets used these terms in this sense.

Thus, regarding religion, scholars have put forward hundreds, perhaps thousands, of opposing ideas, and all of these have been cited as evidence from the Quran and hadiths. The elastic nature of the Arabic language, where a single word can have many unrelated meanings, or even be used in completely opposite contexts (for example, the word 'Mevla' means both "master" and 'slave'), This has led to differences in the understanding of the Qur'an, and despite the many authoritative commentaries that have been written, the issues have not been resolved, and Muslims have not been able to reach a consensus.

Therefore, the only solution is for religious figures to leave matters to conscience and not to concern themselves with details, and not to interfere with each other's beliefs, interpretations, and understandings.

Hasan BaĞcı has included a passage from his mentor Necip Fazıl Kısakürek at the end of his article series to criticise Turkish nationalists. We know that mentor, in 1945, when we were acquitted in the famous Racists – Turanists trial, he invited us Turkish nationalists to his home, hosted a lavish raki feast, and offered us to unite with the Great East Association he founded.

Necip Fazıl is a good prose writer. However, since he did not graduate from any higher education institution, it is not appropriate to use excerpts from his works as evidence in an intellectual debate. If I were to counter his external evidence with a written statement from a professor, Prof. Dr. İlhan Arsel, I believe I would present a stronger witness. In his article titled 'The Gates of Vienna' published in Cumhuriyet on 18 August 1970, Prof. İlhan Arsel says:

All of the defeats, all of the setbacks, and all of the problems of the Turks are attributed by our reactionaries to lack of faith or a departure from Sharia law. believing that as Turks become more pious, that is, as they blindly follow the frozen principles of Islam, that is, as they become fanatical, they develop, achieve victory, and attain guidance. These are the magic spells that lead Turks to success. According to him, the more we approach Sharia, the more we adhere to the rigid rules of religion, that is, the more we abandon our free will, the more we become like the desert, the more primitive we become, the more the Turks have attained glory and honour, grown, conquered, and even reached the gates of Vienna. This is the slogan he never stops repeating. 'How did we reach the gates of Vienna?' How did we get there? Was it not with the children of veiled mothers? He lacks the ability to understand and grasp the real causes of this nation's disasters within his own dark ignorance, and it is because he lacks this ability that he does not ask himself any other questions... To establish a madrasa education that blinds the minds of Turkish children, to make people live like robots according to unchanging divine commands rather than their free will, to force women into veils and sacks and expel them from society, and to revive the Sharia system through similar primitive methods, turning this beautiful country into an Arab country like Yemen... This is what the reactionary wants... This is his goal... And in order to achieve this, he has based his fabricated fairy tales on the excuse of unbelief.

Those who say that we reached the gates of Vienna thanks to faith and the Sharia law are mistaken in one thing: they have not researched the reasons for the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire. If they took the trouble to read, conducted research, delved deeply into the scientific principles, and examined the foundations of the rise and fall, they would see that the reasons for the decline did not lie in adherence to sharia, as the reactionary believes and tries to make others believe.

They would understand that the reasons were not adherence to sharia, but rather the absence of adherence to sharia, that is, rationality. It is sufficient to examine the lives and deeds of the first ten sultans up to Suleiman the Magnificent... If the first Murads, Fatih and Suleiman had attempted to fulfil all the requirements of Sharia, they would not have been able to establish an empire, let alone escape from being tribal leaders and living in tribes. Although the first sultans did not place much value on human life (which is their unforgivable flaw), they did not shy away from disregarding the prohibitions of Sharia law that were contrary to reason and especially to their interests, and they were able to place their own free will above divine commands. They did not merely take advantage of the loopholes in Sharia law, but openly opposed its definitive and unchangeable provisions. More clearly, they went against the commands of the Quran. Indeed, the Janissary organisation, i.e. the devşirme system (the forced conversion of Christian children to Islam), was established despite the provisions of the Qur'an, i.e. by setting aside these commands. Although Fatih Sultan Mehmed was a devout sultan, he did not disregard positive reason, science, and knowledge, saying, 'All knowledge is found in the Qur'an; there is no need for other books.' The Qur'an and other sources of Sharia law were not the only sources of truth in his view. On the contrary, he often found the provisions of Sharia law insufficient and acted in accordance with the demands of reason and logic. Although the punishment for adultery under Sharia law was flogging or death, he introduced a monetary penalty for adultery committed by men through the laws he issued. However, when showing the provisions of the Quran and Sharia law regarding 'the prohibition of images' and defending these provisions in a moderate manner, he brought painters from Italy (Bellini) to paint his portrait and other paintings. 'prohibitions on images,' and while defending these provisions in a soft manner, he brought painters from Italy (Bellini) to paint his portrait and other pictures...

I would like to add something to the words of this professor, whom I do not know: The article on 'brotherly murder' in Fatih's code of law is also completely contrary to the principles of Islam. However, seeing no other way for the state to survive, he included this merciless provision in the code, and the clerics simply adapted the book to suit their purposes.

Undoubtedly, the ideas of a professor are not writings that interfere with religion, piety, etc., like the masterpiece of the master Necip Fazıl, but his exquisite poem about 'Women's Legs.'

Now let us conclude with a piece of advice to Hasan Bağci: Let him read in accordance with the first commandment of Islam. Let him read, but not the religious books he has become an expert in, but rather a little Turkish history, and if he is of Turkish descent, let him learn a little about the identity of his ancestors and take pride in being Turkish.

## Book Review – Dede Korkut

The fifth edition of 'Aylı Kurt' published by Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Dede Korkut is generally considered an important event in the world of Turkish studies. The fact that it took two years to publish this 250-page book is sufficient to demonstrate the amount of effort that went into it. Another point that increases the value of the work is that the author produced it without the help of any institution, using his own money and resources.

At the beginning of the work, there are two photographs taken from the journals of the Russian Archaeological Society, showing the front and back of Dede Korkut's tomb. The book consists of an 'introduction' and the 'text.' The introduction is divided into the following sections:

I- About the Book. Here, information about the original copy of the book and explanations about the transcription letters used in the text are provided.

II- Bibliography. All writings in foreign languages and Turkish that mention Dede Korkut are listed in chronological order, and brief comments are provided on some of them. Important errors are also pointed out. Orhan Şaik Gökyay lists 13 works and articles in foreign languages and 20 in Turkish that mention Dede Korkut.

III- The Personality of Dede Korkut. In this section, the author presents the information about Dede Korkut as a historical figure provided by authors such as Reşîdeddin, Bayatlı Mahmut oğlu Hasan Ebulgazi Bahadir Han, Alişîr Nevâyî, Târih-i Dost Sultan, the authors of the "Atalar Sözü" and Bayburtlu Osman, and then records the places where the name Dede Korkut appears in folk literature and provides information about Dede Korkut's graves.

The History of the Identification of Dede Korkut Stories. In this section, Orhan Şaik Gökyay compares various opinions on when these stories were first identified.

Dede Korkut Stories Still Alive Today. In this section, he mentions the Safranbolu, Cebeliberek, Bayburt, Beyşehir, İstanbul, Karakalpak, and Kazakh versions of the Bey Böyrek story, which is still alive in Anatolia, as well as the Antalya version of Deli Dumrul and the Tepegöz version from the south.

Stories Published: This section records the Dede Korkut stories published to date by Ziya Gök Alp, İbrahim Necmi, Veled Celebi, and Tahsin Demiray, and points out the gross errors in İbrahim Necmi's stories of Deli Dumrul and Kanturalı published in the Kadro magazine.

In the transcription of the text, separate symbols are used for 'kaf'ti', 'saĞır nun', 'hi', and 'kapalı üstün'. These are necessary. The necessity of using the letter 'T' stems from the fact that it is unknown whether the letter 'hu' was pronounced like "d" or "t" in the past. In the past, the words 'daĞ' and 'taŞ' were both written with 'ti'. However, we read one as "d" and the other as 't'. It is not known how this letter was pronounced in ancient times. Therefore, it is necessary to assign a separate symbol to this letter in the transcription of ancient texts.

The author cannot be asked why a separate symbol was not assigned to the letter 'sat.' This is because this letter cannot produce any sound other than "s" in Turkish. In fact, with very few exceptions, the silent letter system of the Orhun alphabet is also used for the letter 's' in the Book of Dede Korkut. That is, while the first of the letters 'sin' and 'sat,' which both represent the 's' sound, causes the vowel in the same syllable to be pronounced thinly, the second causes it to be pronounced thickly. The exceptions that break this rule are likely due to the inexperience of the scribe. Indeed, such spelling errors are also found in the Orhun inscriptions, especially in the Tonyukuk inscription.

The only aspect of Orhan Saik Gökyay's transcription that may be criticised is his failure to use a separate form for the 'gayin' letter. As is well known, the letter 'đ', which we call 'soft g' in Old Turkish, does not exist. Orhan Saik Gökyay used the letter 'g' for the letter we call 'Farsi kef'. He used the 'đ' sign for 'gayin.' However, when the letter 'gayin' comes at the beginning, he used the letter "g" instead of 'đ'. For example, in the 21st line of the first page of the Dede Korkut text, 'kara goç' is written this way. However, it should have been written as 'đoç'. At that time, it would have been strange according to our current alphabet.

After Dede Korkut's twelve stories, there is a transcription of the Oğuz name found in Topkapı Palace and published anonymously by Rıdvan Nafiz in the second issue of the Turkish Archaeology and Ethnography Journal. This four-page piece is more accurate than Rıdvan Nafiz's reading. The author has indicated the questionable parts in the footnotes using the old spelling.

At the end of the book, there is also a glossary and index of words used in Dede Korkut. There are undoubtedly some errors in the transcription. One of the flaws that caught my attention is that Orhan Saik Gökyay transcribed the word 'aĞayıl', which always appears in the book, as 'ađil'. The author explains that he chose this form because none of the dictionaries he consulted contained the word 'aĞayıl' with the meaning of 'ađil'. However, this is not a sufficient reason. In my opinion, it would have been more accurate to transcribe the word as 'aĞayıl' and mention the possibility of it being incorrect in the footnotes.

I also believe that the acceptance of the word ‘mere,’ which is a vocative particle and written as ‘mere’ in the book, is a mistake. Although the author accepts this form because it is written as “mare” in one or two places in the book, it is clear that this is nothing more than the old pronunciation of the particle ‘bire=bre,’ which is used in later Ottoman texts and today.

Another point that can be criticised about the author is that Bayindur Harun's father's name is written with two different spellings in two places. However, in the original text, both are the same and are written as ‘kam gan.’ This name is accepted as ‘Kara Han’ in ‘The Story of Dirse Han's Son BuĞaç Han’ (page 3) ‘Kara Han,’ and in ‘The Story of Bamsı Beyrek’ (page 25) as ‘Kam Gan.’ The reason that led Orhan Şaik Gökyay to turn the word ‘gan’ into ‘han’ is that there is no such word as “gan” in dictionaries and that there is a tendency to accept ‘Kam’ as a separate name. However, are “kam” and “gan” two separate words here? Or is it a single name in the form of “Kamgan”? This word brings to mind the famous “İlteriŞ KutluĞ KaĞan” and his brother and successor “KapaĞan KaĞan” from the Gök Türk khans. As is well known, this word is written as ‘kpgn’ in the Bilge Tonyukuk manuscript, and it is possible that the correct pronunciation is ‘Kapgan.’ Could ‘Kamgan’ be another pronunciation of this name? With these words, I do not mean to say that Bayindur Han's father is the same person as Kapagan Khan. I consider the possibility that the names are the same to be valid. In Dede Korkut, the name ‘Kabikkan=Kabakkan’ also appears as a human name and reminds us of kbk elb, who is listed as the fifth ancestor of Osman Gazi in the history of Karamanlı NiŞancı Mehmet Paşa.

Orhan Şaik Gökyay did not include all the words in the text in the glossary. He did not want to expand the book by including some well-known and famous words in the glossary. It would have been better if he had indicated the page and line numbers of the words he included in the glossary. However, we cannot consider his failure to do so as an academic flaw.

The author's great and successful work does not mark the end of research on Dede Korkut. On the contrary, this book has merely prepared the ground for further studies on Dede Korkut. Despite Orhan Şaik Gökyay's years of effort, there will undoubtedly be many more articles on Dede Korkut. Indeed, he already has two new articles that could not be included in the book. There is no doubt that people who will work on Dede Korkut as much as Orhan Şaik Gökyay are needed. After the author's work, we can hope that a fruitful period of work on Dede Korkut will begin, and the scope of this work will certainly be very broad. For example, it is a very important question whether at least some of the people mentioned in Dede Korkut are historical figures. Orhan Şaik Gökyay has shown that some of them are historical. In any case, as Professor Abdulkadir İnan has said, these names are not the names of deities left over from Shamanism. In fact, the mention of sufficient and specific geographical names gives Dede Korkut's stories a very strong historical flavour. A thorough study of the history of the Western Göktürks and an examination of names belonging to the Seljuk period will shed light on many unknown aspects of Dede Korkut.

Furthermore, Dede Korkut is an essential work for studying the historical grammar of the Turkish language. Written in the purest form of the Turkish language, this book, along with the Orhun inscriptions and the Divanü Lügati't-Türk, is a primary source for future linguistic studies. The Uyghur texts are not as important in this regard because they were created by Turks under the influence of foreign languages and civilisations, and therefore show foreign influences in terms of vocabulary and grammar. The three fundamental works mentioned above, however, are Turkish works that show almost no foreign influence.

Another important aspect of Dede Korkut is that it provides abundant information about the social life of the ancient Oghuz Turks. Here, one can learn many things, from the legal customs of the Turks to their marriage customs, methods of warfare, and how they greeted each other.

The book of Dede Korkut should also be examined from an aesthetic point of view. Rich in heroic and lyrical expressions, Dede Korkut can be used to derive national literary arts. It would be very useful to find and publish the literary arts in it, which we especially expect from Dr. Ali Nihat Tarlan.

The issue of Turkish poetry in Dede Korkut also requires great effort. In the pieces written in prose, such as Kazan, the poetic parts are also striking. While there are regular metres and rhyming poetic pieces in the Dîvâni Lügat it-Türk, written in the 11th century, the poetic pieces in Dede Korkut, written in the 13th-14th centuries, are more primitive, which leads me to the following thought: Perhaps the Turks before Islam also had a poetic tradition. This leads me to wonder: Did the Turks before Islam also have two types of poetry, one like the folk poetry of Dede Korkut and the other like the classical poetry of Dîvâni Lügat it-Türk? There are some pieces of evidence to support this idea: the verse forms of some Turks, such as the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Altai Turks, are very similar to those of Dede Korkut. In Dede Korkut's verse, the basic metre of the line is 7-8 or 4+4+4 syllables. However, due to rhyme and meaning, this meter is often broken. In Kazakh and Kyrgyz, although many epics are written in seven-syllable lines, some lines can have 8 or 9 syllables. This later Kazakh poetry has begun to take on a more regular form.

It is likely that a regular seven-syllable metre will emerge definitively in a few years. The evolution of Kazakh poetry before our eyes suggests that the rhymed passages in Dede Korkut may be an older and more primitive form of this metre.

However, the poems in Divanü Lügati't-Türk are very regular. Perhaps it was a form of elite literature. Or perhaps it had taken on a regular form because it was the literature of the sophisticated and civilised Karahan Turks. In any case, the works of the Anatolian minstrels are not a continuation of Dede Korkut, but perhaps a continuation of the poetic works in Divanü Lügati't-Türk. In contrast, I believe that traces of Dede Korkut's verse can be found in some of the rhymes in the fairy tales.

In order to spread national culture, it would be very useful to teach the text of this book in high schools. Alternatively, a separate edition should be prepared for high schools.

Orhan Şaik Gökyay deserves special praise for publishing this book at great financial sacrifice.

The publication of Dede Korkut is a great service to Turkish culture. Orhan Şaik Gökyay has successfully accomplished his task. Nothing better could have been done today. To understand the value of the author's work, it is sufficient to compare two of Dede Korkut's stories with the two stories published by Bay İbrahim Necini Dilmen in the *Kadro* magazine.

Furthermore, the fact that the text of Dede Korkut has been published with very few errors is in itself a success. Considering that this achievement was accomplished in the time remaining after 24 hours of lessons per week is a good measure of its magnitude. What gives the work extra value is the author's modesty and lack of pretension, and the fact that he has mentioned the names of those who helped him, however little or much, in a very sincere and honest manner.

While one cannot be surprised by the correct behaviour of a true scholar, for those of us who have not learned the truth from a master and are forced to rediscover it on our own, Orhan Şaik Gökyay's honest and honourable behaviour in the field of scholarship is a tremendous revolution.

### Suffixes and Roots in the Turkish Language

Besim Atalay Bey, an old Turkologist and linguist, published an important 380-page work entitled 'An Essay on Suffixes and Roots in the Turkish Language.' This work by the translator of *Dîvânü Lûgat it-Türk* will undoubtedly serve as a powerful tool for those who believe in the strength and potential of the Turkish language during these weeks when a new language congress is about to convene. For a language expands as its vocabulary and inflections grow. One way to create new words is to invent new forms using affixes and roots. Previous language congresses were not scientific in nature. Now, however, with many printed works available, there will undoubtedly be serious and scientific discussions, and we hope that these will yield beneficial results for the Turkish language.

Besim Atalay Bey, at the beginning of his book, briefly and clearly explains some issues of the Turkish language that can be described as philosophical. The scholar, who investigates whether there are prefixes in Turkish, says that some linguists claim that there are prefixes in Turkish and give examples, and finally concludes, "I am not in favour of this claim. However, I do not wish to dismiss it entirely. This may be imprudent. It is not right to make a judgement on any issue without thorough research."

Besim Atalay Bey is right on this point. For example, in modern Turkish, affixes come before adjectives when forming emphatic adjectives, such as 'kıp-kızıl, yem-yeşil, sır-sıklam, kas-katı.' Although this form of emphatic adjectives belongs to a later period of Turkish, it does not exist in Old Turkish. However, did this arise under the influence of foreign languages? Or is it directly related to the structure of Turkish? There are no texts available from the period of Turkish prior to the Gök Turks. Perhaps such texts will be discovered through the examination of Chinese libraries, and it is possible that examples of this will emerge in Old Turkish. The Tabgaç, a branch of the Sienpi who established a state in Northern China (Chinese: 'Topa') who established a state in Northern China, were a civilised people, so perhaps they created their own dictionaries, which may one day come to light.

Besim Atalay shows us in his book that there are hundreds of suffixes in Turkish. We are proud and delighted to see how rich Turkish is in terms of suffixes derived from verbs.

Is it possible today to create new words using all of these nearly a thousand suffixes? Is there any benefit to the suffixes that have been forgotten and become obsolete? Is Turkish still a rich language in terms of the suffixes that remain after these are removed?

This is the essence of today's language debates. Some argue that certain dead suffixes and words cannot be revived and advocate borrowing words from other languages. Others want to revive old words to make Turkish pure Turkish, free from any foreign elements. I support the second idea, and I believe that even after the dead Hebrew language has been revived, the dead words in Turkish, which is the living language of a heroic race, can be revived if we want them to be. However, I must immediately add that when new words are created, I want them to be in accordance with the rules of the Turkish language. The made-up word 'uçgen' sounds more natural to me than the non-made-up word 'müselles.' However, I would never accept "yardirektör" or 'iŞyar' as Turkish, even if the world were to end. Besim Atalay Bey has never made a claim contrary to science, even in the most extreme cases. When he proposed the word 'başkan' instead of 'reis,' he did not invent it like some scholars, but took it from the Divanü Lügat it-Türk. In fact, C. Brockelmann, who compiled a word index for Dîvân ü Lügat it-Türk, translates the phrase 'budun başgani' as 'leader of the people.' (Mittel Türkischer Wortschatz nach Mabmud al Kaşgrîs Divan Lügat at-Türk, p. 32). Now, if we were to propose, in the name of Turkism, that we use the short and Turkish word 'başkan' instead of non-Turkish names such as "reisicumhur" or 'şef' for the heads of state of Turkey, would this be reasonable or not? Is it scientific or an ignorant claim? Here is the arena, let those who wish to discuss it do so...

The devout Turkist Besim Atalay answers the inevitable questions in his book, showing that there is no problem with a suffix having several different meanings in Turkish, and that this is also the case in Arabic, Persian, Greek, English, and French.

This esteemed scholar consulted 85 sources in writing this book. Some of the sources listed at the end of the book are unique copies, while others are translations from foreign languages found in the works of the Language Institute. Besim Atalay is undoubtedly the most productive member of the Language Institute. After the translation of *Dîvânü Lügat it-Türk*, 'Türkçe'de Men-Man Lâhikası' and the work we have mentioned, two more important works will be published, one is the translation of *Et-Tuhfet-üz-Zekiyeh* and the other is the translation of the Quran. It is the duty of Turkish scholars to critically examine these works with good intentions and scientific rigour, thereby serving the Turkish language.

### How Should Turkish Girls Be Raised?

First and foremost, they should be raised with the understanding that they will be the mothers of tomorrow's Turks. Among the various nations of the world, the Turks are one of the few who truly value women. The ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Persians, and Indians considered women to be evil creatures and treated them as slaves. In Turkish culture, women were respected, but they were never considered equal to men in every respect. Physical differences prevent men and women from being completely equal.

Today, there is a wrong atmosphere towards women in our country: either their rights are not recognised at all, or they are given excessive respect under the banner of feminism, almost as if they were a privileged class. Both of these are wrong. Both lead women to spiritual decline. The first leads to slavery, the second to coquetry. Women who think only of adornment and luxury are the result of being given excessive and undeserved value.

Turkish girls should be raised as representatives of virtue, as Turkish girls were in ancient times. They should be calm, dignified, simple, and dutiful. A girl who pursues only adornment is a future coquette who has strayed from motherhood and patriotism. This nation does not need girls who dance well, have many dresses, are beautifully painted, or even make flawless cakes; it needs girls who say, 'My greatest duty is to raise honourable sons and virtuous daughters for this nation.'

For now, we can only instil this character in our girls at school. But for this, our girls must have female teachers who set an example for them. It is somewhat ridiculous to talk about the virtues of simplicity to female students who are taught by painted and frivolous female teachers.

We want our girls to be virtuous. However, we do not think about measures to prevent them from being poisoned by a thousand different means. While films, novels, magazines and the streets are overflowing with all kinds of immorality, what effect can a few words of advice given in schools have?

Many people prefer to have films that poison the youth to be shown rather than have no cinema at all. They embellish their ideas with the masks of 'fine art' and 'aesthetic needs.' In reality, however, they are merely promoting their own pleasures and desires. What would happen if, in order to prevent the poisoning of our youth, especially our girls, all cinemas were closed throughout the country, men's and women's beaches were separated, and novels and stories were censored? Would democracy and freedom disappear and civilisation be destroyed? Or would the apocalypse come, as Abdullah Çavuş said?

#### After Cyprus, Kirkuk

By Kirkuk, I mean the Turks of Iraq. In fact, the Kirkuk issue predates the Cyprus issue. At the end of the First World War, when a technical border was drawn for the Turks within the Ottoman Empire, the province of Mosul at that time was included within that border. However, due to the British resistance at the Lausanne Peace Conference and the subsequent Mosul Agreement, the Turks of Iraq were left under foreign rule. Turkey, exhausted from defeating the Armenians in the east and destroying half of the Greek army in the west, forcing the other half to flee to Greece, yet unable to reclaim the islands and Western Thrace from Greece or secure compensation, had no means to confront Britain over Mosul. However, it was possible to obtain firm guarantees from Britain and its successor, the Iraqi state, for the protection of the national existence of the Iraqi Turks. This was not done or was not done.

After Iraq became an independent state, it was considered that the Iraqi Turks were under primitive and hostile administration, and therefore it was normal for the Republican foreign policy not to pursue a policy in that direction. Ministers such as Tevfik Rüştü Aras, who said, 'I prefer to be a Balkan citizen rather than a Turkish citizen,' and Fuad Köprülü, who said, 'There is no such thing as the Cyprus issue for us,' were examples of the disease of non-nationalism.

Today, the situation has changed. In the persons of the last Foreign Ministers, Fatih Rüştü Zorlu and Feridun Cemal Erkin, despite their shortcomings, the strength of a national foreign policy is evident. This means that national consciousness has been directed towards Turks abroad. After all, a nation that wants to live is a strong nation, a nation that does not and cannot forget its compatriots beyond its political borders. Forgetting the past, not remembering and not knowing one's kin and brothers is a trait peculiar to animals.

Today, it is our national duty to care about the fate of the 1,000,000 Iraqi Turks we call the Turks of Kirkuk. Because six years ago, on 14 July, the hostile campaign launched against these Turks was a horrific proof that the Iraqi Turks were never safe. On the one hand, Iraq, one of the Arab states that has turned Turkish hostility into a national policy by trying to blame Turkey for its defeat by Israel, on the other hand, primitive Kurds who have adopted communist ideas with their leaders trained in Moscow and are chasing the dream of an independent state are waiting for an opportunity to eliminate these 1,000,000 Iraqi Turks. The fact that these Turks live in Iraq's oil-rich regions both increases their importance and the danger threatening them.

When an idea matures among a people, even the slightest reason is enough for that idea to manifest itself in action. In such times, those who raise the banner of that idea enter the ranks of 'figures of Turkish history.' During the years when Turkey pursued a passive foreign policy, a journalist who was quite behind his colleagues, the late Sedat Simavi, earned a place of honour in history by putting forward the Cyprus issue as a national cause, and the idea he put forward has now become a national policy and an ideal.

In the Cyprus issue, despite the fact that almost every state, even those we considered friends and allies, were against us, 100,000 Turks were fighting against 400,000 Greeks. The reason for not being defeated in this unequal struggle is that they know that their homeland supports them. Especially when this support comes in the form of an air strike in Erenköy at a critical moment, the war of the Turkish Cypriots will continue for years to come. Until Turkish troops land in Cyprus or enter Thessaloniki...

The Turks of Kirkuk also need support. Moreover, the Turks of Kirkuk are even more unfortunate. How could they not be, when a Kurdish bandit named Barzani is trying to establish a state? A song from the War of Independence describes the entry of a despicable enemy like Greece into Turkish territory:

Look at the stones of Ankara,  
Look at the tears in your eyes.  
We were taken prisoner by the Greeks,  
Look at the work of fate.

These lines express the angry bewilderment of the Turkish nation in the face of such a treacherous twist of fate. As if this painful memory were not enough, now a Kurdish state is going to be established and give minority rights to 1,000,000 Turks?

In the face of these audacious claims, among all the writers who claim to have a say in Turkey's cultural and intellectual life, couldn't someone like Sedat Simavi step forward and make the Turks of Kirkuk a national cause?

People and nations that want to live and grow stronger become ambitious. While this reality is evident, those who dismiss the assertion of historical rights as imperialist propaganda should not be given a voice. It must not be forgotten that a nation's issues are not solely economic. Economic problems are merely tools.

Another truth that must be engraved in minds and hearts is this: Turkey is not just 67 provinces.

### Turkish Language

A nation that loses its army is in danger. A nation that loses its independence has fallen into a terrible disaster. A nation that loses its language is extinct.

History tells us that nations that lost their independence were able to revive themselves after a while by jealously preserving their languages. However, there is no example of a nation that lost its language and was able to revive itself.

The powerful Assyrian state and nation were destroyed. Because it lost its language, it remained only as an entity read about in history books. Many nations that were not as powerful or important as the Assyrians (the Lechs, Czechs, Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Finns, etc.) were able to revive themselves centuries later by preserving their languages.

The Turkish language was a powerful and pure language spoken and understood in the same way from shepherds to khans in the earliest times. It contained no foreign words or rules. However, towards the end of the eighth century, a Turkic khan who conquered the Chinese capital forced his people to convert to Manichaeism, and the language began to lose its purity. Many words belonging to the new religion and the new civilisation that came with it entered the language. However, at that time, this corruption of the language remained limited.

The real great corruption occurred two centuries later: A new Turkic khan again forced his people to convert to Islam, thereby changing the civilisation of the Turks, and the words of the new religion and new civilisation enveloped the Turkic language. First, the word 'Allah' entered our language, replacing 'Tanri.' Then came 'Muhammed.' Then, because they were religious phrases, clichéd sentences and compounds were tolerated and flooded into our language.

Today, we are entering a new civilisation. But this time, we seem to have learned from the painful lessons of the past. This time, we will not allow the languages that represent Western civilisation to corrupt our language.

The Turkish language will be richer and purer than all other languages. All new words added to our language will come from Turkish roots. There will be no international terms... We detest international terms that remind us of communism, cosmopolitanism, Freemasonry, and statelessness. It is not a strong objection to say that there is no language in the world that has not borrowed words from foreign languages. Is it so bad that Turkish is like this, even though no other language is like this?

There are pessimists who say that this cannot be achieved... So what? We will work to achieve 100%. If we achieve 70%, will we have lost?

A Turkish nation with a language purer than all other languages is stronger than all other nations in one area of life. For a nation that strives to be superior to all other nations in all areas of life, it is not surprising that it should seek to make its language, its most valuable asset, superior to all other languages.

The army of the Turkey of tomorrow will be stronger than all other armies, its technology will be superior to that of all other nations, its literature will be superior to that of all other countries, and its language will be richer and purer than all other languages.

We are behind in our language work. We must speed it up.

Young Turks! Your duty in this matter is to use as few foreign words as possible in your written and spoken language, to memorise and adopt the new Turkish words that will be shown to you, and to always remember that this work is part of a great ideal.

## Socialist and Communist Activities in Turkey

Dr. Tevetoğlu Fethi was one of those who sat with honour in the dock during the anti-Turkish campaign of the then People's Party government and its National Chief in 1944-1945. In the numerous communist arrests carried out in Turkey, the defendants turned against each other, denounced one another, and thus fell into enmity, remaining divided into hostile factions even today. However, the Turkish nationalists of 1944 stand firmly united with their comrades. With the exception of one or two characters who happened to be mixed in among them and tried to save themselves by showing their People's Party identity cards during the trials, or who later renounced their ideals, the Turkish nationalists are still the same Turkish nationalists.

One of those Turkish nationalists, Tevetoğlu, today holds a very high position in the Turkish state and is a senator from Samsun. Having been educated in one of the cradles of nationalism due to his background as a former military medical officer, and having remained steadfast and methodical on the same subject for thirty years, Tevetoğlu has risen to the level of an 'expert' like Darendelioğlu İlhan, becoming a sought-after figure at conferences on communism both at home and abroad. The large book he published in 1967 under the title 'Socialist and Communist Activities in Turkey' has now placed him among the historians of the republican era. Among his many literary, social, and political works, this last one will give Tevetoğlu his definitive personality and his work will enter the Turkish library as one of the main sources of our political and social history.

This 720-page magnum opus has been under attack by communists since the day it was published. It will continue to be so. The reason for this lies in the power of the work and the blow it dealt to communists. Owls who love to live in darkness will certainly not rejoice at the light shining on them. Even the lines in the two-page preface are powerful and influential enough to drive them mad. This power reveals why leftists are hostile to Tevetoğlu, why they stoop so low as to make the most vile slanders. Because their main weapon is lies and slander.

Tevetoğlu's work is a methodically written history with a rich bibliography, index, classification and organisation. Those who know how he worked to prepare this work naturally admire him.

Tevetoğlu is an old Turkist and therefore an enemy of communism. However, this enmity has not prevented him from being an objective historian. With the documents he has presented, he has conclusively proven that communism is an enemy of the homeland and the nation. The socialist and communist organisations that operated officially or secretly during the fifty years leading up to 1960, when the first socialist associations were founded in Turkey, have been examined one by one, their anti-national activities have been highlighted, and their fates have been explained.

I will not list the sections of the work. I will only recommend that it be read from beginning to end. The brilliant result of months of work, rising at five in the morning, is a very successful work in terms of enlightening ideas and opening the eyes of the ignorant. Many sections of it are of a quality that will prove the Turks right in every respect. The large number of non-Turks among those who have fallen into socialist and communist ideas is a point worth noting. The Thessaloniki Dönme, Slavs, Greek Dönme, and Armenians stand out.

Another striking feature is the great similarity between the events of the period 1910-1960, which form the subject of the work, and the communist activities of today. The expressions, metaphors, tactics and methods are the same. Even some of the individuals are the same. As Tevetoğlu also points out, communists are truly masters at turning back when the going gets tough, informing on each other, but then returning to their dishonourable ways when the opportunity arises. They have no honour. That is why they are restless. And because they are restless, they succeed. I can cite Sabahattin Ali as an example: After being imprisoned for a poem critical of the regime and Atatürk, he applied for a job at the Ministry of National Education. They told him to prove that he had changed his mind, so he wrote a poem titled 'My Last Love' declaring his burning love for Atatürk and was hired. Due to the abundance of similar incidents, it would be incorrect to hold communists responsible. The blame undoubtedly lies with the governments that granted them positions within the state apparatus. These governments, as is well known, were those of the Ismet Pasha era. The man who published the first editorial of the Kadro magazine for imprisoned communists was Prime Minister Ismet İnönü. It is because of this painful memory that the 'left of the centre' theory is viewed with suspicion, and professors who were very loyal to the People's Party, such as Turhan Feyzioğlu and Tahsin Banguoğlu, are breaking away. To try to explain these breakaways with stale terms such as "comprador" and 'pro-American' is undoubtedly a very simplistic and unintelligent explanation.

Tevetoğlu's book contains many responses to the delusions of leftists in recent years. For example, attempting to portray Atatürk's words about 'crushing communism wherever it appears' as if they were never said is one of the most significant of these delusions. The explanations on pages 429-430 and 436-437 of the book, which indicate that Atatürk's historic speech was published in the Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and İkdam newspapers on 7 August 1920, are indisputable historical evidence. To think that words not spoken by Atatürk during his lifetime could be attributed to him is tantamount to being devoid of the ability to think. Realising that they cannot destroy Atatürk, they are pursuing a ridiculous and pitiful claim by attempting to attribute these words to him. All such empty claims are thoroughly refuted by Tevetoğlu in his book.

Such books not only spare researchers, enthusiasts, those who want to learn, and amateurs the trouble of rummaging through various magazines and newspapers, but also remind us of events and individuals that have been forgotten but deserve attention. In this regard, page 444 of the work reminded us of a point we had forgotten: It turns out that Behçet Kemal, who emerged from every corner, wrote poems by the truckload and earned the title of successor to the Turkish poetry king Filorinalı Nâzım, also wrote articles in the Kadro magazine of the registered leftists.

Reading TevetoĞlu's very important work is essential for understanding the events of recent years. The secret of why sufficient progress has not been made despite the great energy of the Turkish nation is revealed in this book. Because traitors to the homeland, with encouragement and protection, have worked openly and secretly to undermine Turkey and turn it into a Russian colony. Taking advantage of loopholes in the constitution, they continue their treasonous activities to this day. The damage caused by those who were appointed as teachers, journalists, professors, members of parliament, and high-ranking officials during the era of the People's Party is horrific. TevetoĞlu sheds light on this horrific scene.

Our thoughts on the work can be summarised as follows: TevetoĞlu's other works will, of course, be discarded by time. However, he will always be remembered by Turkish historians of future centuries for this immortal work.

### The Oppressed in Exile

The amnesty law prepared for the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic is about to come before Parliament. According to newspaper reports, some 70,000 prisoners in Turkish prisons and their relatives, whose numbers may be close to a million, are eagerly awaiting this law.

Although this law has some drawbacks, it will ultimately benefit the country, and the atmosphere of joy that will prevail in the country will undoubtedly bring many benefits to Turkey. However, there is one point that should not be forgotten: the members of the Ottoman dynasty who were deprived of their right to live in their homeland despite having committed no crime.

When the Republic was declared, there was a strong dynastic tradition in the country, so there was a political logic behind expelling the members of the dynasty from the country. Today, this logic no longer exists, and the Ottoman princes have become victims abroad. None of these princes, numbering around 30, are the son or grandson of the last sultan, Vahdettin. Even if Vahdettin were guilty, it would be contrary to law and justice to make his children suffer for the sins of their father.

It would be a pity if the OsmanoĞullari, who have proven their loyalty to their homeland through 50 years of exile, were not allowed to benefit from the amnesty granted to those who betrayed the state. Some of these princes were born abroad and do not recognise their homeland, while those born in the homeland are now very elderly. Allowing them to return to Turkey and die in their homeland is a duty that falls upon Turkey both as Turks and as human beings.

It is unimaginable that the princes could pose a threat of restoration to the throne in Turkey. Their 50 years of exile clearly demonstrate that they have no such intentions. The female members of the dynasty returned to Turkey years ago under a law that was enacted. Have the security services, which have undoubtedly reviewed their behaviour, detected even the slightest hint of negative activity on their part?

Opening the doors of the country to the descendants of the glorious Sultans who raised Turkey to the heights of greatness is not a danger to the Turkish state, but a source of honour.

If what is called inheritance in biology and inheritance in law is true, then they have more right to live in this country than anyone else.

#### Ideals are offensive

From a biological perspective, the goal of living beings, that is, animals and plants, is for their species to cover the entire world. If no animal or plant species can cover the world, it is because they are exposed to the resistance of other species pursuing the same goal. The influence exerted by species pursuing the same goal and the reactions they encounter give rise to the 'struggle for life.' In the meantime, the weak are crushed and diminish; the strong spread and multiply; and some species disappear from the face of the earth altogether.

The same law prevails among nations. Nations, almost unconsciously, want to spread throughout the world and dominate it. But as they spread, they encounter resistance from other nations. Thus, war breaks out between them. In the end, the strong prevail.

Human communities, that is, nations, have reached a high level of consciousness, so the struggle for life between them does not merely continue within the laws of nature. The system and method of human consciousness are also added to this. This gives rise to national ideals. Thus, a national ideal is the conscious and systematic expression of the innate desire for expansion and domination that exists in the collective consciousness of a nation. The degree of will and strength of the individuals who guide or lead the ideal is the primary factor in its success.

There are three stages in national ideals, progressing from the few to the many: independence, unity, and conquest.

The first stage of national ideals is gaining independence. Those who are not independent strive to gain independence, while those who have gained it strive to preserve and consolidate it.

The Irish have been struggling for independence for eight centuries. Although they are a small nation, they have managed to wrest their independence from the mighty England through their self-sacrifice.

The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians have been dreaming of independence for centuries. They regained their countries after the First World War.

Now they are working hard both at home and abroad to regain the independence they lost in 1940.

The Poles, who were once independent but lost their independence 150 years ago, gained their independence at the end of the First World War after great sacrifices and bloody revolutions. They lost their independence again in 1939. However, as if nothing had happened, as if they had not experienced such calamities, they are once again fighting for their independence. While trying to keep the national spirit alive through guerrilla warfare, they are also striving to regain their independence by taking advantage of every opportunity through their organisations abroad.

India, Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia followed the same path, shedding blood for the same goals, and eventually achieved their aspirations.

The Jews provide the most typical example of the struggle for independence: after more than twenty centuries of captivity, scattered across the world with no homeland and having lost their language, the Jews, under the influence of the impulse for independence, reached the first stage of their national ideal after a long and exhausting struggle.

Today, since most nations are independent, few nations are pursuing this first stage of the national ideal.

The second stage of the national ideal is unity. That is, all members of a nation coming together under a single flag to form a single state. The first task of every nation that has gained independence is to seek ways to rescue its compatriots who remain under foreign rule. Or, if a nation is politically independent in the form of several separate states, it must engage in political and military activities to unite them.

In the fourteenth century, the Turks of Turkey were ruled by twenty or thirty separate governments. Due to the law of unification, they fought each other for a century and a half. In 1515, they achieved unity.

Italy followed the same path and then turned its attention to Italians living under foreign rule. Italy's betrayal of its allies in the First World War was to rescue several hundred thousand Italians living under Austrian rule. In the Second World War, Italy fought against France and Yugoslavia to liberate several hundred thousand Italians living in those two countries.

Germans living as separate independent states achieved political unity in its main outlines with a major move in 1870, and then made a series of further moves beginning in 1938 to complete this unity. Although they did not succeed in this great task, they came very close to achieving it. Today, although Austria has seceded and Germany has been divided into two separate parts, German leaders are seen to be striving for unity. Indeed, when the issue of reunification with the East was discussed in the West German Parliament, some members of parliament openly declared their desire to reunite with Austria as well.

The Romanian Union began with the unification of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and Romania entered the wars of 1913, 1914-1918, and 1941 to liberate its compatriots.

The Finns entered the war on the side of Germany to liberate the Karelian Finns under Russian rule, but they were defeated. However, they will surely win in the future and establish a great Finland.

The events of the last century clearly show that the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks acted in accordance with the same law.

We also observe that the same law has been followed by some very new and weak nations with military power at zero or a very low cultural level. For example, Afghanistan, a backward country with a population of approximately 10-12 million, is in dispute with Pakistan, which has a population of 100 million. Afghanistan demands the return of its ethnic kin who live within Pakistan's borders and speak Pashto, the Afghan language.

Egypt, which was defeated by the Jews despite having allies, wants Sudan and Tripoli and Benghazi from Britain. The Emirate of Jordan, with a population of less than 400,000, wanted all of Syria and Palestine. It could not achieve this, but it managed to add the piece of Palestine left over from the Jews. Abyssinia wants Eritrea. The Jews, on the other hand, transported nearly 100,000 Jews from Iraq and Yemen to Israel by plane for the sake of national unity.

The third stage of the national ideal is conquest. This is because nations that have achieved national unity are compelled to invade and conquer in order to spread their race across the earth and establish their rule. In fact, a nation may even begin conquests before completing its national unity. For example, the Ottomans carried out extensive conquests in Europe before completing Turkish unity in Turkey. The Italians and Germans also embarked on colonial conquests before completing their national unity. However, such isolated exceptions do not invalidate the general rule.

The Third World War is nothing more than the efforts of the Germans, Italians, Japanese, and Russians, who have completed their national unity, to reach the third stage. Now only Russia wants to follow this path and, as a natural consequence, is encountering resistance from others. The victory of other national ideals will soon bring Russia down...

It is clear that ideals are aggressive. A nation that is not independent must defeat the nation that rules over it in order to gain independence. In other words, it will act with an aggressive purpose. A nation that has not achieved unity will fight against the nation or nations that keep its fellow tribes in slavery in order to achieve unity, and will take land from them. Those who have established national unity will defeat others in order to conquer. This means that all three stages of national ideals are aggressive.

Can there be defensive ideals? Can't a nation strive to live within its borders and achieve prosperity? No! Because the idea of preserving existing borders and becoming wealthy can never be an ideal. These are not the smallest or most ordinary desires of a nation. An ideal is a sacred and sweet thought that excites the members of a nation who are passionate about it. Ideals are nourished by blood, sacrifice, and heroism. A nation sheds rivers of blood and sacrifices countless lives to achieve its ideal. Ideals are attained through blood, swords, battles, and national hatred. An ideal requires hearts of steel, iron wrists, unwavering willpower, and high morals. An ideal is a religion. It requires heroes and martyrs.

Nations that have established unity and made conquests in the past strive to revive their former glory. Because (things that are historical truths in the past can also be historical truths in the future). Ideals cannot be limited by any restrictions, political or humanistic ideas. Nations that have committed themselves to an ideal have historical enemies. Those enemies will inevitably be defeated. Friendship agreements may have been made with those enemy nations. These temporary friendships have no value. Historical enemies are only friends of foreign ministers. Never of the nation!

One of the greatest dangers for a nation is to fall asleep under the opiate of peace and friendship. A nation that does not want to grow is doomed to shrink. Nations that do not attack are attacked.

Those who deliberately or unwittingly extinguish the spiritual energy of this nation with a miserable political principle such as 'peace at home, peace in the world' or 'we have no eyes on anyone's land,' who declared war on already ruined Germany, bringing the shame of an unprecedented act of treachery into Turkish history, yet when history presented the opportunity to liberate the Turks in Bulgaria and the islands along with their lands, they fled from this with the most despicable and cowardly act—such people could never take a single step toward completing Turkish unity. For they were traitors who sought to perpetuate Russian influence in this country and openly destroy Turkish identity.

When life is a battle and it is necessary to attack in order to win, to cry out about the ugliness of an attack that must be made in the name of a national ideal is either ignorance or treason. Those in positions of responsibility in the state may say such things out of political courtesy or self-interest. However, if those who address the youth of the nation, namely teachers, poets, journalists, and writers, want to make us swallow the opium of peace, investigating their family trees and the secret documents in their homes will confirm once again the immutable truth of history, especially Turkish history.

#### 68. Travel to the Province

I knew that Munich, where many Turks live, was called 'Turkey's 58th province.' Due to the fruitful results of the 27 May 1960 coup, or revolution, or uprising, as Celâl Bayar called it in Yassıada, my wife had been living there for years, and since my son was attending the University of Munich, extending my journey to Munich seemed quite normal, especially after retiring. Despite persistent invitations, I had never gone there, nor had I ever considered doing so.

Recently, however, I have finally succumbed to the persuasion of my friends and acquaintances, who have advised me that there are many benefits to be gained from going. Feeling truly exhausted by the material and spiritual atmosphere of Istanbul, I have made the firm decision to go to the sixty-eighth province. My departure was fraught with difficulties, as is the case with everything in my country, and I was on the verge of giving up when a phone call from a senior official at Turkish Airlines opened the way. Despite being told by a junior official that 'all seats are booked, so you cannot leave before three weeks,' it turned out that there were two seats available on the next day's flight. So, on the morning of Friday, 8 August 1969, I boarded a plane bound for Munich.

Leaving Istanbul for Munich, even by plane, was actually a journey. But I did not understand that it was a journey. As an Istanbul native, I was excused for calling the two-and-a-half-hour journey a trip. Because the years of my life before retirement, from 1937 to 1969, were spent commuting to and from work, sometimes taking two hours, sometimes two and a half hours, I found it odd to travel from Istanbul to Munich in two and a half hours.

In any case, we flew above the clouds and saw endless whiteness below, so it wasn't really clear that we were travelling by plane.

The customs officer in Munich, who resembled Himler, was suspicious of the medicines in my suitcase. Since I have been a partner with pharmacists since I was 20, the medicines I brought to Munich were important items among the things I had with me. Germans are not people who search excessively or cause trouble at customs. However, because of the behaviour of some of our citizens, who made us look bad, the customs officer had similar doubts. Here, 'BuĞra' came to the rescue. Speaking literary German and Bavarian as easily as Füzüli writes Turkish poetry, he explained that these were medicines and that I could keep them and have them analysed if necessary. Himler's twin brother also looked me over and, realising that I was not the kind of person who would do such things, said, 'Go ahead.' We arrived at the mansion of my wife Bedriye Atsız.

This mansion was a single-room mansion on the sixth floor of a 15-storey, solid, ornate apartment building. It was a magnificent house, five and a half metres long and three and a half metres wide. There was also a large balcony at the front. The kitchen consisted of a counter a little over a metre long in the middle of the room. It had three stoves, an oven and a refrigerator. Of course, everything was powered by electricity.

I don't smoke; I can't stand the smoke. On the ferry and in the minibus, the thing that bothers me the most are people who smoke with a cigarette in their mouth. In the past, the only person who carried a cigarette in his mouth while walking was Köprülü Fuat. Now everyone, from porters to pretty ladies, has become Köprülüzade. Even while walking with a 150-kilogram load on his back, the man doesn't let the cigarette out of his mouth.

I am an enemy of cigarettes, which are now known to cause lung cancer. Nejdet Sançar, in particular, has not touched a cigarette since he was a small child. While we are on the subject: if you are a guest at Sançar's house, don't smoke, unless you want to give him hell.

When we come to power, the first article of the new constitution will be about banning cigarettes. You may ask, will smoking be included in the Constitution? Of course, if senators can be included, why not smoking?

Yes, we will ban smoking. But then what will Said Bilgiç, Cezmi Türk and Osman Turan do? They will do what drunkards did during the prohibition period under the Turkish Grand National Assembly Government. They will bring in menthol cigarettes from abroad: The government will turn a blind eye, customs will turn a blind eye. We will get reports from doctors about how nicotine stimulates the brain. In short, we will manage the situation. As it has always been, in every age and in every place. What is your law anyway? Isn't it just a five-stringed instrument?

Look where we've ended up talking about the journey with 68. I don't smoke. But I always carry matches in my pocket. When one of the young people found out I carried matches, he asked me, referring to my famous politeness, 'Is it to light the cigarettes of beautiful ladies?' Look at that, what good intentions lead to! The reason I carry matches is this: in Istanbul, when it rains heavily, when there is a storm, when there is lightning, there is a 10% chance that the electricity will go out. Then I immediately reach for the matches in my pocket, light one of the candles strategically placed around the house, and escape the darkness. I also came to Munich with matches in my pocket. When I entered the guesthouse, I asked, 'Does the electricity ever go out here?' Bedriye and Buğra looked at me as if to say, 'What language is he speaking?' It turns out that the electricity never goes out in the 68th province.

I stayed in Munich for 52 days. I went sightseeing almost every day. In some ways, I tried to understand the environment. I knew a lot about Germany, but seeing it with my own eyes was undoubtedly different and more accurate.

I travelled 200 kilometres from Munich. I entered Austria and Switzerland. After all this, it is certainly useful to describe what I saw, especially in Munich. I will tell these stories to our Gök Türk and Oğuz tribes and the Hittites:

Munich, as is well known, is the capital of Bavaria and one of the largest cities in Germany. It has a population of about two million. It is about 500 metres above sea level. Just as in today's Turkey, where people have mixed together and many have settled in places other than their own cities and provinces to earn a living, the same is true in Germany. There are many people in Munich who have come from other parts of Germany and settled there. Just as there is competition between provinces in our country, and the people of one province jokingly or half-seriously say satirical things about the people of a neighbouring province, so do the Germans. Other Germans find Bavarians rude and dislike them. Bavaria still considers itself an independent state within the German Union. No one likes the Prussians. Some North Germans don't even consider Bavaria to be part of Germany. 'We'll wait for you in Germany' means 'come further north than Bavaria.' The Bavarian dialect is a bit complicated. But since every German has at least eight years of primary education, they have no difficulty understanding each other.

However, despite all these differences, Germans present a unified national image. In fact, I saw the same nation not only in Germany, but also in Austria and Switzerland (I mean German-speaking Switzerland, of course). The language, customs, appearance, behaviour, everything showed that they were one nation. There is no difference between Germany and Austria, or between Konya and Ankara.

What I liked most about Munich were the parks and forests. The forests begin within the city. Some of the parks are very large, with small lakes, and are beautiful places for mothers to take their children for a walk. As soon as you leave the city, you are surrounded by forests and meadows as far as the eye can see. It is clear from the military-like arrangement of the trees that most of these forests have been planted by humans. There are also natural forests. In other words, Munich and the whole of Germany breathe oxygen thanks to these vast lungs. Unlike in Turkey, where concrete blocks suffocate you, there is no feeling of breathlessness here.

The second thing I liked about Munich was the orderly traffic. Here, there is one car for every three people. Our people also had a car. The flow of cars in and out of the city was so orderly that it was impressive. Although there was no ban on honking, horns were used only rarely, for example to warn a child riding a bicycle ahead. Traffic signs were clearly visible in the necessary places on the streets and roads. These were in places where even the most careless person could see them and were large enough for everyone to read. The signs not only indicated how many kilometres to go, but also where the road was going and, if it split into two, which city, town or village the right and left roads led to. The main roads outside the city were very beautiful. Hitler had them built as a paradise. Some were very wide, with six lanes—three for each direction. Others were narrower. However, the roads were divided with lime according to the number of cars that could travel on them, so traffic flow remained orderly. If a lime line was drawn down the middle of the road, it meant that two cars could travel side by side there. On a main road, the slowest vehicle travelled on the right.

Faster cars were forced to drive on the left. Any car that wanted to slow down for any reason moved to the right lane. Of course, they did all this while watching the cars in front and behind them.

Driving at 120-150 kilometres per hour on these highways, which the Germans called 'Autobahn' (pronounced avtobân), was a real pleasure.

The asphalt was so well laid that there were no bumps.

Half of many streets were closed to traffic because of metro construction in the city. Despite this, order was maintained and congestion was prevented. I never had to wait more than 15-20 seconds when traffic was congested. On Saturdays and Sundays, all Germans have the custom of leaving their cities to go somewhere else, so they hop into their cars and head to the autobahn, causing some minor congestion during the evening rush hour. That's about it...

I saw women in their 60s and 70s riding bicycles in the cities. Thanks to the traffic system, they could safely go to the market and do their shopping comfortably. However, this abundance of cars made me think. What would happen to the health of people who always travelled by car and never walked? The benefits of walking for health are well known. I wondered what would happen to people if they never walked. I had read that there were already five million 'obese people' in the United States.

Part of our national strength was provided by hard work, including a lot of walking, despite hunger. After adding this thought in parentheses, let us return to the traffic in Munich. We must learn from this. In Turkey, there is a law that sends teachers to Western countries for a year on their monthly salaries to increase their knowledge and awareness. If implemented properly, it is a very appropriate law. However, it would be more beneficial to apply this law to drivers. Sending our hunchbacked people there to show them how to drive a car, how to behave towards citizens, and that honking unnecessarily is nothing but rudeness, and teaching them a little humanity would be very useful.

Munich is a clean city. I saw cars sweeping the streets and removing dust. Some Germans told me that if I went to northern Germany or the Netherlands, I would find Munich dirty. I thought about Istanbul. I made some decisions to myself. However, I decided not to disclose them because they are undemocratic. Let there be democracy, even if the filth continues.

There is a municipality in Munich. It enforces regulations. You might ask if there is one in Istanbul. I don't know. Maybe there is. In Munich, when a 40-square-metre vacant lot is found, apartment buildings are not immediately erected. The city has a plan. Not even a centimetre is deviated from it. In Istanbul, you cannot find a 100-metre straight street. God has removed the concept of truth. Take a train from Haydarpaşa to Pendik. Hundreds of billions of lira have been spent on grandiose structures and beautiful mansions. But there is no architectural style, and municipal regulations are not enforced. What about the rule that the distance between buildings in the suburbs should be at least six metres? Why are they all four or three metres apart? Why are some of them built adjacent to each other? Who gave permission for this? Will those who commit all these illegal acts get away with it? When we come to power, we will hold them accountable for all this and add another article to the Constitution. In Turkey, the narrowest street will be 50 metres wide, and except in rare cases, no apartment buildings will be permitted, so everyone will live in houses with gardens. If Turkey's land is not sufficient, we will close the straits, drain the Marmara Sea, divide it into plots, and sell them to the people on behalf of the state!

Munich was heavily damaged during the Second World War. They piled up the rubble in two places, forming two hills. Of course, the bones of the dead who remained among the rubble were also taken to those hills. Today, the two hills are covered with trees and greenery and have become two places for walking. I climbed one of them. On the inscription at the top, it read: 'Pray for those who lie here.' I saw a more meaningful inscription on the monument built for the victims of the First World War. It was a monument for an unknown soldier. In an open grave accessible by a few steps, there lay a German soldier in uniform, about one and a half human heights tall, clearly the work of a skilled architect. The inscription simply read, 'They will rise again.' This phrase was a lesson in the faith a nation can have in itself. However, I found this majestic monument, despite its humility, to be somewhat neglected and neglected. In the materialistic and animalistic atmosphere of our time, there was certainly no time to remember those who died for their homeland and honour. I thought again of my own homeland. The monument erected for the martyrs of Çanakkale as part of a campaign was rather simple. I again fell into anti-democratic thoughts about the monument that should have been erected there.

The words 'they believed, they fought, they died' were to be inscribed on this monument. I do not know for sure to whom these words belong. Perhaps they belong to Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Don't think I forgot to mention Munich's layout. I didn't forget. Bedriye Atsız's one-room cottage is located in one of three 15-storey apartment buildings. These three buildings neither cast shadows on each other nor block each other's views. Their bases are adorned with greenery. There are sandboxes for children to play in. On the concrete paths between them, slightly older children ride bicycles and play. There's nothing to say about the elevators in these apartment buildings.

They are spacious enough to accommodate a pram and fast enough to reach the sixth floor in five seconds. When eight people enter the eight-person lift, each presses the button for their respective floors. After the lift closes automatically, it stops at each floor where a button was pressed, opens its doors automatically, and closes them again, taking everyone to their desired floors in order.

The 15-storey apartment building consists of one-, two-, and three-bedroom flats. Bedriye Atsız's wonderful one-bedroom flat costs 321 marks a month. Forget about the official exchange rate. That's 1,000 lira in our money. A typical comprador deal. So my wife is collaborating with foreigners to exploit poor Turkish peasants, and while 'our people' live in shantytowns, she's sitting in a 1,000-lira villa in the country of European imperialists. The system of exploitation... Revolution... Socialism... Marx... Engels... Guevara... Uncle Ho... Long live scientific socialism... Down with the fascists... Et cetera, et cetera...

Do you know what I liked most about this mansion? You'll say the television. You didn't guess right. Television is a kind of home cinema, so it's not that important to those who have seen street cinema. The most important thing for me in this mansion was that cold and hot water flowed from the taps 24 hours a day. Since water only flowed every three days in our mansion in Maltepe, Anatolia, Istanbul, a house with water always flowing from the taps was more important to me than the discovery of America or going to the moon. When I arrived in Munich, the 68th province, from Istanbul, the 34th province, the anxiety that fell upon me was the worry of 'this ease turning into that hardship,' and it remained that way. But what can't humans get used to?

When I returned to Maltepe, I found the order completely disrupted. The water pressure from the wells dug to supply more water to the houses had burst the pipes. Result: four days without water. The water supplied to the houses used to be from Kayışdağı. I could never get enough of it. Now we drink water we buy in bottles from the grocery store. Before the Second World War, I had been drinking water from Taşdelen for years. One day, I read in the newspapers that we had been deceived by the seller, who was selling it as Terkos water. This individual, who demonstrated such high commercial acumen, was a noble Greek citizen. He probably got off with a week in prison and a 100 lira fine.

In our mansion in Munich, like every other house, we had a television. Since it was an old device, we couldn't watch colour broadcasts. The television broadcast from evening until late at night, often keeping me entertained. It showed many useful things. Once we watched an Austrian tour of Anatolia, once Mongolia, and once Yemen.

The Austrians' Anatolia tour was both very educational and filled with feelings of friendship towards Turks. It was filmed by scientists. It showed us some Anatolian animals we didn't know, as well as landscapes, culture, and art unique to Turkey. The footage of Mongolia was very new and original to us. Their capital, 'Ulan Bator' (formerly known as 'Urga'), was a city where skyscrapers stood side by side with tents. We watched Mongolian wrestling. It was the same as our Turkestan wrestling. Mongols are generally strong and tall men. Newspapers had mentioned the large Mongols among the communist front soldiers in the Kora War. Buğra, who was studying Mongolian at his faculty, decided after seeing this publication that he would become Turkey's ambassador to Mongolia and establish the embassy in a Kazakh tent.

In the publication about Yemen, we saw the primitiveness of the Yemenis in all its harshness. We also saw one of two German women married to Yemenis. The second woman's husband did not allow her film to be shot. The first woman showed us her home and children. This German woman had brought a little civilisation to her home. That was all.

Among the television programmes, there were police, cowboy, sports and romance films, films from 10-15 years ago, and what is called modern art, which is utter nonsense.

We watched some football matches in great detail. The Germans play beautiful football. The passes are accurate. It wasn't just short passes to the player next to you; sometimes they would make passes that went from the right wing to the left wing and found their target. The Germans not only play as a team but also know how to make beautiful dribbles. This dribbling is different from ours. Once we watched a match between Austria's 'Austria' team and the Soviet Union's 'Kiev Dynamo' team. The Russians were playing very dirty. There were kicks, trips from behind, and people being knocked down left and right. Once, a Russian player threw himself to the ground and lay face down. He was trying to give the impression that he had been fouled. When no one paid attention, he suddenly turned onto his back. He looked around as if to say, 'Is no one seeing me?' When no one paid attention, he jumped up and continued playing. Austrian television caught this stunt well. It was a perfect scene to judge the Russians.

Two things caught my attention on television. First, the male and female announcers were chosen for their good looks and spoke proper German. We don't know how beautiful the female announcers on our radio are, but their incorrect Turkish and their mispronunciation of words such as 'zarar' (damage) and "yarar" (benefit), extending the second syllables to say 'zararın ne kadar olduĞu bilinmiyor' (the extent of the damage is unknown) or 'Kızılay yararına temsil verilecektir' (a donation will be made to the Red Crescent), really dampens one's spirits. The voices of our female announcers are not beautiful at all. There is one woman with a beautiful voice, Sevinç Yemişçi. Listen to her on Istanbul Radio during the evening and night broadcasts, which are free of static. People always want to hear a female voice like this. Her Turkish is also flawless. So far, I can only remember her mispronouncing one word that has entered our language from French. She does not stumble or stutter when reading from the script. She manages her tone very well. The other female announcer, however... God forbid... It is clear that they have all studied at American colleges. On the evening of 18 November, at 9 p.m., in the '24-hour news' programme, the female newsreader reporting on President Cevdet Sunay's visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan pronounced "Azerbaijan" as 'Azerbeycan' and, among those welcoming Sunay, read the name of the Azerbaijani dignitary, who was undoubtedly mentioned in the bulletin, 'İskenderov', was also mispronounced in an American accent as 'İskendero', omitting the "v" and elongating the 'o.' This mispronunciation reminded me of when the renowned German Turkologist Prof. Spuler (pronounced 'Şpüler') was introduced on the radio years ago when he visited Istanbul. At that time, the woman had announced that Prof. 'Şapler' had come to Istanbul. What is the point of pronouncing English names correctly (God knows if she got them right) and butchering the others? Either pronounce them all correctly or say them all in Turkish.

The second point that caught my attention on television was the map of Germany shown during the weather report. On this map, regions expected to have rain, clouds, or sunshine were indicated with rain, clouds, and sunshine, respectively, and the night and day temperature forecasts for each region were shown with thermometers. The most important thing was that the map depicted Germany's borders as they were before the war. Despite all their docility and even the humiliating behaviour of their official representatives, the Germans did not accept the new borders. The spirit of Germanness was alive in Germany.

I saw an example of this on Monday evening, 22 September 1969, in a film called 'The Cross Against the Swastika' on television. One might have expected it to be against Hitler and National Socialism, given its title. However, that was not the case. It remained a neutral, objective interview. The film recounted what happened to the city of Münster during the Second World War. Münster, a conservative Catholic city in northwestern Germany, was shown in ruins after American air raids. The film also included footage secretly taken by a German girl who was probably 16 years old at the time. It became clear that many Germans still living in that city today are still Hitler supporters. Despite some of his mistakes, they said that Hitler did good things. One of them said, "I am a National Socialist. But first and foremost, I am German. May God curse those who are slandering Germany today."

We also saw what had become of the girl who had secretly filmed the movie. She was now a woman in her fifties. She had the calm demeanour of someone who had been through a lot, and she said that three American soldiers had raped her during the occupation. When the reporter asked, 'Were they Black?' she replied, 'I don't remember, I don't remember anything from that time.' In another secretly filmed video, German soldiers who had been taken prisoner were being transported with their hands in the air, while Americans lined up on both sides rained punches and kicks on them. I had never imagined that Americans could be so cruel and treacherous. However, while this scene was being shown, the presenter said, 'There was a lot of theft and rape in the West, but even so, these things were much milder than being captured by the Russians in the East.'

The end of the film was instructive. It compared those in the Second World War with those of today through images. Those of the past fought and died in trenches to make history, were captured and kept waiting for hours in the cold, but they did not lose their dignity. The commentator said, 'Those of today live to be deprived of history.' To be without history... That is, to be an animal... On the screen appeared men with long hair, dirty, and bearded, and young prostitutes with animal-like faces. They were licking ice cream like a dog licking a bowl, grinning shamelessly, and mocking sacred things.

I had also seen the real versions of these animalistic men in a corner of Munich's 'Schwabing' district. Some of them were sitting on the ground. No one paid any attention to them.

The educational value of television should be appreciated, but its potential to disrupt family harmony should not be forgotten, and a solution must be found. On the evening when the Fenerbahçe-Galatasaray match is shown on television, telling a high school 'amigo' to go to another room and study for his math exam the next day is tantamount to ruining the poor boy. If a football match and a romantic film are shown at the same time and there is a boy who loves football and a romantic girl in the house, you can imagine the pandemonium that will ensue. In order to prevent television, which will soon become widespread in Turkey, from becoming a disaster like radio and cars, it is necessary to think carefully and take precautions from the outset...

I had gone to Munich quite suddenly. However, our compatriots there, that is, the Turks living abroad, found out about my trip and, to tell the truth, they embarrassed me with their endless hospitality and feasts.

Through one of them, a Kazakh Turk, I visited the Hürriyet Radio station, which broadcasts in every language and dialect in Russia, and then the offices of the American magazine 'Dergi.' There I met our Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tajik, Uyghur, Azerbaijani, and Crimean brothers. Some of our ethnic kin whom I knew from Istanbul hosted feasts and weddings for me one after another. The only thing missing was kumis and kaz. Although we substituted the kumis with delicious German beer and wine, the German sausages could not replace the taste of the kaz made with horse meat. However, I should note that the Germans' meat dishes were very delicious.

These feasts were often prepared by the yenge or cengeler. Some Turks pronounce words beginning with 'y' as 'c,' so 'yer' and 'yenge' become 'cer' and 'cenge.' They also say 'caksi' instead of 'yahşı.' The "ş" sounds in our language become 's.' 'Baş,' 'beş,' and "pişirmek" are pronounced 'bas,' 'bes,' and 'pişirmek' in Kazakh. One of the Kazakhs had a Turkish wife. She had learned Kazakh. She could communicate in Kazakh with the wife of a Western Kazakh Turk who was the leader of the Kazakhs. The five-year-old son of the Turkish man spoke both Turkish and Kazakh with his father and mother. His name was 'Canibey,' but we started calling him "Batır" because he once said 'batırmen' (I am a warrior) to me in Kazakh. The word 'batır' is the modern, shortened form of 'Bagatur' from the Göktürks. It means "brave" or 'hero.' The full name of 'Bumun Khan's' brother, 'İstemı Khan,' is 'İstemı Bagatur.' Our little Batır already knew quite a lot about soldiering. He pointed out my mistake in the Turkish military salute.

During these pleasant hours, I received some sad news that I cannot refrain from mentioning here: I asked about 'Latif Elsever,' a sincere friend and soulmate of an Azerbaijani compatriot who was on his way to a wedding. Latif Elsever had defected from the Russian army to the German side during the Second World War and was sent to Egypt, where he received assistance from Princess Hibetullah Necla of the Ottoman Dynasty along with other Turks. He then came to Istanbul, found a job, and began working. However, due to his severe asthma, he moved to Ankara, where the climate was more suitable. We exchanged letters during holidays. He would visit when he came to Istanbul. He was a Turkish nationalist and idealist. He had made significant financial contributions to Ötüken.

When I asked about Latif Elsever, our Azerbaijani compatriot's face grew serious: 'I knew you didn't know. I didn't want to upset you. Latif passed away last July from a heart attack.' He was just over fifty years old. I only learned of his death fourteen months later. With these lines, I respectfully commemorate our unfortunate compatriot and offer my condolences to his wife, a Turkish teacher. This commemoration and condolences are on behalf of myself and the Ötüken family.

I will also mention a conversation I had with a Crimean compatriot: The conversation turned to German soldiers. I said that I did not like the German soldiers I had seen several times on the street. To me, their military structure seemed spiritually weak. Our Crimean compatriot did not agree with me. He said that we needed to see them in action. At that moment, I remembered the letter from our Shaman in Ankara about the NATO manoeuvres in Diyarbakır. He had participated in those manoeuvres as a reserve officer. At the end of the manoeuvres, there was a parade. Şaman said, 'No one but Turks and Germans can be called soldiers.' The Belgians, British, and Americans, who were chewing gum and grinning as they marched in the parade, left a bad impression not only on Şaman but also on the spectators. Is Belgium even a state, or is it a large limited company or partnership? The people in this 'state' squeezed between the Netherlands and France speak half Dutch and half French, fight with each other because of their language, and then say, 'We are a nation.' Do they have notary deeds proving they are a nation?

Let's return to Munich: Despite the differences between the Germans in Munich and other Germans, Munich still gives an idea of what Germans are like. As I mentioned earlier, Munich is not just a city for Munich residents; it is a city for people from all over Germany. Among them are those who fled the communist paradise behind the Iron Curtain. One of my Munich professor friends has an assistant from Berlin, another from Stuttgart (pronounced 'Shut-t-gurt'), and a girl studying Sinology at Buğra's faculty is from Stettin (pronounced 'Shitt-tin'), meaning she is Prussian. By the way, this girl, who was as sharp as a tack, looked just like a Turk. She had almond-shaped eyes, dark brown hair, and fair skin. She never missed an opportunity to make a witty remark. The place where she was born is now within the borders of Poland.

Germans are generally good and well-mannered people. Especially the older Germans are very serious. I did not find the Bavarians, who are called rude, to be rude, but rather fatherly. The country is well organised, which is why things run smoothly. Otherwise, there is no shortage of events that would surprise people. For example, the current German President Heinemann (pronounced Hayneman) said that 'nationalism is a disgrace for German youth,' which I believe is an unprecedented statement in world history. Such a statement could never be made in Turkey. A person who is not nationalistic is either internationalistic or nothing at all. Heinemann may have said this under the influence of the feelings of inferiority that most Germans felt after the Second World War, or he may have thought that he was acting like a great politician by saying this. However, there is no room for interpretation regarding the new German Chancellor, Willy Brandt (however you pronounce it). Because this man fought against the Germans in the Norwegian army during the Second World War, solely because he was an enemy of Hitler, and turned his weapons against his own people. Regardless of the justification, fighting against one's own people is treason. So today, Germany is governed by a president who considers nationalism shameful and a prime minister who is a traitor to his country. This is impossible in Turkey. Some of our '150s' took sides against Atatürk because of differences in interpretation. Nevertheless, they were regarded as traitors to their country. What is the difference between Willy Brandt becoming prime minister in Germany and Çerkeş Etem becoming prime minister in Turkey?

However, Germany is not collapsing because the German people have a strong culture, technology and economy. Willy Brandt said he would recognise the puppet state known as East Germany. In this way, he believes he will win favour with the Russians and unite the two Germanys. This means that he did not even understand how deceitful communists are. History is a book of cautionary tales. Sometimes traitors, fools, birdbrains, and degenerates can rule over the destiny of a nation.

Germany is a dangerous country. The spread of socialist absurdities there will soon push Germany to the brink of new developments. Adolf Hitler did not emerge out of nowhere; he arose due to the foolish policies of England and France against a great and cultural nation. Today, another Adolf, Adolf von Thadden, leads a nationalist party called 'Neo-Nazi.' Although this nationalist party, which won 2% of the vote in the last elections and 4.3% this time, was unable to enter the state parliament because it failed to reach the 5% threshold required by German electoral law, it does have representatives in the state parliament. It appears to be gaining strength.

While I was in Munich, the campaign for the elections scheduled for 28 September had already begun. Party leaders were speaking on television. Their speeches were dignified. They were not like the masterful speeches of Bülent Ecevit or Ahmet Er. The Christian Democratic Party leader Kiesinger was a very moderate and likeable man. Willy Brandt, on the other hand, was fat-faced and spoke in a low voice. Apparently, he was an alcoholic. Even if being an alcoholic is a matter that concerns only himself and his doctors, the members of the Social Democratic and Free Democratic Parties, who brought a man who had turned his weapons against his own people to the premiership, proved that they were gentlemen who deserved to be sent to Yassiada. No doubt the prosecution will be handled by the highly esteemed Mr. Ömer Egesel.

Among German youth, as is the case throughout the world, a group of dissatisfied individuals who do not know what they want has emerged. They behave even more irrationally than our own. One of their demands is that the retirement age at universities be lowered to 45. It seems that being a university student in a highly cultured nation does not prevent one from embracing such absurd ideas. Forty-five is the age when people begin to be productive in science and technology. Today's scholars reach the highest ranks and produce their most original works after the age of fifty or sixty. The majority of Nobel Prize winners are elderly people. The desire to retire professors at the age of 45 in order to make way for those coming behind them is nothing more than a disgrace that cannot be realised. Here is another gem of so-called progressivism. It seems that the system of ideas known as socialism is not actually a system of ideas at all, but rather a delusion born of the complete destruction of the system of ideas.

If these delusions do not provoke a reaction in Germany and the current governments do not suppress them, neo-Nazism will prevail in Germany. It is clear that the memories of the greatness of the Hitler era have not faded from the hearts of the Germans. The fact that a group of prosecutors are sending former German officers to court for real or imaginary crimes committed 25 years ago is not the administration of justice, but meaningless actions aimed at killing the national spirit of the German people and making young people despise their own nation.

There was a joke told during Hitler's time: "The captain calls the sergeant and orders him to find out which party or political doctrine the soldiers in the company belong to. A few days later, the sergeant comes before the company commander with a list and gives his report. "This many are Kaiserists, this many are Christian Democrats, this many are from the Centre Catholic Party, this many are liberals, this many are socialists, and this many are independents." The captain asks sternly, "Are there no Nazis?" The sergeant stands at attention and replies, "They are all Nazis, sir!"

This amusing anecdote is thought-provoking in terms of describing the German spirit. The German people, who love discipline and strength, abandon their personal opinions when they see authority they like and adhere to that authority. The moral of the story: One must listen to the wise.

Regardless of Hitler's mistakes and flaws, he gave the Germans a taste of unity and the glory and splendour of Prussian national history. When nations are in distress, they look to the bright pages of their past. It is possible that the Germans will one day return to the past in the face of this fragmentation, this complacency, and this internal destructiveness. Why is Russia trembling at the reunification of the two Germanys? Why is Poland restless even though it has emptied the lands it took from Germany of Germans? Surely it is not because there are more houseflies in their country...

I did not see anything reprehensible in the behaviour of German children on their way to and from school. I did not find the clothing of young German girls overly revealing. I did see a girl wearing an excessively short skirt; she was English. In the twentieth century, indecency is spreading throughout the world from England and America. After returning to Turkey, I read in the newspapers that three American sergeants tore the Turkish flag. I think that if you punish these Americans, they will not understand. Because they are so ignorant that they do not understand what a flag is. What can you expect from a nation that stooped so low as to lower their own flag in court while protesting the Vietnam War and raise the North Vietnamese flag? No matter whose flag it is, it should not be insulted. What good will punishing these men do? Punishment is for humans. One of BuĞra's friends, 'Tombalak Ertan,' caught a cat that had caught a chick and hanged it, but the cat didn't understand why it was being executed. Americans, whose language sounds like a cat meowing, will never understand why they are being punished. They are not serious people! Have you ever seen a picture of Americans appointed to an important position raising three fingers in the air and taking an oath? They even smile while taking the oath. In my opinion, the 50-60 hippie girls in America gave these heroic American sergeants the response they deserved by using the American flag as underwear.

Let's return to Germany: I noticed a strange trait in some German women. They marry men of every nationality who come their way: Chinese, Afghan, Indian, Ethiopian, or Black. Apparently, German women don't have a strong sense of national identity. I also saw that Black Germans have appeared in Germany. A young German told me that there are about five or six thousand of them. The black Germans in the American army, who are mixed with German women, speak German quite well, but they probably feel inferior, because their behaviour is a bit abnormal. I find German women's excessive fondness for dogs very distasteful. I was shocked to see them walking around with ugly dogs. The love of animals and flowers is very widespread in Germany. But animals are animals after all... Especially animals kept inside the house must be against the constitution...

But there is nothing to say about German housewives. With their skill, politeness and various virtues, they are all perfect women...

The cows in Germany are very large and well-groomed. They look like baby elephants. They produce a lot of milk. However, those living along the main roads outside the city are gradually deteriorating in terms of milk and meat quality due to exhaust fumes. If cars powered by electricity or nuclear energy are not developed, humanity, especially Turks, will be doomed because of these exhaust fumes.

I would also like to note the success of the Munich Post Office, which received a rating of 'ten and three stars' out of ten. One of our ideological comrades in Adana, who reads Ötüken, wrote a letter to Munich thinking that I had a serious illness because I had gone to Germany for rest and treatment. He did not know my address. However, he knew that Bedriye Atsız was a lecturer at the university. This compatriot wrote on the envelope, 'To Bedriye Atsız, Lecturer at the University of Munich, to be delivered to Atsız.' The letter found me. You may ask, 'Where is the success in this?' The success lies in the fact that it found me even though the address on the envelope was written in Turkish. Doesn't the Munich Post deserve three stars for this?

Some professors, associate professors and assistants from Turkish universities often come to Munich.

One of them, whose name was involved in a book theft case in Istanbul, came and went, but there was no incident in Munich. So he must have been an innocent scholar. We also spent a few pleasant hours with a professor who is our friend. While eating at a restaurant, someone who heard us speaking Turkish came over and said he was also Turkish and from Istanbul, and that he would be returning to Turkey soon. He spoke broken Turkish. 'Your Turkish is very broken,' I said. 'I've been here for six or seven years; that's why,' he said. To cut a long story short, the man was Jewish. I had forgotten about Jews so much since leaving Istanbul that it never crossed my mind that I would meet a Jew from Istanbul in Munich. I hadn't completely erased any of the troubles in Turkey from my heart. But out of sight, out of mind. That's why my health improved. I knew that upon my return, I would have to give back everything I had gained here, starting with the five kilos I had gained, but 52 days of trouble-free and healthy living was no small thing.

This professor friend of ours was from the Turkish diaspora. He was a pleasant conversationalist. When the conversation turned to the horror of religious fanaticism in Turkey, he recounted a story by Sâbir. Sâbir was a 19th-century Azerbaijani poet who was famous for his satirical poems. Sâbir said: "I see a lion, but I am not afraid. I see a tiger, I am not afraid. But when I see a Muslim, I am afraid."

Buğra, who is known for his hospitality to friends and guests from Istanbul, does not live with his mother. He has a poor room in one of the outskirts of Munich. Due to reasons such as their work schedules not aligning and their guests not coinciding, he moved into a separate room because his mother's house was a single-room cottage. After all, when in history have two Turks, let alone two Oghuz Turks, ever lived together in perfect harmony? Three friends, all Germans, have rented a three-room house and share the rooms. They live their lives. One of the Germans is Bavarian, and Buğra gets along well with him. He is content with his life. They had also set up a cot in their kitchen and taken in a poor Slovak youth. It turns out that we had fought against these Slovaks in the past. There were many Slovaks in the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohács. Slovakia was under Hungarian rule at the time. Poor Slovaks have been oppressed throughout their history. They have a strong drink. It's not pena. It's less alcoholic than our raki, but stronger than the German raki called 'Schnapps.' I especially recommend this drink to Lawyer Bekir Berk. It clears the mind. Besides, he will find more brilliant phrases against Türkeş, and he will remember the two books I gave him and sent him several messages about, but he never returned.

Let's say he got away with stealing my rights because of world justice; doesn't he think he'll burn in Hell tomorrow because of this? Is that what he learned from his master Saîd-i Kürdî?

They said that Turkey's 68th province was 'full of Turks,' but I didn't see that many Turks. How many Turks are left in Turkey anyway, mon cher?

Constitutionally, forced labour is prohibited, but Nejdet Sançar, İzzet Yolalan, Muzaffer Eriş and I have been doing forced labour for Ötüken for years. Poor İzzet even took on my share of the forced labour when I came to Munich. After hearing from me how great retirement is, he decided to retire early on his own accord, and to "make the most of his time," he doubled his forced labour. This summer, since he was staying near Maltepe, he gave me some good news: the water supply in Maltepe will soon increase.

Since we were suffering from having water only for two hours every three days, İzzet's news was truly good news. Well, if Munich's water flows cold and hot every day, Maltepe's will at least flow for a few hours every day. Let it be cold. Our ancestors didn't use hot water either. Eager to see this wonderful sight, I hurried back to Istanbul and boarded the plane on 28 September. There were elections in Germany that day. As Germany was our ally in NATO and an old friend, I could have voted in their elections, but there wasn't enough time. However, we were legally at war with this ally and friend. At the end of the Second World War, at the insistence of our friends America, England, and Russia, we had declared war on Germany. Perhaps this was the doing of one of the seven foxes in Ismet Pasha's mind, but we were at war, so never mind that. It's a good thing that the Germans didn't think of arresting me because we were at war. Have no doubt, the Germans think of many things, but they are very secretive men. They don't say anything. However, I had shared my secret ideas with some Turks there and suggested that we invade the Principality of Liechtenstein. I knew that the principality's army consisted of only eight men. To defeat them and hold onto this state, which consists of just one town and a couple of villages, we needed at least a force of 15 men. Once the invasion was complete, we would inform our Russian allies that our purpose was to protect the principality from a potential Swiss attack, just as they had done after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and that we had come at their invitation. Since human memory is prone to forgetfulness, everyone would soon forget about it. But as I said, we did not encounter many Turks in Munich. However, just as I was about to return, I learned that the principality's army consisted of only one person, not eight. Thus, the most important historical opportunity after the one missed by Baltacı Mehmet Pasha was wasted.

The plane was delayed by about half an hour. Everyone rushed to get a seat, so I was left behind and sat in the last row. I was next to the window. A little later, a very nice young man came and took the empty seat next to me. I didn't realise he was so nice by measuring his skull. He didn't say a word. That's where his kindness came from. I hadn't fastened my seatbelt on the way to Munich. This time I felt like putting it on. I had the freedom to do so, so I adjusted it and put it on. Before I had a chance to take in the view below, the flight attendant announced, 'We are landing in Vienna.' It wasn't on my itinerary, but landing in Vienna was probably better than being diverted to Prague. We landed.

The flight attendant announced again, "Please proceed to the transit lounge. You may take your bags with you if you wish." The transit lounge at Vienna Airport was the size of a small town. Since they didn't tell us why we were there, I walked around for a while without knowing where to go. I thought I'd ask one of the people from our flight, but since I hadn't looked at anyone's face, that wasn't possible. I saw someone with a crescent and star badge on their chest and asked them. They were from our flight and were also being searched. However, the worker, who was clearly very observant, found out what was happening and, on his way to the door, happened to see me and told me to wait at gate 7. As we were about to board the plane, the flight attendant said we would be flying at an altitude of 11,000 metres and told us to fasten our seatbelts. This altitude seemed a bit strange. Were we going to the moon? But before I had time to think about the relationship between Istanbul and the moon, something caught my attention: the seatbelt I had adjusted to my waist when we took off from Munich had become much shorter. I tried to adjust it again, but it was no use. Since not wearing a seatbelt is not against the Constitution, I left it and wondered if the spirits playing with the seatbelt were also playing with my bag.

The wisdom behind our landing in Vienna and my belt was explained to me by a young man who would become the registrar when we came to power, when he visited me in Istanbul: opium and hashish smugglers used to hide those objects in the belts. So they had searched my belt thoroughly and tampered with it so that it could not be adjusted again.

As we were on our way to Istanbul, Oliver suddenly came to mind. 'Who is that?' you might ask. Who else but Claudia's (Klavdiya) brother. Now you will ask who Claudia is. We already said: Oliver's sister... These are the children of the Ramrath family, who are Bedriye Atsız's neighbours. Bedriye and BuĞra are very close to them. Of course, they were also good to me. Don't think they were university students because they were so friendly to me. Claudia was three or four years old, and Oliver was just a year and a half.

There are few children in the world as adorable as Oliver. He was chubby, lively, with bright blond hair, blue eyes, a smiling face, and a big appetite. His sister, on the other hand, never smiles. She is already romantic and jealous of Oliver. When they first came, I picked Oliver up and hugged him, and she immediately ran away and went to her own house. On subsequent visits, I tried a political tactic, telling Claudia that I loved her very much but didn't love Oliver at all. But she immediately objected: 'He's my brother,' she said. So what were we to do now? As BektaŞi would say, 'We couldn't say anything about spring (meaning the season that is neither cold nor hot).' In short, I managed the situation.

The children, especially Claudia, understood Turkish quite well. These little ones, who were very naughty and destructive in their own homes, behaved well around Bedriye. When their young housewife mother became overwhelmed, she would leave the children with Bedriye for ten or fifteen minutes, and Bedriye would gladly look after them.

When I knocked on the Ramraths' door that morning to say goodbye, Oliver, who had been very cheerful at first, started crying as we walked to the lift. He was crying because he was leaving Bedriye, whom he had grown as fond of as his mother.

Three hours after taking off from Munich, we landed at Yeşilköy Airport. We set the clocks forward by 60 minutes to make it 5:20 p.m.

Problems immediately began at customs. I hadn't brought anything prohibited, but my suitcase, which contained items worth millions, was lost. I did find it, but the discovery was completely undemocratic. The customs officers didn't even look at it. And who should sit next to me on the airport bus but the young man from the plane?

He was a really nice young man. He wasn't talking to me, but to others. It turned out that he was also coming from Munich. He was an accountant. During our conversation, I learned a terrible secret. It turns out that some businesses keep three sets of books. In one, they record excess profits. They show this to the banks to obtain loans. In one, they show low profits or losses. They submit this to the government to evade taxes. In the third, the accounts are accurate down to the last cent. They keep this at home to know their real financial situation.

I shared this secret with two people involved in trade after I arrived in Istanbul. One said, 'That can't be true.' The other replied, 'It is possible.' In my opinion, it is possible.

'Don't say it's impossible, it's not impossible.'

It took me three hours to get from Munich to Istanbul and another three hours from Yeşilköy to Maltepe. It was a quarter past 8 p.m. when I entered the house.

Even though I hadn't told anyone I was coming to Istanbul, didn't meet anyone I knew on the way, and entered the house in the dark of night, our young people found out I had arrived. The next morning, they called me first thing to say 'welcome.'

Then other phone calls and visits began. In the meantime, I learned that the secret purpose of my trip to Munich had been revealed. Our forty-year-old family friends had figured out that I had been travelling back and forth to establish a connection between the New Nazis in Germany and Türkeş during the elections in both countries. There is no longer any possibility of doing secret work in this world.

Do these people have electronic brains, or do they learn through satellites launched into space by their Russian uncles? whatever they are doing, they are not letting anything slip. Even in 1944, when there were no electronic brains or satellites in the sky, when we were arrested simply for being Turkish and Turkish nationalists, they discovered two suitcases full of treasures taken from Hitler, hidden in the chimney of our mansion in Maltepe. There is a sharp mind among these friends of my father! Well, since they have discovered it, I can now reveal the truths known only to these modern saints and God to the Gök Türk and Oğuz tribes and the Hittites:

Our branch in Germany, the Nationalist German Party (NDP), also known as the New Nazis, made tremendous progress thanks to the tactics I taught them, winning 4.3% of the vote. In the 1965 elections, they had only managed to secure 2%. However, according to the German electoral system, a party that fails to secure 5% of the vote cannot send representatives to the Federal Parliament, so they were unable to send any members to the Federal Parliament this time either. Consider this: a 107% increase between two election cycles. This means they will enter parliament in the next election. They will take power in the next one. After that, the Third World War. The fact that they are digging up a large part of Munich under the pretext of building a metro is nothing but preparation for the Third War. They are building shelters, rocket launchers, and cobalt bombs. Well, let Brezhnev, the great ideologue, worry about that.

While the election battle is raging in Germany, if the ruling Christian Democrats had not made such an effort to wear down these nationalists instead of dealing with their real rivals, the Socialists, both the nationalists would have entered parliament and the Socialists would not have come to power. This means that, in terms of intelligence, some of our political Muslims are equal to the Christian Democrats in Germany. After all, ours is an age of equality...

As for us: the elections in Turkey ended with the same result. Our Nazis, that is, the skull-worshippers, the imperialist Turanists who 'deny the idea of the homeland,' that is, the Nationalist Movement Party, received 275,000 votes this time, compared to 208,000 in the previous election, making it the only party among eight to show progress in terms of percentage. There was a 13% increase in their votes. If many of the votes had not been invalidated, the number would have been even higher. However, due to the peculiarity of our electoral system, they were only able to elect one member of parliament. Take a look at the following list showing the number of members of parliament elected by the four parties:

MHP 275,000 1

BP 254,000 8

TİP 243,000 2

YTP 197,000 6

According to this calculation, while the MHP won one seat with 275,000 votes, the YTP won one seat with 33,000 votes. Can you call this system fair? Once again, the most accurate method was the national remainder method. Upon returning to Turkey, I was astonished to learn that this system, in which not even a single vote is wasted, was invented by the Jews. It turns out they found a way to ensure that not even a single penny or a single vote goes to waste. Despite having 16 parties in their 120-member parliament, they manage to govern the country. However, do not forget. All Jewish parties, from the ultra-religious to the communists, are extremely nationalistic and have reached the highest level of national consciousness. There are no intellectuals among Jewish university students who hang pictures of Uncle Ho, Guevara or Lenin on their walls.

Let me not prolong this: I have completed my secret mission by advancing the fascists in both Turkey and Germany. This success has severely shaken the People's Party, the Nation Party, the New Turkey Party, and the Turkish Workers' Party.

The unchanging general chairman of the CHP, the National Leader, Mr. İsmet İnönü, was singing a song a few months ago, saying, 'We are on the brink of power.' Bülent Ecevit, one of the most famous leftists who invented the 'centre-left' philosophy and thoroughly destabilised the oldest party, spoke even more sharply about coming to power, that is, crossing the threshold. Look at the following headlines in the 21 June 1968 issue of *Ulus*:

Ecevit spoke about the election results in the CHP group.

The CHP will come to power in the 1969 elections.

Ecevit said that the CHP's move towards the centre-left will continue to accelerate.

Apparently, either the threshold is too high, or the People's Party is too small to cross it. It can't cross it anyway. It's impossible. There are certain social norms:

A grandson cannot be older than his grandfather.

Higher education cannot be completed at the age of ten.

Our footballers cannot play football.

Anything can come out of medical school. Even a doctor, sometimes.

The People's Party cannot win elections.

Since there was no possibility of these rules changing, their efforts were in vain. But dreams are sweet things. Especially for diabetics, it is irresistible. Mr Ecevit must have been very naive to talk about coming to power in the 1969 elections without thinking that he would be ashamed tomorrow. He said, 'The CHP, which is to the left of the centre, will continue to move closer to the centre at an accelerated pace.' He said that, but he only managed to get 27% of the vote.

There may be those who approach the CHP on the left of the centre, but this approach will not come from the Turkish people, but from Podgorni and Kosigin. Pray that İsmet İnönü lives another 40-50 years. Otherwise, your party will be thrown away like cotton wool.

Millet Party leader Böyükbaşı also said several times, 'We will come to power in 1969.' He must have been joking. Böyükbaşı, a good political critic, a good speaker, and someone who gets to the heart of issues, has been called a 'leader afraid of coming to power' up until now. Apparently annoyed by this, he resisted by talking about power as if it were a casino and ended up with a major loss and even greater disappointment, securing only 6 MPs in exchange for 292,000 votes.

What about the YTP? What is going on in the mind of their leader? Let's not say lions, but what kind of goats are grazing there! To be honest, he was a humble man who did not talk about coming to power directly, but about becoming a coalition partner in the government.

Who knows what they expected from political figures like Tevfik Rüştü Araş and Kılıç Ali, whom they welcomed into their party with great ceremony, or from former ministers and professors like Tahsin Banguoğlu. Come on, in the twentieth century, who would vote for Tevfik Rüştü, let alone Kılıç Ali? Was there anyone left who knew them? But the real oddity was Tahsin Banguoğlu's decision to join this crippled party after leaving the People's Party. Tahsin Banguoğlu, who was my classmate at Kadıköy Sultanisi and the Faculty of Literature and who had rectified the injustice done to me during his time as minister, was a very intelligent, calculating and cautious person. After he broke away from Atatürkism and clashed with İsmet Pasha, he should have joined those who left the People's Party for the same reason and formed the Güven Party.

When I read in the newspapers that he had not done so and had instead joined a party doomed to dissolution and regionalism, I was truly astonished. Tahsin was not only intelligent, but also cultured. He was a poet. He had a composition in the style of Bağdatlı Ruhî that would have caused quite a stir if it had been published. He had only one flaw: he occasionally spoke against Turanism. According to those who heard him, although I did not see it myself, he said at one of his last conferences, 'Everything that has happened to us is because of Turanism.' Oh Tahsin, oh Tahsin! Do you also believe that Turanism will destroy the country? If you wish, I can provide a notarised document to prove that your belief is incorrect. How can Turanism, which is an ideal, destroy a country that the People's Party could not destroy?

As for the Workers' Party: Its first leader, Mehmet Ali Aybar, said, 'This time we will fight for the top,' regarding the 12 October 1969 elections. He probably meant that they would at least become the third largest party. I predicted that this party would get a few more votes than last time, but that it would collapse completely in 1973. Because, despite all its propaganda, it couldn't gain a foothold among the workers and peasants, and was met with suspicion by the vast majority. Its supporters consisted of adventurous and reckless university students, some so-called progressive professors who seemed out of place in the 21st century, society ladies who spent money like water, and hysterical individuals who believed the party would bring 'total sexual freedom.' Now, by dismissing Mehmet Ali Aybar, the man who had kept the party afloat until yesterday, and by fighting among themselves in factions, they will bring the party down, and their hunger strikes, carried out secretly while eating chocolate, will not be able to stop the collapse.

Aybar's remarks about trying one or two ways to get back on top, made after 7 p.m., were probably said in a moment of weakness. As the old saying goes, 'The goat got drunk and went looking for wolves in the mountains.' Perhaps the former leader had overindulged in vodka to ease his fatigue when he made those bold statements.

Since we are on the subject of elections, I would like to share my thoughts with the members of the Constitutional Commission: In these days when constitutional amendments are being discussed, they should make one more small change and reduce the number of deputies and senators. For example, 300 members of parliament and 100 senators would be sufficient. In that case, if elections are held according to the national remainder system, the disadvantage of small parties being blocked by larger ones would be eliminated, and small parties would no longer have to give up the votes they receive to larger parties. Of course, 'Of course, senators have no say. They should remain in their positions. In fact, like families receiving salaries under the 'national service' system, their sons, and if they have no sons, their daughters should be appointed to that position for life.'

After returning to Turkey, two weeks passed with election propaganda. By chance, I listened to some speakers, including İnönü once. His Excellency must have grown out of his youth and entered maturity, because this time I did not understand much of what he said. But his latest political tactics (or ticks) were masterpieces of literary irony. On the one hand, he wanted to get Celâl Bayar into the Senate, and on the other hand, he recognised the right of the natural senators to be there. This was the Pasha's old habit.

When he was President, he appointed both Anatolians and communists to the National Assembly. Young people today don't know: At that time, deputies were appointed, and to deceive the people, a beautiful election was held, just like in Russia today, and for some reason, everyone was elected unanimously.

I listened to Deli Osman once during an election speech. Don't ask who Crazy Osman is. I know two Osmans: one is the intelligent Osman, Professor Osman Turan, and the other is Crazy Osman, Serdeneği Osman Yüksel. To be honest, when the announcer said, 'Osman Yüksel will speak on behalf of the MHP', I left everything I was doing and sat down in a corner to enjoy myself. I truly had ten minutes of joy. Before going to Germany, I had asked him how many MPs they would get. He said, 'At least 9, at most 19.' What a humble man he was! After making such a bold prediction, he could have easily said 59 instead of 19, but he didn't...

Osman Turan, on the other hand, entered the election campaign at the last minute, or as we say now, five minutes to twelve, as an independent candidate for Trabzon from the MHP. He did not win. Knowing Osman Turan's absent-mindedness, I was worried that he might have gone to Edirne or somewhere else instead of Trabzon to give his election speech. Anyway, he went to the right place. He went to the right place, but what did he say there? He is an expert on Seljuk history. Instead of the usual election propaganda like, 'Hey, people of Trabzon! If you vote for me, I'll get you a salary,' he didn't say something like, 'First Kılıç Arslan defeated the Crusaders so badly that there was no need to use anchovies as fertiliser in Anatolia!'

I also listened to Türkeş's speech once. I agree with the decisions he proposed for retired generals. A person who has reached the highest military rank should not be treated like an ordinary soldier. However, I would like to add something to Türkeş's proposal: Generals (including İsmet İnönü) and Ministers of National Defence should be required to memorise the year the Turkish Land Army was established and celebrate the 603rd, 604th, and 605th anniversaries of our army (i.e., our army) every year to prevent such historical ignorance.

I ask the generals and the Minister of National Defence again: If the Turkish Land Army is 605 years old, was the army that won the Battle of Malazgirt 900 years ago an air force? We have written the correct answer to this question more than once. Did they not read the relevant article? If they have read it, why are they being so stubborn? While other nations celebrate their national pride, if we deny the long history of our army under the guise of celebration, tomorrow some sharp-witted socialist might come along and say, "The beginning of our army was when the officers donned ties and civilised attire, and that the period before that was the era of comprador imperialism, which is unacceptable," where will that lead us?

When the Workers' Party began speaking on the radio during election hours, I immediately turned off the radio. No offence, but the speakers of this party gave me the impression that they were not human beings but records. They always repeated the same platitudes. It was impossible for me to accept such nonsense as the proletariat coming to power while the enlightened classes existed in another country. Although they have now started to consider everyone proletarians, I would like to express my gratitude for their consideration, but I cannot accept it. I am not a proletarian. According to their classification, I am a bourgeois; according to my official title, I am a civil servant; but according to myself, I am simply a TURK!...

When you are a Turk, how can you be a proletarian, a thing whose nature is unclear, who goes on strike every other day and whose language is unknown?

I was fortunate enough not to hear Ahmet Er's speech on the radio, but it was a direct measure to cause his party to lose votes. He said, 'We will establish the order of Muhammad in the country.' Look at this rascal! Come on, the order of Muhammad is already in effect. The mosques are overflowing. The calls to prayer broadcast from the minarets wake the people from their sleep. No one stops those who want to go on the Hajj. Our pilgrims even earn money by selling the Zamzam water they bring back. What more do you want? If you meant to say that we will put women back in cages and take four of them at a time, then you must have been beaten by your wife at home first.

In my opinion, there has been a mistake here. Ahmet Er is a former gendarmerie officer. Instead of saying, 'We will establish law and order in the country,' he must have mistakenly and excitedly mentioned the Nizam-i Muhammedî. Ahmet Er, a former member of the National Unity Committee, was the most enthusiastic and loudest person when he took the oath with the other members of the committee. Moreover, he is one of the 34 million poets in Turkey. Poets are passionate. He even has a poetry book titled 'You Name It.' Considering these facts, I would say it was a slip of the tongue. But if he said it deliberately, then you can name it yourselves.

On Saturday evening, 4 October 1969, between 8:50 and 9:00 p.m., I listened with interest to Mr. Bülent Ecevit's election speech (!) Oh, Great God! What kind of Turkish was that? I wrote down one sentence exactly as it was said. It was as follows:

'Development will begin with the peasants in the system that the Republican People's Party will establish.'

Sir! If your administration is going to be like your Turkish, we are doomed. Leave Turkey alone and improve your Turkish first; speak Turkish to the people. At least take some Turkish lessons from İsmet Paşa. If he doesn't have time, come to me, I'll teach you. The lessons are free; you pay for your own travel expenses. The language you are using is not the language of the centre-left; it is the murmurings of the far left.

I had a bet with a friend who is an MP from the AP about the elections. My claim was this: The Justice Party will get 190-220 MPs, the CHP will lose some ground, the MHP will get 400,000 votes, but due to the election system, they will only be able to get 4-6 MPs.

He, however, predicted that the Justice Party would win 250, even 300 seats. He won the bet. I lost the soda. But I once again believed in the injustice of our system. If the national remainder system had been applied, the Justice Party would have won 204 seats, the CHP 124, and the MHP 14. Instead, they elected 256, 143, and 1 MP. But there's no point in arguing. My MP friend won the bet. But he's so kind that he didn't even hint that he wanted his soda back.

Readers will undoubtedly want to know the name of my friend who won the bet. It's a secret. I can't tell you. If you want to know who I'm hiding it from, I'll tell you: I'm hiding it from İsmet Pasha. I'm not surprised he wouldn't want to bring someone with such accurate political views into his own party and make him general secretary instead of Ecevit. Ecevit had also assured İnönü that only seven or eight people would leave the party in the Güven Party incident. Just as he was deceived then, he was deceived again in this election. Rather than risk falling into the second division like the Vefa Club by being deceived time and again, it is certainly wise to bring this friend into the party and bring order to it. Admittedly, my friend is not the type to fall for people like İsmet Pasha, but he will be upset and lose his peace of mind for a while.

Those who have lost their peace of mind know well what a treasure it is.

One day, I received another phone call. This time, it was a very old voice. I realised it was our teacher Zeki Velidi Togan. I thought to myself, 'The teacher must have something to do. He wouldn't call otherwise.' Because our teacher Togan was a very calculating person. My guess was right. Years ago, someone had trespassed on the professor's property. He wanted me to testify in court. We would go before the court of justice not only as defendants but also as witnesses from time to time. Even though I was very angry with the professor, I accepted. Because even at 80 years old, he was still enjoying life, attending conferences and eating at banquets, or going to Iran at the invitation of the Persian Shah, or answering scholarly questions from letters sent from America, Europe, India, Pakistan, Japan, and even Mongolia.

He had spent 60 years compiling his notes and had prepared so many valuable works, yet he was unwilling to go to the trouble of publishing them. Just as Mükrimin Halil had spent his days in the 'Esâfil-i Şark' coffeehouses, talking nonsense and producing almost no works despite his knowledge, the Professor was about to waste his notebooks, which no one else could read. I discussed this matter with him on several occasions. There were even unpleasant exchanges between us. But would he ever listen to me? I had served as a private in the Turkish Republic Army, while Sabahattin Ali was a lieutenant, and I had not even reached the rank of corporal. Zeki Velidi, on the other hand, was the commander-in-chief of the Bashkir army. Of course, he wouldn't listen to me. When I told him, 'Don't waste your days writing pages and pages of letters in all these languages,' he replied in the 'Togan dialect,' a special dialect spoken only by himself, which is distinct from other Turkish dialects and dialects, saying, 'I live with these.' It seems that the teacher liked to be praised. Because those who wrote the letters praised his knowledge and then asked for information on a particular issue. The teacher would waste his days looking at some manuscripts in the libraries of Istanbul, and then spend a few more days writing replies in German, English, Russian, or Persian.

Of course, I was saying this because I belonged to the 'nizam-i alem' group. Mükrimin Halil had once told me that I belonged to the nizam-i alem group among the four groups of people.

What will happen now? Nothing will happen. Cevdet Sunay said he went to the Soviets and came back satisfied. I was not pleased at all. As a soldier, I disagree with the commander-in-chief 'Togan,' and as a 'nothing,' I disagree with the "president" as well. A Russian journalist told one of the Turkish journalists who went with him, 'You see, we don't eat people.' Our naive journalist was pleased that they didn't eat him.

Yes, you don't eat people, but you commit atrocities that even cannibals who think for a thousand years would never imagine. You don't eat people, but you kill people by the thousands in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and you forcibly take land from Finland and Romania; you are eliminating the states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; despite emerging with the lie of freedom for nations, you are destroying Azerbaijan, Alash Orda, and Bukhara, and causing the deaths of millions of people by forcing them to work in Siberia in starvation and misery. You slaughtered 8,000 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. You deported the Crimean Turks en masse to Siberia, killing half of them along the way, and had your own embassy staff assassinate the German ambassador in Ankara! Through the 'Our Radio' station you established in the puppet state of East Germany, you slander Turkey every day. As if that were not enough, when you felt powerful, you demanded land from us.

What else will you do, comrade? What you have done is not something that can be done once and make us trust you. Your approach is not one of friendship, but of fear—fear that your affairs are becoming entangled, fear of America, West Germany, and China, and fear of the Turks within your own country. If things come to a head, you could be gone in a matter of weeks. You know this, which is why you are approaching us.

If General De Gaulle had said 'long live independent French Quebec' in Canada, and Cevdet Sunay had said 'long live independent Turkish Azerbaijan' in Baku, would Kosigin and Brezhnev have collapsed and fainted? They would have fainted so badly that even if we sent all of Turkey's lemons, it would have been difficult to revive them.

While I was clashing my high philosophical ideas against the Brezhnev Doctrine with the Atsız Doctrine, summarised by the word 'Turan,' Mikâil Aleyhisselâm did something to me that you wouldn't believe: On the evening of 19 November, during a downpour, I was sitting in my room reading the newspaper with a candle on my desk and matches in my pocket, fearing a power outage, when I noticed water seeping into the room from the floor above. Upon going upstairs to investigate, what did I see? Eight taps (I am not exaggerating) were flowing from the ceiling of the upper floor, and countless drops were dripping from various places, soaking the house. We are accustomed to leaks. That is the rule in our house: Taps do not flow, leaks do. We weren't even bothered that some of our rare items, dating back to the time of Noah and Adam, were being ruined. But the eight taps I mentioned were dripping onto the bookshelves above, splashing two metres away and soaking everything on a large table, including books and albums. That was when the Third World War began in our house. Curtains and windows that had not been opened for years were quickly opened, and 100 candles (not 1,500 candles) were lit. The landlord, who had taken off his jacket, began to drain the water with his three allies.

My allies were the three most useful animals created by God. When you say 'most useful animal,' many people think of sheep, cows, horses, chickens, quails, or dogs. But the most useful animal is the sponge. With a single strike of the three sponges against the water-filled area and a squeeze through the window, at least two cups of water poured onto the street with each squeeze. Our street was flooded. The mackerel fish could swim comfortably. I was also contributing (!) to this flood with my sponge friends. Our pavement engineers did not think of installing drains when they built the street. An elementary school inspector also told me that they built village schools without chimneys. Let's not prolong the story: When the two downpours, each lasting about ten minutes, ended and I cautiously opened the cupboard doors, I saw that water had seeped into the bottom of the shelves where my most valuable and largest books were kept, and many books were soaking wet.

Like Deli Dumrul challenging Azrael, I first challenged Mikail. I asked him if he couldn't find anywhere else to soak in this big city of Istanbul. Since he wasn't as dangerous as Azrael, I went quite far in my bravado. I was very upset that some of the books I had collected over 47 years with a thousand efforts had been reduced to this state. Book lovers know what happens to books after they get wet and dry.

There was no way I could find Mikâil. Moreover, he could have brought Azrael with him and destroyed our 70-year-old mansion.

This time, I started to blame Buġra. I was tired of these books that had ruined my life and was about to sell them all, but Buġra, who was studying history in Munich, wrote me a letter asking me not to get rid of them. What was he doing studying history? Why didn't you study chemistry, engineering, or medicine? What is history? Isn't it just 'people were born, suffered, and died'?

After all these moments of anger passed, I spread the books out in safe places around the house, opened a new exhibition, and waited for them to dry. I moved the bookcases downstairs.

Today is 24 November, and the room is still damp. Yet the days after the downpour were sunny and warm.

Why did I write about this special adventure at the end of my travelogue on Germany? People keep asking me, 'When will Turkish history end?' My answer is this:

It is clear that Turkish history will not end. It cannot end.

There is someone who will end: the Turks.

#### Military Thought and Political Thought

Everyone has accepted the principle that military thought prevails in times of war. When a nation engages in armed combat, the sole goal and objective is for the army to achieve a decisive outcome. For the army to achieve a decisive outcome, it must remain united and strong. To ensure this condition, cities and provinces may be abandoned, and even part of the nation may fall under enemy occupation. However, as long as the army remains strong, all losses can be compensated for.

For a commander, retreating by leaving parts of the homeland to the enemy, abandoning part of the nation to the enemy, especially a ruthless enemy, is a serious disaster. However, there is no other way to save the nation. Just as doctors are justified in sacrificing a part of a body that cannot be restored in order to save the body, so a commander is justified in sacrificing castles, countries, part of the nation, or part of the army in order to save the entire nation.

Gazi Osman Pasha, the last of the first-class commanders in Turkish military history, would most likely have broken through the Russian encirclement and thus changed the course of the war if he had not been overcome by his feelings of mercy, despite his great military prowess. If, while making the breakthrough, he had acted solely on military considerations and abandoned the civilian population of Plevna to Bulgarian and Russian savagery, he would have been rid of a burden that was hindering the army's advance, and if he had managed to break through the Russian encirclement, the outcome of the 1877-1878 war would have been different.

Today, the world is facing new institutions. There is a situation that we can call war in peace. This situation is a state of war because it will ultimately lead to war. However, since war has not been officially and legally declared, peace is considered to be the right. We would like to touch upon this particular situation:

This situation, which is a third state between war and peace, is in fact a state of war. It is very dangerous to disregard military thinking in the face of this situation.

In our time, we can point to the Abyssinians as the first among the nations that have paid the price for neglecting military thinking: When Italy began to amass troops in Eritrea and Somalia, risking conflict with the whole world, it was clear that its goal was to invade Abyssinia. It was clear that no European state would come to the defence of Abyssinia. At that point, the only way to save Abyssinia or delay the invasion was to act with military thinking. When Italy began to build up its forces, the Ethiopians would declare a general mobilisation. With their simple organisation, they would quickly mobilise an army of nearly half a million men. Although Italian weapons were far superior, the Ethiopians, relying on their numerical and courageous superiority and the favourable climate conditions, would attempt to destroy or drive back the Italian divisions, which were relatively weak at the outset of the mobilisation. They were able to obtain weapons from the British and French that they could use.

In addition, an experienced military commander superior to Italian generals, such as Vehip Pasha, was in charge of the Abyssinian army's general staff. The Abyssinians' initial successes would undoubtedly secure them material aid and moral support from Europe. Having previously defeated the Italians, the Abyssinians would fight them with enthusiasm.

However, the Negus did not act with military thinking. He was preoccupied with political thinking. He made demands for peace. He did not call for a general mobilisation. In fact, with the idea of not provoking or inciting the Italians, he withdrew his own troops far behind the borders. All these actions were gross mistakes. His sacrifices did not deter the Italians from their decisions. On the contrary, it gave them plenty of time to prepare. Then the invasion was successful.

The British retreat at Dunkirk in World War II was a successful outcome of military thinking. Everyone sees and knows this move as a defeat. In reality, however, it can be said that this retreat paved the way for the German defeat. By retreating to England, abandoning first their allies, then a fifth of their own troops, and finally all their weapons, the British army achieved the following results: the Germans were unable to invade England; England became the base for the British and American armies; and the leap to France was thus secured.

Again, the German attack on Russia in the Second World War is one of the most energetic examples of military thinking. In newspapers, radio broadcasts, and other propaganda publications, the Germans' action was portrayed as a senseless act, an act of aggression for the sake of aggression. This is the apparent side of the matter. In reality, however, the Germans acted more quickly than the Russians, who were preparing to attack them, and disrupted their plans and their armies. If the terrible winter of that year had not saved the Russians from the Germans, this attack would have been a decisive offensive.

Now, military thinking and political thinking are clashing over the Korean War. MacArthur represents military thinking and advocates striking at the root of the enemy in order to defeat him. Truman was influenced by political thinking. He feared turmoil.

However, the upheavals he feared have actually come to pass: China and Russia are wasting troops and supplies in the war. Their official and legal intervention in the war will not significantly alter the current situation. So what should be done? Here, political and military thinking must work together: political thinking should seek to increase the number of United Nations forces participating in Korea and the number of troops, while military thinking should strive to wear down the enemy by extending the war to Manchuria and to Chinese industrial and military centres from the air.

If this is not done, and as long as the current limited forces continue to move back and forth in the Korean Peninsula without effective leadership, the war will drag on and degenerate due to the enemy's endless sources of rebellion.

Selim PUSAT

## An Important Magazine

Among the various magazines published in many cities of Turkey, those that are beneficial to the country are those headed by serious scholars. Alongside magazines that serve no purpose other than wasting paper and publishing worthless articles, these magazines, which work with genuine scientific humility and produce very serious results, will occupy an important place in Turkey's scientific history.

One such magazine is 'Ülkü,' which has been published under the guidance of Fevziye Abdullah, whose personality can be described as mystical. Fevziye Abdullah, a valuable literature teacher, managed the magazine very well without ever putting her modest personality forward, and the original and translated articles that were always sought after made Ülkü a treasure trove of Turkish studies. After Fevziye Abdullah stepped down from the magazine, Ülkü lost this quality.

'Doğuş,' published in Kars, was also a magazine that provided us with valuable literary and folklore material. Fahrettin Çelik, a Turkish language teacher at Kara High School, who attracted attention with his local studies, was the soul of this magazine. After Fahrettin Çelik withdrew, the magazine ceased publication.

'Ün,' published by the Isparta Halkevi, was managed by Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu, a Turkish language teacher in Istanbul, and contained rich articles on the history, geography, literature, and folklore of the Isparta province.

Finally, 'Halk Bilgisi Haberleri' (Folk Knowledge News), published by the Eminönü Halkevi in Istanbul, undoubtedly ranks first in terms of regularly publishing articles that can be considered a treasure trove of folklore. It is managed by Mehmet Halit Bayrı, who, regardless of his official title, is a true man of letters.

The journal I wish to discuss here, however, is none of these. I would like to mention the Konya Halkevi magazine, which, for some reason, has not attracted any attention, even though it publishes very important national and local publications. This magazine, named 'Konya' and quietly run by Mes'ud Koman in his own corner, is very important despite the poor printing of its first issues. Mes'ud Koman, director of the Konya Library, has served the knowledge of his country with this magazine, which has published 36 issues to date.

The first issue of the monthly magazine 'Konya' was published in September 1936. After the first 13 issues were published regularly, there was a slight delay, and issues 14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29 were published in pairs. However, after these issues, the magazine suddenly improved; issues 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 were published in a good and beautiful manner, not only in terms of the articles they contained but also in terms of printing.

In particular, the presence of many texts printed in old letters in these last issues is a success for the Konya magazine. Furthermore, the fact that many photographs of Konya monuments have been printed on glossy paper in every issue, starting from the first ones, proves Mes'ud Koman's serious efforts.

As for the contents of the magazine, the most important ones are as follows:

1- Aksarayî's thesis, translated into Turkish by the late Hasan Fehmi Turgal, namely Seljuk history.

2- The history of 'Şikar'.

3- A series of articles by Fikret BaŞtak on the history of Konya from the Hittite period onwards.

4- Translations by the late Hasan Fehmi Turgal from 'Ibn-i Bibi'.

5- An article by Mes'ud Koman on 'Villages belonging to the Oghuz Turks in the vicinity of Konya'.

6- Sections from 'Temürün Anadoludaki hareketleri' (Temür's Movements in Anatolia) translated by Hasan Fehmi Turgal from "Zafernâme".

7- Various translations by Hasan Fehmi Turgal from 'MüneccimbaŞı'.

8- Ferit UĞur's new article on 'Tevârîh-i Âl-i Karaman.'

9- 'Azer's series of articles on the religious history of ancient Anatolia.

10- Translations from 'Eflâki's tezkeresinden" by Naci Fikret BaŞtak.

II- An article on 'Celâleddin Karatay' written by Mes'ud Koman and Ferit Uğur (The bibliography at the end of this article is very important because Mes'ud Koman, who is completely unknown to the scientific world, briefly mentions the only copy of the manuscript found and purchased by him in Konya).

In addition to these, there are many important and valuable notes and articles written by the Konya scholar Abdulkadir (Director of the Evkaf Museum in Istanbul), Dr. Süheyl Ünver, Mes'ud Koman, Ferit Uğur and others. For example, we learn from an article by Mes'ud Koman that the real name of Hoca Dehhani, a 13th-century Anatolian Turkish poet, was Mehmet, that he came from the village of Dehan in Tarsus, and that the name of the Seljuk history, which has not yet been found, is 'Vekayi-ül-Ezmân min Sehâm id-Dehân.' Mes'ud Koman proves this by referring to the only copy of the manuscript he obtained last year, "Tezkiret-ül-İber vel-Asâr fi bahs il-Umem vel-Emsâr," which was written in Arabic in 765 (1364) by Ibrahim ibn Sharif. This work is of great importance.

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We see that many articles of great importance in terms of history, literature, ethnography and folklore are published in magazines and newspapers in many of our cities and towns. Sometimes, such articles appear in unexpected newspapers, even if only once. Unfortunately, these articles, which are published in poor print and in unknown newspapers, are forgotten and little benefit is derived from them. Although it is impossible for articles published in a serious and well-known magazine such as Konya to be completely forgotten, it would be better for the country if they were reprinted in a better edition and made available to a wider audience.

Today, due to the paper crisis, many magazines cannot be published. Unfortunately, the most useful ones are among them. Perhaps the central administration of the People's Houses could classify the publications of its forty or so magazines that are valuable from the point of view of Turkish studies and have them reprinted in several volumes with the additions and corrections of the authors? In this way, these publications would be saved from oblivion, those wishing to study them would have a comprehensive source, and the People's Houses would have done a positive deed and promoted themselves. If this is not possible due to the paper crisis, could the articles at least be classified and corrected so that they are ready for publication? The crises of the day should not be an obstacle to work. Otherwise, it will be impossible to do any serious work.

(I) By 'science' here, I mean 'Turkish science,' that is, 'Turkish studies.'

### Speeches 3

Today's nations are much more enlightened than those of ancient times due to education and publications. For this reason, it is impossible to govern these nations outside of democracy for a long time. It is necessary to raise people who will not abuse their freedom in many of their actions and to prevent those who are prone to abuse it with strict measures.

It seems that nations are seeking solutions to this problem. The De Gaulle administration created an authoritarian democracy in France and revived France, which had been severely weakened after the Second World War.

The administrations in Spain and Portugal were established to prevent the anarchy arising from democracy in those countries, but they have not achieved the success seen in France. This is because the regimes in these two countries, which are less developed than France, restrict many freedoms and fail to satisfy the people.

Two countries in Latin America, Mexico and Argentina, have also been engaged in such an experiment for a long time.

In Asia, Pakistan is conducting a successful experiment within its own conditions.

On 27 May 1960, the government in Turkey initially seemed to be heading in this direction, but then abandoned it.

Nations are moving towards maturity and greatness. Regimes are a means to an end. A regime is maintained in proportion to the extent to which it elevates a nation. When it begins to cause harm, it is abandoned.

Turkey embraced democracy at a time when the symptoms of disease were apparent in democracy. For this reason, it is obliged to be extremely cautious and vigilant and to take measures against the symptoms of disease.

If certain minorities and movements attempt to use the freedom granted by democracy to divide or destroy Turkey, and if the existing legislation is insufficient to prevent such destruction, it is the duty of the state to take new measures and find solutions. In such cases, it may even resort to actions that are contrary to democracy. For example, despite the current Constitution, certain laws such as the Atatürk Law and the Measures Law are in force with the aim of maintaining order and preventing internal conflicts.

If these laws are abolished on the grounds that they are anti-democratic, it may be a brilliant move from a legal standpoint, but the country's order would be thrown into chaos.

The famous Sheikh al-Islam of the sixteenth century, Ebussuud, who was the Minister of Justice and President of the Supreme Court at the time, did not hesitate to issue fatwas by interpreting certain provisions of Sharia law in order to preserve the foundations of the state and protect the health of the nation. He was such a far-sighted statesman.

Today, Kurdish nationalism is at the forefront of ideas hostile to Turkey. Kurdish nationalists are pursuing the cause of establishing a separate state in the eastern provinces. Newspapers (such as the July 1967 issue of the 'Milli Ülkü' newspaper published in Kayseri) reported that Bitlis Senator Ziya Şerehanoğlu fled to the United States and worked there for the Kurdish cause. Let us imagine that this man remained in the Senate while concealing his intentions, that he participated in secret meetings where the Grand National Assembly discussed vital issues, and that he even became a minister or prime minister. Would this pose a greater threat to Turkey?

The solution to this problem is essentially to Turkify the eastern provinces, which are predominantly Turkish, at a rapid pace. Instead of the reckless practice of settling Turkish immigrants from the Balkans in İstanbul or Western Anatolia, but rather relocating them to the east in a planned manner, redirecting the excess population from provinces like Kastamonu, Sivas, Konya, and Trabzon—which send large numbers of people to İstanbul—to the east, sending educated individuals and workers in large numbers from the west to establish major industrial enterprises, and implementing the necessary cultural propaganda measures to spread the Turkish language.

As long as there are Turkish-speaking people in the East who speak Kurdish, the ill intentions of foreigners will not be lacking, and they will stir up the Kurds and cause trouble for Turkey. The fact that the M.B. government, upon its establishment, was asked by our 'friendly' Americans for permission to spread the Kurdish alphabet they had prepared for 'scientific experience' shows what we are forced to deal with.

The second enemy idea is communism. Communism, which has begun to take the form of a special nationalism in many parts of the world, is still an extreme form of Muscovism in our country.

They are enemies of Turkishness. As in the past, they immediately take a stand against the ideal of the unification of all Turks in a single state. They claim that the Muscovites have uplifted the Turks there. America is imperialist, but Russia is not. Nazım Hikmet is a great national poet, etc.

Believing that the Muscovites have uplifted the Turks of Turkistan is like believing that a butcher fattened a lamb for slaughter simply because he loved it. It cannot be explained why the number of Kazakhs, which was 4,000,000 in 1926, decreased to 3,500,000 in 1966, i.e. 40 years later. While the number of Turks in Turkey was 13,500,000 in 1927, it increased to 32,000,000 in 1967, they had reached 32,000,000, an increase of 135% in 40 years. If they had increased at the same rate, the Kazakhs should have reached 9,500,000, but they had dropped to 3,500,000. Here is a shining example of the high communist culture and communism's efforts to uplift nations...

The stubborn publications claiming that Nazim Hikmet is the national poet are also a separate absurdity. Comparing him to Namik Kemal and claiming that both fled abroad out of love for freedom is unparalleled material for satirical literature.

Namık Kemâl fled abroad to escape the authority of Sultan Aziz. However, when he arrived in France, he did not say, 'Now I have come to my true homeland. France created me,' nor did he add Maurois or Marchand to the end of his name. Namık Kemâl was Turkish. He was a descendant of Bekir Ağa from Konya.

Nazım Hikmet, on the other hand, boasted like a gypsy who calls theft heroism, saying, 'I have come to my true homeland. Stalin created me.' He took the Slavic surname Verzanski, adopted the nationality of Poland, his grandfather's homeland, and broadcast against Turkey on the communist radio station Bizim Radyo. Because his blood was not Turkish. He was a Pole at heart. He acted according to his nature.

It has now come to light that Nâzım Hikmet and his comrades were servants who wanted to bind Turkey to Moscow. Trying to pass off a traitor as a patriot is also treason. His treachery is another matter, but insisting that he was a great poet is futile. Reciting clichéd rhymes like the old Hurûfi poets only pleases those with a taste for the vulgar. Those who present his verses of longing for Turkey as proof of his patriotism should not forget that just as a prostitute who has been in the trade for forty years cannot be considered chaste for mentioning modesty once, a traitor who sold his country cannot be considered patriotic for longing for the place where he was born.

The Greeks who were expelled from Turkey in the 1924 exchange also express their longing for their birthplace to the Turks they meet in a heartbreakingly manner.

Are these Turkish patriots too?...

Nations that value morality have sometimes not hesitated to reject even their own artists. The moralists of nineteenth-century England refused to allow the great writer Oscar Wilde to be buried in England because he was immoral. In contrast, the schemers who sought to elevate Nazim Hikmet to the status of a national hero would not hesitate to nominate him as the first candidate for a Turkish pantheon if one were to be established tomorrow.

If traitors are praised in a country, if their works are published and their plays are performed, if their works are taught to students in high schools and universities, and if literature teachers openly promote these traitors, then it is time to take action.

Just as a sick person who cannot deprive himself of certain things he loves for a temporary period of time is doomed to be deprived of them forever, nations cannot risk losing certain rights for a short period of time, or they may lose them altogether.

If ill-intentioned individuals find opportunities to use certain articles of the Constitution against the nation, it is the duty of the National Assembly to reinforce those articles and close any loopholes that could be exploited.

Constitutions naturally consider all those living in a country to be one nation. It is impossible for it to be otherwise. In return, those living in that country also have duties towards the state. The primary duty is to speak the official language of the state as one's mother tongue. While there are people in this country who do not know Turkish and do not accept Turkish identity, calling themselves Kurds, and while their educated ones are pursuing the cause of Kurdish nationalism and the dream of a Kurdish state, the fact that there are those who take a stand against us for speaking the truth and drawing attention to it shows that this folly continues.

The 'speeches' of the deputy named Reşit Ülker and the senator named Selâhattin Cizrelioğlu, which were interpreted very negatively, show their ignorance of the drama in the country. Let them answer if there are any lies or mistakes in what I have written:

I- Is there no Kurdish movement that has reached the National Security Council in Turkey?

2- Is it not true that a Kurdish-born lieutenant named İhsan Nuri, during the time of Atatürk, deceived some Kurdish soldiers and led them to Mount Ağrı, where they raised the flag of rebellion, made a Kurdish flag, and, taking advantage of the geographical situation of Mount Ağrı, which was then under the joint administration of Turkey and Iran, caused a major military operation? Is it not true that Turkey ceded some territory to Iran in the south in exchange for the sections of Mount Ağrı within Iranian territory being incorporated into Turkey?

3- Did Bitlis Senator Şerefhanoglu not participate in Kurdish activities in America while fleeing from here?

4- Did an Alevi Kurd named Doğan Kılıç, who was raised in America and arrested for Kurdish nationalism during the National Unity period, cause major incidents by promoting Kurdish nationalism under the guise of Aleviism in Elbistan?

5- Did the monthly magazines 'Deng' and 'Yeni Akış' not openly engage in Kurdish nationalism by publishing Kurdish articles and poems?

Our MP and senator were sleeping during these events. They remained silent while 'Yeni Akış' was publishing its poisonous articles. When we exposed the truth, they turned into lions. They demanded an investigation against me. Let me give them the good news: An investigation has begun against them. The first hearing will take place on 20 September. Let me ask them a question too.

Mr. Reşit Ülker and Mr. Selâhattin Cizrelioğlu! Are you leftists or Kurds? Why are you so anxious? Mr. Cizrelioğlu, do you have leftist tendencies? What is your education? When I wrote the poem 'Invitation' to Mussolini in 1940, were you heroes like you are today? You flatter me by calling me a fascist. Do you know that those who call nationalists fascists are communists? Do you read newspapers?

I will also answer a predestined question: They will say, 'With such a great government in place, is it up to you to see these dangers?' The days when those at the head of the state were the highest-ranking people of the nation are long gone. High offices have ceased to be the places that people long for in advanced democracies. In Switzerland, some people now have to be begged to accept the one-year presidency. In our country, there is no longer any indication that those at the head of the state and government think better than the people. Worse still, it is now commonplace for those in high office to be openly criticised. When President Sunay said, 'The constitution is closed to socialism,' he was attacked by some law professors and insulted by a left-wing writer.

In such an environment, it is my right and duty to warn the government.

A village teacher named Dündar was the first to inform the government of the impending Sheikh Said rebellion, but his warning was ignored, and he was even warned not to meddle in matters that did not concern him. However, the unfolding events showed that a village teacher had assessed the situation better than the government. As a Turk who has risen to the position of high school teacher, achieving a slightly higher social status than Dündar, I am warning the government: Do not fall into the same mistake as the Bayar-Menderes team.

Economic development does not solve everything. Economic development can also be deceptive. The Bayar-Menderes team built dams, factories, ports, and roads. They neglected spiritual development, and that is why they fell overnight. Those who slaughtered sheep, cattle, and camels because Menderes came to power, and those who tried to sacrifice their sons, could not even utter a word when the Democrats were exiled to Yassıada. Their spiritual side was weak. They had been indoctrinated with the idea of material prosperity and gain. Therefore, they made no effort to prevent the fall of the Democrats. Because they would not have any material gains.

Now the Justice Party government is following the same path. Factories, dams, roads, schools, everything is fine... But what about spiritual advancement? What about teachers who seek to destroy the national ideal, books, plays, and films that seek to destroy the national structure? These are not just occasional occurrences. They are systematic and persistent.

Instead of dealing with issues that will bring no immediate benefit to itself, such as changing the national quota system in the election law, wouldn't it be better for the government to take beneficial initiatives to plug the gaps in all laws, including those that are contrary to the Constitution, and to work together with the trusted elements of other parties to make Turkey more nationalistic?

If Turkey does not become nationalised from top to bottom, it means that the conditions for a new fragmentation are being prepared. The Albanians and Arabs, whom we never separated from ourselves as Ottomans, betrayed us in the Balkan and First World Wars, striking our army from behind and leaving. The states that have their eyes on our oil regions now want to play the same role with the Kurds.

This is a serious danger, and attempting to divide the state and the nation by promoting Kurdish nationalism in Turkey is outright treason. These traitors must be crushed with the utmost severity. Those who seek to turn Turkey red under the guise of socialism and social justice are traitors walking in the same direction as those who want to destroy Turkey. The state, government, nation, universities, prosecutors, judiciary, press, parties, youth, teachers, associations, and unions must all be vigilant and extremely cautious against them.

I consider the fact that I have been brought to court with a request for 1-3 years in prison for fulfilling my duty to warn against those who seek to divide the country and establish a Kurdish state by promoting Kurdish nationalism, while defending our national unity, as a personal thank you. I do not expect anything else, as I have evaluated people as they deserve since 1944.

I am bound to Turkey not by my interests, but only by the blood of my ancestors, my national ideals and my honour, and I have summarised the ways in which a national danger can be averted.

This was my duty. This duty will continue to the end.

### Fear of the Turks

Have you noticed that there is a fear of Turks in countries neighbouring or close to us? This fear, which disturbs everyone from the weakest to the strongest, comes from the memory of the past in those nations. We have been dominant there. Or there are Turkish communities in those countries, large or small. The possibility that these Turks will rise up and unite again, as they did in the past, is a nightmare for neighbouring or nearby countries.

The Turks in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria have disappeared, and all that remains of their Turkish identity is a Turkish surname spoken in Arabic.

The Turkistan Turks, who fled China and took refuge in Saudi Arabia, numbering 30,000 to 50,000, are in the process of becoming Arabised. In a Muslim country, the children of these Turks, who have risen to high positions thanks to their intelligence and hard work, are growing up speaking Arabic like Arabs in Arab schools. There is no helping hand from Turkey for them. Those orphans will also disappear there.

In northern Syria, Turks who live adjacent to Turkey and call themselves 'Turkmen' are slowly losing their Turkish language in their city and commercial life. Forty to fifty years from now, Turkishness will be nothing more than a memory here, or perhaps not even that.

The Turks in Iraq are very resilient. Nearly a million people who have preserved their Turkish identity in the plains between the Kurds and Arabs in the north are demonstrating their success in drawing attention to themselves through their struggles and determination. If the Turks of Kirkuk are known in Turkey, it is solely due to their efforts and dedication.

The late journalist Sedat Simavi was the one who made Turkey look at the Turkish Cypriots. While Turkey's historian Foreign Minister F. Köprülü said with great peace of mind, 'There is no such thing as the Cyprus issue for us,' that journalist, through a passionate campaign, made the Turkish nation and state accept that such an issue existed. Cyprus became a national cause, a Red Apple. If the American navy had not intervened, Cyprus would be Turkey's 68th province today.

The Balkan Turks under Bulgarian and Greek rule are under great pressure. Every possible means is being used to drive them away and make them forget their nationality. The best evidence that an active foreign policy will bring freedom to these Turks is the result of the visits made here by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in recent months. If Turkey asserts its influence, the Turks in Greece and Bulgaria will gain human rights and be able to preserve their Turkish identity. Turkey has the following cards to play against these two countries: the Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox communities in Istanbul, Gökçeada, and Bozcaada against Greece, and completely severing political ties with Bulgaria, closing the Straits to Bulgarian ships or ships bound for Bulgaria, and preventing transit through Bulgaria. No one would dare go to war with Turkey because of such harsh measures. We live in an age where people and nations have become complacent. They are afraid to even mention war. We must take advantage of this. Wouldn't it be shameful if we did not show the same courage that small and powerless Arab states have shown in protecting their national interests against the West?

The Iranian Turks are a major issue. Turks, Persians, Kurds, Lor, Baluch, Arab, and Armenian peoples, Iran was under Turkish rule until 1925. In that year, someone named Muhammad Reza, who had risen from the ranks to become a high-ranking officer, took advantage of the absence of the Iranian shah in France to seize power, and from that day on, Persian nationalism began to seek the annihilation of the Turks in Iran. Although Turks constitute the largest ethnic group in Iran's population of approximately thirty million (as no accurate census has ever been conducted), the Iranian people are referred to as 'Iranians' and their language as 'Iranian,' in an attempt to erase their Turkish identity. While there are schools for the 50,000 to 60,000 Armenians in Iran, there are no schools for the 13 million Turks.

The Turks are divided into four groups, the largest of which are the Azerbaijanis. Although they live in the region stretching from the Soviet border to the outskirts of Tehran, they are scattered throughout Iran due to trade. Turkish is spoken throughout Iran. The second group is the GümüŞtepe region on the Caspian coast, where half a million Turkmen live. In recent years, they have become wealthy through cotton farming. The third group is the Qashqai Turks around Shiraz. Their language is very similar to the Turkish spoken by the Turkmen, so they may be Turkmen Turks who migrated there during the Ilkhanid era. The fourth group is the Kalaç Turks living in one or two villages in Iraqi Acem.

The Azerbaijanis and Qashqais are very determined in preserving their Turkish identity and resist all forms of oppression. The educated young Turkmen have started speaking Persian because they find it easy. The rest seem doomed to assimilation.

Iran, which some of our intellectuals refer to as 'brotherly Iran,' does not allow Turkish youth in Iran to pursue higher education in Turkey. These young people are not granted visas to any Western country. Yet, the most active and energetic element in Iran is the Turks. By oppressing and angering the Turks in Iran, Iran gains nothing. It would lose a great deal. If, one day, the Turks in Iran, who live with independent and powerful Turkey to the west and Turkestan Turks with a strengthened national consciousness to the north, were to react to this pressure, what would become of Iran? It is said that the current Shah is distributing his own lands to the people in order to carry out reforms in Iran, and Turkish intellectuals believe this. The current Shah's father was not a millionaire, but a poor man who rose from the ranks of the Kazakh army. So, isn't it reasonable to ask how his son came to acquire so much land? This land reform is a fairy tale, just like the 2500th anniversary of the Iranian state.

The northern part of Afghanistan is called Afghan Turkistan. There are about three million Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Turkmen living there. Even weak and primitive Afghanistan is trying to oppress these Turks and prevent them from rising. The place called Afghanistan was a province of the Ghaznavids, Seljuks and Timurids. By a twist of fate, a republic was established there.

As for the Turks in the Soviet and Chinese countries: The main body lives here. It is known that there are approximately 40 million Turks in the Soviet Union and around 10 million in China. Until recently, Turks in both countries were under great pressure, but the onset of Sino-Russian hostility has worked in their favour. Both countries are constantly making concessions to the Turks out of fear that the other state will incite them. Since this incitement comes from both sides, the concessions follow one another, and as the Russian and Chinese governments become increasingly wary of the Turks in their own countries, the Turks are able to breathe more freely. The Turks in the Soviet Union are highly advanced technically. The worst aspect of this is that their alphabets were separated by the Russians in the past. In Russia, there are many alphabets, such as Azerbaijani, Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Turkmen, Hakas, Oyrat, Yakut, and Chuvash. The Crimeans also had an alphabet, but since the Crimeans have been dispersed, we do not know what it was. These separate alphabets were created to turn them into separate nations that could not understand each other, but it was in vain. Even if they do not understand each other now, after political unity is established, they will once again speak a single language, and even a single dialect. It is the duty of Turkish foreign policy to protect the rights of all Turks, from the smallest to the largest, under foreign rule. There is much that a skilled and intelligent foreign policy can achieve. Even if it can do nothing else, is it not enough to tell the Turks who live alone and without hope that they are not abandoned, and to give them hope and momentum?

Let us not forget that all these countries fear the Turks. They wonder what we will do if the Turks unite and establish a great state as they did in the past.

Let them think.

This state will be established. What will happen then will be considered at that time.

## Fake Nationalism

Consistency between words and actions is one of the basic principles of morality. If a man who claims to be religious does not believe in God, if a person who advocates social justice exploits the people, if those who shout about democracy incite dictatorship, then these people are not moral.

The same applies to nationalism. You cannot be a nationalist and oppose nationalism; you cannot champion the cause of a nation and link its roots to seventy-two nations at once; you cannot claim to be a nationalist and participate in campaigns in favour of the enemies of nationalism... Such ridiculous and fabricated nationalism can only be found among drunks who do not know what they are saying or doing.

Despite all these moves, despite having come much further than 40 years ago, despite the literacy rate rising from 8.2% in 1927 to 40% in 1960, one of the reasons why our nationalism cannot escape its troubles is the contradictions in the situation of those who claim to be intellectual leaders. Sincerity, which is abundant in the composition of heroism that people always respect, is one of the conditions of being valuable. Where there is no sincerity, hypocrisy begins. Those who give heroism or value to hypocritical people are fools and opportunists.

Today in Turkey, there are two developing and influential schools of thought: nationalism and religious fundamentalism. These two currents, which are often confused even among the educated, sometimes run parallel and sometimes run counter to each other. Strangely enough, among those who lead the religious movement, apart from the sincere ones, there are also enemies of Turkishness, enemies of the Turkish people, gamblers, and alcoholics.

There is no difference between a man who frequents taverns and gambling dens and claims to be a champion of Islam and a prostitute who talks about family virtues.

It is a clear fact that nations rise in proportion to the superiority of their political and intellectual leaders. Dying for an idea is as honourable as dying on the battlefield. If these leaders act according to the principle of 'friends are martyrs, we are veterans,' but act like bullies when there is no danger and cowards when the situation is serious, then no good will come of that community.

Although he was neither a nationalist nor a religious fanatic, Professor Ali Fuat Başgil, who considered himself to be such and was also regarded as such by many, was responded to in 1961 for his insults against the Anatolian Turks. Using examples from his own writings, I revealed that the thoughts of the Ordinary Professor, who was then being presented as a candidate for the presidency, about the Turks were identical to those of the Kremlin.

BaŞgil repeats the same rhetoric in his article titled 'On Nationalism' published in the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper on 30 November 1963: While discussing nationalism with his friends during a trip to the countryside in Switzerland, they said to him, 'You are a well-known nationalist, let us hear what you have to say.' He first stated that he was not a racist, then claimed that nationalism was based on unity of heart and that the Turks of Turkey were a mixture of various ethnic groups gathered around a Turkish core.

BaŞgil's constant references to the synthesis of races and the amalgamation of various ethnic groups inevitably draw attention and make one wonder, 'Is there something he is afraid of?' Yes, nationalism is based on a unity of hearts, but this is a unity of hearts among those of the same ethnicity. The more a person knows that they come from a different lineage, the less likely they are to warm up to the nation they live in. I see no need to list hundreds of examples of this terrible truth, so I ask BaŞgil: Can you form a unity of hearts with a Black person, a Gypsy, or a Greek and consider yourself to be of the same nation as them? If you say yes, then there is no problem. I wish him well and consider myself to have lost the argument. If he says no, then he has lost the case. He should remain silent and refrain from engaging in meaningless discussions on historical topics about which he knows nothing.

A nationalist, in the simplest terms, is someone who considers the nation and nationality to be superior to everything else. BaŞgil, who considers nationalism to be inherent to himself, attempts to explain nationalism with Islam in his article dated 30 November, saying that Islam permits this type of nationalism but not that type. We are nationalists and Turkish nationalists, above all forms of oppression. BaŞgil's invocation of Islam here is nothing more than populism and an expression of weakness. Is this the only aspect of Islam that is not in force? Cover women, abolish interest, govern the state according to Sharia law!

It is impossible to do these things. But Islam is alive and will continue to live. It will live strongly to the extent that it can adapt to life, and it will remain a matter of the hearts and consciences of individuals, without interfering in the state. That being the case, it is not clear what BaŞgil means, what he wants, or what he hopes to achieve by constantly bringing up a personal matter of belief, namely 'religion,' which should never be mixed with the issue of nationalism.

What he does not know, understand, or comprehend is the difference between the mixing of a few races and the assimilation of one race by another.

In mixing, none of the mixed parties are superior to the others in any particular way. Certain things are taken from all of them. Even the superior elements of languages lose their originality and undergo structural changes. The French are like this. The Latins (i.e., the Romans) came and mixed with the Celts (i.e., the Gauls), and a people emerged who spoke a crude language derived from Latin, which had become corrupted and altered in the Celtic tongue.

Five hundred years later, the Germans (i.e., the Frankish people who spoke German) came and brought about another mixture. During the time of the Gauls, the people were fair-haired, but due to their mixing with the Latins, they became dark-skinned, and a blond element was added to their composition. Their assimilation lasted for about four centuries, and in the ninth century, a new nation emerged. This nation is a community that takes its name from the Franks, its language from the Latins, and its temperament from the Gauls. This is a mixture.

In melting, a large mass swallows up smaller masses, makes them like itself, and after a while nothing remains of what melted. This is what happened to the Turks who conquered China and India. The Pakistanis are the children of those who were converted to Islam by the Turks, especially during the Ghaznavid era. Many Turks have also mixed among them. However, no one can say that 'the Pakistanis are a mixture of Turks and Indians.' This is because there are no Turkish characteristics in the Pakistanis.

To give an example, we can say that if two tablespoons of lemon juice and twenty grams of sugar are mixed into a glass of water, the result is neither lemon nor sugar. It is lemonade, which has all the characteristics of both, to a greater or lesser extent. However, if five drops of lemon juice or one gram of sugar are mixed into a glass of water, the taste and nature of the water will not change. A chemical analysis is necessary to determine whether lemon or sugar is present in the mixture.

The mixing of the Turks who came to Anatolia from Turkistan with others is of the second type: assimilation. This is not something to be exaggerated. The great conquests made by the Turks when they opened Anatolia, the fact that the state did not pursue a policy of Islamisation in order to collect taxes, the general inability of the Turks to represent other nations, and their meticulous customs, which continue to some extent even today, of not mixing with foreigners, meant that the foreign elements that mixed with them remained insignificant and did not reach a level that would destroy our originality.

It is not clear what BaŞgil meant by the Muslim and Christian ethnic groups that he said mixed with the Turks. I am sure that he himself was not fully aware of what he meant. It is possible that by 'Christian groups' he meant the devşirme Janissaries. Let us repeat once again that the Janissaries numbered only eight to ten thousand in the entire Ottoman army and were forbidden to marry before retirement.

For some reason, BaŞgil also addressed the knotty issue of the 'mixed Anatolian nation' in 1961 (in the 7 October issue of *Son Havadis*) in an article titled 'My Election Speeches,' which was election propaganda, even though there was no need to do so. In an election article, this claim, which was nothing more than a display of intellectual poverty aimed at currying favour with minorities at the expense of the majority, was also contrary to historical fact.

At the time, he responded with an article titled 'The Gross Errors of the Ordinary Professor,' demonstrating from his writings that BaŞgil was neither a nationalist nor an Islamist, and reminding readers that portraying the Turks of Turkistan and Turkey as separate nations was precisely the thinking of the Kremlin, and that he had participated in a campaign to pardon the traitor Nazim Hikmet, signing a petition for the communist to be pardoned. (1)

At the time, Ordinaryüs was unable to respond. Now, two years later, in a footnote to his article entitled 'Milliyetçilik Bahsi' (Nationalism Debate) (Yeni İstanbul, 30 November 1963), he says:

We had previously written about this truth (i.e. that the Turks of Turkey are a halita) in one of the Istanbul newspapers and were attacked by a writer. This ignorant person, pretending to forget the Muslim and Christian ethnic groups that made up the Ottoman Empire just yesterday and the fact that they mixed with the Turkish element, tried to prove his rotten argument by quoting bits from British and French authors, that is, trying to cover the sun with mud...

Poor old drunkard! As if he thought that the mixing of all the elements in an empire was an inevitable fate, he was unaware of the Turks brought to Anatolia by the Seljuks, the Ilkhanids, and the Russian wars, and believing the racial mixing he had created in his imagination to be real, he called me 'ignorant.' And to prove that he was not sober while writing this article, he quotes passages from English and French authors.

Even if BaŞgil's inappropriate words were 100% true, being ignorant is more honourable than being a coward and licking up your own spit. He lost himself in dreams of becoming head of state, made heroic gestures, and uttered grand words such as, 'If I turn back, I am a traitor to the nation,' but when he saw two men in uniform in front of him, he was so terrified that he renounced both the presidency and the senate.

Without responding to any of the evidence and claims I presented in my 1961 article, this Ordinary Professor openly calls me ignorant and spouts vulgarities such as 'you can't cover the sun with mud.' He has written articles claiming that the Turks should be divided, that signing a petition for the pardon of Nazim Hikmet is necessary, and that nationalism and religion are incompatible with today's realities. (2) has truly pleased the spirits of Lenin and Stalin. What do you say about such a man sitting in the Çankaya mansion? Is Todori's tavern in Kalamış not enough for him?

(1) When Ali Fuat BaŞgil joined the campaign launched by Ahmet Emin Yalman and signed for the pardon of Nâzım Hikmet, a Slavic lackey of the Russians, a discussion took place between him and one of his students. The young student asked BaŞgil in class: "Sir! As a nationalist Turkish youth and your student, I ask you. Why did you sign the list requesting the pardon of a communist?" The professor replied, 'I signed this list at the request of the highly esteemed Halide Edip Adıvar!' The nationalist young man then asked, 'Sir, do you become a communist just because someone asks you to?' Having lost the debate in a rather painful manner, BaŞgil resorted to his authority as a professor and replied, 'I am your professor, you are my student. Know your place, shut up and sit down!'

(2) The articles about religion and nationality not being in line with today's requirements and the responses to them are in my brochure titled 'The Gross Errors of Ordinaryüs.'

### The Epic of Alp Er Tunga

Since the Saka were the earliest Turks, their epics bear traces of the earliest Turkish history. As the Saka ruled supreme in Turkistan between the 7th and 4th centuries BCE, the Saka epic is nothing more than the epic version of the historical events of those times. The Saka epic consists of two parts: 'Alp Er Tunga' and 'Şu.' The first part recounts the battles of the earliest Turks with the Medes and Achaemenids of Iran, while the second part commemorates their wars with Alexander the Great of Macedonia. According to the epic, both are Turkish rulers.

No piece written by the Turks themselves about this national epic hero, whom they call 'Alp Er Tunga' or 'Buku Han' or 'Buka Han,' has yet been found. There are some rhymed pieces in the book of KaŞgarlı Mahmud, but these are not about the deeds of Alp Er Tunga; they are sagu, or elegies, written about him. However, we have fragments of the Alp Er Tunga epic recorded by the Iranians. The Iranians call this Turkish hero 'Afrâsiyâb.' The Persian poet Firdevsî mentioned Afrâsiyab extensively in his great work 'Shahnameh,' which is the epic history of Iran. When writing the parts belonging to Afrâsiyâb, Firdevsî saw not only the legends among the Iranians, but also those among the Turks. This is because Firdevsî was in the court of the Turkish sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and in a Turkish environment. This is also proven by the fact that some of the names of Turkish heroes in the Shahnameh are purely Turkish. However, the legends about Alp Er Tunga were undoubtedly different among the Turks and the Persians. In particular, most of the Turkish names were Persianised in the Persian legends. For example, 'Alp Er Tunga' is 'Afrâsiyâb' in Persian accounts, and Alp Er Tungan's brother 'Alp Arız' is 'Ağrîres.' In Turkish accounts, Alp Er Tungan's daughter's name is 'Kaz.' In Persian accounts, his two daughters' names are "Ferengis" and 'Menîje.' In contrast, in Iranian legends, one of Alp Er Tunga's sons is named 'Kara Han' and a hero is named 'Demür,' which are pure Turkish names. It is only natural that the epics of two nations that have fought each other for centuries would influence each other.

The epic of Alp Er Tunga, the summary of which is given below, is taken from the Shahnameh. However, the names Afrâsiyâb and Agrîres have been replaced with their Turkish equivalents, Alp Er Tunga and Alp Arîz. The Turkish names of the heroes of this epic can be found in some books, such as the work of KaŞgarlı Mahmud.

This epic, written from the Iranian perspective and exaggerated in the style of Ferdowsi, is naturally hostile to the Turks. Nevertheless, Turkish heroism is acknowledged in many places. The Iranians are often depicted as victorious in extraordinary ways.

Alp Er Tunga also has a historical personality. Alp Er Tunga, who remained the greatest enemy of the Iranians for a long time, even conquering Iran once or twice and finally being killed by treachery, is nothing more than the personality taken by the Saka hero in the epic, who was killed by treachery by the Iranians in 624 BC in Saka history. Although the memories of some Turkish heroes who lived in later ages, such as the Göktürks, have been added to his epic persona, the main elements belong to the Saka era.

Upon hearing of the death of the Iranian king 'Minûçehr,' the Turan king PeŞeng gathered the Turkish nobles to declare war against Iran: 'You know what the Iranians have done to us. The time has come for the Turks to take revenge.' His son, 'Alp Er Tunga,' was filled with a desire for revenge. He said to his father, 'I am a man who can fight lions. We must take revenge on Iran.' He was as tall as a cypress tree, with a chest and arms like a lion, and as strong as an elephant. His tongue was like a sharp sword.

While preparations for war were being made, the Turkish sultan's other son, 'Alp Ariz,' came to the palace and said to his father, 'Father! You are the greatest of the Turks. Mihûçehr is dead. But the Iranian army has great heroes. Let us not rebel. If we do, our country will be destroyed.' PeŞeng replied to his son: 'Alp Er Tunga is a lion in the hunt and an elephant in battle. He is a brave crocodile. He must avenge his ancestors. Join him. When the grass grows green in the plains, march our armies to Amul. Let the horses trample Iran. Dye the waters red with blood.'

In the spring, the Turkish army marched on Iran under the command of Alp Er Tunga. They arrived at Dehistana. The armies clashed. Barman, one of the Turkish heroes, advanced towards the Iranians and challenged them to fight. The Iranian commander looked at his army. None of the young men dared to fight. Only the commander's brother, Kûbad, rushed forward. But he was old. His brother said to him, "Barman is a young, lion-hearted horseman. His height reaches the sun. You are old. If your white hair is dyed red with blood, our warriors will be frightened." But Kûbad did not listen: "Man is prey, and death is his hunter." Saying this, he went into battle. Barman said to him, "You are giving me your head. If you had waited a little longer, it would have been better. For time has already set its sights on your life." Kûbat replied, 'I have already taken my share from the world,' and charged his horse. They fought from morning till evening. Finally, Barman struck Kûbad with his spear, knocking him down, and returned victorious to Alp Er Tunga. Seeing this, the Iranian army advanced.

The two armies clashed. It was a battle the world had never seen before. Alp Er Tunga prevailed. The Iranians were unable to hold their ground and scattered. The Iranian king sent his two sons back to their country and sent the women to Mount Zave.

After resting for two days, the Turkish and Iranian armies attacked again on the third day. The Iranian nobles filled the battlefield with the dead and wounded. That night, the Iranians were defeated. Seeing this, the Iranian king and his commander-in-chief took refuge in Dehistan Castle. Alp Er Tunga besieged the castle. As the Iranian king was leaving the castle, Alp Er Tunga caught up with him and took him prisoner.

The heroic 'Zal' the king of the Kabul region, which was under Iranian rule, came to the aid of the Iranians. He fought great battles and defeated the Turkish armies. Enraged by this, Alp Er Tunga killed the Iranian king with his sword. He was about to kill the other prisoners as well. However, his brother Alp Ariz dissuaded him. He sent the prisoners to 'Sari' and had them imprisoned. He himself came to "Rey" from Dehistan and took the Iranian crown. He became the king of Iran. However, he killed his brother Alp Ariz because he had caused the prisoners in 'Sari' to escape.

When Zev ascended the Iranian throne, the two armies faced each other again and fought for five months. There was a famine. Finally, they made peace so that humanity would not perish. The northern countries of Iran became part of Turan.

However, when Zev died, Alp Er Tunga attacked Iran again. His father was angry with him for killing his brother Alp Ariz. But when the new Iranian sultan also died and the Iranian throne remained vacant, the Turanian sultan Peşeng sent word to his son Alp Er Tunga again. He told him to cross the Ceyhun and take the Iranian throne. When the Iranians heard that the Turkish army was coming, they were afraid and turned to Zâl. Zâl, saying that he was old, sent his son Rüstem. In the encounter between the vanguards of the two armies, Rüstem defeated the Turks and brought Keykubâd to the Iranian throne. In the main battle, Rüstem faced Alp Er Tunga. Just as he was about to defeat Alp Er Tunga, the Turkish warriors rescued him. Rüstem killed 1,160 Turkish heroes in a single move, leading to the Turks' defeat. They crossed the Ceyhun River. Alp Er Tunga returned to his father. They persuaded his father to make peace, and a truce was established.

After Keykâvus ascended the Iranian throne, the Arabs rebelled. However, Keykâvus, who emerged victorious, was intoxicated at a banquet and bound. This news threw Iran into chaos. Alp Er Tunga launched a large army against the Arabs and defeated them. The Turkish army spread across Iran and began taking everyone captive. The Iranians once again sought help from Zâl. Zâl rescued Keykâvus, who was being held captive by the Arabs, and added their army to his own before turning against the Turks. In a bloody battle, half of the Turanians were killed. Alp Er Tunga was defeated and fled.

One day, the seven famous wrestlers of Iran went to Rüstêm in Turan and asked to hunt in Alp Er Tunga's hunting grounds. They went to a hunting ground near Sirahs and stayed there for seven days. When Alp Er Tunga heard this, he came with his army. Although the Turkish wrestlers prevailed over the Iranians in one-on-one fights, Rüstêm intervened and scattered the Turkish army along with the seven wrestlers. Alp Er Tunga was almost taken prisoner.

While Keykâvus was enjoying himself in Iran with entertainment and love games, Alp Er Tunga advanced with his Turkish horsemen. This news reached Keykâvus. He sent his son Siyâvus and Rüstêm against the Turks. At this time, Alp Er Tunga had a bad dream and had it interpreted. Taking the advice of his nobles, he made peace with the Iranians. He gave them hostages. He left the cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, and Çaç and withdrew to the city of 'Gang.' However, Keykâvus, who did not want this peace, was angry with Rüstêm and Siyâvus and treated them badly, so Rüstêm withdrew to his own country. Siyâvus also took refuge with Alp Er Tunga. He arrived at the city of Gang, the capital of the Turks, with great respect. He made himself very beloved. He even married the beautiful 'Ferengis,' the daughter of Pirân and then the eldest daughter of Alp Er Tunga. He had a son from Pirân's daughter. They named him Keyhüsrev.

After a while, those who could not tolerate Siyavush spread rumours against Alp Er Tunga, causing a rift between them. Siyavush was killed. Upon this, Rustem reappeared. In the first battle, they killed Alp Er Tunga's son, 'Sarka.' Alp Er Tunga personally set out to avenge him. However, the Iranians won the war and drove him away to the Chinese sea. Rüstêm killed all the Turanians he could find and remained in Turan for six years before returning to his homeland.

Alp Er Tunga wept bitterly when he saw that Turan had been destroyed and the Turks had been killed. He swore revenge. He gathered an army and entered Iran. He burned the crops. He gained control of Iran. He caused a famine, and the Iranians suffered from hunger for seven years. To prevent this and save Iran, they kidnapped Keyhüsrev from Turan. Keykâvus left the throne to his grandson Keyhüsrev. Keyhüsrev prepared his army to take revenge on Alp Er Tunga. However, this army was defeated before it even encountered Alp Er Tunga. Keyhüsrev sent another army. A Turk named Bazur cast a spell and caused snow to fall on the mountains. The Iranians were unable to move. Thus, the Turkish army slaughtered the Iranian army. The Iranians sent Rüstêm again. After extraordinary battles, Rüstêm defeated the Turkish army and took the Chinese khan who was in the Turkish army captive.

Alp Er Tunga was greatly saddened by this news. He gathered his elders and consulted with them. They said, 'What shall we do? If the Chinese and Saklap armies have been defeated, the Turan army is safe. Our mothers gave birth to us to die.' Alp Er Tunga began preparations. His son 'Şide' raised his morale. In this battle, a jinn named 'Pûlâdvend,' who lived in the Chinese mountains, joined the Turan army with his troops. Although he defeated the Iranian warriors, he was defeated by Rüstêm. As a result, the Turan and Iranian armies clashed. The Iranians won. Alp Er Tunga fled.

After this, Keyhüsrev gained control over two-thirds of the world. One day, while drinking wine in his palace, Iranians came from the Turan border and said that the Turans were harming them. Keyhüsrev sent 'Bîjen,' one of the Iranian heroes, to resolve the matter. Bîjen saw 'Menîje,' who was enjoying herself with beautiful girls in a forest on the Turan side of the border. Menîje was the daughter of Alp Er Tunga. They fell in love. Menîje took him to Turan, to her palace. When Alp Er Tunga heard this, he became very angry. He imprisoned Bîjen in a well and banished his daughter. When the Iranian king saw that his young commander had not returned, he sent Rüstem again. Rüstem travelled to the Turkish capital disguised as a merchant. He rescued Bîjeni and stormed Alp Er Tunga's palace, kidnapping him. He sent Menîje to Iran. Alp Er Tunga fled to Karluğâ. He said to his vassals, "I was ruling the world. Even in the time of Minûçhr, Iran could not match Turan. But today, the Iranians are threatening my life even in my palace. I am thinking of taking good revenge. Let us march with a thousand times a thousand Turkish and Chinese armies." They began to gather. However, the Iranians won the first battle, in which Alp Er Tunga himself did not participate. The Iranian sultan wanted to destroy Alp Er Tunga himself. He gathered his armies from all sides and advanced again. Alp Er Tunga had gathered two-thirds of his army of a thousand thousand soldiers. He was staying in the city of 'Beykent.' His headquarters had tents made of leopard skins. He was sitting on a throne adorned with gold and jewels. In front of the headquarters, the flags of many heroes were raised. When he heard that the army he had sent ahead had been defeated, his head spun. He swore not to return without revenge. He sent half of his army to Bukhara with his son 'Kara Han.' Among his sons, Şide (whose real name was Peşeng), Cehen, Afrâsiyâb, Girdegîr, and the son of his son 'İlâ' named 'Güheylâ,' were in this army. The Çiğil, Taraz, Oğuz, Karluk, and Turkmen tribes formed the ranks. When the two armies met, the Iranian king Keyhüsrev and Alp Er Tunga's son Şide fought one-on-one. Şide was killed. Upon hearing this, Alp Er Tunga tore out his hair. The next day, they fought again. Alp Er Tunga charged like a lion. He killed several of Iran's greatest warriors. Keyhüsrev and Alp Er Tunga faced each other. However, the warriors of Turan did not want him to fight the Iranian king, so they pulled him back by the reins of his horse. That night, Alp Er Tunga took his army and crossed the Ceyhun River. He joined forces with Kara Han's army and came to Bukhara. They rested for a while. Then they came to Ganga, their capital. This city was like paradise. The soil was fragrant, and the bricks were made of gold. He called armies from everywhere. At that moment, his spies reported that Keyhüsrev had crossed the Ceyhun. Keyhüsrev first came to Suğda, stayed there for a month, and brought them under his control. Then he advanced again. The Turks did not give water to the Iranians and killed any Iranians they found alone behind the army. Keyhüsrev destroyed everything he found in his path, including palaces, castles, women, and men. The two armies met on the banks of the Gülbâriyun River. They attacked each other. Alp Er Tunga's army was struck with fear. He retreated to the rear of the army and prayed to God. Immediately, a storm broke out, blowing dust toward the Turan army. The Turks were thrown into disarray. However, Alp Er Tunga stopped his army by killing those who tried to flee. They turned around and fought again. When night fell, the two armies separated. Alp Er Tunga planned to fight again the next day. However, a messenger came and told him that one of Kara Khan's men had survived. Upon hearing this, he quickly gathered his army and rushed into the desert. He wanted to kill Rüstem. Keyhüsrev informed Rüstem of this and followed him. Alp Er Tunga came to Ganga and wanted to attack Rüstem, but seeing that he was on guard, he gave up. He entered the city. The castle of this crowded city was so high that even an eagle could not fly over it. There was plenty of food inside. There were springs and pools in every corner. The pools were as long and wide as an arrow shot. With its beautiful gardens and palaces, it was a paradise. Alp Er Tunga and his army surrounded Ganga. He also wrote a letter to the Chinese emperor asking for help. Keyhüsrev also came with his army and joined Rüstem. They dug trenches around the castle. They piled up wood and set it on fire with tar. The walls collapsed. They stormed into the city. They killed everyone. Alp Er Tunga escaped with 200 beys through a secret passage under his palace. He went to the Chinese emperor.

The Chinese emperor had prepared a large army. Upon hearing this, the Turks gathered from all sides and went to Alp Er Tunga. Keyhüsrev left a commander behind and marched towards Alp Er Tunga. They met. Alp Er Tunga wrote him a letter, proposing a one-on-one duel in a place far from people, where he would approve. Keyhüsrev refused. That day, the two armies fought until evening. When night fell, Keyhüsrev had trenches dug in front of his army. He sent some of his forces behind the Turkish army. The Turks launched a night attack and fell into the trenches. The forces behind them also emerged from ambush. They defeated the Turkish army. Alp Er Tunga withdrew to the desert with his remaining troops. Keyhüsrev returned to Ganga. The Chinese emperor, fearing Keyhüsrev, sent an envoy to him. Keyhüsrev made peace with him on the condition that he would never take Alp Er Tunga back. When Alp Er Tunga heard this, he withdrew to the desert in a state of despair. He came to the Zere Sea. It was an endless sea. There was a sailor there who said, 'O emperor! You cannot cross this deep sea. I am 78 years old. I have never seen a ship cross it.'

Alp Er Tunga replied, 'It is better to die than to be taken captive.' He had a ship built. They boarded it and set sail. They arrived at the city of Gangidiz. Alp Er Tunga lay down and fell asleep, saying, 'Let us not think of the past. Fortune will smile on me again.' Keyhüsrev heard that Alp Er Tunga had crossed the water. After making preparations and conquering several countries, they arrived at the shore of the Zere Sea. They killed everyone they found, but Alp Er Tunga escaped secretly. Keyhüsrev arrived at Gangaya, the capital of Turan. He inquired about Alp Er Tunga. No one knew. Meanwhile, he was wandering around without food or water. He had made a cave on the top of a rocky mountain his home. There was a man named 'Hûm' living in this cave, away from people. One day, he heard a voice in the cave. Alp Er Tunga lamented his fate. Realising from the Turkish words that the stranger was an outsider, Hûm attacked him and took him captive. However, he escaped again and jumped into the water. Keyhüsrev heard of this. They used trickery to pull Alp Er Tunga out of the water and killed him.

### Sixth Fleet

It is often possible to remedy serious problems with small measures. Changing the position of the light prevents eye strain, and wearing a woolen undershirt in winter prevents various illnesses caused by the cold. The remedy for a child who sticks to the stove is not to scold or beat him, but to surround the stove with a railing.

There are similar incidents in social life. To save young people from bad habits, it is necessary to encourage them to participate in sports, camp life, and reading; to prepare fields, beaches, and libraries; and to find jobs and livelihoods for some people to prevent them from committing crimes. Of course, laws and regulations with penalties are also essential.

The anti-American sentiment that has developed in Turkey in recent years has the potential to divide the people into two hostile groups if measures are not taken. Today, there are few people in our country who like Americans, except for a few girls and women and a few profiteers. However, when communism opponents oppose the actions of the extreme left, who are motivated solely by their desire to support Russia and act with a Russian mindset, it appears as if they are defending Americans. In reality, their suspicion stems from communism disguised as anti-Americanism.

Even in the most normal of times, groups that are already suspicious and wary of each other never fail to come to blows when the American fleet arrives in Istanbul or Izmir.

This is the reason behind the bloody events that took place in Taksim Square in Istanbul on Sunday, 16 February.

The presence of people known to be extreme leftists and pro-Russian among those protesting the arrival of the Americans has mobilised communist and anti-Russian groups. This is because they fear that the movement, which began as anti-American, will degenerate into a communist revolution.

The real culprit behind the events of 16 February is the Sixth Fleet. Had it not come, there would have been no tragic incidents such as the deaths of two people, the injury of many others, and, worse still, the division of the nation into groups harbouring animosity towards one another.

After the United States, which supported the Greeks in the Cyprus dispute, prevented Turkey from achieving its interests through the Sixth Fleet and after the American President wrote the infamous letter to the Turkish Prime Minister, the coldness that began slowly turned into American hostility, and the people became unable to tolerate seeing Americans.

Even if there were no leftists in Turkey, this hostility would develop and grow, and anti-American demonstrations would continue to the same extent.

America is our ally in NATO and has provided us with a great deal of assistance. With the exception of the TIP, all political parties are in favour of Turkey remaining in NATO.

However, remaining in NATO does not prevent us from hating Americans. The majority of the Turkish people today view Americans in the same way they view the Greeks, who are also our NATO allies.

It is certain that the NATO agreement has a number of explicit and implicit obligations. However, these obligations should not be openly detrimental to one of the parties or incite hatred in people's hearts. The frequent visits of the fleet to Turkish ports may also be one of these obligations. However, the situation has reached such a point that the arrival of this fleet, far from being beneficial, has taken on a character that severely divides the two allied nations. If there is a strategic necessity for the fleet to occasionally approach the Turkish coast, there is no need for it to enter the ports of Istanbul and Izmir and disembark the unwelcome American sailors in our cities. The Sixth Fleet, which is a very powerful force, can carry out its mission by remaining near Istanbul in the Marmara Sea without approaching Istanbul. The Turkish government must understand the national sentiment and ensure that these ships do not come, at least for a long time.

Americans are technologically advanced, but they are a cultureless and rootless nation, which is why they are disliked everywhere and are becoming increasingly unwelcome. Years ago, when the Missouri ship made its first visit to Istanbul amid displays of affection, American sailors walking along Istiklal Street in Beyoğlu behaved in a manner that seemed very strange to us; they threw chickpeas into the air and tried to catch them with their mouths before they hit the ground, showing no shame in their frivolous behaviour on such a crowded street.

It turns out that the American sailor was a very innocent and well-mannered man. I was forced to think so after seeing the American admiral in the newspapers on 15 February. Because Admiral Charbonatta was wearing the sequined skirt of a stage dancer and belly dancing with a half-naked dancer. I cannot find words to describe the ugliness of this scene. If the American government continues to employ this man as an admiral after this scene, I give up.

Now think of Turkish generals and admirals, in short, Turkish pashas. Even the lowest of them are a thousand times more dignified and honourable than this ridiculous admiral, and I believe that their ability to do things that we consider shameful with such ease plays a large part in the anti-American sentiment that has emerged in our nation.

It is certain that religious fanaticism played an important role in the Taksim incidents. Those who were blinded by religious fanaticism, or rather, those who were made blind by it, saw most of those who participated in the anti-American march as communists and infidels because they were socialists, and as a result, two of our citizens, one of whom was married, lost their lives while they were spectators and happened to be there by chance.

There is no reason to blame the police for this conflict. How could a few hundred police officers deal with several thousand people determined to fight without using weapons?

These clashes will continue. As no precautions were taken in advance, the parties emboldened by this will take things further. There will undoubtedly be those who participated in these marches, which were organised by citizens from across the political spectrum and motivated to a greater or lesser extent by nationalist sentiment, with ulterior motives. Some of these are political sectarians who want to revive the caliphate, while others are communists who still want to apply the principles of Stalin or Mao to Turkey.

If the provocations of these two groups achieve their goal one day, there will be bloodshed in Turkey. This must be prevented at all costs. The preventive measures are very simple. I request the government to prohibit marches and rallies for a period of time and to prevent the Golden Fleet from visiting Turkey for a long time. If our nation, which is already deeply divided due to partisanship, is further split into two and begins fighting because of the Americans, we will have no choice but to say, 'What days have we come to, O Gazi Hünkâr?'

### Here is Socialism

The article titled 'Who were the first Ottoman socialists?' by the young thinker Aclan Sayılgan, published in the Yeni İstanbul newspaper on 1 June 1974, serves as a warning to those who do not have accurate information about socialism in Turkey. The discrepancy between the dictionary and encyclopaedia definitions of the word 'socialism' and the meaning given to it today is not understood by many. The difference between England and America, which call themselves democracies, and Russia and Bulgaria, which claim to be people's democracies, is the same as the difference between that socialism and this socialism.

For this reason, Turkish nationalists, seeing that socialism, which means communism, has been debased, reject the word and its meaning, and instead call the principles of thinking about and developing society 'communitarianism.' I have already stated that the two are not the same. Since we live in a country where people have weak memories, I will repeat it again.

**SOCIALISM = INTERNATIONAL POPULISM**

**SOCIETALISM = NATIONALIST POPULISM**

This means that for socialists, the nation and nationality are unimportant. Their sole goal is economic prosperity. For societalists, the goal is prosperity in order to elevate their own nation and nationality. In socialism, there is no sense of history, love of country, or respect for the flag. The flag is just a piece of cloth. For this reason, before the First World War, a famous French socialist planted the French flag in manure.

A communist is someone who considers communism to be the perfect solution for the present of their own nation. A socialist is a brother to a socialist of another nation. A communist can only be friends with a communist of another nation; however, they never lose sight of their historical enemies. For a communist, a communist is a slightly more extreme idealist. For a communist, a communist is a national and irreconcilable enemy.

Aclan Sayılgan, in the above-mentioned article, lists one by one the first socialists in Turkey who wanted to destroy this country, providing a lesson to be learned, and shows that these first Ottoman socialists were Armenian committee members who collaborated with the enemies of our state.

Şefik Hüsnü, the leader of the Secret Communist Party, was a convert from Thessaloniki. He was arrested in the first major communist roundup in 1925, and all his secret documents were seized, including directives and circulars he had issued to communists. All Turkish nationalists (I am referring to true Turkish nationalists, not those who merely say 'selamünaleyküm') should carefully read and share the following passage, which explains what socialism means and that it is a bridge to communism:

The Turkish Communist Party is a revolutionary and conscious organisation composed of the most conscious members of the working class. It was formed by the most conscious members of the Aydınlık group and the revolutionary workers' unions around it, together with the T.I.U. workers' group composed of Greeks and the left wing of the Hinçak society. The aim of the Turkish Communist Party is to establish socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat and, after its establishment, to achieve communism, a classless, planned, and fraternal society.

This is socialism... By uniting with the Greeks and Armenians, as well as the Hinçak, we will establish proletarian dictatorship, embark on the establishment of socialism, and then achieve communism, a classless and fraternal society...

The Aydınlık group mentioned here refers to those who gathered around the communist magazine *Aydınlık*, published in the early years of the Republic by Sadrettin Celal and others, including Şevket Aziz Kansu, the current president of the Turkish History Association.

There could be no better example of how soft and humane socialism was used as a tool. I dedicate Şefik Hüsnü's directive to those who have fallen prey to the disease of socialism. How fortunate it would be if they could open their eyes and understand who they have become tools for and what a state of ignorance they are in! Otherwise, history will refer to them as 'those who provided shelter to traitors of the nation.'

## Turkishness is an Unchanging Idea

Those who dislike ORKUN say that it contains nothing but old slogans. They are right. Since Turkish nationalism is an unchanging idea, the same words will always be repeated here. Turkish nationalism will not change because it is not a fashion; it will remain constant because it is not a science; it will not seek to please itself because it is not entertainment.

Turkish nationalism is an ideal. National ideals live on unchanged for centuries. What changes are not the main lines, but the details or tactics.

Some friends say that the same people have been writing in the field of Turkish nationalism for years. This is also true. However, everyone will see that the number of signatures in ORKUN has increased over time.

However, just as not all Turkish nationalists write, the fact that the writers are the same people does not mean that Turkish nationalism is stagnant. To see how Turkish nationalism has developed, it is sufficient to look at the number of readers of Turkish nationalist magazines. The difference between the first and second editions of ORKUN (ORHUN) and its current sales is clear proof of how rapidly the number of Turkish nationalist readers has grown and how popular Turkish nationalism has become.

Given the current strength of Turkish nationalism, ORKUN is undoubtedly weak. Turkish reasons prevented us from starting out stronger and better, but this situation is temporary. Turkism, which has embarked on the path of gathering and regrouping, is advancing slowly but surely. Until now, Turkism movements have consisted of scattered efforts based on self-sacrifice and managed by small groups, and sometimes even individuals. The first magazine published by a group of Turkish nationalists was ORKUN. A group of friends bound together by spiritual ties had been saving money for a long time to finance ORKUN. This quiet and modest effort was noticed and supported by many Turkish nationalists, thus enabling ORKUN to be published earlier than planned.

A period of work and achievement that will expand before us for Turkishness is opening up. Since the motto of Turkishness is to be calm, dignified, and modest, we will move forward with small steps towards great achievements with steady and confident steps. Our journey will be determined, calculated, and disciplined. We will always be together in every task and we will always move forward together towards our ideal.

There will be days when our march towards our ideal becomes difficult and days when it gains momentum, but Turkish nationalism will never change in its essence or its ultimate goals.

## The Turkish Question in the Twentieth Century I: Turkish Unity

The Turkish world is not limited to those living in Turkey. The number of Turks in Russia, Iran, China, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan exceeds that of Turks in Turkey. We can also include the Turks living in Egypt, Libya, Europe, North and South Africa, and the Far East, who number probably several tens of thousands, to complete the list.

Since there are no general statistics, we do not know the exact number of Turks in the world. Enemies have deliberately tried to reduce this number, while friends have blindly exaggerated it.

The idea that Turks have always been a large nation has been disproved by historical research. What makes Turks appear numerous is their significant political role and their mobility. In reality, despite all the setbacks they have suffered, Turks have never been as numerous as they were in the 20th century.

Today, the most accurate information about the number of Turks is available only for the Turks of Turkey and Russia. According to statistics published after the general population censuses conducted in Russia in 1926 and in Turkey in 1927, there are currently approximately 30 million Turks in Turkey and 35 million in Russia. Regarding Turks living in other countries, various figures are cited, which are far apart from one another. For example, while some estimate the number of Turks living in Chinese Turkestan to be 3 million, others have even raised this figure to 13, 15, or even 18 million. Those who tend to exaggerate the number of Turks claim that there are 40 to 50 million Turks living in Russia and that the Russians are underestimating the number of Turks for political reasons.

The claim that the Russians want to underestimate the number of Turks for political reasons is true. However, it would be wrong to exaggerate this point. No matter how hard the Russians try, they cannot reduce the number of Turks there by half. We must also avoid exaggeration when calculating our national and ethnic strength. If, as some claim, we are truly a nation of 120 million and yet a large portion of us are captive, this is a discouraging situation for our future. With this in mind, we must not shy away from showing the facts as they are. We cannot change the facts in our favour for the sake of childish ideas. The truth is this:

We are a small nation and, for various reasons, we have fallen behind technologically, which is why we have fallen captive to larger nations. However, despite our small numbers, if we can unite, there is no force in the world that can defeat us.

Can we give an approximate number of Turks in the world? To do this, we have no choice but to add up the minimum and maximum numbers of Turks in each country and think about it a little.

Leaving aside the imaginary numbers of 80 million in Russia and 18 million in China, the figures are as follows:

Minimum Maximum

Turkey 30,000,000 32,000,000

Russia 35,000,000 40,000,000

Iran 10,000,000 13,000,000

China 5,000,000 8,000,000

Afghanistan 1,000,000 3,000,000

Balkans 1,000,000 2,000,000

Iraq-Syria 700,000 1,000,000

Cyprus 90,000 100,000

Other countries 50,000 100,000

All Turks 82,840,000 99,200,000

This means that, according to the lowest estimate, there are 82,840,000 Turks. If we take into account the efforts of foreign nations to underestimate the number of Turks, we can say that our nation is a community of 100 million people.

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The world is becoming a land of giants. We are seeing the emergence of nations with populations of hundreds of millions. Some of the second and third-tier nations are also growing at a rapid pace. In such a century, the significance of 85–100 million increases tenfold.

To understand how large some of the world's populations are, let us take a look at the following countries:

China 800 million

India 540 million

Russia 250 million

United Kingdom (as an empire) 200 million

United States 220 million

Indonesia 130 million

Pakistan 120 million

Japan 110 million

Brazil 95 million

Germany 70 million

Italy 53 million

France 52 million

Of these crowded nations, Russia is our neighbour, and the United Kingdom, Italy and France are our neighbours. What will be the future of the 85–100 million Turks, who are politically fragmented, while giant states are being established around the world?

In our opinion, this question should be the starting point of the national programme. The answer to this question is the name of our national ideal. This name can be summarised as 'Turkish unity'.

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Every nation needs an ideal in order to live. Although this ideal may vary in detail from nation to nation, it is almost the same in its main features. Because no one can deny the historical fact that the first ideal of every captive nation is to gain independence, and the first ideal of every independent nation is to liberate the nations that are still captive.

This is a rough classification. These stages may vary slightly depending on life, events, and the specific circumstances of nations. For example, for a nation to begin conquests, it is not necessary for it to have incorporated all its compatriots within its borders. Italy had achieved national unity to a large extent before the First World War, but there were still many Italians living as captives of other nations in Austria, France, Malta, and Tunisia. Nevertheless, Italy had already begun the third phase of the national ideal, namely conquest. This is evident from its wars with Abyssinia and Turkey. Thus, while the three phases of the national ideal are independence, national unity, and conquest, these phases are intertwined. One may begin before the other is completed.

We can find numerous examples from history of the existence of these three phases in national aspirations:

Ireland, after centuries of struggle to free itself from British captivity, is now struggling to take Northern Ireland, which is in the hands of England, that is, to establish national unity.

Egypt, which also freed itself from British captivity, is now striving to take Sudan and then gather all Arab countries around itself.

The current cause of the Germans is to liberate East Germany from Russian captivity. After that, the next step will be to reunite with Austria.

The Finns have associations working for Karelia.

The Hungarians have never given up Transylvania.

The Yugoslavs are still pursuing their dream of regaining all of Macedonia and Thessaloniki, as they did in ancient times.

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

The Greeks want Northern Epirus and Eastern Thrace.

The first target of the Jews is the entire Kingdom of Jordan.

Syria considers Hatay and even Çukurova to be its own territory.

Afghanistan considers the country of the Pashtuns, i.e. the northern regions of Pakistan, to be part of its territory.

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

Even the most backward blacks have now become independent states.

At which stage are the Turks?

To answer this question, one need only look at the map: after achieving remarkable success in the first phase of their struggle with the War of Independence in Anatolia, the Turks are now, naturally and historically, in the second phase of their struggle.

After the first period, which ended in 1923, the second period began with the rescue of life, and then our national aspirations regarding Cyprus were officially declared, subject to certain conditions.

National unity and world domination are ideals that live in the subconscious of the nation. This desire in the subconscious rises to consciousness from time to time. If the time is well chosen, it will be victorious. If it is well chosen, it will be the source of speed and morality for the nation. Just as a person who suffers for a goal but willingly endures it, nations also endure reckless sacrifice for their national ideals. Nations that walk on the path of ideals both frighten and inspire other nations. A nation walking on the path of ideals has cast off its feelings of inferiority towards other nations. Because it believes in itself and fears nothing, it is not intimidated by the number or technology of its enemies. It opens its arms to nations that love death. In this way, the national ideal will one day be realised.

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The Turks have united several times in the past and have been happy. They will unite again. We can express the first principle of our national ideal as follows: 'All Turks will unite.'

## The Destruction of National Defence

Everyone knows that national defence is based on two foundations: one material (i.e. people and weapons) and the other spiritual (ideals and morals). The material elements are visible, so it is easy to measure and weigh them. It is possible to say that we have so many hundred thousand soldiers, so many planes and tanks, and to boast about this and calculate that our future is secure. However, the moral element is invisible. It only reveals itself in the realm of definite results. Its value, its power, and what it can achieve can only be calculated by expert 'ideal engineers' before the realm of definite results.

It is easy to prepare material elements. A nation can always prepare its soldiers and equip them with weapons manufactured in its own factories or, if this is not possible, in foreign factories. This can be done in a short time.

Preparing spiritual elements is not so easy. It takes a long time to instil an idea in people's minds and love in their hearts. This preparation begins in schools and families. In countries where families are too inferior to accomplish this, the task of schools becomes twice as difficult.

Schools mean teachers and curricula. Nothing can be achieved with teachers who are not imbued with national love and with curricula that aim to instil international culture and brotherhood instead of national culture and love. National culture is the culture that teaches national ideals and national enemies.

Children are raised from primary school with the idea of 'Great Turkishness.' They learn how many Turks there are outside the political borders. The idea that saving them is a sacred cause is engraved in their hearts with letters of fire. They are taught that Russia and China, which are colonising their homeland, are national enemies.

If this is not done, and children are raised with socialist and humanist nonsense, with the fairy tale that all people are brothers, then we will end up with a mass of fools, as we see today, who are incapable of counting the steps of ten great Turks but display an unparalleled ability to recite the names of famous artists and professional footballers like nightingales.

I address those cowards who are terrified of Turanism and are responsible for this disastrous outcome: Of course you will be Turanists. If you are Turkish and not Turanist, you are not a man. If you do not know that the Turk is a single nation, and despite this, you do not strive to liberate your enslaved kinsmen, you are no different from an animal. Because what makes a person human, what distinguishes them from animals, is only great ideas. Profit and prosperity, economic development, are not goals in themselves. Gangsters want that too. Economic development is ultimately a means to prepare the Turkish race for a great and sacred war.

Your homeland will be burned and destroyed, the Turks will be annihilated, and you will stand here reciting slogans like, 'We are working for the prosperity of 32 million people.' Do you have no enemy? Then you are dead. Are you unable to risk death for great ideas? You have lost your humanity. If you cannot see those who are digging your grave beside you or within you, you have lost your mind.

What does it mean to be afraid? Fear is an animalistic emotion. A person and a nation devoted to an ideal fear nothing.

What is left today after the national ideal has been destroyed in the name of 'adventure'? Even the Atatürkism taught to children in schools has been turned into a hypocritical ceremony and fed to the communists.

The national ideal is one and unchanging. Its name is Turkishness. Unless we cling to it, unless we bring it into schools, unless we put an end to hostility towards Turkishness in the press and media, our future will be dark.

Will the Turkish nation be saved and rise up through these democratic squabbles? Will it develop through sectarianism and religious parties? What are we doing while our neighbour and ally, Greece, the bastard child of Europe, has its eyes on our lands and is taking steps towards its Megalo Idea, taking advantage of the West's support and our complacency? We are just 'watching the events closely'.

The spiritual element of national defence is being destroyed and burned in Turkey. Some faculties and higher education institutions are filled with leftist snobs. There is no authority dealing with these issues, no one clearly stating the danger of these events. Everyone is optimistic. Everyone is cheerful. So much so that one of the seven major facilities to be built for the Russians in our country will be a vodka factory. Do you see where intelligence and awareness have fallen in our country? Even this vodka factory alone is a blunder terrible enough to ruin a state, yet the fact that it does not affect us is another miracle of Çağrı Beğ and Tuğrul Beğ: they laid the foundations very firmly.

As long as national ideals, national enmity, and sacred selfishness do not enter the minds and hearts of the people, and as long as the spiritual aspect of national defence is undermined, even if we have 50 divisions, 20 tank brigades, and 10,000 aircraft, they will be worthless. First comes the heart and faith, then the weapons...

To achieve this, a national spirit must first be instilled in the country. We need bold ministers who can get things done. We need new laws. We need to rebuild Turkey. And for that, we need a national leader. The deliberate and inadvertent destruction of the spiritual elements of our national defence must be stopped. If this is not done, the outcome is clear.

Consider Czechoslovakia, which, despite its formidable weapons, favourable geographical conditions, and a population of 15 million, surrendered to Germany without firing a shot due to its lack of spiritual strength, and Finland, with a population of 3 million, which fought Russia on equal terms thanks to the strength of its spiritual elements. This should be sufficient for those who can think.

### The 'National Character' Crisis

It was truly unfortunate for us to enter Western civilisation at a time when it was on the verge of collapse. At a time when various groups in the country were already divided by great differences, the confused ideas of the West were introduced into our midst in an even more radical form. First of all, we no longer had a common and consistent moral code. Today, it is difficult to determine which actions are moral and which are immoral. Then, I fear, a form of foreign worship and disbelief in national strength emerged. It became fashionable to revile what was ours and praise what belonged to others. Finally, a class of parasitic and unpatriotic women emerged who squandered the national wealth in order to resemble Parisian women. The reason for all this was that foreign influences were not filtered through any customs and were poorly assimilated.

We said that we had no common and stable morality among us. The clearest example of this is in sexual morality. What is the proper attitude of a man towards a woman, and of a woman towards a man in sexual life? Turkish society today does not know this. Today, letters sent to students from outside are strictly monitored in schools. Those who write or receive letters about love and sexual relations are punished. However, the same students are not prevented from going to the most explicit pornographic films, the most disgraceful balls, bars, and beaches. This behaviour is either wrong, in which case it should be monitored and prevented by other institutions of the country such as the Ministry of Education; or it is natural, in which case the Ministry of Education should stop harassing students for no reason. This example shows that there is no common moral understanding even among various state institutions in the country. However, until now, we have only considered morality from a sexual point of view. But at least at that time, there were common principles in our sexual morality, and even the worst person knew that what he was doing was immoral. One of the dire consequences of the policy of unrestrained imitation of Western civilisation is the worship of foreigners and the denial or disregard of our own power, existence, past, and glories. In the past, Hamdullah Suphi Bey used to shout at the Turkish Cultural Association, 'We have converted to Western civilisation.' This meant that he considered the Eastern civilisation we had been part of until then to be 'blasphemy.' However, we have forgotten our past very quickly. We have forgotten that the Eastern civilisation we once belonged to was superior to Western civilisation, that we built a great empire and raised great people thanks to that civilisation.

The influence of the West played a major role in this forgetfulness. A cosmopolitan snob who studied in France at the expense of this nation dared to call Namık Kemal, whose personal life was as brilliant and spotless as his political life, which taught this nation love for its homeland, a 'barber' in the *Hayat Magazine* published with the funds of the Ministry of Education. And the poor writers of the literary union, who shouted loudly and protested that the genius of the English Shakespeare was denied, did not utter a word. The *Darülfünun*, which held a celebration for the German Goethe, showed its cowardice by not participating in the celebration held a few days later for Mimar Sinan. A few years ago, a few enlightened Turks who published the *Anadolu Mecmuası* and whose consciousness was undoubtedly sound denied Turkishness and declared that the name of this nation was 'Anatolian Nation.' During the War of Independence, a few individuals who fled to Anatolia but were turned back due to moral weaknesses went to Russia, received training in Moscow, and then infiltrated our ranks, beginning to utter nonsense. Both these actions and the construction of an apartment building over Şinasi's tomb and the opening of taverns around the grave of Gazi Osman Bey in Bursa are all consequences of the same lack of national consciousness.

And finally, a kind of snobbery began to emerge, both spiritually and materially. Look at the way people talk, dress, and behave. You will see this everywhere. Look at the female students at the university, ninety percent of whom are not students but dressed like salon ladies, and you will see this. Look at the men with curled hair and plucked eyebrows; it is the same thing. There is only one reason for all this: external influences, open and covert propaganda, which have caused these young people to lose their national and religious ideals and to despise their families and family life. The only goal left in life for such young people is sexual pleasure. Pay attention to the conversations of such young people. You will only hear words like 'date,' 'letter,' 'ball,' 'dress,' 'jewellery,' and 'makeup.' A few years ago, the director of education in Istanbul complained in the newspapers that some orphaned and poor girls at the Istanbul Girls' Teacher Training College were spending the small allowance given to them by the school on silk stockings. However, this moral weakness did not attract anyone's attention. No one thought that girls who understood life only as adornment and makeup, whose first task in the morning was to pluck their eyebrows, but who did not know the epics of Çanakkale and Sakarya or the tragedy of 16 March, could become the mothers and educators of tomorrow's Turkish generation.

There is a moral crisis among our intellectuals. They cannot give the youth and the people something they do not possess themselves. The Ministry of Education seems to have become aware of this national moral crisis. It is likely that the new history textbook made mandatory in schools and universities is the result of this awareness. However, this is not sufficient. Even if we ignore the many scientific and principled errors in this book, teaching it in schools alone will not strengthen national character. For this, the first thing we need is for the class of educators who will raise the new generation to be people who possess these qualities.

For today we encounter such ridiculous contradictions that we cannot decide whether to laugh or cry. One of these ridiculous contradictions is that people who claim to be patriots are opposed to military service, which we will discuss further in the next issue.

## Ideals are Aggressive

From a biological point of view, the goal of living beings, that is, animals and plants, is to cover the entire world with their own species. If no animal or plant species can cover the world, it is because they are exposed to the resistance of other species pursuing the same goal. The influence exerted by species pursuing the same goal and the reactions they are exposed to give rise to the 'struggle for life.' In the meantime, the weak are crushed and diminish; the strong spread and multiply; and some species disappear from the face of the earth altogether.

The same law prevails among nations. Nations, almost unconsciously, want to spread throughout the world and dominate it. But as they spread, they encounter resistance from other nations. Thus, war breaks out between them. In the end, the strong prevail.

Human communities, i.e. nations, have reached a high level of consciousness, so the struggle for life between them does not merely continue within the laws of nature. The system and method of human consciousness are also added to this. This gives rise to national ideals. In other words, national ideals are the conscious and systematic expression of the innate desire to spread and dominate that exists in the subconscious of the nation. The degree of will and strength of the individuals who guide or lead these ideals is the primary factor in their success.

There are three stages in national ideals, progressing from the few to the many: independence, unity, and conquest.

The first stage of national ideals is gaining independence. Those who are not independent strive to gain independence, while those who have gained it strive to preserve and consolidate it.

The Irish have been struggling for independence for eight centuries. Although they are a small nation, they have managed to wrest their independence from the mighty England through their self-sacrifice.

The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians have been dreaming of independence for centuries. They regained their countries after the First World War.

Now they are working diligently both at home and abroad to regain the independence they lost in 1940.

The Poles, who were once independent but lost their independence 150 years ago, gained their independence at the end of the First World War after great sacrifices and bloody revolutions. They lost their independence again in 1939. However, as if nothing had happened, as if they had not experienced such calamities, they are once again fighting for their independence.

While trying to keep the national spirit alive through guerrilla warfare, they are also striving to regain their independence by taking advantage of every opportunity through their organisations abroad.

India, Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia followed the same path, shedding blood for the same goals, and eventually achieved their aspirations.

The Jews provide the most typical example of the struggle for independence: after more than twenty centuries of captivity, scattered across the world with no homeland and having lost their language, the Jews, under the influence of the impulse for independence, reached the first stage of their national ideal after a long and exhausting struggle.

Today, since most nations are independent, few nations are pursuing this first stage of the national ideal.

The second stage of the national ideal is unity. That is, all members of a nation coming together under a single flag to form a single state. The first task of every nation that has gained independence is to seek ways to rescue its compatriots who remain under foreign rule. Or, if a nation is politically independent in several separate states, it must engage in political and military activities to unite them.

In the fourteenth century, the Turks of Turkey were ruled by twenty or thirty separate governments. Due to the law of unification, they fought each other for a century and a half. In 1515, they achieved unity.

Italy followed the same path and then turned its attention to Italians living under foreign rule. Italy's betrayal of its allies in the First World War was to rescue several hundred thousand Italians living under Austrian rule. In the Second World War, Italy fought against France and Yugoslavia to rescue several hundred thousand Italians living in those two countries.

Germans living as separate independent states established their political unity in broad terms with a major move in 1870, and then made a series of moves beginning in 1938 to complete it. Although they did not succeed in this great task, they came very close to achieving it. Today, although Austria has seceded and Germany has been divided into two separate parts, German leaders are seen to be striving for unity. Indeed, when the issue of reunification with the East was discussed in the West German Parliament, some members of parliament openly declared their desire to reunite with Austria as well.

The Romanian Union began with the unification of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and Romania entered the wars of 1913, 1914-1918, and 1941 to liberate its compatriots.

The Finns fought alongside Germany to liberate the Karelian Finns under Russian rule, but they were defeated. However, they will surely prevail in the future and establish a great Finland.

The events of the last century clearly show that the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks acted in accordance with the same law.

We also see that the same law has been followed by some very new and weak nations with no military power or a very low cultural level. For example, Afghanistan, a backward country with a population of about 10-12 million, is in dispute with Pakistan, which has a population of 100 million. Afghanistan wants its fellow tribesmen who live within Pakistan's borders and speak Pashto, the Afghan language.

Egypt, which was defeated by the Jews despite having allies, wants Sudan and Tripoli and Benghazi from Britain. The Jordanian Emirate, with a population of less than 400,000, wanted all of Syria and Palestine. It could not achieve this, but it managed to add the piece of Palestine left over from the Jews. Abyssinia wants Eritrea. The Jews, on the other hand, transported nearly 100,000 Jews from Iraq and Yemen to Israel by plane for the sake of national unity.

The third stage of the national ideal is conquest. This is because nations that have achieved national unity are compelled to invade and conquer in order to spread their race across the earth and establish their rule. In fact, a nation may even begin conquests before completing its national unity. For example, the Ottomans carried out extensive conquests in Europe before completing Turkish unity in Turkey. The Italians and Germans also embarked on colonial conquests before completing their national unity. However, such isolated exceptions do not invalidate the general rule.

The Third World War is nothing more than the efforts of the Germans, Italians, Japanese, and Russians, who have completed their national unity, to reach the third stage. Now only Russia wants to follow this path and, as a natural consequence, is encountering resistance from others. The victory of other national ideals will soon bring Russia down...

It is clear that ideals are aggressive. A nation that is not independent must defeat the nation that rules over it in order to gain independence. In other words, it will act with an aggressive purpose. A nation that has not achieved unity will fight against the nation or nations that keep its fellow tribesmen in captivity in order to achieve unity, and will take land from them. Those who have established national unity will defeat others in order to conquer. This means that all three stages of national ideals are aggressive.

Can there be defensive ideals? Can a nation not pursue the ideal of living within its borders and achieving prosperity? No! Because the idea of preserving existing borders and becoming wealthy can never be an ideal. These are not the smallest or most ordinary desires of a nation. An ideal is a sacred and sweet thought that excites the individuals of a nation who are passionate about it. Ideals are nourished by blood, sacrifice, and heroism. A nation sheds rivers of blood and sacrifices countless lives to achieve its ideal. Ideals are attained through blood, swords, battles, and national hatred. An ideal requires hearts of steel, iron wrists, unwavering willpower, and high morals. An ideal is a religion. It requires heroes and martyrs.

Nations that have established unity and made conquests in the past strive to revive their former glory. Because (things that are historical truths in the past can also be historical truths in the future). Ideals cannot be limited by any restrictions, political or humanistic ideas. Nations that have committed themselves to an ideal have historical enemies. Those enemies will inevitably be defeated. Friendship agreements may have been made with those enemy nations. These temporary friendships have no value. Historical enemies are only friends of foreign ministers. Never of the nation!...

One of the greatest dangers for a nation is to fall asleep under the opiate of peace and friendship. A nation that does not want to grow is doomed to shrink. Nations that do not attack are attacked.

Those who deliberately or unwittingly extinguish the spiritual energy of this nation with a miserable political principle such as 'peace at home, peace in the world' or 'we have no eyes on anyone's land,' who declared war on Germany, which was already ruined, and brought the humiliation of an unprecedented act of treachery into Turkish history, but who, when history presented the opportunity to liberate the Turks in Bulgaria and the islands along with their lands, fled from this with the most despicable and cowardly act, could never take a step towards completing Turkish unity. For they were converts who wanted to keep Russianism alive in this country and openly destroy Turkishness.

When life is a battle and it is necessary to attack in order to win, to cry out about the ugliness of an attack that must be carried out in the name of the national ideal is either negligence or treason. Those in positions of responsibility in the state may utter such words out of political courtesy or self-interest. However, those who address the youth of the nation—that is, teachers, poets, journalists, and writers—if they seek to feed us the opium of peace, then investigating their genealogy and the secret documents in their homes will once again confirm the immutable truth of history, especially Turkish history.

### Is This Your level?

Are you a university student? If so, it means that your mind is mature, your emotions are measured, and you have become a personality and a citizen with your whole being. A university student is a candidate for enlightenment. It means that you are a candidate for all positions tomorrow. In fact, it means that you are already enlightened.

A university student is, above all, a person who has attained higher education, who is tolerant, who recognises rights, and who has a conscience. You know that conscience is the sense of truth, fairness, and compassion within us.

A university student is a distinguished citizen, or at least a candidate for distinguished citizenship. Their first duty is to work hard, to become a useful member of society, to pay back what the nation has given them, and to move from being a consumer to a creator. Of course, you have the right to have fun, to rest, to love, to get angry, and to satirise. However, you must do all of these things in a dignified manner. Your entertainment should not be like that of a porter, your rest like that of an animal, or your love like that of a whore. Even when you get angry and satirise, you are obliged to maintain your dignity. If your satire and anger become like those of Çeşme Meydanı, you will not be called a university student, but simply 'low-class.'

Turkey is a country of excessive freedoms. Not abusing them is a matter of class. Being in the treasury and not stealing, sitting on piles of weapons and not killing people, having authority and not abusing it are all matters of class.

If you do not abuse these much-maligned freedoms, you have proven your level. Excessive use of freedom is not a good sign. Freedom taken too far disturbs others. Good manners mean not disturbing others. Those who do so are first and foremost lacking in civility. Are you civilised? Since you made it to university, you should be. If you are civilised, you will tolerate ideas and people you do not like. As people who live together, we are forced to tolerate many things we do not like. For example, I don't like your broken sentences, your loud and smirking speech, your chewing gum like a woman, even your face, your gait, your appearance, your clothes, and everything else about you.

I don't just dislike it, I am disgusted by it. But I tolerate it. If I were a slave to my feelings, I would have to kill you immediately out of disgust. But I act with my head, not my feelings, and I hope that one day you will become a man.

You're a university student, aren't you? Then you should be tolerant and well-mannered. Even the disgust of a well-mannered person is more beautiful than the love of an ill-mannered person. Yet you whistle at what you like and boo at what you don't. This is not the work of a civilised and well-mannered, let alone cultured, person, but of the ill-mannered and ignorant.

You are not obliged to like everyone. No one is. But to reveal every feeling immediately is the preserve of small children. Small children are primitive creatures. This behaviour is acceptable in them. But in those over twenty, it is disgusting.

There are concepts such as human manners, family manners, professional manners, and national manners. In our national manners, it is a requirement and a duty to behave politely towards those who are older and higher in rank.

You may not like the Prime Minister. You may even be his enemy. You may hate him. All of these are your rights. In Turkey, a country of superior freedoms, no one can say anything about these things. However, if you boo someone who is a guest at your school, you will only be called vulgar. This vulgarity is not the work of civilised people, but of hooligans.

Yes, you are a low-class person. You are a deceived, duped, bought low-class person. They don't even need to put a few coins in your pocket to buy you. You are such a pitiful, despicable low-class person. You are a low-class person so devoid of intelligence that you cannot even explain why you booed.

The socialists deceived you, didn't they, you poor thing? They made you believe that booing someone who represents capitalism is a patriotic duty, didn't they? You read the nonsense written by a couple of Moscow lackeys in the newspaper columns and thought you were educated, patriotic, and socialist, didn't you?

In reality, you are just a ridiculous wretch. A ridiculous and disgusting wretch...

Let me tell you about an incident that happened 30-40 years ago so that you can understand who you are and what level you are at:

30-40 years ago, the governor of Burdur was killed by a young peasant. The villager, who believed he had been unjustly dismissed from his job and whose application for re-employment had been rejected, wrote a petition to the governor explaining his decision to kill him. He concluded the petition with the following words: 'Honourable Governor, I have decided to kill you because of the injustice you have done to me. Please forgive me for this.' After the petition, which he handed over personally, was read by the governor, he killed both the petitioner and himself.

Do you understand the difference in level between the nobility that even beautifies the murder of this Burdur villager and the disgusting booing of someone like you, a university graduate? If you consider the prime minister harmful to the nation, show your enmity like a man. This manliness is demonstrated by bravely drawing a gun like the Burdur villager. Not by hiding among a thousand people and booing, do you understand, communist lackey!

### How to Destroy a Nation

Everyone has now learned that the true strength of nations lies in their spirit and faith. That is why attacks are now being made on the spiritual side of nations that are to be destroyed.

The most thought-provoking example of this tactic is the Turks in the Soviet Union. The communists, who came to power with the lie of 'independence for nations, freedom for people,' once they had secured their positions, set out to destroy the foreign nations in their empire, especially the Turks.

The Turks, who had a single alphabet and a single literary language during the Tsarist era, were first divided into Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Karakalpak, Oyrat, Bashkir, Tatar, Azerbaijani, and Crimean groups, and separate alphabets were created for each of them. A few decades later, they changed these alphabets, introducing new ones that were a mix of Cyrillic letters, extremely poor, and incapable of properly representing Turkish dialects. They abolished the literary language that was the continuation of Chagatai Turkish and attempted to turn the local dialects into separate national languages.

They fought to make the Turks forget their great past and their past unity by creating separate, fabricated histories for them. As if that were not enough, with unprecedented shamelessness, they turned the Russian invasion of Turkish countries into a celebration of the union of two nations and held ceremonies to commemorate it. On the other hand, they began implementing plans to fill these so-called Turkish republics with Russian immigrants and assimilate them over time. Perhaps in 50 or 100 years, these republics will be abolished on the grounds that their populations have become Russified. As a practical application of this idea, the Crimean Turks, who were the westernmost branch of the Turks in the Soviet Union, were deported en masse, and this ancient Turkish country was Slavicised.

There is no need to mention what China, Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq have done. It is more or less the same. However, all of this is being done by foreigners, by nations that fear the Turks. They all have old adventures with the Turks, and the memory of these adventures makes them tremble even in their strongest moments.

Let us now set aside these seemingly friendly, smiling nations and look a little at ourselves: One must be very thoughtful not to see the efforts being made today in Turkey to destroy Turkishness. In recent years, a group of brainwashed young people, who consider themselves national heroes, have been working to destroy the national spirit, taking advantage of the indifference of previous governments, and are even willing to commit murder in this cause, under the pretext of protecting Turkey from so-called American imperialism (!!), when in reality they are working to Sovietise this country.

Why is this so? Why have the faculties of law and political science in Ankara and the faculties and colleges in Istanbul, which were the hotbeds of nationalism for 20-30 years, come to this state?

Because since the establishment of the republic, those in political power have thought only of their own power, not of the national ideal. They saw the institutions representing the national ideal as obstacles or threats to their power and eliminated them.

However, no matter how much parties claim to be 'indispensable' to democracy, once they come to power, their efforts to remain in power are harmful. It is highly erroneous to view party conflicts as being solely for the sake of the country and the nation, and to fail to see the role played by personal ambitions and even hatred. Parties engage in the same behaviour they loudly complained about when they were in opposition once they come to power.

The Democratic Party, which vehemently defended the 'proportional representation' system while in opposition, forgot about it once it came to power. The People's Party, which had previously ignored the Democrats' demand for proportional representation, began to cry out for it once it found itself in opposition.

In June 1970, during the bloody demonstrations instigated by communists, a Natural Senator named Ahmet Yıldız, solely out of hatred for the ruling party, went so far as to say, 'This is not an uprising. There is no need for martial law,' completely disregarding reason and logic.

Drivers were beaten, their cars were forcibly taken and filled with demonstrators who were then forced to drive them away, police stations and district governor's offices were stormed and destroyed, shops along the road were looted, ministers were subjected to ugly gestures and shouted at, 'These apartments will be ours,' a police officer is killed by having his head crushed with a stone, four colonels and many police officers are injured, and Mr. Ahmet Yıldız says that this is not an uprising.

So, how does an uprising happen?

To say that an action stopped by soldiers with weapons is not an uprising, one must abandon logic and set aside reason. To think that the man who says this is not an uprising is a former colonel is terrifying. This is what sociological and economic knowledge acquired after the age of forty leads one to. It leads one to say, 'Everything good is left-wing. Everything bad is right-wing.' After saying that 16 June was not an uprising, we can comfortably call the Battle of Malazgirt a gang fight.

If there are no universities and other institutions working to develop national ideals and culture outside of political parties in a country, there is no hope for that country.

There used to be a 'Turkish House.' It appealed to the Turkish spirit, both good and bad, and developed national ideals and culture. Since it was not a political organisation, it promoted Turkish unity in the field of culture. Initially established by military medical students, this house developed over time and became a widespread association with many branches throughout the country. It engaged in beneficial social activities. Without any necessity or reason, this association was closed and merged into the People's Party. The party seized the buildings, property, and books of the association, which constituted a significant fortune. To make it appear as though this seizure was carried out at the request of the Turkish Association's administrative board, a charade was even staged. Those who refused to accept this, including Mehmet Halit Bayrı, a member of the Istanbul Turkish Cultural Association's administrative board at the time, were threatened by Şemseddin Günaltay, the Istanbul chairman of the People's Party, with the words, 'You will lose your livelihood.' As a result, the organisation, which was the sole representative of national culture and consciousness at the time, was unjustly dissolved.

In 1944, Turkish nationalists were arrested on false charges of treason and slander and brought before a martial law court. Although they were released after one and a half years in prison and acquitted, during this period, Turkish nationalism was discredited in the public eye due to a months-long campaign of slander carried out by corrupt journalists and intellectuals.

In 1953, the 'Turkish Nationalists Association,' which had spread across the country with over 80 branches and was working to develop the national spirit, was closed down due to various accusations by Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü, who feared that it would support the 'Peasants' Party.'

As those who followed the path of Turkish nationalism were systematically eliminated one by one, Nurcu and communist groups naturally emerged. Just as a starving person scavenges for vegetable scraps in a dumpster, young people whose spiritual needs were neglected turned to spiritual dumpsters. In the atmosphere of broad freedoms brought by the 1961 constitution, we have reached the present day in this state.

This society is now one that brings Zemzem water in cartons to sell, leftists who feed off foreign aid while claiming to fight for humanity, corrupt merchants, and a society that has become completely materialistic in every way. Do you see anything other than greed for profit? The marches and demonstrations by all professional groups, who have taken to the streets to demand higher salaries due to the Personnel Law, are nothing but ugly and shameful manifestations of this materialism.

The main source and primary cause of all this is the elimination of institutions that foster national spirit. If people do not devote themselves to a higher purpose or commit themselves to an ideal, they lose the most important qualities that make them human. For these people, life is now entirely based on pleasure and self-interest. The family tragedies, runaway children, girls falling into prostitution, murders, and embezzlers fleeing with the money that we read about in the newspapers are all the fruits of the evil seeds sown over the years.

If you call someone crazy for 40 days, they will become crazy. Turkish youth, however, have not been called crazy for 40 days, but for years. They have heard national values being denigrated and others being praised, witnessed theft and embezzlement going unpunished, and have been turned against their own people.

What did the governments do in response? They became so simplistic that they thought translating Greek and Russian classics into Turkish would bring about a Renaissance in Turkey. They believed that factories, dams and roads would bring development.

Since the spiritual aspect of development did not occur to them, the spiritual void was filled by the Nurcu, Ticanî and Marxist movements. No educational programmes were developed to nurture future generations with national culture. Literature, history, and citizenship education—the most effective tools of nationalism—were turned into tedious burdens. The unfortunate children who gained nothing positive from school turned to newspapers, magazines, cinema, theatre, beaches, streets, and radio to absorb negativity in abundance.

Immorality reached such a level that the Slavic seed Nâzım Hikmet Verzanski, the number one traitor to the nation, was declared the ‘great poet of the homeland.’ Atatürk's words, ‘One Turk is worth the whole world’ and ‘Communism is the greatest enemy of the Turkish world,’ were forgotten, and it was claimed that he was a socialist. While hundreds of his official portraits hung on the walls, it became a mark of distinction to hang portraits of him drawn in charcoal and made to resemble Lenin.

Young people who were ignorant of their own culture and history, fed on foreign culture and propaganda, and consumed by feelings of inferiority, decorated their rooms with pictures of Mao, Stalin, Ho, Lenin, and others instead of Turkish greats because they had no national heroes in their minds. While they cared nothing about the Turks who had been exterminated in Central Asia, they wrote elegies for people dying in Vietnam and Africa.

Imagine how many more young people like this there are. In 20-30 years, they will be found at every level of the state. If, as a result of what they believe to be the realities of life, they unanimously decide to unite the ‘Turkic peoples (!)’ with the Soviets, will there be anything left to be surprised about?

This is how nations are destroyed: by corrupting their national values, turning them against each other, propagating foreign ideals, making them forget their past, corrupting their language, and infantilising their youth.

We must eradicate the mentality that seeks to destroy Turkishness by eliminating these so-called ‘legal loopholes.’

Let us not forget the advice in the Orkun inscriptions:

Turkish Nation! Ökün (I)

(I) ‘Ökün’ means both ‘think’ and “repent” in Old Turkish. We do not know which meaning Yuluğ Tegin used, but I think he meant ‘think,’ as in ‘come to your senses.’

## Economy and National Defence

We must save the nameless heroes and the nameless producers.

Until the end of the seventeenth century, a country that owned a certain amount of land and had enough people could secure and maintain its economic independence with its own national resources.

The economic relations of such a country with its neighbours consisted solely of importing luxury goods that were not available domestically.

In this era, countries sought to meet the needs of their citizens themselves and to be independent of external aid in the face of any danger. The duty of government officials was first to ensure the free movement of goods within the country, and then to encourage and protect production. However, the development of industrial life erected an iron barrier against economic independence. Nations became economically interdependent in proportion to their political independence. Economic events that initially affected only a particular country eventually had positive or negative consequences for all countries. Today, economic crises in one country have an impact not only on its own political life but also on the political and economic lives of other countries with which it has ties. A country without money cannot purchase all or part of the goods it buys from other countries with which it has relations, and this affects the seller country. There is a close bond and division of labour between nations, just as there is between people. The surplus production of one country is consumed by others, thereby ensuring a balance in the global economy. Behind these bonds that connect nations, there are also private aspects of nations. These aspects are called 'NATIONAL FEELINGS.' Nations are compelled to maintain contact and exchange with one another in order to secure their economic relations; there is no doubt about this. However, the necessity of exchange and relations does not imply the neglect of national sentiments or the national economy.

In the nineteenth century, nations were torn between nationalism and internationalism. Finally, in an effort to reconcile these two positions, they established trade relations and special customs tariffs, incorporating provisions to protect their national products. During the World War, it became evident that these customs and agreements were insufficient; nations suffered severe and painful losses and hardships due to their inability to secure the necessary materials domestically. Our country, Turkey, suffered the most severe of these losses and sufferings. After the war, it became clear that national defence could only be ensured through the nationalisation, concentration, and diversification of production.

However, production depends on consumption and exports. Excessive production in a country, compared to consumption and exports, can lead to dire consequences.

First and foremost, it is the army, followed by the national economy, that will protect the independence of our country.

The army is sustained, given strength and mobility, and economic power by economic power and agents. The basis of economic power and agents is the diversification and abundance of production and their consumption and export. There are four factors that influence production:

1- Manual labour (primitive arts);

2- Land;

3- Power (electricity and mechanical forces);

4- Capital...

Today, we can sadly note that we have not yet completely escaped from the primitive stage of production, where manual labour is the only factor. We possess land that is vast enough to comfortably feed five or six times our population. However, this land is completely primitive and unsuitable for use. For a country whose agriculture depends on the mercy of the sun and the bounty of water, it cannot be called an agricultural country. There are regions that play such an important role in our exports that a lack of rain causes famine there.

Despite our primitive state of agricultural production, if Turkey works seriously and on a scientific basis, it can become a country that exports agricultural products to the markets and fairs of the Balkans.

Our country is rich not only in agricultural potential but also in power and mechanical strength. In fact, very little use is made of the minerals in the country. On the other hand, we have very rich mineral and coal deposits, and rivers that can be utilised in industrial facilities with minimal effort. National defence and national economy cannot be achieved through speeches or by appealing to the masses, but must be based on sound principles. For this purpose, it is necessary to modernise our production, make our rivers usable, and free our mining industry from primitive methods.

Today's wars are a clash between civilisations and their economic systems. No matter how great the military capabilities of an army may be, if it cannot obtain the stone to sharpen its bayonets, the gunpowder to fire his rifle, or the provisions needed for his soldiers' backs and bellies through his own national resources, his success depends on chance.

Regardless of the wishes and decisions of international congresses calling for the abandonment of arms, there is one undeniable truth: all nations are moving towards unconditional and unconditional military service.

The current integrity and sovereignty of countries can only be saved by the strength of their armies and the perfection of their military industries. All nations that understand this truth are arming themselves and becoming militarised;

Here are some examples: Poland, Finland, Italy, Romania, France, Russia.

Germany and Bulgaria, bound by the merciless terms of the peace treaties, and Hungary, where the desire to militarise and arm oneself has turned into a passion. Our need for an army and soldiers is entirely different from that of other nations. Switzerland can declare its neutrality to other countries and completely abolish its army. But this is not possible for us. A Turkey without an army is a land without independence; it is a hinterland.

Belgium, yesterday a neutral state, is today ordering tens of thousands of pounds worth of war supplies and aircraft from British factories.

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Our land is vast but does not yield good crops. We must find the reasons for this and eliminate them. The low yield of our land is due to the incompetence of those who work it. Chemical analyses have shown that the soil along our rivers is among the most fertile in the world.

The whole country is irrigated by abundant rivers. Rivers, which are a means of prosperity for civilised countries, bring disease in summer and death in winter to us.

As for the poor yield of our soil, this is due to organisational shortcomings and the lack of protection for small farmers.

The division of labour has played a very important role in the development and progress of the economic and industrial institutions of our time. I do not know to what extent it is correct to claim that this magical principle, which has not yet entered our schools and administrative institutions, exists among farmers. The application of the division of labour system to various institutions has been one of the most important events that ensured the success of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Our villagers are in a very pitiful situation. The splendour of village laws, the beauty of words and, finally, the existence of good intentions are not enough.

The peasants have no concept of division of labour in their agriculture or work.

The peasants graze their oxen in the pastures; they sharpen their ploughs, prepare their meals, build their houses, lay their walls, plough their fields, reap their wheat, grind it, go down to the town, sell wood, buy gas, and do thousands of other similar tasks. The fact that our peasants are forced to perform such diverse tasks and that there is no positive division of labour in their work is the reason why the results they achieve are not brilliant. If part of the population of a village is engaged solely in tobacco cultivation, it is natural that the melons and watermelons grown in that village will be very different and much tastier than those grown in a village where tobacco cultivation is the main occupation. In order to improve our national production and economy, which are the backbone of our national wealth, we must introduce the principle of division of labour into agriculture and train villagers to specialise in their work.

In today's democratic institutions, the peasantry is the most vital element of national prosperity and national defence.

The nameless heroes of the victorious armies that secured magnificent victories are the peasants. The individuals who secure our national wealth are also the peasants. We are obliged to protect our national wealth as much as our national defence. This is only possible through the advancement of the peasants. We must produce and export our agricultural products in accordance with scientific and civilised principles. Our customers, who give us money, want good eggs and figs without worms. Therefore, we must modernise our agricultural production, which constitutes a significant portion of our exports.

To this end, we must establish official state fairs in various regions of Anatolia. Peasants participating in these fairs should be able to use state means of transport to transport their produce.

In order to improve the quality of peasant produce, we must attach particular importance to educating the peasants.

Therefore, we must place particular emphasis on educating young villagers in village schools.

The armies that saved our country are the national economies that give them strength and movement. In order to protect our country, we must save the national economy, national agriculture and national life.

For this reason, we must save the nameless heroes and the nameless producers.

#### Don Quixotes Against the Turkish Army

Although it had soldiers before, the disciplined and organised Turkish State Army was founded by 'Tanrıkut Mete' (or 'Motun') in 209 BC. In this army, where disobedience and failure to hit the target were punished by death, no matter how harsh the order, units were formed of '10,' '100,' '1,000,' and '10,000' soldiers. The longest-range arrows and the fastest horses were found in this army. Soldiers who began their training at the age of four or five by riding rams, developed endurance against hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and could fire arrows without hesitation even while galloping at full speed, this army fought countless battles, both known and unknown, throughout history and survived until today. Despite the changes over time, such as the transition from cavalry to infantry and other adaptations, the spirit remained the same: discipline, respect, bravery, and disregard for death...

Over the course of approximately 3,000 years of history, the habit of living as a 'nation of soldiers' has made 'Turkishness' a military concept. Continuous wars and the measures required to accomplish much with few people gave rise to military discipline, which in turn led to a high level of social discipline.

Discipline is the main condition of civilisation. It is the core of the concept of rights and true freedom, which distinguishes humans from animals. This is why the Turkish Army has had to go beyond its main duty at certain critical moments to restore order.

The 12 March Declaration is one such instance. The searches conducted in the hideouts of these vagabonds reveal how justified the army was. Among the items found were weapons and explosives, as well as military uniforms, duplicating machines, two-way radios, and the latest Czech weapons hidden in Kurdish villages of 15 houses in the East, and so on.

The so-called leftist ideology in Turkey, like in the West, is not a system oriented towards social justice, but has become outright treason. Pictures of a bunch of Jewish, Chinese, Russian, and South American murderers are displayed in schools; lessons about Nazim Hikmet, the Number One Traitor to the Nation, and other leftists, along with assignments; attacks on nationalism under the pretext of criticising the government in sold-out newspapers; shameless demands for Kurdish to be taught at universities under the delusion of a 'people-oriented university'; and disgraceful acts such as observing a moment of silence for a deceased Kurdish nationalist, demanding the revival of the 'Village Institutes,' which were dens of scorpions where the Turkish flag was thrown into the sewer, and while some military personnel were arrested, as we learned from a statement by the Istanbul Martial Law Command, meaning that traitors had begun to infiltrate the army, no other behaviour could be expected from the army.

While reading the statements of the Martial Law Commanders in 11 provinces, comparing the national consciousness of these soldiers with the lack of understanding of the former Interior Minister Menteşeoglu presents a painful lesson. While the commanders spoke firmly yet politely, measuredly, and with dignity, one cannot help but recall Menteşeoglu's ridiculous remarks about a Don Quixote who was accidentally captured: 'We opened the bag, and when he tried to escape, we closed it and caught him,' and his willingness to pose for a photo alongside a bandit.

We now learn that while the government is busy opening and closing bags, Don Quixotes who have given themselves grandiose names like 'people's army,' 'revolutionary,' and 'revolutionary youth' have taken to the mountains, raising the banner of rebellion, hoping to destroy this state and establish an independent Kurdish state in the East, and that they are receiving support from a party composed of traitors to the nation.

Like a drunken goat climbing a mountain to fight a wolf, these Don Quixotes, who see themselves as giants after robbing banks and kidnapping people, are planning to defeat the Turkish army in the mountains with the weapons they have stolen, taking courage from the Americans' failure in Vietnam.

The American army cannot be compared to the Turkish army. With the superior weapons and manpower that America possesses, if the Turkish army had been there, it would have crushed Vietnam in a few months. The proof of our words is this:

In the winter of 1925, during the Sheikh Said rebellion, Turkey was a country that had emerged from a 12-year war, lost its empire, and was exhausted, impoverished, corrupt, and lacking in expertise. It had been three years since the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. The state had an army consisting of infantry, cavalry, and a few artillery units, no tanks, and a handful of old aircraft. It was a newly established republic. During the Sheikh Said rebellion, which began with British provocation to create difficulties for us over the Mosul issue, the state's superiority in arms consisted of a few aircraft and machine guns. In the winter, in those mountainous regions, the artillery, which was all in poor condition at the time, was useless.

The rebellion began on 13 February 1925. Palu, Hani, Genç, Varto, Silvan and others joined the rebels. They formed a force of 30-40 thousand men. The Turkish army completed its preparations on 1 April and launched an attack. On 15 April, Sheikh Sait was captured and the rebellion was quelled.

At that time, after such a large-scale rebellion with roughly equal weapons was suppressed so quickly, would the Turkish army, with its powerful air force and artillery today, be helpless against Don Quixotes? Will the thugs who hid behind the thick walls of the Middle East Technical University and surrendered after a few hours of rifle and pistol fire when their commander said, 'I will open mortar fire,' fight against the Turkish Army? Those who have never been punched think their own fist is strong. Where are the false heroes who shouted, 'Fascist army!' and claimed, 'Even if soldiers come instead of police, we will fight them'? Now that they see their opponents are not the Menteşeoglu gangsters, they are surrendering like scared cats. Because the heroism of Don Quixotes lasts only until they collide with the windmill's blades.

Meanwhile, according to what we have learned from the Martial Law announcements, a Press Committee went to the command headquarters to beg for mercy for the detained journalists, spoke of thought crimes, and requested that Martial Law be ended early, citing the 1972 World Press Congress to be held in Istanbul.

Since it has not been disclosed, we do not know who this press committee consists of. However, we must ask: Where were their minds when the press was inciting unrest, attempting to divide the nation, undermining moral order, and showering anarchists with praise as patriotic youth?

A crime does not cease to be a crime just because it is a crime of thought. There are limits to both thought and conscience. The nonsense you call crimes of thought have destroyed the homes of countless families. The so-called patriotic youths have prevented the country from producing the highly educated graduates it needs by rendering universities inoperable for years. When it suited them, they shouted 'Fascist army' when the army and the youth did not stand side by side. When they resisted state forces with weapons and surrendered, their leaders, such as Erdal İnönü, who was either a rector, dean, or some other official, requested that the interrogations be concluded quickly out of great humanitarian mercy, even though they were only held for a few hours and questioned.

And how sad and instructive it is that of the 1,000 people who resisted the gendarmerie, only 22 were brought to trial, and they too were released.

If that happens, this will happen. The army will take control. Martial law will be imposed and may last for months.

Go and gather your international journalists elsewhere. Before the foreign press forms an impression, the welfare of Turkey, which the press, sworn to the moral code, has dragged to the edge of the precipice along with Don Quixotes, is what matters.

### The Sacred Places of a Homeland

Everyone now knows that we took the place we call 'Turkey' today from the Greeks and the Armenians and Georgians who were subject to them in wars that began in the 11th century.

These lands can undoubtedly be considered sacred in every inch, as they were conquered through years of attacks and then defended for years, with rivers of blood flowing over them. However, in the memories of nations, there are certain battles and the heroes who led them that become symbols of the 'belief in nationhood,' and the places where they fought, died, and killed become sacred.

The memory of the past, that is, history, is the memory of the nation. Just as a person who has lost their memory cannot be considered alive, a nation without memory cannot be called a nation.

On 26 August, the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Malazgirt will be commemorated. This battle, the second major clash of the fierce Turkish-Byzantine wars (the first being the Battle of Pasin in 1048), will be remembered, and a monument will be erected in honour of Alp Arslan, the martyrs of Malazgirt, and the veterans of the battle.

Malazgirt is just one of the great monuments we are tasked with erecting, and Alp Arslan is just one of the nation-builders we will honour by commemorating him. When the opportunity and means arise, commemorating them all and erecting monuments in their honour, even renaming Anatolian cities with foreign-rooted names after Turkish conquerors, will be one of the first things to consider when national consciousness rises. No harm done, let some encyclopedia entries be changed, let foreigners stumble a bit.

Let us call Bursa 'Orhankent' or 'Orhanbalık'; let us call Edirne "Muratkent" or 'Muratbalık'; let us make everything in these lands Turkish, from matter to name, and let the world say what it will. Just as we once renamed 'Keşiş Dağı' to 'Uludağ' and "Ayastafanos" to 'Yeşilköy', and everyone grew accustomed to these changes, one day all the names of cities, big and small, will be Turkified, and the national consciousness will be fulfilled.

Today, in Anatolia, there are places like Aydın, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Çorum, Kınık, Karaman, Elmalı, Söğüt, Akseki, Turgutlu, Kula, Denizli, Demirci, Dursunbey, Bozkır, Bozdoğan, Yatağan, Kırşehir, Akşehir, Beyşehir, Suşehri, Taşköprü, Eskişehir, Yenişehir, Karaağaç, and so on; alongside river names such as Yeşilırmak, Kızılırmak, and Göksu, we will Turkify hundreds of city and river names that are not in Turkish, leaving no trace of the foreign here. This will be one of the great tasks that future Turks will take into consideration. Our cities will be named after their conquerors; statues and monuments will be erected with majestic images of these conquerors, and when the people see them, they will understand where they came from and where they are going, they will come to their senses, and they will cling more tightly to their national identity.

People are influenced by what they see and hear. This is propaganda. The disgusting actions carried out today in Turkey by a group of degenerates are the sprouting fruits of years of propaganda by traitors to the homeland. If those who address the youth were patriots instead of these despicable writers, professors, teachers, novelists, and playwrights, the national landscape would be completely different.

What drove us to write these lines was a news article we read in a newspaper that was both laughable and infuriating. In the 2 and 3 May issues of the Milliyet newspaper, there was an article, or perhaps an interview, with the famous Kasım Gülek, which we found dangerous for the future, and we wanted to warn those concerned. The news is as follows:

Kasım Gülek, a former minister, was in Rome when the Pope summoned him for a meeting and asked him for information about Tarsus. Kasım Gülek reported that there is a Saint Paul well, the ruins of a Saint Paul church, and the house where the same man is said to have lived in Tarsus, and made statements about these. The Pope, who was very pleased with this information about Paul, one of Jesus' 12 disciples, decided to declare Tarsus as the number one holy city of Christianity. This would enable Christians to go there and become pilgrims. Kasım Gülek, a fellow townsman of Paulus, immediately established a 'Saint Paul Association' in Tarsus. The area around the well would be cleared, and the church and house ruins would be restored. Thus...

Perhaps Kasım Gülek travelled around the villages of Tarsus, shaking hands with thousands of villagers and trying to gather votes, making himself a laughingstock in the newspapers. However, his final act was not amusing but rather sad. Despite his talk of bottling the water from Saint Paul's well and selling it to Christians to earn foreign currency, his initiative cannot escape being thought-provoking.

Because:

If action is taken based on this twisted thinking, it may be possible to turn all of Anatolia, all of Turkey, into sacred ground for Christianity. For we took these lands from the Christians. In every city of this country, where Christianity flourished for centuries before us, there are remnants of their presence. While we could revive the memories of these cities, mountains, and rocks that belong to the Turks and the conquest, what is the meaning of trying to preserve the memories of a more ancient era that belongs to foreigners? Do we want to reignite the obsession with the Holy Places?

The current Pope, who accepted Kasim Gülek and exploited his desire for showmanship, revealed himself to be a pig of a Catholic during his visit to Istanbul. While touring Hagia Sophia, he disregarded Turkish laws and, in full view of Foreign Minister İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, knelt down and prayed. Now the same Pope, as if there were no other work left to do on earth, wants to make the city where Paul, one of the 12 Apostles of Jesus, was born, namely Turkish Tarsus, a holy Christian city, and Kasim Gülek is aiding him in this.

The man called Paul was actually a Jew named Saul, who was converted to Christianity by the Roman Paul and later executed in Rome. Now, Turkish Kasim Gülek is reviving the memory of this Jew by establishing an association in Tarsus, he is opening up the area around the well that bears his name, restoring his church, and grinning as if he has done something great.

Kasim Gülek is a former minister who graduated from several faculties and speaks half a dozen languages. It seems that even such qualities cannot prevent a man from going astray.

If Kasim Gülek were a sensible and nationally conscious Turk, instead of reviving the remains of this obscure Jew, he would have thought of commemorating the memory of the conqueror who won Tarsus for the Turks and taken action in that direction.

Tarsus was conquered in 1082 by 'Süleyman Shah,' the son of the famous 'Kutlamiş' (I) from the Anatolian conquerors and considered the first of the Anatolian Seljuks. Kasim Gülek should learn this and, if he is truly a son of this homeland, abandon this Jewish Paulus and establish an association now for the 900th anniversary of the conquest of Tarsus, which will take place in 11 years. With the assistance of institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism, the History Institution, and the Seljuk History Institute, he should secure a grand monument for Tarsus. Tarsus should be rebuilt. If the aim is to show tourists something, they should be shown the monument of the Turkish hero Süleyman Shah, not the well of the Jew Paulus, which is probably full of bones.

In a moment of negligence, as if it were necessary to show tourists only Christian works, millions were spent on restoring works left behind by Christianity.

They turned a church in Ephesus, which the Holy Virgin Mary, who had a Jewish wife and became famous in history for giving birth to a child without a father, never visited, into a tourist attraction in her name. The Papacy gladly accepted this. They established a position in Antalya in the name of Santa Claus, a man of unknown origin. Many hidden churches were uncovered and restored.

Instead, the Seljuk-era works of art that had fallen into ruin could have been restored and shown to tourists. Furthermore, most of those who come to Turkey as tourists do so not for history and archaeology, but to relax and enjoy the sea.

While generating foreign exchange is desirable, there is no need to turn Turkey into a collection of Christian holy cities and shrines for this purpose. This would constitute a national crime and provide a tool to the Greeks who seek to revive Byzantium in Anatolia.

Acting solely out of a materialistic desire to generate foreign exchange, converting Hagia Sophia into a church would bring us billions, while becoming Christian as a nation would cost us trillions.

We hear that the government is preparing a new law for associations. We hope that this new law will close down associations that are contrary to national interests and save people from ridicule and harm.

In a city like Tarsus, home to brave Yörük tribes, we must refrain from actions that hurt the national spirit, such as repairing church ruins in the name of Paulus, a hesitant Jew, for the sake of the Pope, a dark-hearted man, and remember that there is such a thing as 'seriousness' in the world.

(1) It is not 'Kulmuş' or 'Kutalmış,' but 'Kutlamış.' Other similar names belong to the beys named Sülemeş, Beklemeş, and Ağlamış.

## Zeki Velidi Togan's Historiography

Zeki Velidi Togan will undoubtedly go down in history as a 'great historian.' In fact, the young historian Yılmaz Öztuna has described him as 'the greatest Turkish historian to date.'

Zeki Velidi Togan entered the field of history at a very young age with a nationalist mindset and never stopped being a historian throughout his adventurous life. With his special talent in this field and his knowledge of many languages, he became a great historian and managed to achieve the same level of expertise in other sciences necessary to become a historian.

One of the prerequisites for becoming a great historian is to thoroughly understand historical events, accurately assess the truth and falsehood in sources, and correctly predict the connection between events and previous occurrences. A great historian is someone who can extract historical truths from epics and legends. Zeki Velidi Togan acquired these qualities during his more than 60 years as a historian.

He produced few works despite his vast knowledge. If circumstances had been more favourable, the Turkish libraries would have been greatly enriched by the publication of his prepared works. It is regrettable that he was unable to publish his major works on the Karakhanids, the Aksak Temür Era, the Historical Geography of Turkish Lands, Nevâî, Birûnî, and Reşîdeddin.

We can say that he was a Turkish professor whose scientific value was recognised throughout the world. He was offered chairs in America, England, Germany, India, Pakistan and, I believe, Japan, a distinction no other Turkish professor has ever achieved.

He was very knowledgeable about the history of Turkistan and the Golden Horde. He did not deal with Turkish history. However, with the intuition and ability that comes from being a great historian, he was the first scholar to solve a problem related to Turkish history:

As is well known, Ottoman history begins with an epic: The Kayis, led by Tughrul Beg, encountered two armies fighting in a plain while advancing westward in Anatolia. The Seljuks were fighting the Tatars (i.e., the Mongols) and were on the verge of defeat. Ertuğrul Beğ came to the aid of the defeated with his small force, and the Tatars lost the battle.

When we were in primary school, this story was told in our history books and instilled in our hearts the principle that 'it is the glory of the Turks to help the defeated.'

Until Zeki Velidi Togan, this event was accepted as a battle between the Mongols and the Seljuks. Zeki Velidi Togan was the first to draw attention to the fact that this was not a Seljuk-Mongol war, but a Seljuk-Khwarazmian war, fought between Seljuk Sultan Alâaddin Keykubad and Khwarazm Shah Celâleddin Mengüberti at Yassıçimen. The battle took place in 1230 near Erzincan at Yassıçimen, and Zeki Velidi Togan identified this based on a record by the historian Nesevî. Nesevî wrote that the battle was won when Alâaddin Keykubad, who was on the verge of defeat, received unexpected help from the east (Introduction to General Turkish History, Istanbul 1970, second edition, p. 322). At that time, the Kayi tribe was marching from Khorasan towards the west of Anatolia. Zeki Velidi Togan, who was well versed in the history of the Mongols and the Ilkhanids, had a good understanding of the consequences of the Mongol movements in Western and Central Asia.

My purpose in recalling Zeki Velidi Togan's discovery is to demonstrate the accuracy of this great historian's insight into events. His findings are not limited to the Battle of Yassıçimen, but also cover the entire history of the Ottoman Empire and the beyliks on its borders.

It was Zeki Velidi Togan who shed light on some of the dark, confusing and false reports about the beginning of Ottoman history, using the same approach and methodology. I will not repeat them here. Those who wish to learn more should refer to pages 324-327 of the above-mentioned work.

He read his works carefully. Thanks to this attention, he also determined the year of publication of Kaşgarlı Mahmud's *Divanü Lugati't-Türk*. The date of composition of this work was accepted as 466 AH (= 1073/1074 AD). After carefully examining the records in the work, Togan determined that the correct date was 470 AH (= 1077 AD). (See: *Atsız Mecmua*, Issue 16, 15 August 1932).

Zeki Velidi Togan was also well versed in the use of epics for historical purposes. His combination of some khan names in the *Oğuznâme* with the names of some Western Göktürk khans is an example of this. Taking into account that the names of tribes, clans, and nations often appear as personal names (= rulers) in epics, he drew some conclusions from this. Kaşgarlı, in his work, claimed that "Şu," depicted as a contemporary of Alexander the Great in Kaşgarlı's work, was actually the oldest Turkic tribe in Turkestan, and this view was confirmed by the Sinologist Eberhard. Similarly, he was well-versed in personal names used by various Turkic communities, enabling him to draw historical conclusions. He identified some of the Uç beğs in Western Anatolia as belonging to the Kipchak group rather than the Oğuz-Turkmen group based on personal names.

Another reason that strengthened his historiography was that he travelled extensively throughout a large part of the regions where Turkish history took place. This was not just a casual trip, but a study that left a lasting impression on his mind and heart.

As a person who lived within history, his private conversations and meetings always touched on history. He was very pleased when Western scholars published serious books that reinforced his theories.

When Zeki Velidi Togan came to Turkey, he did not know how to laugh. He later learned how to laugh and began telling funny stories. As I finish this article, I cannot resist sharing one of those anecdotes here:

One night in Bashkortostan, where he was born, he drank a lot of kumis and became drunk. I know from experience that getting drunk on kumis is a wonderful thing. Togan walked towards the fountain opposite his house to splash water on his face and sober up. There was a moon in the sky.

He continued: 'I was just about to reach the fountain when I saw something. The moon was standing in front of me. Apparently, I had fallen on my back in my drunkenness, but I didn't even realise I had fallen, so I saw the moon in front of me.'

Of course, both he and his listeners laughed heartily.

The historian Zeki Velidi Togan is now part of history and memory. After all, what is life but a few memories?

#### The 900th Anniversary of Malazgirt and National Culture

Remembering the past is a human trait. Animals do not think about the past. They are only concerned with the present moment. No matter how flawed the past may be, it is a book that cannot be ignored because of the lessons it teaches and the examples it sets for today and tomorrow. It is one of the sources of strength for nations. That is why making a nation forget its past is the first step towards destroying it.

Today, we see the most typical example of a nation that is being destroyed by being made to forget its past: the Russians resorted to this measure to eliminate at least 40 million Turks in the Soviet Union. First, they turned the old nation, tribes, and clans into so-called separate nationalities, eliminated their common literary language by separating their alphabets, and then, with unprecedented shamelessness, began to sever their ties with the 'past' by fabricating false histories.

The same farce is being played out in Iran. In a state of 25 million people consisting of Turks, Persians, Kurds, Arabs, Lurs, Baluchis and Armenians, the Turks, who constitute the largest and most energetic element with a population of 12 million, are being subjected to every possible effort to make them forget their Turkishness. and a ridiculous claim is being made that these Turks, who are actually Persians, were forced to speak Turkish during the Mongol invasion.

The Muscovites and the Persians are foreigners and are wary of the Turks because of past events, so they are excusable for their behaviour. However, if we ourselves are so foolish as to ignore the past, there can be no excuse or justification for our crime.

Before Islam, the Turks knew their national history. The Kungs of the Christian era remembered Tanrikut Mete even after two centuries had passed. The Gök Turks of the 730s also showed that they had not forgotten Bumun Khan and Istem Khan, who had lived 180 years earlier, in the monuments they erected. In addition, they kept their past alive through epics passed down by word of mouth and always lived with a sense of national romanticism. National romanticism was a great source of strength. It is still so today.

First Manichaeism and then Islam made the Turks forget their national past. After the Göktürks, in 745, the third khan of the Turks known as the Nine Oghuz-Ten Uyghurs, or simply the Uyghurs, who took control of Turkestan, 'Alp Külüg Bilge Bögü Khan' (759-780), officially adopted Manichaeism as the state religion in 763.

Thousands of manuscripts left behind by the Uyghurs, who lived a brilliant civilised life, were found in excavations in East Turkestan and brought to European museums, many of which have been published by distinguished scholars, but not a single historical work has been found among them. Almost all of the works belong to Manichaeism and Buddhism. Thus, the religion adopted from foreigners came to the fore, supplanted the national religion, and severed the Turks' connection with their past. The national past survived only among the nomadic Turks and in the form of epics.

Islam, which was accepted in the tenth century, dealt the same blow to the national past. This time, the blow was even more severe, and the tragedy of forgetting the past spread to the masses.

While the Anatolian Turks insisted on remembering the Battle of Badr, which took place in the seventh century with three or four hundred people, the Arab internal conflict between Ali and Muawiya, and the murder of Hussein in Karbala, they forgot Malazgirt in the eleventh century, where Kutlamiş, Süleyman Shah, and Kılıç Arslan, who died in their own civil wars and are each considered national heroes. All that remains in their minds is a vague image of 'Sultan Alâaddin' and they have tied everything that happened in the past to him in order to make sense of it all.

Let us assume that they embraced Islam with fanaticism and denied the era before Islam. In that case, why were the First Kılıç Arslan, Mesud, and the Second Kılıç Arslan, who defended the homeland against the Crusaders in the Battle of Malazgirt against the Christians, forgotten?

During my 17-year tenure at the Süleymaniye Library between 1952 and 1969, I reviewed tens of thousands of books and did not come across a single work that mentioned the national past, but I saw many works titled 'Eshâb-ı Bedr' that recorded the Arabs who fought in the Battle of Badr one by one, with their names and genealogies. Of course, none of these names were recorded at the time; they were all written long after the battle, and most of them were fabricated and attributed to the wrong people. However, Turks regarded these as truth, while neglecting their own past, failing to account for themselves, and accepting the glories of the noble Arab nation with all their lies and fabrications. While Khalid bin Walid and Tariq bin Ziyad were praised as great commanders, Çağrı Beğ, Afşın Beğ, and Oruç Reis, who would not even use them as soldiers, were forgotten.

Kemalpaşaoglu Ahmed Şemseddin, a great Turkish scholar, wrote an article stating that Persian was the most superior language after Arabic.

Somehow, the Turks had not forgotten the Ottoman era. That was because they were still in power.

On 26 August 1971, the 900th anniversary of the victory at Malazgirt will be celebrated. This is a very appropriate gesture. However, as with all national endeavours, it is too late. Now, all that remains to be done is to lay the foundation for a monument to be erected in honour of the Battle of Malazgirt and Alp Arslan.

Commemorating the anniversaries of great victories and dark days is essential for inspiring nations and strengthening their beliefs. In 1926, the Hungarians held a grand ceremony to mark the 400th anniversary of the Battle of Mohács. We, on the other hand, disgraced the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul in 1953. Everything was done to make the ceremony seem insignificant so as not to offend our Greek friends. Thinking only of others and not taking ourselves into account is a trait peculiar to us. Could this be a national mental illness?

The 900th anniversary of Malazgirt was also an important opportunity to make a move towards national development. By consulting the General Staff, geologists, meteorologists, the State Water Works, and all relevant departments, we could have established a city named 'Alparslan' on the outskirts of the plain where the Battle of Malazgirt took place, built factories proposed by the Planning Organisation, establish a production farm and a stud farm, and revive the 24 Oğuz tribes by constructing 24 modern model villages around Alparslan City, relocating selected families from the Oğuz tribes scattered across Anatolia to these villages and directing them toward scientific agriculture, and establishing a pilot region as a model area. This opportunity was not considered. This was because partisan governments were accustomed to thinking first about the votes they would win and then about the benefits they would provide to their supporters, and as a result, national consciousness had been paralysed.

Indeed, according to what we learned from radio news, everything to be done for Malazgirt will begin on 26 August 1971. However, everything should have been completed by that date, and the opening ceremony should have taken place.

The Ministry of National Education and the newly established Ministry of Culture will have a lot of work to do to develop and spread national culture, and it seems that the only issue that will cause trouble for the new government will be educational reform.

Land reform can be completed within five to ten years. Bureaucracy in the administration can be resolved with one or two laws and strict enforcement. Manufacturing aircraft and tanks in Turkey requires a little patience and hard work. The budget deficit can be prevented with serious savings.

However, when it comes to education, it is not that easy. Education reform involves knowledge and national education. It is possible to fill the knowledge gaps of teachers with courses, but national education cannot be taught in courses. If a teacher has diseases such as Marx, Lenin, and Mao in their head, that teacher is lost. To speak bluntly, today, Russianism and Maoism are rampant, and thousands of teachers are afflicted with an incurable mental illness. How can Turkish children be given national education by teachers who are enemies of their own nation and homeland, who await and long for the Russians and the Chinese? The teachers who have been brought before the Special Courts are only a small fraction of these sick individuals. The others have been left in their positions because they are not conspicuous or have been intimidated into submission. When the opportunity arises tomorrow, will they not start spewing their venom again?

It seems that there is no other way forward for educational reform than to sacrifice thousands of teachers. It will be difficult, but it must be done. The principle that sent 7,000 officers from the army into retirement and discharged 1,500 military academy students from military service at once must not hesitate to sacrifice a few thousand teachers in order not to sacrifice the future of the nation. Otherwise, we must give up hope for the future of the Turkish nation.

The establishment of the Ministry of Culture was a result of a sound decision. However, as soon as the Minister of Culture took office, he spoke of theatre and ballet as if there were no other important issues, which disappointed us greatly. When we speak of Turkish culture, theatre is the last thing that comes to mind, and ballet is the last thing that comes to mind at all.

What is culture? Is it not the common values and beliefs of the members of a nation? In that case, when we talk about Turkish culture, the first things that come to mind are 'language', then 'morality', 'history', 'music', 'architecture', 'decorative arts' and 'folklore'.

We would have expected the Ministry of Culture to first eliminate the causes that undermine the foundations of our nation with a law called the 'Turkish Culture Protection Law' rather than taking theatre to the villages.

It is easy to establish a theatre. Nowadays, everyone considers themselves an artist, so it is not difficult to find performers. However, where are the theatre plays that will instil national consciousness, taste, and culture in the Turkish nation and its people? If the Minister of Culture intends to show Hamlet or Faust to Turkish villagers, or even the convoluted works of leftists under the guise of local plays, then there is no need to bother.

When we talk about protecting and developing Turkish, which is the main element of Turkish culture, I am referring to teaching solid language skills in schools, selecting pieces from Turkish works that have been known since the eighth century, and Turkish dialects. For this homeland to be 'Turkish,' I mean that all geographical names and all commercial, scientific, economic, cultural, and tourist organisation names should be in Turkish, that a Language Academy should be established, that the spelling, which is still shamefully undetermined, should be finalised, that Turkish history should be written from the perspective of national consciousness and interests, and that all Turkish architectural works in Turkey

Another important point is the construction of an 'Immortals' Road' in a suitable location in Turkey. The Immortals' Road is a historical road lined with statues and monuments of the great figures of Turkish history and shaded by the most majestic trees. For now, it will start with Alp Er Tunga and end with Atatürk, and in the future, statues and monuments of other great figures will be added to this long and magnificent road.

Ceremonies for great heroes, heads of state, leaders, scholars and poets will be held on the Road of the Immortals, and their portraits will be displayed here. All Turkish children will walk along this road at least once, reading a few lines written on the monuments of their elders and feeling the pride of being Turkish.

A nation cannot be nourished by the Keban Dam, Ayşe's bakery and the Hilton Hotel alone. If it cannot draw inspiration from the greatness of its past to hope for a greater future, it will degenerate.

The Turkish Culture Protection Law will also protect morality, which is an important part of culture. Therefore, writings, pictures, plays, films, advertisements, and associations that destroy Turkish morality will be banned by this law, thus preventing national decline.

One of the greatest social laws is 'imitation.' Young generations who constantly see the 'non-national' and the 'unethical' in newspapers, magazines, films, on stage, on the radio, at the beach, and on the streets cannot grow up to be national heroes or idealistic warriors. The men dressed like women who fill the streets are the result of imitation.

The solution to this, as we pointed out above, is the 'Law on the Protection of Turkish Culture.' Theatre and film, which are powerful means of persuasion and should therefore be regarded as schools, should be brought under state control and turned into national, moral, and patriotic propaganda. This would be the most effective measure for spiritual development.

The contradiction between the strength of spirit and character of those who won the Battle of Malazgirt 900 years ago and the pitiful spiritual structure of today made us think about these things.

In the past, during the Democratic Party's rule, due to the government's preoccupation with trivial matters and its disregard for warnings, Dr. Cezmi Türk said in a speech to Parliament, 'We are not addressing Parliament, we are addressing the clerks.'

We believe that we are addressing tomorrow's researchers.

What else can we do?

## The Intoxication of Freedom

The 1961 Constitution did not bring good order to the Turkish people. It is not correct to say that the fault lies with the constitution, not with the government that did not know how to implement it. The traitorous professors who protested that the police could not enter the university were relying on the constitution. The Nihat Erim government, which came to power with the support and will of the army and with extraordinary powers, was unable to carry out its duties despite its good intentions and determination, and was forced to declare martial law and embark on the task of amending the constitution.

According to Prime Minister Nihat Erim, a professor of law, the constitution in force is one of the freest in the world and is nothing more than a luxury for us. Even the constitutions of countries that allow communism do not provide this much freedom.

Freedom is something that quickly degenerates and is easily abused when there are no sanctions. This is what happened in Turkey: discipline disappeared, common and political crimes multiplied rapidly and went unpunished, bringing the country to the brink of ruin.

The 1961 Constitution has an Article 11 on fundamental rights and freedoms, which is a terrible thing, and strangely enough, there are those who stubbornly resist changing it.

Article 11 reads as follows:

Fundamental rights and freedoms may only be restricted by law in accordance with the essence and spirit of the Constitution. Even for reasons such as public interest, public morality, public order, social justice and national security, the essence of a right or freedom cannot be touched.

In other words, the so-called 'freedoms' that are considered fundamental human rights are so important that the state cannot touch them for the public good.

It cannot even interfere with them for the sake of public morality.

It cannot even interfere with them for the sake of public order.

It cannot even interfere with them for the sake of social justice. And it cannot even interfere with them for the sake of national security.

In other words, when the freedoms of individuals conflict with national security, national security is sacrificed; individual freedom is guaranteed.

Such logic cannot be found anywhere in the world. At best, it could be called a 'freedom intoxication.' The consequences of this intoxication are evident...

It is not surprising that İsmet İnönü, who was the most stubborn in opposing the amendment of this article, behaved in this way. It is as if he had shown great respect for human rights and civil liberties during his time in power, had been a champion of freedom and rights throughout his life, and was now resisting the restriction of freedoms with a heavy heart, perhaps even laughable.

Citizens in Zonguldak and neighbouring provinces were forced to work in coal mines, families with blood feuds were forcibly deported to other provinces, the mass migration of many families from the east to the west after the Sheikh Said rebellion, and the arrest and unjust imprisonment of Turkish nationalists for one and a half years, all at the instigation of a few dishonourable individuals, all occurred during his time.

In addition, laws such as the 'Takrirî Sükûn Law' and the 'Measures Law,' which were unconstitutional and restricted freedoms, were also the brainchild of İsmet Pasha. Now, to forget all this and raise the banner of freedom, to resist excessive freedom, and to defend the nests of scorpions is truly a tragic farce.

Those laws were necessary. Are there not even more urgent necessities today? The so-called 'racist-Turkish nationalists' did not rob banks, kill people, attempt to change the state order, or even commit the slightest crime. They drew attention to the danger of communism. It was quickly understood that they were 100% right. Today, communists (leaving aside bank robberies, anarchist propaganda, and the assassination of the Israeli consul), who are said to have implied that they would intervene if the death penalty, which İnönü was seen to approve of, were imposed, took refuge behind concrete walls with the armed forces of the state and exchanged fire for hours. It was clear that they wanted to establish a communist regime in the country. They had infiltrated the military forces. The Prime Minister had stated many times that they were receiving support from abroad.

While this was the situation, İnönü still considered the Nurcu and the bigots, whom he called the extreme right, to be more dangerous than communism, or at least appeared to do so.

The Nurcu and fanatics are poor souls with frozen minds. Even if you arm them with tanks and cannons and tell them, 'Go and capture Turkey,' they would still be unable to do anything. At the height of the battle, they would all stop and pray, and be taken prisoner. The foreign forces supporting them are themselves poor Arab states in need of help.

But are communists like that? They have spread throughout the world for a hundred years, organised themselves, and come to power by force or deceit in several large countries such as Russia and China, and in several medium-sized or small countries such as Eastern European countries. They have achieved such success that they were able to make one of the former American presidents' aides into Stalin's agent and steal our atomic secrets. The most effective aspect of this danger is its cosmopolitan and internationalist, i.e., humanist appearance. Although it is now clear that communism is Russian and Chinese imperialism, it continues to deceive and exploit millions of fools around the world and many traitors in Turkey.

The excessive freedoms brought about by the 1961 constitution created a very favourable environment for the development of communism. A communist party called the Turkish Workers' Party was established, and its last leader spoke of Turkish rights. When asked what this meant, he replied, 'Are there no Kurdish citizens in the east?'

Strikes and university incidents that continued daily until martial law was imposed had disrupted order in the country. It was clear that order could only be restored by restricting individuals' rights to strike and assemble. Now that there was 'freedom,' pictures of international vagabonds could no longer be hung in universities, the offices of rectors and deans could no longer be occupied, professors could no longer be insulted, and traffic could no longer be stopped.

These ugly behaviours, even if they were truly innocent rights, had to be abolished because they were disrupting the order of society.

The generals' memorandum was nothing more than a last-ditch measure to address this great need. For Turkey to survive, some of the so-called human rights freedoms had to be removed. However, İsmet İnönü, the champion of freedom, opposed this and defended Article 11.

It is difficult to describe the actions of a man who served as head of state for 12 years and as prime minister for even longer, and who witnessed the establishment of independence courts and the execution of people in the name of state security during his time in office.

İsmet İnönü also invented the Takrirî Sükûn ve Tedbirler Kanunu (Law on Calm and Measures) and the natural senate, which is unparalleled in world history. In other words, he demonstrated the skill of legalising an institution that was outside the law, even if only in appearance, in order to establish order in the country. So, why is Law Professor Nihat Erim so anxious that Turkey will collapse if certain unnecessary freedoms are restricted in order to establish order? After stating authoritatively that the German constitution contains many restrictions on freedom, why is İnönü still resisting? Is he not aware that this resistance is pleasing the communists? We have no complaints about the 'freedoms' we are currently deprived of due to martial law. In fact, it would be very accurate to say that the country is now being governed by a normal order.

Workers whose wages have not increased will occupy factories and cause millions of lira in losses to the nation, or take to the streets and disrupt traffic, teachers will forget that they are civil servants and go on strike (most of them are already on strike during lessons anyway) The uneducated dockworkers of the Maritime Transport Authority, who earn 900 lira a month, will deem this insufficient and refuse to work for 24 hours. University students will destroy equipment worth millions under the guise of 'protests,' and a handful of treacherous professors will secretly incite these students to avoid the burden of attending classes... However, all of this will be tolerated in the name of sacred human rights...

Such a Turkish state cannot exist. The Turkish state is a very strict and disciplined state. Those who disrupt state discipline and violate the law are severely punished. Freedom is not tolerated as a pretext for chaos. 'Order' and 'respect' prevail everywhere and in everything. Even in times when Sharia law prevailed, Sharia was cast aside when it showed signs of disrupting the state and its order.

Today, the world is undergoing a crisis of ideas and perhaps nerves. Nothing has been left undone in the name of freedom. Sexual freedoms are on the verge of reducing human beings, the 'noblest of creatures,' to the level of dogs. Just as in the Islamic era, there are now hippies and Beatles in the West, and the British Queen has bestowed nobility upon these men.

The attempt by black-robed men in Ankara to march in response to the arrest of many leftist professors, and their halting at the order of martial law, is of the same nature. Being a professor does not prevent one from being intellectually bankrupt or even a traitor. If these fools had written works instead of marching, they would have fulfilled their duty. They chose the easier path of marching because they lacked the ability to do otherwise.

O heroes of freedom! Why did you not march? If you were truly people of faith, you would not have feared the order to stop, nor would you have feared the bayonets. If you had marched toward the bayonets and died, you would have been called heroes. Now, however, you are merely called clowns.

Let us say that these professors consider themselves to be the most knowledgeable people in the world and the geniuses of their time, and believe that they will save the world with 'complete freedom.' There are spirits who say to them, 'Do not be afraid! I am behind you.' What shall we say to İsmet İnönü?

Throughout your entire political career, you restricted, curtailed, and even abolished freedoms; then, during a period when there were armed uprisings in Turkey, when perhaps a third of the communists known as city bandits had not yet been captured, and when the prime minister said, 'We are still in danger,' you defended Article 11. This is what they call pruning trees when there is a shortage of words.

Turks do not need excessive freedom to live with dignity.

Excessive freedom is freedom that ultimately harms morality, tradition, national values, national interests and national security.

Would İsmet İnönü accept Turkish leaders being reviled and insulted in the name of freedom? Would he approve if someone came out and said, 'Malazgirt was barbaric. Alp Arslan and Romanos Diogenes were two barbarians who managed this barbarism'?

Would he approve of the establishment of an association to promote the idea that men marrying their sisters would bring 'happiness' to families, as Leon Blum, a former French prime minister, once said?

If a journalist obtained state secrets and disclosed them in the name of journalism, would you consider this an exercise of freedom or treason?

The thing İnönü feared most was going back. But not every step backward is bad. Reinstating the word 'nationalist' in the constitution of the Atatürk era would be a step backward, but a wonderful one.

Those who drafted the 1961 constitution, despite claiming to be Atatürkists, betrayed his memory by removing the word 'nationalist' from the constitution, which stated that the Turkish state was nationalist. Because he repeated throughout his life that he was a nationalist.

Today, Turkish intellectuals have become so corrupt that they have begun to interpret being progressive as meaning cosmopolitan.

During the efforts to amend the constitution by Nihat Erim's cabinet, only two party leaders, Turhan Feyzioğlu and Alparslan Türkeş, said that the new constitution should be nationalist in character.

I do not believe the claim that the 1961 constitution was accepted by 6 million votes against 4 million. To vote for this constitution, I went to a tent set up in a place so remote it could be called a mountain top, in a car provided by the municipality, along with many other people. There was a box and a single official in the tent. However, we always cast our votes in the town, in the schoolyards. Who controlled the counting and sorting of these votes? Not only the box I voted in, but all the boxes were uncontrolled and depended on the clerk's discretion or the instructions he received. For this reason, it is impossible to consider the 1961 constitution as having received national approval. After all, what would have happened if 10 million votes had been cast against the National Unity Committee's dictatorship? Would the result have been any different?

Now let us stop burying our heads in the sand and seriously set about drafting a constitution, not simply copying Western constitutions, but taking into account our national customs. For this reason, the constitution should be a contemporary work prepared not only by law professors, but also with the participation of historians, sociologists, and even psychiatrists. Of course, I am referring to real experts, not ignorant people with titles such as 'professor.'

Let us abandon illogical measures such as preventing the president from being elected for two consecutive terms in order to prevent so-called dictatorship, and instead increase the powers of the head of state. Let us increase the powers of the Turkish head of state, which are currently almost non-existent, such as electing the prime minister and returning laws once, and grant him legal powers such as dissolving the Assembly and taking extraordinary measures in times of crisis. Let us increase the authority of the Chief of General Staff over the army and prevent the removal of officers he has retired from office. Let us prevent situations that undermine authority, such as his return to office by a decision of the Council of State. Let us establish a 'Research Council' with duties and powers specified in the constitution to find ways to keep pace with rapidly developing science and technology. Let us establish a congress to prepare the framework and personnel for our national history and the principles of grammar and terminology for our language.

And:

Let us write in ink at the beginning of all books that excessive freedom is reserved for donkeys who do not hesitate to bray and roll around even in the presence of an emperor...

(\*) İnönü, who said he would oppose the execution of communists, stood by and watched as Adnan Menderes was executed. The 25th page of the 22 September 1961 issue of Time magazine states that the then Indian ambassador Atal appealed to İsmet İnönü to use his influence to stop the executions, but İsmet İnönü refused.

### Inspiring Nations

Just as a machine needs to be oiled from time to time to keep running, living nations need to be inspired to prevent them from decaying spiritually. Nations that are not inspired, and for which no reason or remedy can be found to inspire them, are doomed to collapse. Would you like an example?

Look at the pitiful state of the British Empire, where the sun never set, after the Second World War, how it crumbled and collapsed.

Inspiring a nation means reminding it of its past greatness and its great figures; even reminding it of its defeats and betrayals so that it may learn a lesson from them, and, most importantly, showing it great national goals for the future.

Inspiring a nation is entirely a nationalistic act. It cannot be achieved by commemorating the great figures and achievements of foreigners or by participating in international ceremonies.

Commemorating Malazgirt and Alp Arslan is an act of national inspiration. Aside from being a debt of gratitude and loyalty, it also has the great benefit of inspiring Turkish youth to follow their example. People, especially young people and children, absorb what they see. The hairy, bearded, moustachioed creatures filling the streets today did not come into the world that way; they became that way by seeing those examples.

On 26 August 1971, grand ceremonies should have been held throughout Turkey for Alp Arslan and Malazgirt. They were not. Political turmoil, party feuds, ambitions, and hatred prevented this. However, if preparations had begun at least five years in advance and competent individuals had been assigned to the task, these grand ceremonies would have been held despite everything, and a great success and gain would have been achieved in terms of nourishing the national spirit of the youth.

Although we see certain ceremonies and commemorative days being held in our country, we cannot decide whether to laugh or cry.

On the evening of Saturday, 4 September 1971, Istanbul Radio mentioned 'Ahı Evren'. Ahı Evren established a trade union in Anatolia. This union was a tradition of the Oghuz Turks who came from Central Asia. The guild system of the nomadic Oguz Turks... May God protect us! ... It was a separate festival that the Minister of Labour, as if believing in these fairy tales, read this man's name as 'Ahı Evran.' 'Ahı' and its old form "aki" are Turkish words meaning 'generous, brave, friend.' "Evren" means both "dragon" and "universe" and is used as a male name. "Ahı" is a Persian word meaning "one who sighs" and is a made-up word used by poets as a pen name. In fact, there was a poet named Ahı during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim.

On the evening of 5 September 1971, we listened to another fairy tale on Istanbul Radio. According to this fairy tale, which was difficult to tell whether it was serious or a joke, Seyid Battal Gazi began to Turkify Anatolia 1,200 years ago.

We do not know which historian discovered and revealed this great historical fact. Shouldn't the radio, which is a 'school for the nation,' be more knowledgeable, dignified, and serious when addressing the nation?

There is no such person as 'Battal Gazi' in Turkish history. There is a Battal Gazi epic that is read among the people. Although the language and style are Turkish, the heroes in it all have Arabic names. For now, no final decision has been made on this matter.

1,200 years ago, in 770, the Turks had not yet become Muslims, nor had they come to Anatolia. Around 740, an Arab commander who died in the wars against the Byzantines was named 'Abdullah Battal.' The presence of Turks among the Abbasid mercenaries and their clash with the Byzantines, it is speculated that the Battal Gazi Epic emerged among these Turks. However, the matter has not yet been resolved. For this reason, the radio broadcast claiming that a Turk named Battal Gazi began the Turkification of Anatolia 1,200 years ago can be nothing more than a fabrication.

The largest commemoration ceremony was held on the 650th anniversary of Yunus Emre's death, and Turkologists from other nations were also invited. This was not a serious matter. First of all, commemorating the 650th anniversary of Yunus Emre's death would require proving that he died in 1321 (1971–650). However, Yunus Emre's dates of birth and death are unclear; it is not even certain whether he was one person or two or even three people with similar names who were confused with each other. According to what we heard from those who attended the Yunus Emre ceremony, his humanism was discussed from beginning to end. A nation commemorates and celebrates its own people in all their aspects. To be humanist means to treat Turks as equal to others. The current situation in Turkey shows that we need Turkists, not humanists.

We have a strange tendency: when we commemorate someone, we elevate them to the heavens. The blind die with almond-shaped eyes; the bald die with golden hair. However, commemorations should be about expressing the truth, not about interpretation and lies. Young generations should learn about their elders with both their virtues and their shortcomings.

Now, if we look at Yunus Emre from this perspective and place him on the dissecting table of history, we will arrive at the following conclusion:

Yunus Emre is a great artist of the Turkish language. He is one of those who demonstrated that Turkish is a great language of poetry and thought.

However, Yunus Emre's ideas poisoned the Turkish nation and numbed it. Because he too fell prey to the intellectual and emotional maladies of his time, he put forth incoherent words as 'tasavvur' (imagination) and, due to the fact that the Turkish nation, which was a warrior nation, was surrounded by enemies and therefore compelled to be a warrior nation, he tried to instil a philosophy of begging in them. His words:

One must be helpless against those who strike,

One must be mute against those who speak,

A dervish must be heartless.

You cannot be a dervish.

Are these words in line with Turkish morality and nature? Are Turkish dervishes really like this? Were the dervishes who fought alongside Orhan Gazi not dervishes? Did the Arab İznü Hassul, who was the scribe of Seljuk Tuğrul Beğ, the first emperor of Turkey, describe the Turks in this way in his work, which has also been translated into Turkish?

He who does not look at seventy-two nations with one eye  
is truly a scholar to the people.

Does this mean that Yunus Emre was not deviant in terms of nationality or religion? If he used the word 'millet' in its current Turkish meaning of 'nation,' then he was a man without nationality or homeland. If, however, he used it in its Arabic meaning of 'religion,' then he was an infidel. Because Islam does not consider other religions equal to itself. In fact, his statement:

Fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and pilgrimage are crimes;  
The poor are free from this, driven by their desires.

is nothing but blasphemy, leaving no room for interpretation or explanation. Attempting to explain these statements through Sufism is futile and ridiculous. Yunus Emre, who was accepted by the people as a saint, was declared an infidel by the great statesman and Sheikh al-Islam Ebussuud because of his Sufi heresies.

Now let us ask: Did those who constantly talk about Atatürk's Turkey and Atatürk's nationalism find Yunus Emre, a man with deviant thoughts and a sick mind, in the entire history of Turkey to celebrate his jubilee? And how did they fabricate his year of death? If a ceremony is to be held for Yunus Emre, why did they take his humanism, which is a national betrayal, instead of his 'Turkishness,' which is his national service? Yunus Emre was truly a great humanist, and his work should be presented to experts for scholarly study. Not to the entire nation...

While we are in a state of national negligence, trying to destroy ourselves, Iran is preparing to celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of its founding, and while we cannot find a few million lira for Malazgirt, they are allocating their annual oil revenues, which amount to several billion lira, for this purpose.

If you look at historical reality, there is no such thing as a 2,500-year-old state. The Persians, destroyed by Alexander the Great of Macedonia, were destroyed centuries later by the Arabs, and centuries later by the Seljuks. The Iran that followed was a Turkish state or part of a Turkish state under Turkish rule until the 1920s. Turkish rule even influenced the Persian language, which adopted the structure of the Turkish language. Verbs are placed at the end of sentences.

In order to give the Persians in this state a national spirit, a 2,500-year-old legend has been invented, preparations have been made for ten years at a cost of billions, works have been written, cities have been built, and the whole world has been invited to accept the existence of a 2,500-year-old state.

Looking at this, we say: The newly established Ministry of Culture, while publishing the necessary works to inspire the nation, should also seek out and find Turkish greats whose anniversaries are to be celebrated, days to be commemorated, or Turks who have served the national culture. If the newspaper reports are correct, the Ministry has found this important person: Ertuğrul Muhsin...

Much has been written about Ertuğrul Muhsin's identity, and it has been claimed that he is a good director. In truth, there is no difference between a good director and a good coach. Both prepare teams that will satisfy people's enthusiasm.

However, on the other hand, there are people who have truly served Turkish culture, yet no one even thinks of them. Let us introduce one of them: Abdülkadir İnan, a Bashkir Turk living in Ankara, is now 82 years old. There is no one who knows all Turkish dialects, Turkish folklore, and Shamanism, the national religion of the Turks, better than him. Atatürk recognised his value and awarded him a professorship. Hasan Ali Yücel, one of the famous Atatürkists, revoked this professorship during his time as minister. Abdülkadir İnan, who also knows Arabic, Persian, German, and Russian, could be commissioned to translate the Manas epic, one of the monuments of national culture. Radloff's collection of Altaic Turkish epics can be translated, and his own book, 'Shamanism,' which was published by the History Institute and is now out of print, can be reprinted.

Above all, grand ceremonies are held for the honourable days of history, but they are taken seriously and carried out accordingly.

There are lessons to be learned from Iran's 2,500-year-old legend. While Iran, which has been through so much, is trying to keep the Persian spirit alive by inventing national legends, we are trying to erase the only power that keeps us standing, our national consciousness and national spirit, by replacing it with humanism, which is God's curse, while forgetting our only support, the Turkish spirit.

O Turkish nation! How strong and resilient you are!

You cannot be destroyed!

### Open Response to the Official Letter from the Minister of Culture

On 20 September 1971, I received an official letter from the Minister of Culture, Talât S. Halman. The letter, which was printed and sent to others, reads as follows:

Dear Nihâl Atsız,

The first of the Ministry of Culture's publication programme will begin with three new series on cultural works, which will be followed by new series in various fields of culture and art.

The three publication series to be addressed first are as follows:

#### I- Turkish Culture Source Works Series:

In this series, source works of Turkish culture related to Turkish history, Turkish literature and Turkish art, written in Turkish from the beginning until 1923, will be simplified into a language that can be easily understood by the new generation and published. If necessary, selections will be made from these works.

#### 2- Turkish Culture in Foreign Languages Series:

This series will include source works on Turkish culture written in foreign languages, which will be translated into Turkish and published.

3- Series of Fundamental Works of the Republic: This series will include fundamental cultural works published from 1923, the year the Republic was declared, to the present day. By the 50th anniversary of the Republic, approximately 100 works will have been prepared for this series.

We look forward to the assistance of our intellectuals and enlightened citizens in selecting the works to be published in these three separate series. To this end, we have launched a survey.

Please send the Ministry of Culture three separate lists of the works you deem suitable for publication in the series mentioned in the above three items (including the names of the authors).

Thank you for your valuable service to Turkish culture.

Talât S. Halman

Minister of Culture

Note: Please submit your responses by 10 October 1971 at the latest.

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I received the letter dated 20 September on 22 September, and since I had to post the reply, which was due at the Ministry of Culture on 10 October, on 8 October, I was given only 16 days to deal with such a broad issue. It seems that the Ministry considers it appropriate to write its responses hastily, without careful consideration and study. The third item on the letter, 'The Series of Fundamental Works of the Republic,' is proof that nothing should be expected from the Ministry of Culture and that these efforts will not go beyond mere show.

Requesting the preparation of 100 works by the 50th anniversary of the Republic, i.e., within the next two years, is nothing but evidence of a lack of calculation and ignorance of the printing process. Two years is 104 weeks. To produce 100 works in 104 weeks, one work must be produced each week. Considering that many more weeks will pass before these works are prepared and submitted to the Ministry, there will be perhaps 70-80 weeks left to publish 100 works, not 104. In other words, the Ministry is claiming to run 100 metres in 5 seconds. Furthermore, there are no 100 fundamental works of the Republican era. This is because most of these 50 years have been spent in revolutions, political crises and struggles, and the social environment necessary for creating works did not exist. In other words, the Ministry is conducting a study as if something that does not exist does exist.

The reason I am giving my answer in Ötüken rather than on the papers sent by the Ministry is as follows: When the Democratic Party came to power, Tevfik İleri, who was the Minister of National Education at the time, also announced that he would publish such a great national culture series, sent printed papers to all high school teachers, and asked what national cultural works there were, how they could be printed, and who could best do this work.

At the time, in a moment of great negligence, I took this task seriously and spent days working on it. Since I already had prior preparation on the subject, I chronologically organised the main historical and literary sources of our national culture according to their types; I indicated which ones could be published as is, which ones could be simplified, and which ones could be translated from Arabic or Persian; and noted who or which individuals could best undertake each work. This became a very long list, and since the printed papers sent by the Ministry were insufficient, I had to add many more papers of my own.

What happened next? Nothing. Because the party governments were preoccupied with trivial matters, not serious issues; they were downgrading Kırşehir, which had not voted for them, to a district, and a man who had risen to the position of Minister of National Education was spouting delusions that they would remain in power for another 50 years—something the mind cannot accept. Just as the survey at the time could not be implemented, it is certain that our lists were also discarded. Otherwise, they would be found in the archives of the Ministry of National Education.

Over time, the AP Government came to power. Acting more wisely, they decided to do this not through a survey but through a commission. However, a major mistake was made here: it was decided that the 1,000 Basic Works would be published during the second Five-Year Plan period. This meant that 200 works would need to be published each year, which equated to roughly one work every two days.

However, even if only 100 works were published in five years instead of 1,000, it was certain that this would have been sufficient to save at least some of the young people who had been poisoned by various internationalist and treasonous books and torn away from their Turkish identity. Indeed, the publication of major works such as the Orkun Inscriptions, Kaşgarlı Mahmut, and Dede Korkut had begun, providing the Turkish nation with the works it had long been deprived of. However, what happened? At the instigation of a few leftist professors, the Ministry of National Education halted the series. What was expected was not to halt the series, but to take measures to prevent weak works from being included in the future, strengthen the commission, and increase the number of copies sold at the very low price of 5 lira, thereby reducing royalties slightly and generating some revenue for the treasury.

Now, the Ministry of Culture is attempting to remedy this damage by publishing new works in three series. Knowing that this initiative will ultimately fail, I have decided to make my response public. Like my efforts during the Democratic Party era, which were wasted and remained unknown, I believe it is appropriate to publish this in Ötüken so that it is not wasted.

A) Your initiative is fundamentally flawed. Because while demanding the source works of Turkish culture, you are insisting that they be in a language that 'the new generation can easily understand.' To write or prepare works in a way that can be understood by young people who, with the exception of a select few, can only speak 1,000 words, means to lower oneself in terms of ideas and feelings. The goal is not to descend to their level, but to lift them up, which can never be achieved by simplifying the works as much as possible. This 'nation of a thousand words' perfectly sings English, American, and Argentine songs even though it does not know English or Spanish. This means that it has the ability to learn what belongs to it. Let it learn! A cultural series with footnotes and explanations can guide them and teach them words such as (malak), (calf), (foal), (colt), (fawn), (colt) without knowing the words 'bear cub', 'calf', 'colt', 'fawn', and 'colt', and thus remain ignorant of their own language's richness, are forced to learn it on their own. In exams, instead of asking about complements, subjects, and fabrications, questions such as 'What do you call a mare?', 'What colours are brown and chestnut?', 'Which animals' young are called "enik"?' and 'What are the differences between "bikmak", "usanmak", and "bezmek"?' are asked, and the Turkish words 'dövüştürülmek' (to be beaten), 'koşturulabilmek' are taught in Western languages, Arabic and Persian, and it is explained that placing the verb at the end of a sentence is a sign of great mental and reasoning superiority. In short, the idea that language is a sacred object is instilled in their minds.

For this reason, it is conceivable that the main sources of Turkish culture should be published in two ways:

I- Those that are in very simple Turkish should be published as they are (with necessary explanatory notes). Anonymous Ottoman histories, such as those by Âşıkpaşaaoğlu, Oruç Bey, and Neşri, should be published in their original beautiful and fluent language, as this will inspire young people to love their own language and encourage those with talent among them to become experts in language and history.

2- Simplifying the historical and biographical parts of works written in a medrese style mixed with Arabic and Persian words, phrases, and plurals, while transcribing those with literary prose to show how our literary prose once flourished in the hands of scholars and to make them understandable is a historical necessity.

3- There are also history books written in Arabic or Persian that belong to Turkish culture because they were written by Turks. It is essential to translate these into modern Turkish (using 've de' instead of "siz" and 'ya da' instead of 'siz').

B) Many works related to Turkish culture have been published in foreign languages. However, to date, no one has turned their attention to the most important of these, and only some of the second or third-rate ones have been translated.

The most important of our primary sources in foreign languages are as follows:

I- Texts and colourful illustrations found by the Germans during excavations in East Turkistan, brought to Berlin and published in large part. Most of these are located in the Library of the Institute of Turkish Studies in Istanbul. Prof. Caferoğlu Ahmet, the director of the Institute of Turkish Studies, is an expert in this field and, with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture, has the ability and capacity to translate all of these into Turkish. Caferoğlu is a hardworking scholar of the Turkish language who has published many major works such as the Uyghur Dictionary, Examples of Anatolian Dialects, and the Dictionary of Abu Hayyan. He is currently working on a very important collection, He is preparing the old Turkish inscriptions published by Hüseyin Namik Orkun, which are now out of print, that is, the Turkish texts belonging to Orkun and earlier periods, in their original form and translated into our Turkish language. This will be a monument. It is a duty that comes long before establishing a regional theatre in Konya for the Ministry of Culture to ask the professor what kind of assistance he needs and to do everything in its power to provide it.

The printing of the Uyghur paintings found in the works of the Institute of Turkish Studies in the same exquisite colours will reveal the great works of art and culture of the 5th to 9th centuries, erase the feelings of inferiority in some young people, and prove that the Turks are not only warriors and state builders, but also a nation of artists. What is the value of a nation that does not know the glories of its past, and what use is a Ministry of Culture that does not bring these to light?

2- The *Dîvân-ü Lugati't-Türk*, written by Kaşgarlı Mahmut in Turkish-Arabic dictionary format, but considered a treasure trove due to its historical, linguistic, geographical, ethnological, literary, and folkloric information, should be translated into Turkish and reprinted. The translation done by Besim Atalay on behalf of the Turkish Language Institution is out of print. Furthermore, this publication was not printed using movable type but by mimeograph, which does not do justice to the work. Of course, there are also errors. These should be corrected, and the work should first be translated and published in its entirety in a beautiful edition. A second volume should be published with an alphabetical index of words, and a third volume should include studies on the historical, literary, epic, and cultural information provided in the work, along with an evaluation of the work.

I would also like to emphasise that the use of transcription letters is essential in such publications. Our current alphabet is not capable of rendering either the modern or the old phonetics of Turkish. In particular, the letters 'sağır nun' and 'hi=kh' for the 'closed k' and a separate symbol for the 'thick e' are absolutely necessary. If a

nation's culture were dependent on an easy alphabet, the English, and especially the Japanese, would still be in their infancy today. In order for Turkish to escape from its primitive state, these three or four letters must be added and the spelling must be definitively established.

3- When we refer to Turkish culture, we must consider not only young people in need of education, but the entire Turkish nation, and therefore we must take action with researchers and scholars in mind. For this reason, the main sources of Turkish history, all of which are written in Persian, namely 'CihangüŞa', 'Cami' ü t'-Tevârih', 'Habîbü's-Siyer' and 'Ravzatu's-Safâ', must be translated into Turkish in the most accurate manner by committees composed of professors and published in the most perfect form.

Similarly, the works of French author Deguignes, English author Parker, and Russian author Biçurin, which are considered classic sources of Turkish history, are partially outdated but were written using Chinese sources and must be translated by expert professors.

Some haste is required for translations from Russian. Scholars who are proficient in Russian and who are all from Turkic countries under Soviet control are gradually decreasing in number, and there are no local Turks who know Russian. Zeki Velidi Togan died of natural causes, and Akdes Nimet Kurat died in a traffic accident. Among the scholars who are proficient in Russian, only Bashkir Abdulkadir İnan, Azerbaijani Caferoğlu Ahmet, and Tatar (Kazan) Ahmet Temir remain. It is necessary to have these three individuals translate the four-volume work of the very important Priest Biçurin (Hiakent), and to provide them with a few young and hardworking historians as assistants to ensure that the works are translated into Turkish in a short period of time.

Deguignes' work had previously been translated into Turkish by Hüseyin Cahit, but it was incomplete and written in a very old language. Hüseyin Cahit was not a historian, so he did not understand some parts well. Translating this work, which is now out of print, from scratch with the necessary notes would be a great service to Turkish culture and especially to Turkish history.

4- Two of the important sources of Ottoman history and important works of Turkish historiography were written in Arabic by Turkish authors and must be translated into Turkish.

One is the general history of Cenabı or Cennâbi entitled El-'Aylemü'z Zahir. Although he translated this work into Turkish, it is incomplete and only a summary.

The second is the general history of the famous astrologer Şeyh Ahmet Dede Efendi, entitled 'Câmi'iid-Düvel' or 'Sahâyifü'l-Ahbâr'. The latter was translated into Turkish by a committee headed by the poet Nedim, by order of Grand Vizier Damat İbrahim Pasha, and even printed, but the translation was done in haste and the printing is full of spelling mistakes. These two works are also interesting in that they show the Ottoman Turks' view of world history. Additionally, they were written based on sources that are no longer available today.

I would also recommend someone who can successfully translate these Arabic works into Turkish. Nafiz Danışman, who was once a high school history teacher and later took up a position at the Faculty of Theology in Ankara, knows Arabic and French as well as his native language. With his extensive knowledge of history, he is well-equipped to translate these works.

C) Illustrated albums explaining the masterpieces of art created during the Islamic period of Turkish history should be produced. Some of the miniature paintings, illuminations, book cover decorations, wood and stone carvings, writings, architectural works, and printing techniques should be published in large volumes in colour, using the latest printing technology.

These works can be enjoyed by high school students, university students, experts, scholars, and interested members of the public. The pride of being the son of the nation that created them will instil a sense of pride in the hearts of the people.

The most important works of simple prose from the Islamic era should be published in their original form (with notes and explanations).

Alişir Nevâ-î's Muhâkemetü'l-Lugateyn is both a beautiful example of Chagatai Turkish and a work of ideas. This great poet proves that Turkish is superior to Persian. Publishing the original Chagatai text, its Turkish translation, explanations, a word index, and even a complete grammar is a national cultural duty. Publishing this work will bring to light a poet, scholar, and figure of Turkish literature who lived in Turkistan in the 15th century. It would be most appropriate to entrust this task to Agâh Sırrı Levent, who has published an important collection of works on Nevâ-î.

It is also essential to publish the works entitled Türk Şeceresi, written by Ebülgazi Bahadır Han, which are among the most beautiful examples of Chagatai Turkish, using the method I mentioned above.

The 'Tevârîh-i Âli Osman' works are among the first examples of prose written in clear Turkish in Turkey. Anonymous works occupy an important place among these. The single copy in the Ayasofya Library is older and more important than all the others.

It must be published with transcription, index and grammar. The histories of Oruç Bey, Âşikpaşaoglu, Neşri and Lütfi Paşa should also be published using the same method. Their Turkish is very beautiful. Even high school students can understand them without difficulty. However, some words and grammatical forms require brief explanations.

C) Among our poetic works, after the Uyghur poems published by Reşit Rahmeti Arat, come Kutadgu- Bilig and Atebetü'l-Hakayık. These are followed by the Hikmetleri of Ahmet Yesevi. It is essential for the emergence of our culture, and even for understanding our worldview and state philosophy, to publish these works written in the Turkish language of the 11th-12th centuries in their original form and in Turkish translation, complete with a glossary and grammar.

Following these, the poems of the Anatolian Turks begin with 'Sultan Veled.' Among these, we must not forget 'Garibnâme,' a work of ideas by Âşik Paşa.

The 'Düsturnâme' by Enverî, a historian of the 15th century, and the 'Dîvân-ı Türkî-i Basit' by Edirneli Nazmi, a military poet of the 16th century, written entirely in Turkish words, must be published. The word indexes and grammars of these works will be useful for the compilation of both our historical grammar and our historical dictionary.

D) Several divans written in the language of Divan literature but considered masterpieces of Western Turkish literature must be published using the methods mentioned above. These include Baki, Fuzuli, Nedim, and Sheikh Galip. There is no need for the immoral and disgraceful Nefî. A few important works, such as Zâtî, Ahmet Paşa, Necati, and Hayali, have been published by Prof. Ali Nihat Tarlan, who is currently the greatest expert on Divan literature. Although Fuzûlî has been partially published by him, it needs to be revisited.

E) When we talk about Turkish cultural works, it is not right to think only of young people who are poor in vocabulary, as the Ministry has stated. In fact, in a way, it would be more appropriate to educate them with falaka before books. There is a need for works that will satisfy young people who want to read and learn, as well as young and talented assistants, researchers, and enthusiasts. The main types of these works are histories, biographies, menakibnames, and rhymed novels (i.e., mesnevis)

Our libraries are filled with numerous and valuable works related to Turkish, especially Ottoman, history. In anticipation of a war and the possibility of Istanbul being subjected to air raids and our books being destroyed, a list of books to be taken to safe places in Anatolia in such a situation was drawn up by order of the Ministry. While I was at the Süleymaniye Library, this task was assigned to me, and I prepared a list of books that needed to be taken to safety as a first step submitted it to the Library Directorate. Steel boxes were even prepared to store these books if necessary. With around 100 libraries gathered in the Süleymaniye Library, it is a place with a large number of books. The list I prepared included the following:

Works that are the only copies in the world.

Works with two copies in the world.

Works with the author's signature.

Works of exquisite writing.

Works of exquisite miniatures.

Works of exquisite illumination.

Works that are original, old and exquisite in terms of binding.

Works that are very old in terms of the date of transcription.

Old and rare prints.

The Ministry of Culture can apply to the Süleymaniye Library to have these printed, starting with the most valuable ones.

F) The official histories of the Ottoman dynasty, written by chroniclers and historians, should be printed immediately in a systematic manner, with simplified language and in a scientific manner. This is not an easy task. These are important and difficult issues even for history professors. However, it is essential that these works be published in order to preserve our history and to rescue young researchers from the quagmire of a language that is very difficult to understand.

G) Another important subject is biographical works, foremost among which are *Şakayık* and its supplements. This '*Şakayık*' is not a flower, but the first work to provide translations of the lives of famous figures of the Ottoman Empire, titled '*Şakayıkü'n-Nu'mâniyye fi Ulemâ'il'd-Devleti'l-Osmâniyye*'. It was written in Arabic and translated into the ornate Turkish of the time, with numerous supplements later added. All of them are primary sources. Despite appearing rather bloated due to the verbose nature of the language, simplifying them would be a waste of time, even for short works. However, they are invaluable treasures that cannot be dispensed with, as they contain the biographical accounts of thousands of scholars, sheikhs, poets, historians, and others.

Additionally, there are other works that provide the biographies of poets, grand viziers, Sheikh al-Islam, and other state officials, all of which must be published in order and systematically.

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Dear Minister!

As soon as you took office, you started talking about theatre and ballet. Finally, you announced that regional theatres would be established. However, theatre is not an art, it is pedagogy. Art belongs to the pen of the playwright. Although those who perform the play are called artists, since 'artist' means creator, it is clear that imitating the created cannot be creation.

It is essential to utilise theatre for the development of the nation's ideas, morals, culture, and national sentiment. However, for this purpose, there must be theatre works written by Turkish authors for this specific purpose. Our theatres, on the other hand, have mostly staged translations and, at times, adapted works.

Let us now consider this objectively: What benefit would the Turkish nation derive from the plays of great playwrights such as Schiller, Goethe, or Shakespeare? Would the extraordinary adventures of Doctor Faust excite the hearts of Turks? What is Hamlet today but a ridiculous stage play? Do operas, or sung dialogues, not seem strange to people of today?

These should be performed occasionally, like viewing old works in museums, for their historical value. However, this is not a matter of literary taste, but the result of curiosity about the stages of historical development and a desire to learn.

Furthermore, we must never forget that constantly showing a nation translated theatre works under the guise of 'theatre works' will inevitably lead to a feeling of inferiority in that nation, as if to say, 'So we have no works of our own.'

Before opening regional theatres, plays must be written, but they must be selected by a jury with a Turkish perspective. It is essential that traitors who would vote for works written in a way that destroys national sacred values and corrupts the language are not allowed on the jury.

A disgraceful work, which was once a moral, aesthetic, cultural and linguistic disaster, was declared the winner by a jury consisting entirely of leftists. Halide Edip was among those who voted for this shameful work. This is a point that deserves careful consideration.

Abdülhak Hâmit's theatrical masterpieces were not only unsuitable for the stage but also incomprehensible to many in terms of language. However, the plays of Yusuf Ziya Ortaç and Halit Fahri Ozansoy, who were writers of the time, and Faruk Nafiz, who was still alive, as well as Necati Sepetçioğlu, who was one of the new writers, can be presented to the Turkish nation. In addition to these, it is possible to discover young talents that I am not aware of, have them write works, bring the great pages of history to life, stir noble human emotions, and thus embellish the culture and morality of the Turkish nation.

The 'Seljuk History and Civilisation Institute' recently published two plays titled "Malazgirt" and 'Great Khan Alparslan.' Although I have not yet had the opportunity to read them, these plays, one of which is in verse, undoubtedly hold value as they have won competitions, and ultimately, they are our own works, our own property. They are more charming, more relatable, and more beautiful than Hamlet, Macbeth, and Cyrano.

The Ministry of Culture should not only focus on theatre but also gradually address the decline of cinema. There is no doubt that there is a film industry and talented artists in Turkey today. However, the films made twenty years ago, despite the limitations of the time, are more beautiful than those of today. Today's films, prepared solely with the aim of profit in accordance with the materialism of our time, are provocative, imitative, vulgar, and immoral scandals. In advertising posters, there are only guns and naked women. Film titles are also ridiculous. Naturally, as young people watch these films, their level of taste declines. There is no doubt that these films have an influence on armed robberies. Because imitation is a social law. That is why, at one time, with the help of Dr. Fahrettin Kerim, it was forbidden to publish suicide reports in newspapers.

To prevent films from lowering standards, we should seek ways to bring filmmaking under state control so that it can serve as a means to elevate the nation and cultivate literary taste. The current themes of films, such as family betrayal, female immorality, banditry, and blood feuds, should be replaced with noble sentiments such as virtue, kindness, heroism, self-sacrifice, and patriotism.

Historical films are the best means of inspiring national spirit. Showing scenes from Turkish history, taken from real events and remaining faithful to the facts, in cinemas will help to dispel the nightmare that has been weighing on us for years. The first historical films made in our country were quite successful. The latest ones are a farce. Turkish warriors do not somersault in the air while fighting. Unlike American films, there are no scenes where characters fight for minutes on end with punches powerful enough to knock down a cow. Nowadays, this is what is being done. Turks are dressed in strange costumes.

The antics of Americans are being applied to us, and in short, these films are no longer Turkish films. In ancient times, women were very free, but there was no such thing as Turkish girls dancing naked in front of men for pleasure. Such scenes are invented to satisfy the pleasures of the wealthy. The directors know nothing about Turkish history and the past.

Two films called 'The Bozkurts Are Coming' and 'The Revenge of the Bozkurts' were made under the guise of historical films. Four of us watched one of them. The plot was taken, or rather stolen, from my two historical novels, 'The Death of the Bozkurts' and 'The Bozkurts Are Rising.' They made some changes, mixed the two novels together, and ruined the plot, the work, the historical heroes, and the history itself. They pitted the ancient Turks against the Alans in a battle that was out of place in the modern era. The great Turkish Khan set out on his journey with eight men armed with tin shields. The hero 'Deli Ersegün' from my second novel was turned into a clown dressed like Hacivat.

In reality, these two novels were meticulously faithful to history, written in proper Turkish, and composed like epics, playing a huge role in the education of today's Turkish-nationalist youth. An East Turkestan reader who had read the novels asked me if I had ever seen Turkestan, saying it seemed as though it had been written by someone who had. As Minister of Culture, I am offering you this proposal. Under my supervision, have these novels adapted into films. I will donate the copyright to the navy and air force foundations for their eternal benefit. Provided that they are successful, when these films are shown, Turkey will be shaken to its core, and talents capable of writing historical novels will emerge. However, the assistance of the Turkish army is essential for the large cavalry. It is unimaginable that the Turkish army, which assisted the British in historical battles, would withhold its assistance from the Bozkurts.

Abdülhak Hamit's plays 'İlhan,' 'Tarhan,' 'Tayflar Geçidi,' 'Ruhlar,' and 'Arzîler,' which are sequels to one another, are masterpieces in terms of national, moral, and philosophical values, and their adaptation into films would be a great success. Adapting these works, which take place partly in this world, partly in the hereafter, and partly in the realm of spirits (and to which Hamit gave the collective title 'Kambur'), into films would be a cinematic marvel. These works also overflow with Hamit's genius and nationalism. After seeing them, it will become clear whether Shakespeare or Hamit is superior. In order to judge these works, I recommend that you find them and read them immediately, and if there are sections that you cannot understand due to your level of education, ask experts to explain them to you so that you can fully appreciate them.

Safije Erol's novel *Ciğerdelen* is also a very powerful work that stands out for its genius, but it has been lost amid the flood of disgraceful leftist works. This is also one of the best works for cinema.

In order to preserve and elevate the culture of the Turkish nation, the Ministry of Culture must publish a series of works to prepare readers before printing the works I have mentioned above, sometimes by name and sometimes collectively. These works, which should be short, written in proper Turkish, richly illustrated with maps and images, and well-printed, should be aimed at students from high school onwards and include the following:

Turkish History from the Beginning to the Present (Turkish history should be presented as a whole, not as separate states, with an emphasis on continuity. The existence of multiple states at the same time should be considered a period of interregnum. Separate maps should be provided for events such as border changes and the expansion or contraction of the state. Turkish types and works of art from old paintings should be brought to life, and representative illustrations should be included where appropriate).

A book depicting the current situation of Turks. Maps, images, statistics, and language examples will be used to discuss Turks in the Soviet Union, China, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, the Balkans, Cyprus-Rhodes, and other regions. Turks in Turkey will come to know their kinsmen and learn that they are not a nation of 30 million but a great nation of 70–80 million.

A volume showcasing Turkish civilisation history, including literature, painting, architecture, music, sculpture, and decorative arts, adorned with colourful illustrations.

A volume on the history of the Turkish language, historical grammars, and modern grammars and dialects.

A volume on Turkish folklore. A volume on anonymous poems, proverbs, beliefs and customs, clothing, food, household items, and ceremonies.

One volume each on Turkey and Turkish lands outside our borders. Information on various topics in geography.

A volume providing concise and succinct information on Sufism and Sufi orders.

One or more volumes providing reliable information on the religions adopted by the Turks (Shamanism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam).

A volume on Turkey's economy and economic future.

Space science, the universe, information and theories about stars, especially the moon, and positive information learned from journeys to the moon.

A volume on core science that everyone can understand.

A series of several volumes on world geography, with a focus on the relations of other countries with us.

A volume based on the latest information on matter and force.

A volume on ecology, which has become a very important subject.

A volume on the economic and social situation of the world.

A large volume on the animals of the world.

A large volume on the plants of the world.

A large volume with a focus on strategic minerals, especially oil, coal, iron, and uranium.

A volume on political and economic trends in the world, including critiques.

Several other works could be added to these. However, even if started today, these studies would take years to complete. Therefore, we should begin working on a programme without feeling discouraged by the length of the process. Additionally, to ensure that work does not come to a standstill while these studies are ongoing, the Ministry of Culture should immediately publish the following works, which are part of our national culture and are already available:

**The History of Temir and His Sons:** This two-volume history, perhaps the most important work of the late Professor Zeki Velidi Togan, was typed and prepared for publication by his wife, Nazmiye Togan, a history teacher, after his death. The Temirlis era was the period Prof. Togan knew best. However, since the late professor's Turkish was quite complex, this work must be reviewed by a teacher or professor who is knowledgeable in both Turkish and the Temir era to correct any linguistic errors before publication.

**Manas Destani:** This is the epic of the Kyrgyz Turks, said to preserve the memories of the Karahanid era. However, like all epics, this great epic reflects the traces of many eras, and Prof. Abdulkadir İnan was commissioned to select excerpts from it. These selections were to be published as part of the '1000 Basic Works' series. Since this series has been discontinued, it would be appropriate for the Ministry of Culture to take this matter into its own hands and publish the entire work rather than just the selections. Today, there is no one in Turkey, or even in the world, let alone among the Kyrgyz Turks, who can understand and interpret this epic better than Abdulkadir İnan. It would be a national service to provide assistance to the elderly and visually impaired Abdulkadir İnan so that this major work can be published as soon as possible.

**Eski Türk Yazıtları (Old Turkish Inscriptions):** I mentioned above that Prof. Caferoğlu Ahmet is working on a collection of the Yenisey and Orkun inscriptions, which are the oldest relics of the Turkish language. Today, there is no one in Turkey who is more qualified to do this work than him. In Germany, there is perhaps only Von Gabain. Providing the professor with assistants and resources to ensure that this large and arduous task is carried out correctly would be a great service to the Ministry of Culture.

There is a professor named Fındikoğlu Z. Fahri at the Sociology Department of the Faculty of Economics in Istanbul. This professor, who has many publications but is not well known because he does not like to show off, has been working on social issues in Turkey for many years and has made various publications. He also insisted that surnames should come before given names in Turkish, and fought hard for this cause, leading many people in Turkey to abandon their made-up surnames and revert to their real surnames ending in 'oğlu,' meaning 'son of.' In this sense, Fındikoğlu has had a great influence on Turkish life. At one time, when Hasan Ali was the Minister of Education, it seemed as if the ministry had nothing else to do, and Hasan Ali sent an official letter to Fındikoğlu, who was then an associate professor, asking him not to use his surname at the beginning of his name. Fındikoğlu has been collecting names and surnames for years and is preparing a study on the subject.

It would be very appropriate to request that he publish his findings in an academic work and to suggest that he write a book on the historical development of the surname issue. In addition, Fındikoğlu is the scholar who knows Ziya Gökalp best in Turkey. He has written works on this subject in Turkish and French.

Writing a work that revisits Ziya Gökalp from the perspective of Turkish sociological history would be one of the greatest services to our national culture and Turkish nationalism. Yılmaz Öztuna, who has gained a well-deserved reputation in Turkey and abroad with his twelve-volume History of Turkey, has written a work on all the ruling dynasties that have come and gone.

Halil Edhem's work, similar in nature to his 'Düvel-i İslâmiyye', but unlike it in that it does not limit itself to Islamic dynasties but also includes dynasties of other religions, will be one of the primary reference books for anyone engaged in historical research. Publishing this work, naturally under his supervision, would fill a significant gap and would be a fitting task for the Ministry of Culture.

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Dear Minister! It was very unfortunate that you began your cultural policy with someone like Muhsin Ertuğrul, who glorified communism. This is partiality, arbitrariness, and injustice. Turkish culture does not begin with theatre. Culture language, religion, history, tradition, literature, art, ceremony, clothing, and customs, and theatre is an institution that came from foreigners. Even if it is accepted as having been nationalised today, it is an element that should come to mind last. Why don't you think of Karagöz and Orta Oyunu, but think of theatre first? Why don't you think of javelin, archery, horsemanship, or swordsmanship come to mind instead of ballet? Why don't you engage in Zeybek, a male game, instead of turning to ballet, a female game?

Does your constant talk of humanism stem from your upbringing in American culture? Remember that cultures are not humanist, they are national. They also steal from each other. For example, the Greeks stole our Karagöz, and the Bulgarians stole our yoghurt and are trying to present them as their own inventions in the West.

Being humanist is a fantasy of seeing oneself as equal to others, loving them as much as one's own nation, and believing that there will be no more hostility. Do you love the Russians and the Greeks? Do you sincerely believe that we will never fight them again? Do you consider the Americans who dropped atomic bombs on Japan to be humanitarians? Do you find even a shred of truth in the 'people's democracy' rhetoric of communist countries that treat people and nations like animals? Do you believe that a nation intoxicated by humanism can fight a battle like Çanakkale, or even Sakarya or Kunuri, when attacked? To prevent this response, which has cost me a few hours of my life, from being wasted like the response I once gave to the Democratic Party, I am publishing it openly by seizing a few of Ötüken's already scarce pages. Show this to those who are qualified, and act accordingly if it is correct. However, I kindly request that you ensure that those who examine this response, which was written out of national sentiment, are not leftists, Nurcu, members of the People's Party, Freemasons, or converts, and that you consult with us as experts on whether the people you will examine are such individuals.

## National Values and National Spirit

In a poetic exchange with Ziya Gökalp, Yahya Kemal said, 'I am a horse whose roots lie in the past.' This four-word verse is an unchanging principle for all nations capable of life. Even if we forget, abandon, or deny the past, our roots, our origin, remain there. The potential for both good and evil in our spiritual blood, that is, in our souls, comes from there. Knowing them and correcting the flawed ones is the condition and law of the nation's belief in life.

There is nothing to be gained from belittling the past. To disparage it is a mistaken notion. Just as it would be unjust to refuse to love a newborn baby because it is ugly, mindless, and helpless, without considering what a beautiful thing it may become, so too is it wrong to reject the past because of its flaws.

Admittedly, behind the glorious and grand curtain of the misty horizons of the past, there are also dim and terrifying curtains. The time when man was still a creature halfway between man and animal was not a time to be proud of. But what can we do? This is the destiny that the creative power has drawn for us. No one has the power to change it.

Our pride begins when we become a nation or a tribe. For now, life has begun to be lived within the law, with order, virtue, mutual aid, organisation, self-sacrifice, and the willingness to face death in battle, and life has become beautiful. Does this beautiful life have ugly sides? Of course it does. But just as a beautiful poem cannot be rejected because of one flawed line, just as the art of a violinist with a very ugly voice cannot be denied, just as a first-class doctor who kills a patient during an operation does not cease to be a great doctor, a nation cannot be reduced to zero because of the ugly sides of its past.

One cannot judge a person by a single word, a fencer by a single move, or a commander by a single battle. To judge, one must look at the person, the athlete, or the commander as a whole.

No one doubts that Atatürk was a great commander. But he was defeated in Syria at the end of the First World War.

Gazi Osman Pasha was also a great commander. He too was defeated. He was even taken prisoner. Does this mean that Atatürk and Gazi Osman Pasha are no longer great commanders? The greatest proof that they are not is the fact that the Russian Tsar allowed Gazi Osman Pasha to walk with a sword, and that the British included a tribute to Atatürk at the beginning of their official history of the Battle of Gallipoli.

As Mehmet Emin Yurdakul said: Nations are floods flowing from the past.

There is a unique beauty in the past. Because it will never return. Because there, only the dead live, freed from their sins, looking at us with their greatness. The past is a source of strength, a river of virtue.

It is certainly not in vain that nations cling tightly to their past. Evaluating shapeless pieces of stone that emerge from the ground and striving to keep a building with only one wall standing is a struggle for survival, a manifestation of the ideal of having deep roots.

Just as the Scots do not wear their peculiar kilts to make others laugh, the Spaniards do not engage in bullfighting for the sake of savagery.

Music is also one of the indispensable elements of national life. Even if, as some say, music originated from the desires of primitive man, it has now become part of the fine arts. It cannot be removed; it cannot be taken away.

It is known from historical records that we have had a palace and military band since the time of the Huns, that is, since the centuries before the Common Era. A national anthem, a military tune, a piece expressing melancholy, or a cheerful melody inspire individuals, communities, and nations, sometimes even transporting them. People are moved by music, they rejoice, and sometimes they weep.

Turkish music is a dignified music that reflects the spiritual maturity of a nation that has established a world empire. Of course, not every piece of it can be called beautiful. Just as not every piece of Western music can be called beautiful... There are many definitions of beauty. Because beauty has no scale or measure. What has a great aesthetic effect on the viewer or listener is beautiful. For this reason, what a Turk finds beautiful is sometimes the same as what a Westerner finds beautiful, but more often than not, it is not the same.

One of the great masters of our music is İtrî. He expressed the national spirit and gave voice to the feelings of the Turks. İtrî is a symbol of the past. He is a giant of Turkish music.

Even if the Turkish nation were to abandon Islam one day, it would still love Süleymaniye, and no matter what path or direction its music took, it would celebrate İtrî in the same way. İtrî is not an imitator, a musician, but a creator, a composer.

Given this situation, we were astonished to read the article by 'State Artist' Suna Kan in the 27 November 1971 edition of *Milliyet*, which disparaged both *Itrî* and Turkish music, which we refer to as monophonic music. Suna Kan, a master violinist, was once a child prodigy. It seems that her prodigiousness has faded, leaving only her childhood behind. What does it mean to look down on monophony? It is the result of an unfulfilled aspiration... Is it not a childish explanation to describe the advancement or regression of music solely in terms of monophony or polyphony? Jazz music is polyphonic, but this does not save it from being mere noise.

The ney is also a monophonic musical instrument. However, in our history, the ney has not only been a musical instrument but also a glorious weapon. Because, after being deposed from the throne, Sultan Selim III, who was imprisoned in a room, was playing the ney when a crowd, mostly composed of non-Turkish slaves, attacked his room to kill him, and he defended himself with that single-voiced musical instrument.

The single-toned mehter played by the men in turbans whom Suna Kan looked down upon opened countries, established organisations, and the culture and civilisation of the Ottoman Empire, which Englishman Toynbee described as one of the two and a half empires established on Earth, flourished for centuries (the other empire was Rome, and the half-empire was the British Empire).

To belittle the music of a magnificent history is to belittle that magnificent past and to deny oneself as part of this nation. Suna Kan has stated that if the State Concert Hall is occupied by 'museum pieces' on 22-23 December, she will return her title of State Artist.

Let her do so! If Suna Kan had never come into this world, the Turkish nation would have lost nothing. Nor will it lose anything with her departure. For she is, after all, a skilled musician, and there are those more skilled than her.

However, if there had never been an *Itrî* in this world, the musical side of the Turkish race would have been a little lower than it is today. Because he was a true artist, that is, a composer.

Furthermore, involving Atatürk in everything will not resolve the issue. Suna Kan is not old enough to know Atatürk's speeches and words about music. Presumably, someone taught her.

Let her never forget that if Atatürk had not loved monophonic music, he would not have had songs sung at his table, he would not have sung himself, he would not have had Zeybek music played and danced to it himself, and he would not have called Safiye Ayla to sing monophonic compositions.

National values may go out of fashion and become museum pieces. But they are still respected. Beethoven is also a museum piece, but he is not insulted; he is revered. Do today's dehumanised young people in Europe listen to and understand Beethoven? They only jump around to the wild sounds of pop music. But they cannot shake Beethoven's place in history; they cannot.

Despite Suna Kan's attacks, Itrî has taken his place in history and is unshakable. It is impossible to destroy a three-century-old stone monument by striking it with a light violin bow. He is a part of the national spirit and will stand tall as long as the Turkish race lives.

### The Fear of the Grey Wolf

The grey wolf is our national symbol. In ancient times, during the totem era, the Turks believed that they were descended from a grey wolf. Thus, the Gök Turks were considered the descendants of the female grey wolf, while the Nine Oghuz and Ten Uyghurs were considered the descendants of the male grey wolf. The Kun, or Oghuz, were guided by the grey wolf during their great migrations.

Totems and revered ancestors exist in every nation, tribe, and clan. They are ingrained in the conscience of the nation. Although modern science acknowledges that humans could not have descended from wolves, the Grey Wolf continues to be a national symbol.

When someone says, 'What is the Grey Wolf? It's just an animal,' then everything changes. At that point, nothing in the world has any spiritual value. Everything that is considered sacred, beloved, and respected is disparaged:

'Mother' is, after all, a female who gives birth to children. "Flag" is a piece of coloured cloth. "Head of State" is just any man. "Constitution" is a list of articles. "Morality" is a lie invented by the cunning to deceive the foolish, and "family" and "discipline" are useless things whose only role is to cause people distress.

If one of two neighbouring states of equal strength accepts the above definitions and the other believes in sacred principles and entities, the latter will one day inevitably defeat the former and even wipe it off the map.

Believing in eternal peace is ignorance, foolishness and treason. The best example of the impossibility of eternal peace and the continuation of fierce struggle between nations and states until the end is the recent Pakistan-India conflict. The Indians, the most wretched and despicable nation in the world, seized the opportunity and succeeded in tearing East Pakistan away from Pakistan, with the intention of eventually swallowing it whole.

Living in a dangerous region in terms of geography and history, Turkey must be strong. One of the conditions of being strong is to be powerful in the spiritual realm, to be bound to principles, symbols and individuals that unite the members of the nation.

In Turkey, where Turkism and communism clash, the government cannot look at both sides with the same eyes.

It is madness to treat as equal two ideas, one of which is to expand the homeland and the other to divide it and attach it to other states.

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The 7 January 1972 issue of the Konya newspaper Yeni Meram reports on events at the Selçuk Education Institute there. Over 300 students were punished by the school principal, Yusuf Ziya Beyzadeoğlu, for wearing Bozkurt badges to school. It was decided that if they wore the badges again, they would not be allowed to attend school.

The Bozkurt badge is a national and historical symbol. Punishing those who wear it in a Turkish state school is an act that cannot be accepted by reason, common sense, national honour or national sentiment.

According to the Yeni Meram newspaper, the principal explained his action as follows:

On 30 December, nearly 300 students came to school wearing Bozkurt badges. This situation caused unrest and commotion among the students. We informed our students that wearing badges was not prohibited, but that entering the institute with Bozkurt badges was strictly forbidden. We did not allow students who did not comply with this decision into the classroom.

The principal sought the reason for this decision in last year's events, saying:

Some of our students wore Mao caps and raised their left fists. Some came to school wearing kulpaks. They saluted with their right fists. There were endless clashes. So we decided to take some measures to prevent this and eliminate this atmosphere.

In other words, the principal is trying to cure malaria with a blanket. To equate Maoists with those wearing kulpaks is to be ignorant of the world. The goal and ideology of Maoists is to destroy Turkey, while those he calls 'Turkish nationalists' aim to preserve it. If the director has not expelled the traitors he calls Maoists, he has not done his duty. They will poison Turkish children as teachers tomorrow, and the sin will be on the shoulders of this oddly named Beyzadeoğlu. As for the Kulpaklıs giving the salute, that is the director's own opinion. Turkish nationalists do not salute with a fist; they salute like men.

Those who are disturbed by the Bozkurt badge are enemies of nationalism. They must be brought to heel. The 12 March Memorandum was not directed against those who wear the Bozkurt badge, but against those who salute with a raised left fist.

I draw the attention of the Minister of National Education to this matter: he should intervene and shed light on the incident.

It is impossible not to feel sorry for the teachers at the Konya Education Institute. It seems that none of them know what the Bozkurt means. What do they know?

Don't they know Atatürk? They don't know him either. If they did, they would have heard about the book written in English about Atatürk called 'Bozkurt'.

Why are they so afraid of Bozkurt?

Or does Beyzadeoğlu think he is a lamb?

## The Head of the Matter

Prime Minister Nihat Erim said several times that the body of anarchy in the country had been crushed but its head was still unknown. Of course, it was not clear what he meant by these diplomatic words. It was not clear whether he was referring to an internal force or a foreign state when he said 'head.'

If the force that wants to carry out a communist revolution in Turkey is outside the country, there is no need to open a map and look at 120 countries. This state is one and it is Russia. It is now common knowledge, except among fools, that there is a Russian imperialism, that communism has had a foothold in Turkey since it was established in Russia, and that it even forced Atatürk to establish a communist party, as has been revealed in publications. Therefore, the head that Nihat Erim referred to must be sought within Turkey.

How these people have spread their roots in the country has been revealed by the arrest of many people who protected and hid fugitives, and by the fact that many fugitives are still at large. Among the items found, the weapons and, in particular, the two-way radios, silencers and rifles with telescopic sights are more thought-provoking than the fact that, according to the Martial Law decrees, a number of military personnel were also among those arrested.

At this point, there is no point in debating who is to blame. The culprit is clear: the People's Party and its General Secretary's stance over the years...

Those who have portrayed only the right wing (i.e., religious conservatives) as a threat to the country, who published the magazine *Kadro* during his time as prime minister, even writing the first editorial himself, and who, during his presidency, frequently visited the Conservatory to flatter Sabahattin Ali, whose true nature was already known at the time, Hasan Ali, who kept İsmet İnönü at the helm of national education for years and established the Village Institutes, which served as a communist breeding ground under Tonguç Baba, failed to understand the great danger that communism and its mask, socialism, posed to Turkey.

For İsmet İnönü, the goal in life was not an ideal, but only 'power.' He brought the People's Party, which was founded by Atatürk with national goals, to its current state by moulding it into whatever shape suited his power. The proof that these words are not merely our own thoughts lies in the fact that many of the most loyal members of the People's Party, seeing that the Party was being shifted to the left, withdrew from it with 'honour and dignity':

Literature Professor and Minister of National Education under İsmet Paşa from 10 June 1948 to 22 May 1950, Tahsin Bangıoğlu, resigned by writing in newspapers that the Party had taken a path contrary to Atatürkism, and Law Professor Turhan Feyzioğlu also left the Party along with many of his friends. Feyzioğlu was not an ordinary member of the Party. He served as State Minister in İnönü's coalition cabinets from 20 June 1961 to 25 June 1962 and as Deputy Prime Minister from 25 June 1962 to 25 December 1963. Although Feyzioğlu and his friends appeared to have been sacrificed for the sake of Bülent Ecevit, we can confidently conclude that the real reason was İnönü's subconscious fear that Feyzioğlu, with his nationalist and knowledgeable personality, would one day overshadow him.

Feyzioğlu belonged to a prominent family in Kayseri, one of our former capitals. Ecevit, on the other hand, was the grandson of a Kurd who had settled in Daday, where they were known as the 'Kurdish Teachers.'

İnönü, who was known to be left-wing, kept Ecevit in the Ministry of Labour from 20 November 1961 to 20 February 1965, claiming to protect workers' rights, but in fact laying the groundwork for the turmoil that followed.

The partnership between İnönü and Ecevit was quite strange, almost like a collusion. While İnönü, who brought the 'left of the centre' into the political arena solely to gain votes, repeatedly stated that 'our party is not socialist,' his general secretary told workers in Germany, 'I would be pleased if you call me a socialist.' Despite being aware of these statements, which were published in the newspapers, İnönü remained silent.

People say that İnönü was a clever man. This idea is absolutely wrong. A clever man is someone who can see the future. If he had been clever, he would not have brought such a deep-rooted and rich party to its current pitiful and even ridiculous state after all that experience.

Ecevit said, 'The land belongs to those who work it, the water belongs to those who use it,' as if to say, 'Come on, what are you waiting for?' At the same time, he was demanding the right to a general strike. A general strike... In other words, the destruction of Turkey...

Imagine the scene: Factories, trains, and ships will come to a standstill. The post office would not work. The lights would not work. The streets would be filled with hungry unemployed people. Of course, after a few days, there would be a civil war so fierce that it would make the Spanish Civil War seem merciful. Then, while Turks were killing each other, our country would be invaded from all sides in the name of peace and humanity.

Since İnönü was not a traitor, he could not see this terrible scenario. If he had been smart enough to see it, he would have gotten rid of Ecevit back then. If he had been able to see a little further ahead, he would not have said things that would discredit a statesman, such as saying that a boycott is the same as an invasion.

Do not think that his current debate with Ecevit is because he has come to understand the truth. It is impossible to make him accept the truth. Today's fight is a post-fight. Ecevit's victory in many branches of the party has worried the old and greedy politicians and pushed them into new schemes.

İsmet İnönü was respected because he was old and a friend of Atatürk. He was called a historical figure. For this reason, he was also respected by the army. However, today he has lost both his prestige in the party and the respect of the army.

He strongly opposed the 12 March memorandum, but when he saw the army's frown, he backed down. Previously, he had emboldened the communists by saying that a boycott was the same as an occupation, but then he tried to justify his words. Later, when executions were imminent, he shocked the Turkish people by saying that he would intervene and that he had always been against executions, quickly forgetting that he had called Talât Aydemir and Fethi Gürcan, who were executed during his time, 'dishonourable.'

Now he should step aside and write his memoirs so that the nation can find peace in that regard. At his age, it is inappropriate to engage in political squabbles with those as young as his grandchildren.

The situation should also be viewed from the perspective of human psychology. The entire nation, including his own party, has grown tired of İsmet Pasha. This nation has grown weary of not only a third- or fourth-rate head of state like İsmet İnönü, but even a first-rate ruler like Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, who led them from victory to victory, and now desires the succession of Prince Mustafa.

People cannot tolerate anyone for 50 years. Tales of 'historical figures' and 'the weight of his personality' have lost their effect.

Even Kırıkoğlu, the new General Secretary whom he himself had chosen, responded to İsmet Paşa's remark, 'You take orders from Ecevit,' with a reply that meant, 'If you speak like that again, I will respond very harshly,' thus exposing the myth of historical figures as nothing more than a fairy tale.

It is now clear that the 'head of anarchy' which Nihat Erim did not explain with political caution, arose from the CHP's burning desire for power. The Minister of National Education, a member of this party, admitted that the wife of a communist who had escaped from prison was studying in Paris at the expense of the state, and offered as an excuse that 'no complaints have been made against her so far.'

Did you see the 'National' Education Minister? This is a typical example of the CHP mentality. If the same woman were the wife of a detained Turkist, her scholarship would have been cut off long ago, and she would have been prosecuted. Indeed, the CHP did much more than this in the 1944 Turkist case, disregarding justice, law, conscience, and the law.

Those who are currently awaiting the execution of their death sentences or facing trials with the demand for the death penalty have continued their destructive activities for years, evading the law or being shielded from it. Dr. Sevim Tarı, who was arrested and convicted in the past, also worked in the same manner for years in France. If a state is governed with the mindset of 'let the snake that doesn't bite me live for a hundred years,' it is deliberately heading toward destruction. The same Education Minister remained silent despite our warnings about the director of the Selçuk Institute in Konya banning Bozkurt badges.

Now let us ask Nihat Erim: If this mindset is not the root of the problem, then what is? To eradicate communism in Turkey, is it not necessary to drain the swamp that breeds communists, i.e., to purge communist teachers and professors?

Do not be afraid! The country will not be left without teachers. Once you begin to take firm measures, all the teachers and useless professors who call themselves socialists and communists and poison the youth will become nationalists from birth. Just be serious and firm in your measures. Replace the opportunists like İsmail Arar with a nationalist minister who will take decisive action. Find ways to prevent the destructive nonsense called 'freedom.' Stop the immoral publications of the press, which are motivated by profit, with laws. Stop all kinds of disorderly behaviour, attacks on honour and dignity, theft, and other crimes with a strict penal code. Replace tea addiction in government offices with a sense of duty. Do not believe the fools who say that harsh punishments will not solve problems.

Among the Turks before Islam, the punishment for harassing married women and large-scale theft was death. Is it fitting for the people of this century to eliminate such immoral people, or is it fitting to let them live? There are no traffic accidents in Saudi Arabia because the penalty for killing someone in a traffic accident is death. This means that Saudi Arabia is ahead of the rest of the world in this regard. Don't say we should take examples from backward Arabs! People learned to fly from birds, which they despised as 'bird-brained.'

If you hesitate to take strict measures, this is what will happen: as soon as strict rule is lifted, chaos will resume, and this time the army will completely take over the administration and establish a regime that will terrify people with the word 'fascism.' At that time, it will not be a few hundred people who will be brought to trial, but tens of thousands.

Chronic appendicitis cannot be cured with occasional ice treatments.

[I] On 26 February 1972, the Milliyet newspaper (page 9) reported that an article by Metin Toker had been deemed defamatory and that the public prosecutor's office was investigating Ecevit for calling on workers to take to the streets at a trade union meeting prior to 12 March.

### The Rebirth of Turkey

The Republic of Turkey is the current name of the state that has existed uninterrupted for 22 centuries, representing a nation with a history of approximately 3,000 years.

If we leave aside the darkest ages of our history, it begins with the invasion of Maveraünnehir, which means 'the west of the Turks,' by Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC, and the subsequent migration of our ancestors further east, where they established states stretching from east to west in northern China. Tanrikut Mete (or Motun) unified these states between 209 and 174 BCE, establishing Turkish unity and creating the Turkish nation with its laws and organisation. What followed was a story of war against external enemies and internal struggles against nature and disasters. Meanwhile, internal conflicts, rivalries between tribes and clans, and the resulting changes in dynasties completed the picture.

Four centuries later, Tanrikut's Kun people ceded their rule to the Sienpi-Tabgaç people and withdrew from the historical stage of their homeland. Most of them took the names of the new rulers. The rest advanced westward and eventually, with Attila, threw Europe into chaos. After the Apar people, who succeeded the Sienpi-Tabgach, were overthrown by the Göktürks, the name of our nation was finally established as 'Turk' and has remained so to this day.

The borders of the state stretched from Manchuria to the north of the Caspian Sea and west of the Ural Mountains. At times, the state expanded further west, and at other times, some Turks who rebelled against the state refused to recognise the official state and lived as a separate entity. However, these were temporary phenomena arising from the vastness of the homeland.

Throughout our entire history, the absence of a dynastic law and the inability to determine who would succeed the deceased khan led to a national flaw that resulted in princes fighting for the throne. This eventually gave rise to the principle that the state and the dynasty were the common property of the princes. Thus, in a large state, several emperors may rule at the same time, but one of them is recognised as the supreme ruler, even if only in name. This decentralised system was prevalent during the Göktürk, Karakhanid, Seljuk, and Mongol eras.

In reality, the state is one. Even when two Turkish states are in conflict, one acknowledges the other as the larger and original state. In a chronicle written during the reign of Murad II of the Ottomans, the non-Muslims Genghis Khan, Ögedei, Güyük, Mengü and Hülegü are mentioned with mercy, which is an expression of the principle of a single state among the Turks. Those who clash are not 'states' but 'dynasties.'

For this reason, referring to the part of the Seljuk Dynasty that ruled in Anatolia as the 'Seljuk Turks of Turkey' and considering it a separate and independent state is a major mistake. The Seljuks of Anatolia were a large province of a great empire ruled from the capitals of Merv, Rey or Isfahan. Since the state was the common property of the dynasty, they were at the head of a part of this state and recognised the emperor of the main state as their sovereign.

The Ilkhanids' domination of Anatolia was also an event of dynastic change in the great state. The battles of the Karaman beys against the Ilkhanids were not a national uprising against a foreign invader, but rather the ambitions and power struggles of a small ruler, similar to examples seen in German history. The same Karamanids carried out similar actions against the Ottomans, and the Ottoman-Karaman battles were very bloody and ugly.

The Ottomans ruled Crimea and, for a time, Kazan, but they were unable to conquer Turkistan. The main reason for this was that the Turks who ruled Azerbaijan and Iran accepted Shiism, introducing sectarian strife into Turkish history. Had it not been for the Safavids' Shiite fanaticism, the Uzbek Khanates in Turkestan would have accepted Ottoman rule, and unity would have been realised not only in the emotional sphere but also in administration, continuing to this day.

Today's Turkey is the heir and continuator of Turkish history. The future Turkish unity will also be established by the Republic of Turkey.

However, as things stand today, it is clear that the Turks are afflicted by a series of spiritual illnesses that have never been seen before in the history of mankind. The Turks have experienced terrible famines, wars and disasters throughout their history. They have lived through such tragic times that they have ground the bones of dead humans and animals into flour to eat. However, they have overcome these terrible disasters because their national spirit remains alive.

Today, however, external influences and internal collaborators have undermined the national spirit. The most tragic aspect of this situation is that those in power remain indifferent to this destruction and fail to recognise the danger. In the past, the guiding principle was 'to grow and dominate other nations.' Today, the principle has become 'not to offend foreigners, not to cause internal unrest, and to cover everything up.'

No matter how much humanitarian thinking advances, the world will continue to be a battlefield for nations. This is a social law. Literature and philosophy cannot change this law. We see that all over the world, nations or parties that talk about humanity turn their backs on their own principles when they gain power. Russia declares America's presence of troops in Vietnam to be 'aggression,' yet feels no shame in its invasion of Czechoslovakia. Many other states take the same stance.

Since our subject is Turkey, we will begin by discussing our own state without giving too many examples from abroad:

Today, for the first time in the long history of Turkey, we see a former head of state attempting to save traitors who seek to destroy the state and bind it to foreigners from execution. This single example is a symptom of a very serious illness. This ugly behaviour is being carried out in accordance with the constitution. This also shows that the constitution has its shortcomings.

A senator of this country has been arrested in France for morphine smuggling. A culture minister of this country has awarded a cultural prize to someone who claims that communism is the final salvation, and to another who seeks to give land to Armenians in the east.

People in this country are consumed by greed. Smuggling, theft, fraud and murder are rampant in the pursuit of quick and easy gains.

Many young girls who are not content with a poor or middle-class life run away from home and end up in brothels.

Newspapers are full of advertisements showing that young girls and boys who have run away from home are being called back by their fathers and mothers.

There is no respect for discipline, laws, or order.

This country is full of retard, lunatics, and the mentally ill.

Neither municipal regulations nor state laws are enforced.

These are the spiritual aspects of the collapse. There are also material and natural aspects: Due to landslides, millions of tons of soil are washed into the sea every year. Forests are deliberately burned to clear land for farming, turning the country into a desert. During a flight from Istanbul to Ankara in 1960, I saw a barren, greenless desert. The Bolu Mountains, which I had seen covered in pine forests in 1931, were completely empty when I returned to Istanbul by bus in 1960.

Large cities, especially Istanbul, the so-called 'jewel of the world,' are being destroyed by buildings worth billions of liras. They call Istanbul a 'big village.' It is not even a village, but a sunless, treeless monastery with its streets and buildings...

The area between Haydarpaşa and Pendik has become a single city. Those who take the train between these two stations will see four- or five-storey apartment buildings constructed every three metres along the railway line. According to municipal regulations, the minimum distance between buildings in suburban areas should be six metres. Why did the municipal engineers not inspect these illegal constructions? Why have the Ministries of the Interior and Urban Planning not sent inspectors to investigate those responsible? Will every crime here go unpunished? Why are these crimes being committed?

There are countless problems and crimes. Rather than listing them, let us list the solutions and the foundations on which Turkey must be rebuilt:

If the Turkish nation is to survive, the first issue to be addressed is its health.

Health is not just a matter of good nutrition, exposure to sunlight and physical exercise. Health is also a matter of heredity. A nation with many individuals suffering from hereditary mental and psychological illnesses cannot be called a healthy nation. This is the situation we find ourselves in today. In recent years, there have been reports of 400,000 children with mental disabilities. Sterilising individuals who will pass on mental and psychological illnesses to their children should be addressed before the so-called 'family planning' measures, which are currently being implemented to prevent Turkey from rapidly becoming a country with a large population. Factors that destroy the race, such as factory and boiler fumes, exhaust fumes, tobacco, and strong alcoholic beverages, which cause various cancers and insanity, must be prevented at all costs.

Remedies have been found for some of these. It is never right to neglect them because they are expensive.

A strong nation is a good raw material. It must be educated and trained to be processed. While we do not know what the currently fashionable term 'reform' will bring to education, we are not very hopeful, as the outcome is already clear. Reform cannot be achieved by replacing class promotion with subject-based promotion, or by replacing grades with numbers or points. Especially when the literacy rate was 55% according to the 1970 census, extending primary education to eight years is nothing more than a fantasy. Nothing can be done without first purging the communists who have infiltrated the teaching profession in significant numbers.

The slogan 'eliminate rote learning' is very dangerous. If rote learning is eliminated, how will the National Anthem, multiplication tables, historical dates, and foreign languages be learned? It is not 'eliminate rote learning' but 'eliminate rote learning without understanding' and remove truly unnecessary subjects and topics. After primary school, students should immediately be divided into specialised departments, but it is essential that they study national culture (i.e. Turkish language and grammar, Turkish history, Turkish geography and citizenship) as a core subject, along with subjects chosen by the child according to their abilities.

The nation needs land, i.e. a homeland, in order to establish a state. If there is a strong and combative nation, this homeland will always be found.

There is no reason to fear that Turkey's land will sink due to earthquakes. However, there is a serious danger that the country will become a desert as a result of the land flowing into the sea and the destruction of forests.

After racial health, Turkey's most important issue is to make the land habitable before exploiting its underground resources, increase agricultural productivity by providing rain through forests, and then turn to underground resources.

In Turkey, there are 60,000 villages if we include those with 4-5 households, and 40,000 if we exclude them. Look at the villages on either side of the railway line between Istanbul and Ankara. Some have only one tree, and most have no more than three or five. The landscape is entirely barren and desert-like. The prosperous villages mentioned by Evliya Çelebi are nowhere to be found along the route.

We live in an age where villages are slowly being cleared and people are moving to cities. These 'villages' are not like ours, with 50 or 100 houses, but villages with at least 500 houses.

While merging 40,000 villages into larger villages is a theoretically appealing idea, its implementation is extremely challenging. However, it is an essential task that must be carried out. This monumental undertaking is not something that the Planning Directorate can accomplish on its own.

The selection of safe areas in Turkey, which lies on an earthquake belt, must be made in consultation with the General Staff from the perspective of national defence, and these areas must also be located near rivers or lakes.

While expanding villages, it is equally important to pay attention to the reduction of cities. Former Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel had announced as good news that a single city would emerge between Istanbul and Izmit in five to ten years. However, this was a disaster announcement.

Large cities pose significant risks in terms of health, morality, public order, and defence. There is no need for large cities. The progress and strength of a nation cannot be measured by its large cities. While this may be a necessity for nations with limited land, it is a fantasy and a mistake for a vast country like Turkey.

After a thorough study of Anatolia, the establishment of new cultural and industrial cities, avoiding the rapid expansion of large cities, and building factories in selected villages, as Sweden did fifty years ago, and relocating agricultural populations from the crowded regions of Western Anatolia to the currently sparsely populated but fertile Muş Plain are the most appropriate measures.

One of the most important factors in the re-establishment of Turkey is the law. As is well known, laws arise from custom, ethnic tendencies, and needs. However, our main laws are all translations. The law professors who drafted the constitution are unaware that there is such a thing as a Turkish constitution. They have no knowledge of Turkish history, so they cannot know the laws that history has produced.

It is very wrong to consider the constitution, which is the head of state, as merely a legal issue. For this reason, the constitution should be prepared not only by lawyers, but also by sociologists, psychologists, historians, and psychiatrists. Today, when we rise up, the national order is naturally disrupted.

A very strange mentality prevailed in the preparation of the 1962 constitution, and in order to prevent the establishment of authority and dictatorship, it was prohibited for anyone to be head of state twice in a row. In that case, shouldn't prime ministers also be limited to a single term in office? If dictatorship can be achieved over time, wouldn't the same result be achieved if one party came to power four times in a row?

Throughout Turkish history, Turkish heads of state have been authoritarian. It is absurd to even consider a head of state who is not authoritarian. Once limited by law, there is no harm in electing presidents with high authority. There is also the fact that when individuals are powerful, no matter what the constitution says, powerful individuals can become dictators. Indeed, according to the 1924 constitution, despite the limited powers of state presidents, Atatürk was a dictator.

When the country finds itself in a deadlock because of political parties, a president who dissolves parliament and calls new elections becomes the saviour of the state. Why should a president who is supported, loved and considered useful by the people not be elected twice or even three times in a row?

The Senate, on the other hand, is an unnecessary institution. There is no need for a Senate when there is a Constitutional Court. It prolongs proceedings and costs the state a lot of money. The Constitutional Court should be expanded slightly to ensure that important laws are reviewed.

450 members of parliament is too many. Elections conducted under the national majority system, which does not violate even the smallest rights, would allow strong parties to form governments alone in a 200-member Parliament. If this is not possible, instead of holding new elections, the President of the State should be granted the authority to keep the strongest party in power. Nations need peace and stability. The state cannot be left without a government just because members of Parliament engage in rhetorical duels.

We live in an age of specialisation. We see new ministries being established in every period. This is also a drawback. The solution to this is as follows: Ministries such as the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Health, Education, Finance, Economy and Transport are fundamental ministries and will always exist. It is impossible to abolish the Ministry of Health. However, the remaining ministries are second-class ministries and can be abolished. Indeed, the Ministry of Culture has been abolished.

Some ministries, such as the Ministry of Sports and the Ministry of Forestry, may no longer be needed in the future. Thus, there will be no need to build separate buildings for these second-class ministries.

The Ministry of National Defence should be abolished, and all its duties should be transferred to the General Staff. The army has no connection with politics, but this is politics in the sense of partisanship. The army is connected with national politics. It is not right for a civilian who does not understand military affairs to be at the head of a military organisation. The Chief of the General Staff should attend Cabinet meetings when necessary.

In order to prevent many valuable officers from being forced into retirement due to age limits, a two-tier organisational structure should be established in the Turkish army instead of the current three-tier structure, and ranks should be adjusted accordingly. This would prevent officers who love the military from being forced out of the army. In this case, company commanders aged 40 would be common. What is the harm in that? It was like this in the past, and no harm was done. Nowadays, a 40-year-old is still young.

Two-year officer training schools should be established for military high school graduates, and the most successful students should be sent to the Military Academy.

There are a number of weaknesses in our criminal law known as 'loopholes' that criminals exploit to continue committing crimes for years.

As long as those who commit crimes and disrupt order are not brought to justice, Turkish society will continue to suffer.

The majority of those who commit crimes such as blood feuds, sexual assault, murder for money, extortion, thuggery, theft, bribery and fraud do so professionally.

As we have written before, Turks before Islam executed those who attacked married women and committed major theft. Today, these crimes are committed collectively. Those who are caught blame each other. The helpless judge, after imposing a heavy sentence on one, acquits the others due to lack of evidence or lets them off with a sentence of one or two years. Is it humane to spare those who rape children as young as three or five? We must never forget that the immoral and the traitorous cower in the face of severity.

The fact that weapons and drugs have been smuggled into prisons for years has not opened the eyes of government officials. Prisons should be places where those who are punished are made to regret their actions. This is achieved through isolation and solitude, not through cursing and beatings. We must also remember that prison is not just a reformatory. It is also a place where society takes revenge on those who have harmed it.

Humanity has become a mere platitude throughout the world. According to these humanitarians, we must seek out and find the 'reasons' that led the poor wretch to commit the crime. While people are busy searching for these 'reasons,' people will be ruined and reduced to animals, but who cares?

The 12 March memorandum and the current situation present a good opportunity. Commissions should be established immediately to begin work on rebuilding Turkey and ensuring that national traditions, reason, consciousness and science prevail during the process. They should take the matter seriously, without rushing, and prepare everything necessary to establish a superior state.

Of course, there is no need to say: The name of this new state will not be 'Turkey,' which is half Turkish, half Arabic, or Italian, but entirely Turkish, 'Turkeli.'

#### Mustafa İsmet and the Reds

A statement by the Ankara Martial Law Command, read several times on the radio and published in newspapers, shed light on the horrific truth behind the death of a nationalist student named 'Dursun Önkuzu,' who was said to have committed suicide two years ago.

According to the confession of one of the communists whom the martial law authorities managed to capture, Dursun was first kidnapped and brutally beaten, then his wrist veins were cut, and while he was still alive, a rubber tube was inserted into his mouth and air was pumped into it, causing his lungs to burst and resulting in a horrific death. Then, to make it look like suicide, he was thrown from the third floor of the school.

I believe that even in Russia, such a despicable murder is no longer committed. Those who did this are traitors to their country, who have sold their conscience, their brains and their hearts, and who are perhaps not even of Turkish descent.

Looking at how they have brought an ideological struggle to this point, it is now easy to understand what their ideology is. Compared to them, the common criminals filling the prisons appear as innocent as saints or as noble as heroes.

'Dursun' was killed because he was a nationalist. At a moment when hatred has reached its peak, one person can kill another by firing a bullet or stabbing them with a knife. This is murder, and like all murders, it is barbaric, but it may be possible to view it as the result of a rage that causes a person to lose themselves and their consciousness. However, killing people with cold-bloodedness by tearing their lungs apart with a pump, in a manner befitting the two thousand years of professional torture methods in Mao's China, is not humanity but a baseness that would shame even animals.

Those who committed this despicable act are part of the group that attempted to overthrow the Turkish state by imitating the Latin American Don Quixotes who participated in the 'actions' prior to the 12 March Declaration, seeking to establish a Soviet republic and annex it to Russia.

The point we wish to make here is not so much the murderers, who will undoubtedly pay for their crimes with their lives, but rather the elderly man who tried to save the three people condemned to death by those murderers, namely İsmet İnönü, the former Chief of the National Assembly. İnönü, who has always opposed political executions throughout his life, is making absurd claims amid these tragedies, insisting that executions do not resolve any issues. His son-in-law, who has a loudspeaker, also argues that these young people, who are the most dynamic element in Turkey, deserve pardon because they did not kill anyone. But what about the Israeli Consul? What about the driver who was found dead in an apartment and whose killer has still not been caught? What about the two British and one Canadian engineer? What about Dursun? What about İmamoğlu and Özmen?

If this is dynamism, then an anaconda or a shark is more dynamic. But this dynamism does not save them from being snakes and monsters. If, as the former National Leader said, executions will not solve anything, then why were Talât Aydemir and Fethi Gürcan hanged?

Execution does not solve anything. What does pardoning a murderer solve? If you don't understand, let me explain: at the very least, it ensures justice is served and prevents those who seek to destroy the state from being punished.

Furthermore, it is important not to confuse political crimes with crimes against the homeland. The crime of those who were executed in the Izmir assassination was political. They were not going to hand Turkey over to another state if they came to power.

Today, if a member of an opposition party came out and killed İsmet Pasha, it would also be a political crime. Because if İsmet Pasha were killed, Turkey would not come under the rule of a foreign state.

However, the actions of the communists referred to as 'anarchists' by the newspapers are not political but treasonous. Because their goal is to destroy the social order, kill hundreds of thousands of people, and then annex Turkey to the Soviet Union.

These are the creatures that Mr. İsmet İnönü is trying to pardon, and the people that Damad Efendi defends by saying, 'They did not kill anyone,' are the ideological and action partners of those who killed 'Dursun' in a manner that will go down in the history of murders and who were either exterminated in Niksar or are awaiting trial in prisons.

My dear Mustafa İsmet!

If you can save them from execution, in the future, if they remain, take those dynamics and hold a cocktail party at the Pink Mansion, or in Taşlık, or on the Island, or in Maltepe, in order to nominate them as candidates for the party. Tell them about the virtues of the left-of-centre and establish a new order against the racist, Turkic nationalists, skull-worshippers, and fascist Turkish nationalists, just as you once established Turkish-Russian friendship (as Podgorni told you on 14 April), and now lay the foundations for tomorrow's Turkish-Chinese friendship with Mao.

May the sons of the homeland whom you are trying to save from execution with your plans be blessed and successful, and whatever history writes about you fifty years from now, it will be written. After you, there will be a flood... You are not history, you are used to listening to the kös...

#### Those Who Protect National Honour Must Not Be Forgotten

On 31 May, the Milliyet newspaper carried a news article titled 'A Sailor Was Killed on the Day He Returned Home on Leave.' Recep Ali Budak, a 22-year-old soldier and father of four from the village of 'Dağgüvezi' in Fatsa, was killed on the day he returned to his village by bus on leave, by two young men who were his own relatives, over a land dispute dating back two years, or more precisely, over the cutting of a tree on the land boundary.

What distinguished this case from the many similar killings in Turkey was the sense of military honour felt by Recep Ali Budak. The young soldier, after being hit four times by gunfire from behind and falling to the ground, got up to pick up his cap lying on the ground. When those who rushed to him said, 'It's not the time for your cap; get on the bus, let's get you to the hospital,' he replied that he would not leave his cap behind, as it symbolised his honour. He was taken to the hospital but could not be saved and died.

This sailor did not enter the battle; he was killed by cowardly shots fired from behind, but he was a hero; he had the spirit of a hero.

We live in a materialistic age. The spirit of heroism, which was once widespread, is slowly weakening, diminishing, and disappearing. That is why Recep Ali Budak has become a symbol in our eyes, and in his passing, leaving behind four orphans, we find something we long for, a breath of fresh air on the horizon.

Today's materialistic animals cannot comprehend the search for honour in the helmet of a mortally wounded man lying on the ground. But this is what humanity really is: the ability to live for ideals, thoughts, beliefs, principles, symbols and honour, and to leave behind a legacy of honour for those who remain...

I do not believe that Recep Ali Budak was wealthy. In that part of the Black Sea region, the land is divided into small plots, so it must have been quite difficult to support a large family. What will happen now to a young woman and four small children?

Budak is not a martyr. But he is a dead man who, when his life was at stake, thought of the honour of the uniform, that is, national honour. Could the General Staff or the Navy Command provide a monthly allowance for the education of the orphans of this honourable dead man?

If they do, they will not only save four children, but they will also give hope and courage to those who wish to uphold national honour, whose numbers are dwindling.

## Turkish Nationalism and Politics

Turkism is an ideal, while politics is a tactic for gaining power. For this reason, while the ideal, which is the main belief and main idea, never changes, politics, or tactics, always changes.

People work to gain power by forming parties. Since gaining power is possible by winning votes, they try to win over the minds and hearts of the voters. To achieve this, they make concessions; they engage in propaganda; they strive to make themselves appealing and tell many lies. They even slander their rivals.

This is the case all over the world. If we put aside the disgusting and immoral struggle between the 'Union and Progress' and 'Freedom and Alliance' parties in our country and look at the Republican era, specifically the period of conflict between the People's Party and the Democratic Party, we see the following:

Those in power committed injustices to remain in power, and the opposition complained about this. Then, when the opposition came to power, it began to commit the same injustices, and this time, those who had previously committed injustices raised their voices in protest when they themselves became victims of the same injustices.

There are no ideals in political parties. They do not hesitate to make the most extreme concessions in order to come to power or remain there. The Democratic Party's decision to revert the Turkish call to prayer to Arabic after coming to power was not out of sincere conviction, but out of a desire to win votes. It cannot be said that Celal Bayar, an extreme Kemalist with no connection to religion, did this willingly or had it done. He did so to secure future elections, and he succeeded.

Communism, which is not only irreligious but also atheistic, sought help from religion in order to survive against the Germans in World War II, and churches and mosques were opened for Christian and Muslim citizens of the Soviet Union, and religious leaders were elected.

Turkish nationalism is Turkish nationalism, but not every nationalist is a Turkist. Nationalism is a very general term. Every normal person is nationalistic to some extent. Being sensitive about the integrity and security of Turkey and remaining loyal to the Turkish nation is undoubtedly nationalism. However, among such nationalists, there are many who are completely indifferent to Turks living abroad, who are unaware of their existence, who do not know that there are Turkish countries outside political borders, and who consider a war to liberate a captive Turkish country to be an act of aggression.

Today, Turkists only support parties that have a Turkist character. No party that deviates from or compromises Turkism is supported by Turkists. Since it is clear what Turkism is, no party is Turkist based on its current stance.

In fact, the representatives of international socialism in Turkey also claim to be nationalists. Even those who deny our connection to our ancestors in Central Asia and claim that we are a mixture of ethnic remnants accumulated on these lands since the Hittites are also nationalists.

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

Turkish nationalism rejects all such flawed and erroneous forms of nationalism. For Turkish nationalists, there is no difference between the war fought to liberate Izmir and the wars that will be fought to liberate Cyprus. This is because the Turkish nation is a whole, and Turkish nationalism can only and exclusively adopt as its ideal a nationalist cause that encompasses all Turks. Turks are a community of individuals who have become as Turkish as those of Turkish descent, who identify themselves with that descent, and who have no thoughts of foreign races in their minds.

Turkish nationalism is not political today. However, if it ever becomes a political organisation, it will emerge with a programme to liberate and unite all Turks. At that time, it will undoubtedly take into account the era, circumstances, and environment, but it will not be bound by them; it will rise above these concerns. It will re-establish the truths of the past.

The term 'Turkish nationalism' today frightens and disturbs many. They see the spectres of Nazism, dictatorship, and skull worship lurking beneath it.

Local Muscovites have played a major role in turning the word 'Turkish nationalism' into something so terrifying. First, they are enemies of any idea that would bring Russia down because they are Moscow's lackeys. Second, there are the remnants of the Devşirme, who harbour a secret hatred for the Turks. Third, there is the People's Party, the mother of socialism in Turkey.

Have you ever seen a Turkist among the members of the People's Party? There are Turkists in all parties except the TİP, but not in the People's Party.

They revealed their true colours at their last congress.

Today, Turkish nationalists only support parties that have a Turkish nationalist character. No party that deviates from Turkish nationalism or makes concessions to it will be supported by Turkish nationalists. Since it is clear what Turkish nationalism is, no party is Turkish nationalist with its current stance.

In terms of parties, Turkey has not yet settled down. It is unclear how many parties will remain after these mergers settle down. The only thing that is certain is that the People's Party is dead. The national conscience is repulsed by socialism and will not grant life to leftist parties. The statement that 'leftist parties are necessary for democracies' is a communist fabrication believed by some naive people. There are no leftist parties in the United States, which is a true democracy.

In the future, when conditions are ripe, one of the legitimate parties will become a Turkist party, or a Turkist party will be established, and Turkism will then enter politics. It should also be remembered that Turkism does not necessarily need to establish a party in order to come to power. Once Turkism has taken root in the minds and hearts of the people, it can exist without a party.

### Respect for Turkish Greats

Respect for one's greats is one of the great qualities of a nation. Greats are honoured with loyalty that begins with being mentioned in history books and continues with the erection of monuments and statues and the establishment of memorial days. Even a child in primary school feels a sense of closeness to a great figure they read about in their history book; this closeness gives rise to love, which extends to the great figure's nation, awakening in the child a love for the nation, a desire to resemble the great figure, and eventually a passion to serve the nation. This is a social law of imitation.

Once national sentiment is thus kindled in a child, it means that the country has gained a good citizen. Every time that child sees the monument of a great person and experiences the days commemorating them, their respect for great people is reinforced. Respect for great people is also a human quality. This quality is not found in animals or animalised humans.

In Turkey, since the establishment of the Republic, commemorations have been held, albeit randomly, to show that this respect has begun, and in recent years, commemorative ceremonies have increased. However, we cannot see anything to be proud of or happy about in this increase. Because these commemorations are nothing more than evidence of ignorance and unconsciousness, and a sign of ostentation.

To our knowledge, for the past two years, a ceremony for Seyid Battal Gazi, who began the Turkification of Anatolia, has been held. However, Abdullah Battal in history was an Arab commander.

Again, for the past two years, a ceremony for 'Ahî Evren' has been held. Last year, this man's name was 'Ahî Evren,' but this year it has become 'Ahî Evran.' Perhaps each year a syllable will be corrected until it becomes 'Ahî Evren,' but to refer to this unfortunate man as the founder of trade unionism and cooperativism in Turkey is more than just ignorance; it is sheer recklessness. If anyone with a passing interest or whim takes a Turk or someone they think is Turkish and bestows upon them any attribute they desire, the matter ceases to be about commemorating the great or the famous and devolves into a farce.

One of the serious ceremonies held in Turkey was the commemoration of Ertuğrul Gazi, a figure from ancient tradition. Last year, I heard from a young person who attended the ceremony that busts of 16 Turkish greats had been erected next to Ertuğrul's tomb, and I was naturally delighted.

However, when I saw the photos of the busts in the news reports about this year's ceremony, I was greatly disappointed. According to the *Hürriyet* newspaper dated 11 September 1972, the project was initiated by Söğüt District Governor Burhan Ten and Mayor Yaşar Ersoy, who commissioned the busts from famous architects and sculptors.

How are pictures or sculptures of people who lived in ancient times made? If there is a miniature made at the time, that is used as a basis, otherwise, information provided by historians who were contemporaries of that great person and, preferably, who saw him in person is used.

If none of these are available, the sculpture of that great person will be representative in nature. However, symbolic does not mean that the sculptor can do as he pleases. The information available about the clothing and attire of the great figure during his lifetime is taken as the basis, and the rest is created by the sculptor himself. However, the sculptor who creates this must have been raised with national spirit and culture as the first condition.

There are pictures of busts of five of these great figures in the *Hürriyet* newspaper.

The oldest one, 'Mete,' is a man without a moustache or beard, with hair long at the back of his head, combed from left to right, in the style of ancient Greek statues. If you show this to anyone and say it is a sculpture by one of Hollywood's artists, they will believe you, but those with even a little knowledge of Turkish history will either laugh or get angry when they learn that it represents Mete.

Attila, who came second in terms of time, is a Aryan type with a thick moustache and beard. His headdress is a yellow turban of the 15th-century Ottoman style. Those who have seen Attila describe him as tall, wheat-coloured, large-headed, and unsmiling. The only successful aspect of this bust is the depiction of his unsmiling face, but then again, among the Turkish heads of state who have come and gone, with the exception of İsmet İnönü, there has never been anyone who smiled for no reason.

Genghis Khan, who was the 'third' in terms of time, is depicted as a person with a sad gaze, large eyes, and an unusual turban on his head. It is known that Genghis Khan was tall, fair-skinned, had hazel eyes and auburn beard. It is a great mistake to depict him, as well as Attila and Mete, with slanted eyes, when they should have been depicted with large eyes, which the ancient Turks called 'cow eyes.'

The fourth bust belongs to Ertuğrul Gazi. There is no information about his appearance in historical records. The only thing we know is that he wore a böرك (a type of hat) throughout his life. In the bust, however, he is depicted wearing a large kavuk (a type of hat). This kavuk closely resembles the ornate Ottoman kavuks of the 16th-17th centuries.

The fifth bust, of Fatih, is also unsuccessful. The painting of Fatih commissioned by an Italian painter is well known today. Just by looking at it, a bust that closely resembles the great khan could have been made. The fact that this was not done reveals the failure of famous architects and sculptors.

We learn from information provided by the Hürriyet newspaper that the 16 busts belong to 16 great Turks who founded states. The fabricated tale of the 16 Great Turkish States, which was recently brought to light and even had a calendar published for it a few years ago... It seems that the district governor and the mayor were influenced by this calendar and embarked on this project, but because they blindly believed in the wrong calendar, their national good intentions ended not in failure but in disaster. If they had consulted those knowledgeable about such matters before embarking on such an important and beautiful endeavour, they would have created a truly magnificent work and earned the eternal gratitude of the nation. However, it is a great pity that the work is entirely incorrect. It must be completely demolished and rebuilt.

Another major mistake is that the 16 people depicted in the busts are presented as the founders of 16 states. For example, Seljuk Beg founded the Seljuk Empire, Ertuğrul Beg founded the Ottoman Empire, Bilge Khan founded the Uyghur Khanate...

Seljuk Bey (correctly 'Seljuk Subaşı') was a commander of the actual Turkish state at the time, namely the Karahanid State, or the Western Hazar State that had split off from the original state. The Seljuk State was founded by his grandsons, Çağrı and Tuğrul Beys.

Ertuğrul Beğ, and even his son Osman Beğ, who gave his name to the state, were not state founders. These two were the Uç Beys of the Western Turkish Khaganate, i.e. the Ilkhanids.

Bilge Kağan was not Uyghur, but Gök Türk.

It is also incorrect to give the title 'Han' or 'Kaan' to all great figures.

Mete's title was 'yabgu,' Bumun's (not Bumin) was 'khan,' Temir's and Ertuğrul's were 'beg,' but Çengiz's was 'khan.'

It is possible that the journalist made these mistakes, but the photographs of the busts are indisputable evidence. What a pity...

Among the 16 busts, there is also one of Atatürk, and it seems to resemble its subject the most. Atatürk's bust reminded us of the Atatürk statue in the garden of the Istanbul University Central Building. As those who have seen it know, the statue depicts Atatürk between two university students, one male and one female. The odd thing is that the students are depicted in athletic attire, while Atatürk is shown wearing a traditional robe. First and foremost, depicting Atatürk, who was a soldier, in an ugly nightgown-like outfit, resembling the figures in ancient Assyrian and Iranian reliefs, is disrespectful to both the Turkish nation and his memory. It is said that this was commissioned by the Student Association's Administrative Board at the time. When one thinks of a university student, one does not imagine athletes or young people dressed like athletes. When one thinks of Atatürk, one imagines either a commander or a statesman in civilian attire. Given this reality, what is the reason for erecting statues of him dressed in athletic attire and a robe? At best, it is thoughtlessness. I draw the attention of the rectorate: Remove that ugly statue.

Among the monuments and statues in various places in Turkey, there are also those that are the product of a corrupted sense of art. One of them is the Victory Monument in Afyon. Was a victory that marked a turning point in Turkish history to be represented by two naked King Kongs? Couldn't an artist be found who could convey the greatness of this victory, even humiliating the Greeks, in a more successful manner and present it as a gift to the Turkish nation?

I believe that the Ministry of National Education should be the authority responsible for such matters. There are institutions such as the Monuments Commission and the General Directorate of Fine Arts. What do they do? Due to this indifference, we celebrated the 500th anniversary of the Conquest of Istanbul and the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Malazgirt in a very lacklustre manner. Yet these are ceremonies that inspire the nation. They were also elements of national defence. In fact, they were vital provisions that should have been included in the constitution. Yes! The constitution... Because the constitution must first and foremost be a monument to the national spirit, not a document that allows certain treacherous individuals with ulterior motives to shout about strikes, general strikes, and the like. For this reason, before the workers and employers, it is the great figures who created this nation and the respect due to them that must be enshrined in the constitution.

### The National Leader's Choice

When İsmet İnönü was President, I was one of those who welcomed this positively. At that time, some news reports from foreign media, which were also published in our newspapers, mentioned names such as Şükrü Kaya among the candidates for the Turkish Presidency, which was truly alarming and thought-provoking.

In 1938, my knowledge of the War of Independence and the Republican era was undoubtedly very limited, so I was unaware that İsmet Pasha had abandoned his 2,000-strong corps to the enemy during the Palestine defeat and escaped alone, how he had participated in the War of Independence, the details of the İnönü battles, or the defeat at Eskişehir-Kütahya. For this reason, I considered İsmet Pasha, whom I knew as a moderate statesman, worthy of that position.

I listened to his first speech as President of the Republic on the radio in the hall of a private high school where I was teaching at the time. It was a courageous speech that appealed to the national spirit. However, it did not even mention Atatürk's name.

Of course, I did not know at the time that this was the result of suppressed resentment. However, the speech a few days later changed the atmosphere. Atatürk was being praised to the skies, and İsmet İnönü addressed him as 'Unparalleled Hero Atatürk! The nation is grateful to you.'

According to a rumour that spread immediately at that time, these words were spoken to appease the anger of Atatürk's supporters in the Assembly and the army.

After consolidating his position, İnönü went to new elections. In the new elections held on 3 April 1939, he not only brought many of his own men into the Assembly but also excluded Atatürk loyalists such as Şükrü Kaya, Tevfik Rüştü, and Cevat Abbas, Kılıç Ali, Recep Zühtü, and others who had served as his bodyguards. In other words, he began to implement his strategy by taking one step forward and one step back.

Meanwhile, I was teaching at private high schools after being removed from official schools. It was unfair. Professor Mükrimin Halil advised me to write to İsmet Pasha himself to request that this injustice be rectified. Mükrimin Halil, an ardent Anatolian nationalist, appeared to be a strong supporter of İsmet Pasha, who was also from Anatolia, and claimed that he would certainly rectify this injustice. Since my feelings toward İsmet İnönü were still favourable at the time, I sent a formal letter briefly outlining the situation and requesting that the injustice be rectified. Nothing came of it[3].

Time slowly revealed İnönü's true nature, and those who had placed their hopes in him were disappointed[4].

There is no need to repeat the subsequent situation, attitude and actions of the National Leader, as they are well known. In any case, the National Leader has now been removed, erased and disappeared, leaving a very negative impression on the vast majority of the people.

He has disappeared, but he did not neglect to erect a stone to remind people of himself. This stone, which is the legacy of the National Leader to the nation, is now Bülent Ecevit, who heads the Republican People's Party.

Bülent Ecevit was raised by İsmet İnönü. During his three coalition cabinets as Prime Minister, between 20 November 1961 and 20 February 1965, he kept Bülent Ecevit in the Ministry of Labour for three years and three months, thereby contributing greatly to the development of leftism in the country.

Did the National Leader, who was said to be very intelligent and whose memory was praised to the heavens, not know the inner workings of Bülent Ecevit's mind? "Our party is not socialist. Because socialism is not nationalist. We, however, are nationalist." Was İsmet Pasha unaware that the man he appointed as the party's general secretary was an opponent of nationalism? Just as he kept Hasan Âli in the Ministry of National Education for eight years during his presidency, thereby sowing the seeds of today's communism, was there a reason why he kept Bülent Ecevit in the Ministry of Labour? Or were these coincidences?

The nationalism understood by İnönü, who protected these two individuals who sought to separate teachers and students from nationalism and workers from nationalism, must have been a new form of nationalism, perhaps discovered in the chemistry laboratory in Çankaya, unknown to anyone else.

The Republican People's Party was founded by Atatürk on six principles, one of which was nationalism. İsmet İnönü could not go so far as to remove nationalism as a principle during his time as party leader, but he dealt nationalism its greatest blow. Just as he turned a blind eye to the transformation of Village Institutes into communist breeding grounds, he also personally led the Crusade against Turkists in 1944.

Ecevit, whom he nurtured and presented to Turkey, took a stand against nationalism. Indeed, at its last congress, he swept under the rug the motion to include the fact that the People's Party is nationalist in its constitution. However, what is most important is the response prepared for the government, which asked the parties for their opinions on constitutional amendments.

The People's Party does not accept the following proposals:

- 1) The inclusion of the term 'nationalism' in the second article of the Constitution;
- 2) The inclusion of an article in the Constitution that would definitively prevent class struggle;
- 3) The inclusion of the Turkish flag and the national anthem in the Constitution;
- 4) The abolition of natural senatorship[5].

This means that it does not accept that the Turkish State should be nationalist. The opposite of this is internationalism. There is no state in the world other than communist countries that claims to be internationalist.

It also does not want an article that will prevent class struggle. This means that it wants class struggle. Who advocates class struggle?

The refusal to include the Turkish flag and the Independence Anthem in the Constitution stems from the desire to easily change them one day. I wonder which flag and which anthem Mr. Bergüzar has in mind to replace the Turkish flag and the Independence Anthem?

After all this, the reason for wanting to keep the senate becomes clear: most of the senators are extreme leftists.

But Bergüzar's talents do not end there. It turns out he is a great poet, and we did not know it.

Here is the proof:

Turkish-Greek Poem

When you think of homesickness, you understand

That you are brothers with the Greeks.

When you hear a Greek song, see

The child of Istanbul in a foreign land.

We have cursed in the freedom of the Turkish language,

We have become bloody enemies.

Yet there is still love in our hearts

Hidden on days of peace like this.

Let it not be the blood of a race, let it be

Flowing in our veins.

There is a wild wind inside us,

From the air.

There is a blue magic between us,

A warm sea

On its shores, beautiful,

We are two nations.

One day, we will rise again,

The golden age of the Aegean.

Burning from the fire of tomorrow,

The hearth of the past.

First, a laugh rings in your ears,

Then Turkish with a Greek accent.

He talks about the Bosphorus,

You remember the raki.

You realise you are brothers with the Greeks,

When you think of your longing for home.

What do you think? Ecevit, Makaryos and Grivas in the cause of brotherhood. It is strange that this wonderful poem is dated 1953. That year, the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul was being celebrated. In other words, we were celebrating the victory that put an end to our Greek brothers. Yet Bergüzar claims that we will build a future together. She speaks of Turkish with a Greek accent. How beautiful Greek-accented Turkish is!

Bergüzar is apparently unaware of the four to five centuries of continuous conflict between Turks and Greeks in Anatolia and Rumelia. She is probably also unaware that this war has resumed in the last 150 years and continues with great bloodshed, horror and savage cruelty on their part. If she knew, she would understand that the enmity that has been engraved in the blood, minds, and hearts of people over centuries cannot be erased. If she were to think for a moment about the memory of the three innocent children, the children of a Turkish doctor, who were murdered in a bathroom in Cyprus, she would not write this rhyme. If she had even a basic understanding of history, she would acknowledge that friendships and alliances are formed between governments, not between nations. If he had any national sentiment, he would realise how important national hatred is among the reasons that keep nations alive.

Yes, nations need national hatred. Because other nations are your enemies. They are implementing their open or secret plans to destroy you. While they are doing so, any foolishness you show by pretending to be their friend will cost you your national life.

Can Turks and Russians, Turks and Greeks, Arabs and Jews, Germans and Poles, and many others be friends? What about 'nations united around the ideal of the United Nations'? Every national interest inevitably undermines another national interest. No one will allow their own interests to be harmed. When this is the case, conflicts continue until the end.

Peace and friendship are moments of respite in fierce battles. This is the law of nature and the law of society. With these laws clearly evident, what is talking about Turkish-Greek brotherhood other than inviting the Turks to national slumber?

Bergüzar will undoubtedly respond to this by saying, 'It is humanism.'

What great humanism, what a magnificent ideal of brotherhood!

Even Buddha cannot call this a fantasy, and even Jesus, who advised turning the other cheek when struck, could not have been so humane.

Even Yunus Emre and Mevlânâ were not that humanistic. Even Karl Marx and Lenin, the great sons of humanity (!), did not go that far.

Here is the national leader's bergüzar... The general chairman who was applauded by the wise men as 'tomorrow's prime minister.'

Thus, the National Leader is leaving behind a huge socialist party for the Turkish people. What kind of a 'National' Leader was he?

What was poor Behice Boran's sin, when a party that opposed the inclusion of nationalism, the flag and the national anthem in the constitution was going to survive? At least she was a beautiful Tatar woman in her youth, and she is still not ugly, and she would certainly not have opposed the inclusion of the Turkish flag in the constitution.

[1] The Lightning Armies, consisting of three armies on the Palestinian front, had 40,000 soldiers. Meanwhile, the corps had been reduced to 2,000 men. In other words, İnönü was not actually commanding a corps, but a weak regiment.

[2] Afif Şakir, who was my lawyer and who handled the inheritance of Cevat Abbas when he died, told me that Cevat Abbas was receiving a monthly payment from a secret fund.

[3] I have another long letter to İnönü after this. This letter, which was entirely related to state affairs, consisted of a number of proposals, the most important of which was that the successor to the President of the Republic, in the event of his death or resignation, should be selected from among five specific individuals in high positions. This was proposed to prevent presidential ambitions.

[4] Especially during his grand tour of the country, his conversations with the peasants and workers were very simple and straightforward. These are reported in detail in the newspapers of that time.

[5] These and other strange proposals are listed in the 20 September 1972 issue of Milliyet.

### Fears

Fear is perhaps the first emotion of human beings. Superstitions arise from fear. The greater courage of civilised people is due to the defeat of superstitions by intelligence.

Today, everyone, every class, every community, every nation fears different things. The nature of fear varies according to character, ideals, nature and mentality.

Turks (but real Turks, i.e. Turkists) fear dishonour. They shy away from gaining advantage through lies and slander. They are strangers to struggle with dishonour as their weapon. That is why Turks have always come out worse in conflicts with dishonourable people.

Those with base souls fear greatness and advancement. For them, any glance beyond today's political borders is a dream that will bring terrible consequences.

Devşirme and communists fear Turkishness and Turkism. They are against every movement, every behaviour, every work, and every law that is in favour of Turkishness.

They tremble and shudder at anything that reminds them of Turkishness or Turkism, even from afar. This is why they hate the Grey Wolf. Because the Grey Wolf is the national symbol of the Turks. In prehistoric times, they accepted it as their guide and even believed that they were descended from the Grey Wolf. The surname of the Turkish Khans is 'Eçine,' meaning 'Wolf.' Those who were recruited and educated in communist schools cannot tolerate the Grey Wolf badge or the Grey Wolf statue in public squares. Their slander is ready: The Grey Wolf is a symbol of Turanism and imperialism.

Just as a thief fears the police, a traitor fears the law that prevents treason. The slogans of freedom are not for the freedom of thought and conscience; they are for the freedom to destroy morality, the nation, and the homeland. It is the freedom to deny the past and history and to promote debauchery and sexual immorality.

Religious merchants fear the truth of religion. The immoral, deceitful person caught in a casino, who has defrauded everyone who comes to mind and those who do not, exploits innocent people by deceiving them with the words 'Allah,' 'Prophet,' 'religion,' and 'heaven.' His greatest enmity is against logic and intelligence. Because the object that exposes his lies with mathematical certainty is logic and intelligence.

Those who rise to positions they do not deserve, or those who take what does not belong to them, fear justice and righteousness. For the sense of righteousness is one of the highest principles that human virtue has ever discovered, and it is completely absent in those who commit injustice.

Lazy and pleasure-seeking animals fear discipline, work, danger, and war. They view war, which created civilisation, discipline, and morality, as savagery, yet they remain silent about the sale of young girls, the exploitation of the poor, extortion, and theft.

We are in the age of the atom and space, but hundreds of millions of people are still at the level of early primates. They worship the idols they have created. Sometimes they follow a worthless and disgusting ignoramus called a saint, sometimes a worthless and cowardly traitor called a great man, sometimes a worthless and lowly sellout called a progressive voice.

Those who fear for their comfort give in to everyone and everything: millionaires pay tribute to communists, professors give grades to anarchists, and government officials give face to profiteers.

In newspapers that fear a drop in sales, this fear turns into rabid courage. They attack everything that is good, noble, and sacred. The martyrdom of Enver Pasha in Turkestan is portrayed as a senseless Turanist adventure that ruined the country, while a handful of wretches who sought to destroy the Turkish state in the Nurhat Mountains are hailed as heroes of 'class consciousness.'

Fear is a disease. It is treated with national education, national press, national radio, national films and theatre.

But where are those doctors?

### We Will Not Forget

We respect the ideas and opinions of those who do not think like us. But only if they are sincere... The opinions of those who mix great ideals and national causes with petty and base political games are not worthy of respect. Because such opinions are not genuine. They are not the product of feeling, thought, or conscience. They are claims made by those who are at the beck and call of self-interest, either by command or suggestion. A man who says this today at the behest of his master will not hesitate to say the exact opposite tomorrow. Because what matters to him is not ideas or ideals. What matters to him is only his own personal interests, comfort, and pleasure. Luxury apartments, abundant money, cars, comfort, and other such things can only be obtained by obeying his master's orders. Therefore, what must be done is clear. We must sense the desires of those above us and speak and write accordingly.

We Turkish nationalists (I am referring to true and sincere Turkish nationalists) appear unpleasant to some because we express our opinions openly. We do not engage in politics. We do not know politics. Because our cause is not the cause of today's political parties. Our cause is a cause that spans centuries. It is an ideal. It is the cause of the Turkishness we believe in. We are so convinced that we have not even attempted to gather in one place to set down the principles of our cause on paper and eliminate our differences of understanding.

We feel strong as we follow our ideal. However, we know that people of faith can accomplish great things. We do not underestimate our national strength. We are aware of the severity of the obstacles we will face. We relish the prospect of confronting formidable obstacles and formidable enemies. We know that we are capable of great things because we are the descendants of great ancestors, and we want to revive our glorious past.

We are not chasing empty dreams. We long for the things that were true in the past to become true again. We want a Turkey that is free from disease, with a growing population, high moral standards, and advanced industry. We are seeking ways to rescue our compatriots beyond our borders. We are not striving to destroy Turkey in the process of rescuing them. Those who make this foolish accusation are poor wretches who believe that there is no one more intelligent than themselves.

The French claimed Alsace-Lorraine for fifty years, even though most of its people were German. Why should we not want our own Alsace-Lorraine? While the Jews, who have been enslaved for twenty centuries, are fighting for Palestine, while the Bulgarians are demanding Thrace, which they once occupied, while the Yugoslavs are longing for Selanik, which they once invaded, while the Arabs are claiming Antakya and Adana, while the Poles are settling in German lands, while the Egyptians are asserting their claims to Sudan, and the Russians are making demands on Kars and Ardahan, why shouldn't we want our old lands back?

Why did we include in our textbooks the article by Falih Rıfkı Atay, who wandered through places that were ours just yesterday like a foreign traveller, and read it to middle school children for years? If we had lost the War of Independence and lost İzmir and Thrace, would we have said, 'Let us forget İzmir'?

Let us see the truth as it is: National ideals are offensive! We cannot lull our nation into complacency by saying we will be friends with other nations. Friendships are between foreign ministers, not nations. The Bulgarian foreign minister is our friend. But the Bulgarian education minister is our greatest enemy. That is why Bulgarian schools instil hatred of Turks in their children.

While we sing songs of peace to our soldiers, the Bulgarians sing the Tsarigrad march, Moscow radio insults the president and the Turkish government, and even our friends, the Greeks, publish propaganda postcards against us.

The folly of adapting national ideals to foreign policy left this nation without ideals for years. The nation did not know where to go. Because it was left without an ideal, many embraced communism as their ideal.

Building factories, draining swamps, opening schools... These cannot be ideals for a nation. These are like a person breathing air, drinking water, eating food. An ideal, however, is the driving thought of a nation, an idea for which it is willing to shed blood. The greatest ideal for nations is the 'idea of greatness.' Its primary principle is to claim historical heritage. To say 'let us forget Rumelia' means to shrink, to accept smallness, to become complacent, and to become indolent.

No! We will not forget Rumelia... We will not forget any place... We will not forget Tripoli, where Turgut Reis is buried, or Rhodes, where heroic Turkish women and girls are buried. We will not forget Azerbaijan, Crimea, Turkistan, the Caucasus, the Altai Mountains, the Urals, or the Ediller... Our national heritage is not the tin can of the Cibali imam. Falih Rıfkı cannot give it away. No one can give it away.

As Motun Yabgu said in 209 BC, the land that belongs to the nation, the land that holds the graves of our ancestors, that is, our homeland, cannot be given away. We will not give it away. We will not forget... The last light shining in our eyes as we die will be the dream of our national heritage.

### Lesson

The murder of two of our diplomats in America inevitably took us back to the past and the lessons it taught us. When the Turks conquered Anatolia, they found Christians such as Greeks, Armenians, and Georgians, and Muslims such as Arabs and Kurds. They defeated them all and established a state within borders very similar to today's Turkey, maintaining the order that had been customary since ancient times. Although they regarded their subjects as second-class citizens, they applied justice without exception or flaw. Due to this justice and the wealth generated by engaging solely in trade and crafts rather than military service, the Armenians, in particular, grew very close to the Turks, adopted Turkish culture, accepted Turkish as their mother tongue in many regions, and showed loyalty to the state, receiving rewards in return. There were even Armenian ministers during the Ottoman era. However, their numbers were very small. If I am not mistaken, the historian Enver's history records the number of Armenians in Turkey as 300,000 and notes that measures were taken to prevent Catholic priests from converting Armenians from their national religion, Gregorianism, to Catholicism through propaganda, following an appeal by the Armenian patriarch to the state.

The date when there were 300,000 Armenians was approximately 1779-1780. The fact that their number had reached nearly 1,500,000 by the time the First World War began in 1914 shows how rapidly they had multiplied. This increase was due to both prosperity and the fact that Armenians were not conscripted into the army. As is well known, only the Turkish race paid blood and life taxes to the Empire.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Armenians were very wealthy in Turkey and had a monopoly on many crafts. They were fleecing Turks through money-lending, sending their own children to Western countries for education, where they were indoctrinated with anti-Turkish ideas. Additionally, the American College in Istanbul was highly successful in raising children from Muslim and Christian minority groups to be enemies of Turks.

Influences were also coming from outside. The propaganda and incitement of Russia, which wanted to use the Armenians as a tool, the British Empire, which saw the Ottoman Empire as a threat to its own empire, and France, which had never been able to erase its enmity towards the Turks from its mind and heart since the Crusades, did not take long to bear fruit. Just as Armenians who had forgotten their native languages and were speaking Turkish were taught Armenian, secret organisations opposed to the state began activities with the aim of establishing a large Armenian state in the east of Turkey. The rest is well known.

At the beginning of the First World War, after 60,000 Turkish soldiers perished from the cold in the Sarikamış disaster, the Russians advanced towards Erzurum, and the Armenians, who were well prepared, also sprang into action everywhere. They sought to disrupt the retreat of the Turkish Army, whose supply lines were disrupted, by attacking from the rear. At the same time, they carried out a horrific massacre of Turks in villages and towns, sparing neither women nor children. Undoubtedly, the response of the Turkish people, who were the dominant ethnic group, was very severe. There was no one left in eastern Turkey who could be called Armenian. Some were exterminated by the Turks. Some fled to Syria, Marseille, and America, where they settled. They no longer have any chance of returning to Turkey. Those who remained in Istanbul are slowly emigrating from Turkey to France and America, where they are establishing their new homelands.

When considering the killing of two nations and assessing the consequences, the first question that comes to mind is who was right and who was wrong. No state at war will treat its own subjects who have joined the enemy with leniency. This is justified.

Armenians are still engaged in intense propaganda against Turkey in the United States, France, and Lebanon, pursuing the dream of a Greater Armenia. We, as a nation, must remain vigilant and accept and acknowledge that the Armenians are now our eternal enemies. Saying, 'Let's forget the past and be brothers!' will not solve any problems or eliminate any hostility. There is no mistake more dangerous than mistaking an enemy for a friend.

Armenian publications against Turks are constantly increasing and naturally influencing Western public opinion. At a time when we are members of NATO and European unions, this public opinion is an important factor in terms of national interests. While the Turkish government was expected to publish an official book based on documents, nothing has been done so far.

Seeing that there has been no change in Armenian hostility towards Turks even after 50-60 years makes one think of the Unionists' flawed 'Union of Elements' policy and its imitations today.

The Union of Elements occurred in various parts of the world in prehistoric times, and the issue was closed. In our time, it is not even a fantasy but a 'delusion of the fanatical.' The Flemish-Walloon conflict in Belgium is an example from Europe, and the fact that the Bengalis, a separate nation in Pakistan, have now joined the same cause after their separation, is a clear example that a state founded solely on religious unity cannot survive.

Hostility is one of the human emotions and will remain until the end of humanity. To ignore it is tantamount to burying one's head in the sand and embracing a cobra snake out of mystical fascination.

3 May 1944 (2)

A march held in Ankara 29 years ago, although unrecognised today, had a profound effect on the course of Turkish history. Just as giving oxygen to a person suffocating from poisonous gas in the air or administering an antibiotic injection to a patient writhing in fever would bring healing, a youth march held in Ankara on 3 May 1944 awakened a society living under dictatorial rule and being undermined by communist propaganda that the dictatorship did not care about. It gave courage and hope to those who saw the danger but remained silent, and saved Turkey from the danger of being 'stabbed in the back' with the enthusiasm seen in the National Assembly, despite the one-party rule.

The heroes of this rescue were several thousand young people, most of whom were high school and university students. The true value of 3 May was not understood at the time due to the relentless propaganda carried out by the government, which controlled the press and radio. Those who ruled the country did not understand that communism, under the guise of socialism, intended to annex Turkey to Russia. In the twentieth century, it is impossible to assume that those in power always think better and more correctly than everyone else. In Turkey, there is nothing extraordinary about the fact that some young people in insignificant positions or still in their school years saw the danger more clearly than those in power. This is, to a certain extent, a matter of temperament and character.

After 1938, a period began in the People's Party, which had ruled the state for a long time, in which İnönü was glorified, the term 'National Leader,' previously used for Atatürk, was attributed to him, and an atmosphere was created in which he was portrayed as superior to Atatürk on stamps and coins. However, this was a very wrong approach. Because when Atatürk emerged in Russia, he understood communism and its danger to Turkey, even though no one else, including himself, knew about it at the time, and he took precautions. However, İnönü could never grasp how communism was a scourge, Despite exaggerating the importance of the Nurcu and other articles he referred to as 'right-wing,' he failed to grasp the true intentions of those who are now collectively referred to as anarchists.

When anarchists occupied the university, he made the grave mistake of equating the occupation with a boycott. As if that were not enough, he attempted to stop the execution of three communists sentenced to death for wanting to destroy Turkey, thereby committing an act that history will judge very negatively in the future.

It is undoubtedly impossible for İnönü, with this mindset, to have viewed the 3 May 1944 march favourably. This is why he was terrified of the word 'Turkish nationalist' throughout his life, largely influenced by those around him. He harbours a peculiar complex towards the West. His belief that Turkey's spiritual development lies in the translation of classical works into Turkish is evidence of this. However, we no longer live in an age where nations can develop through novels, plays, or ancient Greek philosophy. Today is an age of nationalism more than ever before. Even communist states that claim to be internationalist are immersed in extreme nationalism. This is a social law: societies clash and fight to spread and grow; they use every means to do so. If such a social law did not exist, the nations of the peaceful religion of Jesus would not have fought for centuries, Buddhist Japanese would not even mention war, and Muslim brothers would not kill each other.

For this reason, translating foreign classics and having Turkish youth read them has had no effect other than creating a sense of inferiority in them. What else can be expected when young people aged 20-25 read Greek, Latin, Western, Persian, Arabic, and Russian works as masterpieces and conclude, 'So my nation has no masterpieces'?

Turkish nationalists understood that the spiritual revival of the Turkish nation lay first in the elimination of communism and then in the revival of national culture. For this reason, they could not reconcile themselves with İnönü and were declared by him to be people who were working to make Turkey an enemy of the whole world.

Turkish nationalists never came to power in this country. İnönü and his party remained in power for many years and carried out the policies and propaganda they desired. Who did time prove right? The inexperienced, young people of 1944, or İnönü, who was declared an experienced captain?

The claim that he was an experienced captain stems from Turkey's entry into the Second World War and the fact that this was accepted as a success attributed to İnönü. Is this really the case?

If Turkey had been a state established on the territory of Yugoslavia, or if the British had been able to give us the war materials they had promised, would the experienced captain have been able to keep it out of the war? In addition to these, we must never forget the major role played by Von Papen in Turkey's decision not to enter the war.

The march of 3 May was a national movement that opened the eyes of the nation to communism. If, starting from that date, true national history had been taught in schools and communists had not been allowed to infiltrate certain key areas of national education, the anarchy that led to the 12 March coup would not have occurred, a group of young people would not have been forcibly torn away from the Turkish nation, and moral values would not have collapsed. If we look closely at the chaos we call anarchist movements, we see that they arise from a very frightening state of mind, almost like a nation wanting to commit suicide.

Communism is nothing more than a social desire. While social justice and economic prosperity have not been achieved in any country where it has prevailed, this has been accomplished in many so-called democratic countries that are fascist or capitalist.

Since the day communism came to power, Tsarist Russia's ill intentions towards Turkey have not deviated one iota. Was there any other meaning to demanding bases in the Straits?

The truth that the Turkish nationalists who carried out the 3 May events knew with awareness and conviction was that communism was a threat to Turkishness. The events of the last two years, the ongoing martial law courts, and the truths revealed in these courts have proven the Turkish nationalists right.

May 3rd ended with great hardship and suffering for many Turkish nationalists. However, May 3rd continues: Kayabek, the editor-in-chief of Ötüken, has left Istanbul, leaving behind his wife and four children, one of whom is an infant, to serve a 15-month prison sentence resulting from a trial that began approximately six years ago. He has returned to his birthplace, Eğin.

The impartial historians of the coming century will undoubtedly recognise 3 May as a turning point.

Greetings to 3 May!...

May the spirit of 3 May live forever!...

## New Information About the 'Man in the Golden Robe'

In one of the old issues of Ötüken, it was mentioned that in a cemetery near the town of Esik, 50 kilometres from the capital of the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, the body of the 'Man in the Golden Robe' was found.-Ata, the capital of the Turkic Kazakh Republic, which was part of the Soviet Union, and the body of the 'Man in the Golden Robe' found in this tomb. Hasan Oraltay, a Kazakh Turk living in Germany, kindly sent us new information about the Man in the Golden Robe from the Kazakh press. We are sharing this information to enlighten the Turkish people of Turkey on this important subject:

A daily newspaper called 'Leninşil Cas' (= Leninci Genç) (I) is published in Kazakh Turkish in Alma-Atâ. In the 24 January 1973 issue of this newspaper, an article by İrım Kenenbayoğlu, a Turk from the region, titled '25 Gasır Burin Cazılgan Hat' (= A Letter Written 25 Centuries Ago) was published. The article provides information about the 'Man in the Golden Robe,' mentions that over 400 gold items were found, and repeats the previously given explanations about where and when the discovery was made. Kenenbayoğlu states that this tomb can be compared to the tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun, discovered by British archaeologists at the beginning of this century, and then touches on the importance of the items found in the tomb.

According to Kenenbayoğlu, the inscription found in the tomb of the Golden-Robed Man was sent to Moscow and Leningrad universities, but they reported that they could not read it and returned it.

This then caught the attention of scholars at the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, particularly Prof. Gayneddin Alioğlu Musabay. Musabay was renowned not only in Kazakhstan but throughout the Soviet Union as an expert on ancient Turkic inscriptions and authored numerous works.

Gayneddin Alioğlu Musabay succeeded in deciphering the inscription and presented his findings at the final language week of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences' Language Institute. Musabay reported that there was a time difference of over 1,000 years between the Yenisey-Orkun inscriptions and the Esik inscription. The Kazakh scholar put forward a surprising idea, saying that each sign represents a syllable rather than a letter, and that the inscription should be read as follows:

Taza as tuvin agannın

Eldi ege. Altın, eskerin

Sagan ar eperedi.

Casına cete

Bakıtındı aŞasın.

Sav bol.

According to Gayneddin Alioğlu Musabay, the lines on this silver spoon prove that writing existed in the country of the ancient Turkic tribes such as the Saka-Usun in the 7th-5th centuries BCE. This also shows that the Orkun script is a continuation and development of the writing used in the Saka-Usun country. Thus, the ancient Turkish alphabet began with ideograms and later evolved into a syllabic script. The inscription on this spoon belongs to the final stage of the syllabic script. Following this, the syllabic script evolved into a phonetic script, giving rise to the Yenisey-Orkun inscriptions we are familiar with.

The article in the newspaper provides explanations about why the silver spoon was buried in the tomb. The spoon, made of pure silver, has no handle. Since the tomb had not been opened before, the handle could not have been stolen. According to the tomb, it was not customary to place broken or discarded items here. It is understood that the body in the tomb belonged to either a very wealthy person or an officer. In this case, it is possible that the spoon without a handle was a gift given to the brave man by a relative when he was born.

The article in the *Leninşil Cas* newspaper stated that such a treasure had never been found within the borders of the Soviet Union until today, and that the only other example in the world was in the tomb of a pharaoh in Egypt.

According to a Turkestan native working in America, the American government invited Musabay, offered him a large sum of money, and requested that he teach at American universities for three months, but the Russians did not grant permission.

The above spoon inscription has been translated into Turkish as follows:

Clean your brother's sword

Be a strong owner. Gold, soldier

Will bring you glory.

When you come of age (=grow up)

May you surpass your destiny.

Be well.

There are some points in this reading where we disagree with our Kazakh compatriots. One of these is the use of the words 'eskez' and 'bakit' in the text to mean "soldier" and 'fate.' 'Asker' is a word that came to us from Greek via Arabic, and it is impossible to think that it was used among the Turks in the 5th century BC. The Persian word 'baht,' even in the form 'bakit,' could not have been used in the Turkish of that time. Furthermore, the words 'tuğ' and 'sağ' in Old Turkish, which only took the forms "tuv" and 'sav' in some Turkish dialects and Kazakh in the 16th century, could not have been used as 'tuv' and "sav" in the centuries before the Common Era. The letter 'V' was formed later in Turkish.

Nevertheless, it is certain that Musabay broke new ground. This is worthy of celebration. However, it cannot be denied that the text needs to be read in a new and more accurate way.

(1) Kazakh Turks pronounce the initial 'y' as 'c' and 'ş' as 's' in our Turkish and literary Chagatai. For this reason, 'yaş,' which means "young" in the Eastern and Western literary dialects, becomes 'cas' in Kazakh Turkish. The 'şil' at the end of 'Leninşil' is the form of the suffix used in Turkish to indicate membership, as in "balıkçıl" (fisherman) and 'adamcıl' (man), in the Kazakh Turkish language.

### Those Who Do Not Know What They Are Doing

The trials of the communists now referred to as 'anarchists' are continuing in an intriguing manner. The leader of the organisation established to destroy Turkey and named 'Dev-Genç' during the trial, spoke words describing his desperate mental state and admitted that his actions were meaningless. Yusuf Küpeli, whom we learned was one of the 21 Mayists, spoke in a similar manner.

It seems clear that these young people, unvaccinated against social ills, succumbed to the foreign microbes of ambition that were injected into them and became tools of foreign ideas, acting without knowing what they were doing.

This weakness is not limited to young anarchists. Looking back a little further, the picture is the same. Three of the 38 people who came to power in the so-called 27 May movement, which was carried out to save the state, are currently on trial for treason: Cemal Madanoğlu, who would mistake the letter 'elif' for a stick when it comes to cultural and intellectual matters; Military Clerk İrfan Solmazer; and former infantry captain Numan Esin.

Also among these 38, Ebedi Senator Ahmet Yıldız stated that the anarchic 16 June movement, during which police stations and banks were raided, shops were looted, a police officer was killed, and several officers were injured, was 'not an uprising.'

Additionally, Ahmet Er, a member of the MHP and former gendarmerie captain, had stated during election propaganda that they would bring the 'Nizam-i Muhammedi' to Turkey.

So, this was the mindset of five of the 38 people who were to rule Turkey. What, then, was poor Sultan Ibrahim's crime?

The other side of the same coin is no less tragic: what happened to Ali Balseven, who was killed in Ankara on 28 May, was again the work of a mob that was immune to social ills: Born in Maraş in 1948, Ali Balseven, a fearless, uncompromising Turkist who entered the Ankara Faculty of Agriculture after a difficult life struggle, joined the MHP because he was a nationalist, but after it became clear that he was not a Turkist, he left the party and was killed treacherously because of the enmity he had incurred.

Those who killed Balseven are cowards. If they had been honourable, they would not have attacked an unarmed person with several armed men; if they had a score to settle, they would have challenged him to a fair fight. Furthermore, these individuals are narrow-minded creatures. They failed to realise that their behaviour would gain them nothing but loss, while those who think like Balseven would gain much. Let us remind them: Turkish nationalism is not an easy task.

There is certainly no place in Turkish nationalism for despicable acts such as lying in wait at night and attacking a single person with several people. To be a Turkist is to keep one's word, to remain faithful to one's oath, and to never lie. Turkists do not compromise, and they do not utter ridiculous statements such as, 'We are not anti-Semitic because we have never fought against them,' under the pretence of engaging in politics. Turkism is incompatible with the lust for power.

There is nothing more pitiful than people who lack the qualities of a president seeking leadership by slandering others and becoming pawns of deceitful schemers. A man who wants to be president must have lived his entire life with integrity and have no weaknesses in his past that would cause him to be discredited. Those who write letters to those who once questioned them saying, 'I understand my mistake. I beg your forgiveness,' are nothing more than Don Quixote. Such leaders are doomed to be swept away in the first election.

Eagles fly to high peaks, and sometimes snakes do too, but eagles fly up, while snakes slither.

### Great Days

Whatever the definition of a nation may be, in a sense it is a 'community of people who rejoice together and mourn together.' Rejoicing together, and especially crying together, is what binds people most closely together. For a nation, which is nothing more than the gathering of millions of people, shared joy is the anniversaries of great victories and great men. Shared mourning can be nothing other than great defeats and enemy invasions. For a nation, the celebration of victory days alone is not enough. A nation must also understand its days of great suffering through mourning ceremonies in order to fully awaken. Whether it be victory or defeat, we call all days that concern a nation as a whole great days. The word 'great' here is used to indicate its great importance in the life of the nation. For this reason, just as the birth anniversaries of great men whom the nation is proud of are celebrated, their death anniversaries are also commemorated.

It is not right to doubt what a nation gains by commemorating these events. Undoubtedly, the nation does not gain anything materially from them. However, it gains something spiritually, the value of which cannot be measured by anything. This gain is the nation's self-confidence. A nation with great days in its past believes that these will also occur in the future. While remembering the dark days of its past, it acts cautiously so as not to suffer the same oppression and defeat in the future, without forgetting its enemies. By celebrating the births of great men or commemorating their deaths, a nation fulfils its duty of respect towards those who have served it, thus engaging in a moral act. A nation's respectful remembrance of its dead is a harbinger of its ability to raise great leaders in the future. Those who sacrifice themselves for the nation without seeking personal gain are worthy of a place in the nation's memory as heroes. It is not necessary for them to hold high positions.

Sometimes the service of a soldier is greater than that of many high-ranking officers, such as Mehmet Çavuş and Müstecip Onbaşı in the Battle of Çanakkale.

Just as individuals earn the greatest reward when they are most exhausted during the great days of a nation's history, nations achieve the greatest results when they shed the most blood. Sometimes there are victories that seem to have been won at the cost of much blood but appear to have gone unrewarded. To see their great outcome, one must look closely at the inner workings of history. It is certain that if that blood had not been shed, the outcome would have been very painful for that nation. For example, if the Turkish race had not shed so much blood in the battles of Çanakkale, which are considered a waste of heroism, Russia would not have fallen, the war would not have lasted four years, and since Russia would have been standing at the moment of our defeat, the War of Independence would not have taken place and Turkey would have been wiped off the map.

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We are no longer as neglectful as we once were in commemorating great days. However, we still have many shortcomings. Who remembers the day when the Gök Türk Khans struck hot iron with hammers? Who commemorates the day when our state was founded in Khorasan in 1040? Is it a small thing that Tuğrul Beg entered Baghdad and accepted the role of protector of the Islamic world? Why don't we organise an anniversary celebration for Malazgirt that would shake the world? Why are glorious figures like Çiçi Yabgu, Kür Şad, Çağrı Beğ, and Oruç Reis not commemorated? Should the days when Kılıç Arslan and Sultan Mesud defeated the Crusaders be forgotten? Is it not a shame that places like Sırp Sındığı, Kosovo, Niğebolu, Varna, İstanbul, Haçova, Kanije, Silistre, Plevne, and many others are not commemorated? Can we not erect a monument for our first poet, Çuçu, or our first historian, Bilge Tonyukuk?

To honour the great ones of others before bringing our own great ones into the light and showing them the respect they deserve, or even to show the slightest interest in them, is disrespectful to the memory of our ancestors. It must be prevented. Comparing the mediocre leaders of today, who are corrupted by sectarianism and partisanship, to the glorious figures of the past is the work of wretches who are devoid of historical consciousness and intellectual integrity.

## The Fear of Turks

Have you noticed that there is a fear of Turks in countries neighbouring or close to us? This fear, which unsettles everyone from the weakest to the strongest, stems from the memory of the past in those nations. We have been dominant there. Or there are Turkish communities, large or small, in those countries. The possibility that these Turks will rise up and unite again, as they did in the past, is a nightmare and a source of fear for neighbouring or nearby countries.

The Turks in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria have disappeared, and all that remains of their Turkish identity is a Turkish surname spoken in Arabic.

The Turkistan Turks, who fled China and took refuge in Saudi Arabia, numbering 30,000 to 50,000, are on the verge of becoming Arabised. In a Muslim country, the children of these Turks, who have risen to high positions thanks to their intelligence and hard work, are growing up speaking Arabic like Arabs in Arab schools. There is no helping hand from Turkey for them. Those orphans will also disappear there.

In northern Syria, Turks who live adjacent to Turkey and call themselves 'Turkmen' are slowly losing their Turkish language in their city and commercial life. Forty to fifty years from now, Turkishness will be nothing more than a memory here, or perhaps not even that.

The Turks in Iraq are very resilient. Nearly a million people who have preserved their Turkish identity in the plains between the Kurds and Arabs in the north are demonstrating their success in drawing attention to themselves through their struggles and determination. If the Turks of Kirkuk are known in Turkey, it is solely due to their efforts and dedication.

The late journalist Sedat Simavi was the one who made Turkey look at the Turkish Cypriots. While Turkey's historian Foreign Minister F. Köprülü said with great peace of mind, 'There is no such thing as the Cyprus issue for us,' that journalist launched a passionate campaign and made the Turkish nation and state accept that such an issue existed. Cyprus became a national cause, a Red Apple. If the American navy had not intervened, Cyprus would be Turkey's 68th province today.

The Balkan Turks under Bulgarian and Greek rule are under great pressure. Every possible means is being used to drive them away and make them forget their nationality. The best evidence that an active foreign policy will bring freedom to these Turks is the result of the visits made here by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in recent months.

If Turkey asserts its weight, the Turks in Greece and Bulgaria will gain human rights and be able to preserve their Turkish identity. Turkey has the following cards to play against these two countries: the Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox communities in Istanbul, Gökçeada, and Bozcaada against Greece, and completely severing political ties with Bulgaria, closing the Straits to Bulgarian ships or ships bound for Bulgaria, and preventing transit through Bulgaria. No one would dare go to war with Turkey because of such harsh measures. We live in an age where people and nations have become complacent. They are afraid to even mention war. We must take advantage of this. Wouldn't it be shameful if we did not show the same courage that small and powerless Arab states have shown in protecting their national interests against the West?

Iranian Turks are a major issue. Iran, a country consisting of Turks, Persians, Kurds, Lurs, Balochis, Arabs, and Armenians, was under Turkish rule until 1925. In that year, someone named Muhammad Reza, who had risen from the ranks to become a high-ranking officer, took advantage of the absence of the Shah of Iran in France to seize power. From that day on, Persian nationalism began, The Turks, who were the largest ethnic group in Iran with a population of around 30 million (because no real census has ever been conducted), were referred to as the 'Iranian nation' and their language as 'Iranian,' in an attempt to eradicate their Turkish identity. While there are schools for the 50-60,000 Armenians in Iran, there are no schools for the 13 million Turks.

The Turks are divided into four groups, the largest of which are the Azerbaijanis. Although they live in the region stretching from the Soviet border to the outskirts of Tehran, they are scattered throughout Iran due to trade. Turkish is spoken everywhere in Iran. The second group is the GümüŞtepe region on the Caspian coast, where half a million Turkmen live. They have become wealthy in recent years through cotton farming. The third group is the Qashqai Turks around Shiraz. Their language is very similar to the Turkish spoken by the Turkmen, so they may be Turkmen Turks who migrated there during the Ilkhanid period. The fourth group is the Kalaç Turks, who live in one or two villages in Iraqi Acem.

The Azerbaijanis and Qashqais are very determined to preserve their Turkish identity and resist all forms of oppression. The educated young Turkmen have learned to speak Farsi because they find it very easy. The rest seem doomed to assimilation.

Iran, which some of our intellectuals refer to as 'brotherly Iran,' does not allow Turkish youth in Iran to pursue higher education in Turkey. These young people are not granted visas to any Western country. Yet, the most active and energetic element in Iran is the Turks. By oppressing and angering the Turks in Iran, Iran gains nothing. It would lose a great deal. If the Turks in Iran, who live with independent and powerful Turkey to the west and Turkestan Turks with a strengthened national consciousness to the north, were to one day react to this pressure, what would become of Iran? It is said that the current Shah is distributing his own lands to the people in order to carry out reforms in Iran, and Turkish intellectuals believe this. The current Shah's father was not a millionaire, but a poor man who rose from the ranks of the Kazakh army. So, isn't it reasonable to ask how his son came to acquire so much land? This land reform is a fairy tale, just like the 2500th anniversary of the Iranian state.

The northern part of Afghanistan is called Afghan Turkistan. There are about three million Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Turkmen living there. Even weak and very primitive Afghanistan is trying to oppress these Turks and prevent them from rising. The place called Afghanistan was a province of the Ghaznavids, Seljuks and Timurids. By a twist of fate, a republic was established there.

As for the Turks in the Soviet and Chinese countries: The main body lives here. It is known that there are approximately 40 million Turks in the Soviet Union and around 10 million in China. Until recently, Turks in both countries were under great pressure, but the onset of Sino-Russian hostility has worked in their favour. Both countries are constantly making concessions to the Turks out of fear that the other state will incite them. Since this incitement comes from both sides, the concessions follow one another, and as the Russian and Chinese governments become increasingly wary of the Turks in their own countries, the Turks are able to breathe more freely. The Turks in the Soviet Union are highly advanced technically. The worst aspect of this is that their alphabets were separated by the Russians in the past. In Russia, there are many alphabets, such as Azerbaijani, Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Turkmen, Hakas, Oirat, Yakut, and Chuvash. The Crimeans also had an alphabet, but since the Crimeans have been dispersed, we do not know what it was. These separate alphabets were created to turn them into separate nations that could not understand each other, but this was in vain. Even if they do not understand each other now, after political unity is established, they will once again speak a single language, and even a single dialect. It is the duty of the Turkish foreign ministry to protect the rights of all Turks living under foreign rule, from the smallest to the largest. A skilled and intelligent foreign ministry can do many things. Even if it cannot do anything, is it not enough to tell the Turks who live alone and without hope that they are not abandoned, and to give them hope and motivation?

Let us not forget that all these countries fear the Turks. They wonder what we will do if the Turks unite and establish a great state as they did in the past.

Let them wonder.

This state will be established. What will happen then will be considered at that time.

## Time is Passing

Wherever you look in the world, you see judgments that show that old wrongs are being punished. The saying 'Time is the greatest judge' is very true. The judgments of this great judge, which are to be regarded as lessons, are particularly striking in those that belong to societies and nations, rather than to individuals.

The Fourth Arab-Jewish War, which began on 6 October 1973, is very thought-provoking in this regard. The humiliating situation of the 80-90 million Arab nation against 2-3 million Jews immediately reminds us Turks of the betrayal of the Arabs who were our subjects in the First World War, and also the religious and moral outrage of their alliance with the British against the Turkish Sultan, who was the Caliph of Islam, and their betrayal of our army from behind. The current situation of those who believed that a great Arab state would be established by killing thousands of Turkish soldiers, even slaughtering them like sheep under the pretext of 'Sherif Hussein is coming,' is the most vivid example of how betrayal is punished by time. There is no difference between Christian Armenians and Muslim Arabs in terms of the betrayal and brutality committed against the Turks. The suffering endured by the Balkan nations and Arabs who rebelled against the Turkish state and committed crimes against the Turkish nation, as well as the suffering they will endure in the future, is the result of their inability to see the future, assess their own strength, and respond to kindness with cruelty. Time is passing, and justice is being served. The collapse of the British Empire, which sought to erase Turkey from the map, and its descent into second-rate status is also a consequence of the same historical law.

Leaving aside what has happened to other nations, we find instructive examples when we look at ourselves:

In 1944, when Turkish nationalists were arrested and accused of treason in the infamous May 19 speech, the report on the investigation of Turkish nationalists by the People's Party, the only party at the time, was added to the case file. One of the crimes attributed to the Turkish nationalists in this report was 'using their surnames before their first names, like the ancient Turks and the Hungarians of today,' and another was 'never speaking in a flattering manner about the leaders of the People's Party.' The party had declared its own leader as the 'National Leader' and 'permanent general chairman.' The People's Party, completely devoid of foresight, believed that it would always remain in power and did not even consider what would happen to its National Leaders one day. The National Leaders, probably because they could not foresee the future, never failed to mention the greatness and influence of their party in every speech. What happened next? The party, which the National Leader wanted to shift to the left in order to win votes, with a terrible historical blunder, shifted to the extreme left and lost its most distinguished members, taking on its current form. A person who justified the distribution of land and water took over, removing the National Leader from the party. Although he withdrew from the party, there was no difference between being isolated and withdrawing, so the National Leader's resignation was the greatest defeat of his political life. The New People's Party did not consider the National Leader worthy of respect, to the extent that when the Bakırköy Party Headquarters moved to a new building, they did not even bother to take İnönü's bust with them, leaving it among the rubbish and debris. The official account and story of this bust can be found in the 20 September 1973 edition of the *Tercüman* newspaper. It is worth reading as a lesson.

It is undoubtedly an insult to throw a former head of state completely to the ground. If İnönü had not acted wrongly, he would not have been treated this way. Among the main reasons that led him to this grave mistake were his personal inadequacies, as well as his great jealousy and resentment towards Atatürk. His inability to accept his dismissal from the premiership led him to remove Atatürk's picture from stamps and coins, to prevent the construction of Anıtkabir during his presidency, to close the magazine 'Yücel' which asked why the tomb had not been built, and finally to attack Atatürk with veiled expressions in his memoirs, which were in the nature of an interview. As claimed by a writer who was once convicted of communism, İnönü never truly became the 'Second Man.' The Second Man is Kazım Karabekir Pasha, who crossed into Anatolia before Atatürk, took command of his army, prevented Atatürk's arrest by the Istanbul government, and secured the success of the great offensive by capturing Armenia and seizing a large number of weapons. Just as in the saying, 'The sheikh does not fly; his disciples make him fly,' those who inflated İnönü and elevated him to the rank of an experienced captain were his relatives, friends, and, among them, his son-in-law.

His son-in-law, Metin Toker, wrote several works about İnönü in an attempt to prove his political mastery. However, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he recounted such things that would lead to a verdict against İnönü that one is left in astonishment. Furthermore, it is true that one must sometimes read very carefully to understand the meaning of Toker's sentences, as it is clear that he does not have a good command of Turkish. When we say he does not have a good command of Turkish, we are referring to his writings. It is clear that Metin Toker belongs to a group that says 'benle, senle, onla' instead of 'benimle, seninle, onunla.' In the 30 September 1973 issue of the *Milliyet* newspaper, his article titled 'The Post-Election Atmosphere is Created Before the Election' begins with 'If 1960 is to be described as the result of "nenin" ...' The word "nenin" here is a gross error and belongs to minority Turkish. The correct form is 'neyin.' As is well known, the genitive forms of the words 'ne' and 'su' are 'neyin' and 'suyun,' contrary to the general rule, not "nenin" and 'sunun.'

Look at the following statement a few lines below in the same article: 'Despite this, we can see the extent of hostility incitement even among the leadership from the fact that...' The correct form would be: 'Despite this, we understand the degree of hostility even among the leadership from the fact that...' These are mistakes that would be considered shameful for a writer who is not subject to pressure or editorial errors. Metin Toker has made these serious mistakes not only in language but also in his metaphors. His comparison of Turkey to the Hotantos in this article is certainly not a subtle joke, but a crude metaphor. Although it is said that there are no mistakes in metaphor, no one can compare their mother to a prostitute and their father to a pickpocket and claim it is a joke. One would have expected Metin Toker to defend the Turkish nation at least as much as he defended the Persian shah, who is said to have found a new lover, and not to declare in the newspaper that he would not vote for the People's Party in order not to offend his very old father-in-law, who told him not to vote for the People's Party.

For all these reasons, we repeat the title of our article: time will tell. If, in the fiftieth year of the Republic, we are not a more united nation, if the third president is deprived of his civil rights, if leftism, which has become hostile to Turkishness, has advanced as far as it can, then consider this: what is the root cause of this? The first reason for this is the so-called 'National Leader,' who regarded Turkish nationalism as adventurism, brought Hasan Ali and Tonguç Babalari to the helm of education, defended his ideas through Falih Rıfkı, and believed that the nation could develop through Western and Greek classics (Goodness! What a thought!). Is it not the same National Leader whose bust was thrown into the trash by his own party? Time not only passes judgement, it also takes its revenge.

### The Oppressed in Exile

The amnesty law prepared for the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic is about to come before Parliament. According to newspaper reports, some 70,000 prisoners in Turkish prisons and their relatives, who number perhaps as many as a million, are eagerly awaiting this law.

Although this law has some drawbacks, it will ultimately benefit the country, and the atmosphere of joy that will prevail in the country will undoubtedly bring many benefits to Turkey. However, there is one point that should not be forgotten: the members of the Ottoman dynasty who were deprived of their right to live in their homeland despite having committed no crime.

When the Republic was declared, there was a strong dynastic tradition in the country, so there was a political logic behind expelling the members of the dynasty from the country. Today, this logic no longer exists, and the Ottoman princes have become victims abroad. None of these princes, numbering around 30, are the son or grandson of the last sultan, Vahdettin. Even if Vahdettin were guilty, it would be contrary to law and justice to make his children suffer for the sins of their father.

While this state has even pardoned the Hundred and Fifty who betrayed it, it would be a pity not to allow the OsmanoĞulları, who have proven their loyalty to their homeland through 50 years of exile, to benefit from the amnesty. Some of these princes were born abroad and do not know their homeland, while those born in the homeland are now very old. Allowing them to return to Turkey and die in their homeland is a duty that falls upon Turkey, both in terms of Turkishness and humanity.

It is unimaginable that the princes could pose a threat of restoring a dynasty in Turkey. Their 50 years of exile clearly demonstrate that they have no such intention. The female members of the dynasty returned to Turkey years ago under a law that was enacted. Have the Security Services, which have closely monitored their behaviour, detected even the slightest hint of negative activity?

Opening the doors of the country to the descendants of the glorious sultans who raised Turkey to the heights of greatness is not a threat to the Turkish state, but a source of honour.

If heredity in biology and inheritance in law are true, then they have more right to live in this country than anyone else.

### One Cannot be a Left-Wing Nationalist

It is well known that the terms 'right' and 'left' have ideological meanings in addition to their economic meanings. Although economic doctrines today are intertwined like the sects of the 15th century, ideologically, right and left are still clearly distinct from one another.

This is because economic forms and conditions change over time, but the 'ideal' remains constant. The terms social democrat, Christian socialist, republican socialist, and national socialist are examples of these overlaps.

The most distinct difference between the right and the left in terms of ideology is that the right is nationalistic, while the left is internationalistic.

Nationalism is a social outcome of thousands of years of history. It is quite normal for human communities, which have been united in every respect by thousands of years of life, to live within this outcome and to be prepared to make any sacrifice in order to preserve their nationality because they have seen its benefits. If the sense of nationality were not so strong, nations that have witnessed the terrible disasters of history would have disintegrated immediately. The history of the 20th century shows that this is not the case and that these societies worked to become stronger after their defeats. Poland and Germany are sufficient examples of this.

The left, on the other hand, even if it is right on some points in terms of economic views, is nothing more than a wrong creation of social life, like the flaws of nature, and a pathological way of thinking.

As has been seen recently, calling the Left nationalist stems from confusing nationalism with populism. Populism is thinking about how the poor class that exists today can achieve abundance. Nationalism is a sense of greatness that encompasses both the present and the future, including the past.

The 'populism' that the left calls 'nationalism' is blind and deaf to compatriots outside political borders. Nationalism, on the other hand, is an ideal that considers all compatriots, regardless of which state they are under, is willing to make any sacrifice to save them, and finds the meaning of life and humanity in this sacrifice.

For the left, life is nothing more than 'economic existence.' The legacy of the past and the greatness of the future are of no concern to them. They think of nothing but making a lot of money, living comfortably, and having fun. While advancing these ideas, they try to attribute them to the right by pointing to the profiteers that exist in every society.

The 'left' that claims to be nationalist, which, as seen in France and Spain in the past, collaborated with communists under the name of a 'national front' and did not hesitate to drag their own societies into fratricidal strife, chaos, and disaster, cannot be called nationalist; this is nothing but a baseless and ridiculous claim...

### Who is a National Hero?

Heroes have been respected throughout history; heroes have always existed everywhere. Heroism is the highest of human virtues. It is a well-known fact that nations gain prestige and strength in proportion to the number of heroes they have.

However, there is a difference between simply being a 'hero' and being a 'national hero.' A 'national hero' is someone who has a greater impact, commands future centuries, and leaves an indelible mark. National heroes guide the lives of nations.

It is not necessary to hold a high position to be a national hero. For example, Japanese Lieutenant Onoda, who has been living alone on the island of Lubang for 30 years without surrendering to the Americans and Filipinos and is now 51 years old, is a national hero. Although his resistance, in accordance with the orders he had received, did not benefit the Japanese defence, the spirit of heroism he represented brought honour and pride to the Japanese people and earned him a place in history as an eternal hero. National heroes are sources of energy that drive a nation forward.

Without them, the value and meaning of nurturing great scholars, brilliant poets or philosophers would be lost. India is a good example of how countries that produce philosophers and poets but do not produce national heroes live.

However, we must not forget that a nation that produces national heroes but then forgets them is little more than a herd of animals. Sooner or later, it is doomed to be led by others.

Forgetting national heroes is a disaster, and inventing false national heroes is just as serious a disgrace. This is equivalent to considering theft as intelligence and fraud as genius.

If we are to draw an example from our own ancient history, we can cite Tanrikut Mete, who, in the third century B.C., refused to surrender a piece of his homeland to the enemy even though he had given up his horse and his wife, and who created the Turkish nation. He was a defeated national hero.

The defeated national hero type is Kür Şad. If it were not for his reckless heroism, the Turks would have been assimilated into China, and the weak Sırtaduş rulers of the Turkish state would not have been able to stand up to China, resulting in the Turkish nation being wiped off the face of the earth today. The fact that 41 people, all of whom died, struck terror into a great empire is proof of how they became national heroes. Those defeated and killed national heroes became the creators of subsequent victories and the entire national life. Because to be a national hero, one must believe and be willing to die.

As for our new history, if we consider which national heroes it produced during the War of Independence alone, our verdict will be unequivocal. The two national heroes of the War of Independence are Kazım Karabekir and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who believed that this task could be accomplished even in the darkest days. One defeated the well-armed Armenian army with half the number of troops, while the other won the legendary Battle of Sakarya and the most beautiful example of a war of annihilation at Dumlupınar, thereby earning this title. The effects of these wars on Turkish and world history continue to this day.

There are many other heroes of the War of Independence. However, none of them, except for the famous soldier Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, are worthy of being national heroes.

The truth cannot be covered up. Even if those who have no value are declared national heroes today, they will be removed from their positions tomorrow.

Stalin's corpse was also removed from Lenin's side and destroyed for the same reasons.

### Fascist

'Fascist' means an Italian nationalist of a certain era. Derived from the Italian word 'facio,' this adjective became the banner of Mussolini's Italian nationalist party, and Italian nationalism was called 'fascism.' When nationalism swept across nations, each adopted a distinct name: Germans used 'Nazi' (short for National Socialist), Spaniards 'Falangist,' Belgians 'Rexist,' and Romanians 'Gardist.' Since this disciplined and anti-communist nationalism first emerged in Italy, it became customary to refer to all such movements as 'fascism.'

Since fascism and communism came to power in Italy and Russia at around the same time, communists began to refer to all their enemies, all nationalists, and eventually all non-communists as fascists.

The simple and primitive communist mentality became captive to a few words and, unable to grasp complex issues, reduced them to simplistic terms, seeing the world as divided into two groups: communists and fascists.

The events of the 1970s in Turkey once again demonstrated that communists called everyone who was not one of them fascists. In other words, those whom communists in Turkey called fascists were people who opposed communism, especially Turkish nationalists.

There are communists in Turkey. A secret communist party has existed since 1920. However, there are no fascists in Turkey, nor is there an open or secret fascist party.

Communists are friends and allies of all communist parties around the world because they deny nationality. However, since every form of nationalism is against other forms of nationalism, the nationalists of different nations, whom communists call fascists, are enemies or opposites of each other.

In Turkey, there are fascists, not this or that, but Turkish nationalist youths. They wear badges with the national symbol of the Grey Wolf on their chests and call themselves Grey Wolves. During the years when communists were gaining momentum, while the Justice Party stood by as a spectator in a state of helplessness, the purpose of which is still unclear, those who defended national sentiment and even the state with brute force were these Bozkurts, who were called commandos by their enemies.

İsmet İnönü, with his usual mindset, complained about them to the then President Cevdet Sunay, but Sunay Pasha silenced him with a historical response.

Now we learn from newspaper reports that one of the young Bozkurts, 16-year-old Necati Kaya, was struck in the face with a hard object by his school principal because he wore a Bozkurt badge on his chest, fell into a coma, and could not be saved. No amount of praise is enough for this 'heroic' school principal. Look at the hatred—he didn't even hit a 16-year-old child with his hands, but with a hard object, and he did this because the child was wearing the national symbol of the Grey Wolf on his chest.

A few days before this murder, it was more than surprising to hear a minister say that fascists in schools would be dealt with gently. Who were these fascists? If they exist, shouldn't at least one name be mentioned, since revealing their names would not constitute a breach of state secrets?

How far will this hostility towards national symbols, nationalism, nationalists and the nation go? We will remind them of the following verse by a poet:

This tribe trembles at the vengeance of justice;

Let not the swords be drawn once from their sheaths.

(This tribe trembles from the vengeance of justice.

Let the swords come out of their sheaths once, and they will be devastating.)

Jackals, dogs, and foxes fear the grey wolf. What difference can there be between those who are enemies of their own glory and these vile animals?

3rd of May

As in every nation, we also celebrate many days and holidays. Among these, there are great days that changed the course of history and are considered sacred by all members of the nation, such as 30th of August, and there are also days like 27th of May, which lost their noble goal and were carried out by one part of the nation against another.

May 3rd (1944), known as Turkish Nationalists' Day, is the result of a completely different idea. It was a warning march by Turkish nationalist youth against communism, which had infiltrated the nation by changing its appearance and taking advantage of the negligence of the government at the time.

May 3rd is not a holiday. It is the uprising of national consciousness. It was not successful, but it opened the eyes of the nation and suppressed the elements of treason that had infiltrated the government at that time.

Just as the Pasha's ultimatum of March 12th saved the state, which had been brought to the brink of collapse, the May 3rd march of unknown young people saved Turkey from falling into the quagmire of communism by exposing the dark communists who were preparing to Sovietise Turkey by force at a time when the Russians, exploiting the foolishness of America and England, were on the verge of winning the war against Germany.

May 3, 1944, is a turning point. It is a turning point that was forged with the suffering of the Turkish nationalists and pushed the danger back...

Greetings to those who marched on May 3...

The Turkish state is eternal...

### National Symbols

One of the conditions of living as a nation is to respect national symbols. As humans become civilised, they are obliged to sacrifice some of their freedoms and respect certain rules. Civilised people cannot lie down and sleep anywhere like animals. They cannot shout or sing songs whenever they want. He cannot do whatever he wants, whenever and wherever he wants.

Civilised people also show respect for living or inanimate objects that are considered sacred by the nation. Sacred objects include things such as flags, coats of arms, national anthems, honour and chastity. For animals, all these things, including the flag, are worthless. Because they are insufficient. There is no possibility of an animal having a feeling or instinct for honour and dignity. Animals do not know national symbols. Because they are not a nation, and national symbols are just objects like stones and trees to them.

Since national symbols are among the principles that make a nation a nation, those who want to destroy a nation also attack its national symbols.

If a society has no national symbols, it has become a herd. Despite its scholars, professors, and everything else, it is no different from a flock of sheep or an anthill.

Attention should be paid to those who attack national symbols: are they doing so out of ignorance or stupidity, or do they have hidden motives?

If anyone speaks ill of Oğuz Khan, who is a national symbol, know that they are working for the enemy, whether knowingly or unknowingly.

The same applies to those who call Bozkurt, a national symbol, a dog. Moreover, they see themselves in the mirror.

### Destruction from Within

The classic way to destroy states is to march against them and defeat them. If this fails, then the method of destruction from within is used. The method of undermining from within is to sow enmity among the state's leaders (princes in ancient times), to inflame competition between the various sections of the nation (tribes and clans in ancient times), and as a last resort, to kill those who form the foundation of the state through open or covert assassinations (by shooting or poisoning).

Our oldest enemies, the Chinese, have frequently resorted to these methods to undermine us, and have sometimes succeeded.

In recent centuries, a new element has been added to the strategy of internal subversion: buying off key figures in the state that is to be subverted in order to learn its secrets and intentions. There is no need to explain how devastating it is for an enemy to know the secrets of a state.

At the beginning of the First World War, the French's Gendarmerie Commander was a German spy, while Colonel Redel, the head of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's National Security Organisation, was a Russian spy. This may have been the primary factor in Germany's swift invasion of France and the initial defeats of the Austro-Hungarian armies.

During the Second World War, it later emerged that Wallace, the assistant to American President Roosevelt, was Stalin's agent. The preparations for the theft of America's atomic secrets by the Russians were clearly made by Wallace.

We now learn from newspaper reports that Gunther Guillaume, an advisor to German Chancellor Brandt, has been arrested on charges of being a spy for communist East Germany. This advisor, who should have been of French origin according to his surname, passed on the secrets of both West Germany and its NATO allies to the Kremlin via East Germany.

If a presidential aide, a gendarmerie commander, a national security chief, and a prime minister's advisor can be bought by the enemy, we need to think deeply and find preventive measures. In our time, communist states do not allow any foreigners into their countries and openly follow those who enter with permission, while democratic countries, adhering to the principles of human rights and freedom, open their doors to everyone from outside. States with minorities are in a more dangerous position in this regard. Naturally, members of minorities who harbour hostility and resentment towards the state and nation they live in are very susceptible to serving foreign interests. The prevalence of materialism and the desire for quick gains increases the number of such susceptible individuals.

Given that we have learned from experience that the countries around us are not our friends, what would happen if we took some legal measures now to prevent Turkey from facing such a situation tomorrow and to prevent a high-ranking traitor from undermining the foundations of the state?

### Law is Not Everything

The terms 'police state' and 'state governed by law' are recent inventions. A state governed by law is a state where the law reigns supreme and the rights and freedoms of individuals are considered sacred.

Compared to states where the police arrest people without question and citizens are enslaved, the rule of law is undoubtedly an advanced and appropriate system.

However, everything is developing rapidly today. New needs are emerging. New situations are arising. For this reason, the concept of the rule of law in the minds of some law professors needs to be revised.

Today's laws impose certain conditions on every position and office in the state. For example, it is a legal requirement that the head of state have a higher education and that senators be at least forty years old. These conditions are not contrary to the principle of equality, nor are they contrary to the constitution, as is often claimed.

However, the situation in the world demonstrates that these conditions are insufficient and that other conditions must also be sought. Today, there are many mental illnesses that fall under the field of psychiatry. These patients live like normal people for long periods of time, but when a crisis arises, they act according to their illness and ruin everything. If these illnesses, which we dismiss as short-temperedness, are found in people in key positions of a state, then the state order is not secure. This is because sick people cannot perform their duties correctly and consistently, and in a crisis, they may behave abnormally in a way that benefits the enemy.

Before the exams, a conversation is held with students who will be admitted to military schools. In this conversation, called an 'interview,' the mental state and character of the student who has come to become an officer candidate are examined, even if only superficially, and sometimes a child who is superior in terms of knowledge is rejected. This is the correct procedure and should be expanded further.

It would be highly appropriate to conduct this examination for those who will become officers at higher levels as well. Psychiatrists understand this. In this way, mentally ill, weak-willed, indecisive, and frivolous people can be prevented from ruling over a section of state affairs and causing major disruptions. Since these individuals will also be examined in terms of national consciousness, this will prevent people who look down on their own nation and culture from holding high positions in the future.

State affairs cannot tolerate jokes, cowardice, favouritism, or tactlessness. For this reason, the state mechanism is no longer just a matter of law. When laws are made, the opinions of sociologists, political experts, historians, military advisors, and psychiatrists should be taken into account along with those of lawyers.

The fact that the Chief of General Staff is subordinate to the Prime Minister, as if he were a general director, based on laws made only by lawyers, hurts my feelings personally. This is not because I come from a military family, but because of my national historical consciousness and my view of Turkish history. The fact that the commander of the Turkish armed forces is subordinate to the prime minister like a director general of the land registry is probably hurtful to all officers and non-commissioned officers.

The Chief of General Staff reaches that position after many years of hard work and a naturally honourable life, when he is in his sixties. Becoming prime minister, on the other hand, is sometimes very easy. It is even possible for a man who fought against his own country in a foreign uniform, like Brandt in Germany, to become prime minister. Although our current traditions do not allow for such absurdities, it is conceivable that some unpleasant developments may occur tomorrow in an environment where freedom is desired to the utmost.

For this reason, it is an inevitable necessity for the future 'Great Turkistan' that the constitution, civil law, and criminal law be revised and codified anew in such a way as to satisfy all professions and individuals.

### Turkish and Greek

Turkey was founded in Khorasan after the Battle of Dandanekan in 1040 and later conquered Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Anatolia. The period of Turkish history up to the end of the fifteenth century can be summarised as the 'Turkish-Greek War'. This is because, even before the state was established, the wars that began with Çeşme's raid on Byzantium with a few thousand horsemen, passing through the territories of the Ghaznavid Empire, saw the Byzantines or their Armenian and Georgian allies as the main enemies, and the Byzantine territories were gradually conquered, leading to the collapse of the empire.

Byzantium was actually the Eastern Roman Empire. Due to the importance of the ancient Greek language and culture and the large Greek population, the state moved away from Latin and became Greek, and with Orthodox Christianity becoming the national religion, a separate nationality was born.

The revival of Greek culture, which had been destroyed by the Turks, took place in the mid-19th century, when the Turks were at their weakest, with the help of England, France and Russia. Due to Christian fanaticism, hostility towards Turks, and admiration for ancient Greece, those who revived the Greeks did not consider that they had any connection with ancient Greece. Before the Turks of Turkey crossed into Europe, Slavs and Albanians migrated northward and settled in the Morea, filling the void left by the Greeks who had perished due to poor governance and misery. Even during Greek independence, Albanian was spoken in many villages around Athens.

The Greeks Christianised these Christian Albanians through systematic efforts and have continued to the present day, pursuing a policy against the Turks with the aim of reviving the old Byzantine Empire.

The real reason behind the military operation in Cyprus that began on Saturday, 20 July 1974, is once again the same Megalo Idea, the same Byzantine dream. World newspapers attribute the cause of this war to the adventurism of the junta in Greece. We do not share this view. Regardless of the regime in power in Greece, regardless of whether Greece finds the friends and allies it desires in Turkey, and regardless of how much the great powers oppose it, their fixed idea is the Megalo Idea. Greece, the spoiled and immoral child of the West, has grown accustomed to easy victories. Despite losing the wars it waged against Turkey in 1897 and 1919-1922, and against Germany in 1940, and despite winning only the 1912-1913 Balkan War, it has continued to grow, and as it has grown, its appetite has increased. Among animal species, there is a blind rat that dies if it does not eat two or three times its own weight every day. Greece seems to be descended from that blind rat.

While the Turkish army landed on the island with exemplary cooperation between its land, sea and air forces, strictly adhering to the terms of the agreement, the Greeks once again broke their promises, and reinforced their 950-strong regiment stationed on the island with local Greeks under the London Agreement, attacking Turkish villages scattered across the western part of the island, which were unprotected, and killing women and children indiscriminately.

In response, Turkey announced that it would distribute the food supplies it was sending to the island without distinguishing between Turks and Greeks.

This is the difference in character between the two nations... This is the morality of the dubious descendants of the glorious Hellenes whom the West admires...

A few years ago, during the time of the murderous priest Makarios, the Greeks carried out a massacre of Turks on the island. The pictures of three innocent and beautiful children killed in a bathroom by a Turkish doctor brought tears to the eyes of those who saw them.

Can one feel pity for such a people? Can one look at the Greeks as human beings? They embrace Prime Minister Ecevit in London, pretending to save us, but when given the chance, what the Greek will do is stab the Turk in the back, kill women and children. Greeks are like scorpions. Just as a scorpion stings a turtle that helps it cross the river, saying, 'What can I do? It's my nature,' so too are Greeks imbued with a nature of enmity toward Turks.

The Cyprus issue will eventually find a solution. We do not know how it will happen. Because for us, the solution to the Cyprus issue is only possible through Cyprus's reunification with Turkey. This cannot happen today, but there is a generation raised with the ideal of Turkishness who will realise this ideal tomorrow.

As we conclude this article, we respectfully commemorate today's martyrs, represented by Colonel Karaoğlanoğlu İbrahim Beğ, who was martyred at the head of his regiment during the attack on Girne, and we pray that God will protect our brave soldiers who have joined the fifty million martyrs and grant strength to our veterans.

We congratulate Lieutenant Kürşad, the son of the martyred colonel, on earning the rank of 'son of a martyr' after his promotion to lieutenant, and we hope that he will follow in the footsteps of his father and the great name he bears.

May God protect the Turks.

#### National Consciousness is Awakening

As we recall the ancient times when national consciousness was at its peak, it was impossible not to fall into despair due to the lethargy of recent years.

At any cost, peace, because peace would prevail, opposition to military service and war, the complete rejection of spiritual values, and the rejection of any thought other than 'economic life'... This was the picture. Such propaganda was spread through the press that it was impossible for it not to leave an impression on the minds of hundreds of thousands of citizens.

Naturally, since the end of such societies is collapse, those who were loyal to their nation and country had come to view the future with scepticism. The only source of confidence was the essence of the Turkish race.

The Cyprus incident revealed that this essence was still alive and inspired not only the Turks of Turkey but also the Turks abroad, enabling them to look to the future with hope.

The issue of strengthening the army, which had been neglected due to the mantra of 'eternal peace and no more war,' was addressed, and foundations were established first for the air and naval forces, and then for the land army. This meant that not only the government but also the nation would contribute to the army. The nation's willingness to contribute was evident in what they gave to the military units deployed to Thrace.

The border that our army wanted to reach in Cyprus was named the 'Attila Line' in memory of a glorious khan of the past.

And...

Most importantly, the 2183rd anniversary of the establishment of our Land Forces was celebrated on 26 August, which is recognised as Armed Forces Day. Thus, the establishment of the great Kun Yabgu Tanrikut Mete's invincible, steel-disciplined, and sharp-shooting army in 209 B.C. was recognised as the beginning of the Republic Army, commemorating the genius and legacy of the founder of our nation.

Finally, the proposal to bring the remains of our martyrs in Cyprus back to their birthplaces was rejected by the current Commander-in-Chief, General Sancar, who declared, 'No! They will remain in Cyprus,' thereby affirming Cyprus as part of our homeland.

All of these are evidence that national consciousness has been awakened. When national consciousness awakens, it means that the signs of the establishment of the 'Great Turkic Empire' have appeared:

Greetings to our glorious past! Greetings to tomorrow!

Greetings to the weapons of the victorious army!

Yesterday and Tomorrow

Moving forward does not mean breaking ties with the past. Every living and non-living thing is the result of what came before.

The past is not always bad. Indeed, the future is not always good. Whether good or bad, the 'past' and the 'future' cannot be destroyed; they are us as a whole. Denying this gains nothing; denying the harsh reality only simplifies, corrupts and animalises the denier.

The past and the future, yesterday and tomorrow, will always exist. Billions of yesterdays and tomorrows are links in the chain of time. To understand tomorrow, one must know yesterday. Plants and insects do not know yesterday. Even higher-order animals have the ability to remember and know a few days ago.

To completely deny 'yesterday' is to reduce people to the level of grass and insects. People cannot be reduced. Those who are reduced are those who want to reduce.

At the National Education Council, a few teachers cursed yesterday's literature. They denigrated Fuzûli and Bâki. These are savages who are so low that they cannot even understand a single line of Fuzûli or Bâki. How can they understand the genius and poetic subtlety of Fuzûli? Their intellectual and literary level is only sufficient to understand Nâzım Hikmet, Orhan Veli, and their ilk.

Until now, these councils have always been filled with an anti-national atmosphere. They have been hostile towards the past. They have sought to sever ties with the past. What does this mean? It is so obvious that there is no need to say it.

These absurdities will continue until we have a Minister of National Education who is steeped in national culture, Turkish to the core, and authoritarian.

Otherwise, the word 'sovereignty' will become 'sovereignty' and someone whose educational background is unknown, perhaps even a middle school graduate, will be appointed to head the committee responsible for selecting cultural works, mocking national culture, the nation, the past, and the future.

### The Cyprus Issue

Statesmen are obliged to speak politically. They conceal some things and express others in elastic language. For this reason, it is impossible to draw clear conclusions from the statements of world politicians on Cyprus. However, since the citizens of free countries are not bound by such constraints, we wish to express our own opinion here.

The Cyprus issue is a matter that can only be resolved between Turkey and Greece by force of arms. The 'Independent State of Cyprus' is ridiculous, and the other options put forward are also inconclusive. Because:

I- Cyprus is an island that is a natural part of Anatolia, close to our shores, and of great military and political importance.

2- It has been part of Turkey for a long time. Therefore, we have historical rights there.

3- However, today four-fifths of its population is Greek.

This means that both sides have valid points. When both sides are right in a dispute, the only solution is 'war.'

It seems strange to a nation that has not seen peace for more than 22 years in its history to have been at war for 52 years, and this is the hidden cause of certain strange phenomena and unrest seen in Turkish society. This is why even the three-day war of 20-22 July raised the national spirit and brought about spiritual peace.

Westerners have laid the foundations for unrest in the establishment of every new state. When Belgium was founded, half of its population was taken from the Flemish, giving rise to the social unrest we see today. No one should doubt that this unrest will turn into bloody guerrilla movements tomorrow.

The same principle was applied when independence was granted to the Africans in Africa. These states were not organised according to ethnic communities but according to geographical borders. This mistake has already shown its first fruits. Tomorrow, there will be great wars between states.

When Ireland's independence was recognised, a part of the island in the north was left under British rule on the pretext that its inhabitants were Protestant, giving rise to the current IRA gang wars. The British state has been struggling with a few thousand Irish gangsters for years, unable to cope and suffering continuous losses.

When Britain left Cyprus, it made the same mistake (or rather, the same deliberate act) and created a fictitious Cypriot state. The result was that 100,000 Turks were left under the rule of 400,000 Greeks. While dividing the Irish, who are of the same race and live on the same island, on the pretext of religious differences, it did not accept the separation of Turks and Greeks, who are of the same race, speak the same language and have the same religion, in order not to destroy the unity of the island.

Mistakes quickly come to light. The State of Cyprus ceased to be a state and became a hotbed of anarchy and banditry.

The small (in every sense of the word) Greek nation, pursuing the cause of a Greater Greece, resorted to the extermination of 100,000 Turks in order to claim the island as its own. They turned the island into a hell with their murderous and deceitful methods.

If Turkey had sought Cyprus with the resolve it possesses today, perhaps this situation would not have arisen. Or if it had pursued a national policy to secure Cyprus, the outcome would have been achieved long ago. But where is that? After the historian, Turkologist, and scholar Prof. Fuad Köprülü, who was Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, made the national-political blunder of saying, 'There is no such thing as the Cyprus issue for us,' the other side would inevitably escalate the situation. They did escalate. They committed acts of terrorism. They killed hundreds of Turks. They forced thousands to flee Cyprus.

We built roads and bridges.

If our enemy were only the Greeks, the issue would have been resolved long ago. However, Westerners, who grew up admiring Greece, knew how to protect them every time. The Americans prevented our first attempt to invade. This time, Britain is playing America's role. Even if we were to take all of Cyprus, it is certain that we would not touch the British bases there. Yet, the preparations they are making—bringing in Phantom jets, commandos, Gurkha troops, and a cruiser—are undoubtedly directed against us. They are against us, but Britain, now an old and decrepit nation, no longer has the courage or ability to wage war. Perhaps they are putting on a show to scare us.

The British are not as skilled in politics and far-sighted as they are believed to be. If they were, they would not have turned their empire, over which the sun never set, into a small country where the sun is never seen through the fog, even though they emerged victorious from the Second World War.

Why are they bringing the poor Gurkhas? Because they know their own soldiers are useless... They have not forgotten that in the Second World War, 10,000 British soldiers surrendered to the Germans in Tobruk without firing a shot, and 60,000 British soldiers surrendered to the Japanese in Singapore without firing a shot either. The only thing they trust is their air and naval superiority, and the numerical superiority they will achieve against us by joining forces with the Greeks.

What would happen if the British, joining forces with the Greeks, showed the courage to fight against us? We cannot do anything to the British because we are not neighbours. In that case, Greece and the British troops coming to Greece's aid would suffer the consequences.

History would then record the new marathon records broken in the face of the Turkish army marching from Western Thrace.

#### Respect for National Heroes

People who have rendered great services to the nation are national heroes, and respecting them is the moral duty of every citizen. Knowing who the national heroes are is ultimately a matter of culture. This culture is learned in the family home, at school, in the community, and in life.

Those who address the nation in speech or writing are even more obliged than others to know what national heroes are. Because speaking or writing is a kind of honorary teaching. Teachers must be protected from mistakes, especially gross mistakes.

The reason that prompted us to write these lines was two articles we saw in the newspapers recently:

An article titled 'Resembling and Being Compared to Atatürk' published in a newspaper on 10 August 1974 was full of insults to a national hero and contradictions of historical facts. Consider the following lines from this article, which was written in opposition to Prime Minister Ecevit being compared to Atatürk:

We have seen many spoiled great men in history. Bismarcks, Napoleons, Mussolinis, Hitlers, Genghis Khans, Cromwells, all thought they were following in someone else's footsteps and ended up defeated.

Let's skip Napoleon, Mussolini and Hitler from the six people mentioned above. These are people who died defeated. But Cromwell, Bismarck, and Genghis Khan, especially Genghis Khan, how can the word 'spoiled' be used? Leaving aside the positive roles of Cromwell in English history and Bismarck in German history, let us turn to Genghis Khan:

Who spoiled him and who did Genghis Khan think he was trying to imitate? To call a man who built the world's greatest empire and achieved Turkish unity on the widest scale in history 'spoiled' requires ignorance of both Genghis Khan and history.

The great Turkish conquerors of old grew up nourished by national epics. The lions in their hearts were the heroes of those epics. They fought for this cause. Some gave their lives on this path, while others achieved victory. But they were not spoiled. Their characters were not prone to spoiling. Therefore, when writing about them, it is a moral duty to use respectful language. Especially to address the nation by portraying Genghis Khan, who died in glory and honour, as having suffered defeat—how far removed from national culture is that...

Another article published in a newspaper on 11 September 1974 about Attila and the Huns does not acknowledge the Turkishness of the Huns and mentions the negative influence of the name given to the Attila Line in Cyprus on the Western world.

Attempting to prove once again that the Huns were Turks by using their original name, Kunlar, is like trying to prove that the world is round—it is completely absurd to dwell on such matters. The fact that the Kun people are Turkish was first proposed by Deguignes in the 18th century and was most recently accepted in the lectures of Prof. Spuler, who was invited by the Department of Turkish History at Istanbul University a few years ago. Spuler, who was a professor at the University of Hamburg at the time, was no ordinary professor. He was fluent in Latin and Greek, as well as French, English, Russian, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Mongolian, and Turkish.

Now that the great authorities of historical science have reached their conclusions, what is the point of opening a debate about the Khuns by taking up the views of insignificant individuals who appear from time to time?

As for Attila: The fact that Westerners consider him a barbarian does not make Attila a barbarian, nor do we change our military terminology to appear pleasant or non-threatening to Westerners. Attila became a villain because he defeated the West and forced it to submit. However, he was a very good, just, and great political leader towards his own people. To rule over several million people, all of whom were warriors, with only a few hundred thousand men and to conquer half of Europe is undoubtedly a feat of human intelligence. No other nation has been able to achieve the same.

If it is a crime to destroy everything, then Alexander the Great of Macedonia was the first to do so. However, he was civilised, while Attila was barbaric. This is because Alexander was a Hellenised Macedonian and was considered Greek, while Attila was the ancestor of the Ottomans who later invaded Europe.

Being knowledgeable does not prevent one from being fanatical or a slave to one's emotions. Many Western scholars have used religious fanaticism to label the Turks as barbarians, yet throughout their history, even in their most brutal times, the Turks never displayed the savagery of the Westerners. The savagery that Europeans inflicted upon each other during the religious wars is enough to keep their heads bowed forever.

The Romans, descendants of the Romans, roasted and ate Turkish prisoners in the 17th century. Are these the Europeans who look down on us because we use the name Attila?

In his speech at the Thessaloniki Fair on 31 August, Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis also referred to Attila and said the following:

It is shameful that some civilised countries tolerate those who keep Attila alive.

With this, Karamanlis was begging for help, saying, 'Why don't Europeans help us, yet they tolerate those who keep the name of a barbarian like Attila alive?' He added:

The moral and virtuous superiority of Hellenism, which is an effective virtue of painful force, has been proven throughout history. The same historical truth remains a historical legacy in Cyprus.

Was the 'Hellenic morality and virtue' Karamanlis referred to the debauchery, disgrace, murder and prostitution of Byzantium? Or was it the philosophy of ancient Greece that bequeathed homosexuality to Europe?

The military force he referred to as painful strength has been a virtue throughout history and has achieved great results. This is because true virtue and morality are manifested in that painful strength, which is the philosophy of self-sacrifice and willingness to die.

The fact that the author of the article about Attila shares the same opinion as Karamanlis is hardly something that should bring him prestige and honour.

The lines about Attila being written in various spellings and the correct spelling being unknown are correct. This is because the word is a Germanic version of a Turkish name.

It is highly probable that his Turkish name was 'Etil.' The mention of an 'Etil Alp' in the Oğuzname manuscript in Topkapı Palace shows that such a name existed in Turkish, so it is possible that Attila was known as 'Etil' among the Khuns.

However, whatever his name was, it is certainly a brilliant idea of the Turkish army to associate the name of Attila, who was not only a khan but also a great commander, with Cyprus.

The Attila Line will be extended to more advanced regions tomorrow.

#### National Education

The national education system in Turkey is not functioning well. This is evident from the fact that many middle schools and high schools still have half-time teachers, sometimes even three or four teachers, and many primary schools are run by a single teacher. Attempting to fill the shortage of teachers in secondary education with professionals such as military officers, doctors, pharmacists and engineers is, of course, not at all effective. The result is as follows:

Those who graduate from primary school are at the third grade level, while those who graduate from high school are unable to write Turkish correctly, lack knowledge and awareness of national history, and are raised without social manners. With the exception of those who are very intelligent and hard-working and receive help with their studies at home, young people are thus raised with a half-baked education. Every year, 100,000 to 150,000 young people take the higher education entrance exam at this level, and every year, except for 20,000 to 30,000 of them, the rest fail and end up setting up tents in Bayazid Square, publishing statements, marching to Ankara, sitting on the ground at the bridge to block vehicles, and other ridiculous behaviours are repeated as if they were a solution.

The reason for the influx into universities and higher education institutions is the lack of schools that teach vocational skills after middle school or high school. Globally, those seeking higher education are a minority compared to those seeking vocational skills. Despite this reality being understood for years in our country, schools that teach vital vocational skills at various levels for those graduating from primary, middle, and high schools have not been established. As a result, high school graduates rush to universities, leading to the current unfortunate situation.

In addition, the Ministry of National Education's policy is flawed and lowers standards. It is highly inappropriate to abolish the practice of repeating a year in the first two grades of primary school. Some children's intelligence develops later, and although they do not show success at first, they blossom later. Promoting children whose intelligence develops later to the second grade without mastering the first grade curriculum not only lowers the overall level of the class but also confuses the child who has not mastered the first grade curriculum, hindering their development. Moreover, the level of education in primary schools with only one teacher is naturally very low, and this also wears down the teacher, causing them to become disillusioned with life.

The decline in the level of secondary education began with a circular issued by former Minister of Education Saffet Arıkan. Teachers at that time were strict, did not turn a blind eye to ignorance, and as a result, sometimes half of a class would have to take a make-up exam for a subject. When Saffet Arıkan said that if more than a quarter of a class had to take a make-up exam for a subject, the teacher would be considered unsuccessful and held responsible, things changed. Teachers, terrified of being held responsible, began passing all students in the class. This became one of the most important reasons for the decline in standards.

Now we see that incredible methods are being used to provide higher education to all 150,000 young people. The strangest of these is teaching by letter. If it were possible to provide higher education through letters, it could be done even better through radio and television. In fact, new methods could be found to completely eliminate teachers, saving the state hundreds of millions of pounds in salaries. But what can we do? These are just pipe dreams...

Teaching by correspondence could be done for a few highly intelligent young people with strong prior knowledge. But these are only a handful of people. Among the 80,000 people who applied for correspondence education within three days, as reported in the 17 October 1974 issue of Milliyet, would 80 people of this calibre be found? No, there won't be. These 80,000 people will play the higher education game, console themselves with a higher education diploma, and the Ministry of National Education will boast of its success.

But it won't work. Let's not deceive ourselves. This problem cannot be solved with a magic wand. We must tackle the problem at its root and prepare a plan that will take years to implement. For example:

- 1) Every primary school should have at least five teachers, and there should even be specialisation among them.
- 2) No secondary schools or high schools should be opened without all the teachers being provided.
- 3) Two-class training institutes should be opened to provide secondary schools with specialist teachers.
- 4) We should not try to inflate the statistics by opening single-teacher schools in villages without schools. Single-teacher schools are useless except for teaching children to spell books by heart, and they prevent those students from developing normally by stealing teachers from other schools.
- 5) Foreign language classes should be removed from middle schools so as not to waste time, and foreign language teaching should be concentrated in high schools so that every young person can learn at least a little of a foreign language in those three years.
- 6) In primary and secondary schools, only Turkish history and geography of Turkey should be taught, so as not to waste children's intelligence.
- 7) From the first year of high school onwards, literature, mathematics, physics-chemistry and biology should be separated into different departments so that children can be well educated in the subjects they love.
- 8) Turkish grammar and history should be taught seriously from primary school to the end of high school so that young people who are ignorant of their mother tongue and history are replaced by young people who are enlightened by national culture.
- 9) Citizenship should be included in the curriculum of all middle schools and high schools, and ethics, which is much talked about today, and general etiquette should be added to this course.

10) In order to educate those pursuing higher education to become competent professionals, it is first necessary to prepare teachers. University graduates cannot be produced by professors in Ankara or Istanbul flying to so-called universities established in other cities twice a week to give lectures. Let us not deceive ourselves by saying that we have so many universities. First, we should send capable assistants to the necessary countries for at least two years to improve their foreign language skills, and then open the first class of a faculty in this or that city. Measures should be taken to prevent capable assistants from falling victim to the whims of some jealous professors.

11) In order for universities to be productive and professors not to entertain themselves with trips abroad instead of producing works, the autonomy of universities should be abolished.

12) Since the positions of rector and dean are merely administrative, rectors and deans should be selected by the government from among administrators who are not professors. Professors should only be elected as department heads from among themselves and should be solely engaged in teaching and scientific work.

13) Ways should be found to publish the works of hard-working and knowledgeable professors and associate professors in the best possible way without delay, and they should be provided with financial satisfaction so that they do not flee to other countries.

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If this is not done, and instead every district opens a high school and every city opens a faculty, and we try to enrol all high school graduates in universities, and attempt to teach by correspondence, and try to manage two or three hundred children in a village with a single teacher, the result will be disastrous.

Today, 70% of Turkey's population is literate, but this cannot be called education. While there are people who cannot write a single sentence without mistakes and university graduates who do not know where to use capital letters, the Ministry of National Education has failed to achieve success. To achieve success, it is necessary to bring the successful individuals who are currently being wasted to positions of authority and take firm measures, always thinking with a 'Turkish nationalist' mindset.

Prof. Fındikoğlu Ziyaeddin Fahri

Professor Fındikoğlu Ziyaeddin Fahri passed away on 16 November 1974. As he was an upright individual and a staunch Turkish nationalist, I would like to commemorate him with a few lines and remind readers of a forgotten aspect of his life.

I met him during the years 1939-1944 when I was teaching literature at the Private Bosphorus High School. He was one of five or six associate professors teaching at the school. He published the magazine 'İş'. He had launched a nationwide campaign demanding that surnames be written before first names and that real surnames ending with 'oğlu' be used instead of fabricated new surnames. He was 100% right in his cause, as surnames had been used first since the time of the Göktürks. Since the 11th century, it had also been customary to add the word 'oğlu' to the end of surnames.

His tireless struggle began to bear fruit. Many people applied to the courts to have their old surnames ending in 'oğlu' registered. Despite the surname law requiring the surname to be written after the first name, official documents began to list the surname first. Even the Martial Law Court in our 1944-1945 Racism and Turanism trial complied with this and began referring to our friend Sofuoğlu as 'Sofuoğlu Zeki Özgür.'

At that time, Hasan Ali, who was the Minister of National Education and was trying to gain favour by acting as an extreme revolutionary, saw that Fındikoğlu was beginning to have an influence in the country and sent him an official warning letter demanding that he end his campaign. Since he was not a university representative, Fındikoğlu stopped writing on the subject, but the precedent had been set. It was impossible to stop it.

According to the mentality of the single-party era, Fındikoğlu had committed a grave crime. Indeed, in a document added to the file of the Racism-Turancism trial opened in 1944 and signed by Hilmi Uran, one of the crimes attributed to Turkish nationalists was 'putting their surnames at the beginning like the ancient Turks and the Hungarians of today.'

Fındikoğlu was the person in Turkey who knew Ziya Gökalp best. He had published numerous studies on the subject in both Turkish and French and had studied him with an academic eye. For this reason, whenever a conference on Gökalp was to be held, it had become customary to consult Fındikoğlu, and these consultations continued until the late professor grew weary of them.

Fındikoğlu had worked with the team that published Anadolu Mecmuası (Anatolia Magazine). However, unlike the others, he did not adhere to the narrow Anatolian nationalist mindset. His Anatolian nationalism was a kind of Anatolian Turkish racism. When the magazine was being published, the issue of Turks abroad was not on anyone's mind in Turkey, so Fındikoğlu did not write anything about them. However, when the issue of Turks abroad came to the fore later, he behaved just like the Turanists, writing articles about them and thus demonstrating that he accepted all Turks as a whole.

Today, when we look at universities, Fındikoğlu's national value is better understood.

When we see so-called professors who, in all their writings, bring up a thousand different arguments against nationalism, doing so insidiously and openly when they find the opportunity, it is only natural that Fındikoğlu's value should increase.

To say that science is international means that science exists in every nation. However, the science that exists in every nation is still used for national purposes. A university and a professor who use science for national purposes have fulfilled their duty.

Fındikoğlu died having fulfilled his duty.

#### Fantasies

The world has changed a lot. Perhaps the toxic gases emitted from factory chimneys and cars have mixed thoroughly with the air and had a detrimental effect on human consciousness. There is no other way to explain such a drastic change in spiritual values that have always been valid. How else can one think when looking at those who used to stand proudly in the face of events that would have shamed people in the past?

The failure to take precautions despite the dangers, the passing of time in lethargy, whether material or spiritual, must surely be the result of poisoning.

The concepts of justice and fairness no longer exist among people. No issue can be diagnosed correctly. The last year and a half of Turkey's life is full of examples of this.

There is a National Salvation Party. The leader of this party is at the forefront of those who see the world through rose-coloured glasses. Before the last elections, he claimed that they would come to power alone and said that there were three types of parties in Turkey: nationalist, leftist and colourless. According to this leader, the nationalist party was his own, the leftist party was the CHP, and the colourless ones were the other parties. The president, who claimed to be nationalist, or rather deluded himself into thinking so, did not hesitate to cooperate with the CHP, which he had denounced as leftist. The 'sharia-minded' mentality that he considered 'national' allowed this. Despite announcing that they would open a factory in every province, produce hundreds of thousands of tractors, thousands of tanks and aircraft, they could not even open a workshop and withdrew. While a deputy prime minister should speak with restraint, he made extravagant promises as if he were joking at a drinking table.

There is also a People's Party in Turkey. This party has never won an election. It is not even true that it received 33% of the votes in the last elections. Because it was able to gather 33% of the 65% who participated in the vote, which is 22% of the total number of voters.

Thus, this party, which garnered votes from only 22% of the electorate, came to power through a coalition due to the flaws in the electoral system and the voters' fatigue. Party leader Ecevit made three promises to the people before the elections: to release prisoners, to make life more affordable, and to ensure social justice.

Ecevit was only able to fulfil the first promise, and this primarily benefited those who had taken up arms against the state and threatened its existence. This was only possible thanks to the support of the MSP leader, who was a fundamentalist, religious, and devout individual. The promise of cheaper living remained a dream. On the contrary, as is the case in every country where socialists come to power, living costs increased. Queues formed. Some essential goods disappeared.

Social justice manifested itself in the appointment of People's Party members to all important and less important positions and the removal of well-known nationalist teachers from their posts.

Despite this, the People's Party did not miss the opportunity to proclaim its own leaders as the Conqueror of Cyprus and the Second Atatürk. When the Cyprus operation began, Ecevit was inspecting poppy fields in Afyon, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs was on a trip to the Far East.

The Cyprus operation was entirely the decision and success of the General Staff. The rest is empty words.

It was impossible for someone who wrote a poem (!) about brotherhood with the Greeks and declared himself 'Turkish' in the hut of a 90-year-old Kurdish woman to be the Conqueror of Cyprus.

Prime Minister Sadi Irmak provided the latest example of contradiction in Turkey. He is a former minister of the People's Party and a member of the Anatolian group. The Anatolians are a kind of nationalists who oppose communism. In the 1944 Turkish Nationalists trial, İsmet İnönü, who was then President and National (!) Leader, was so terrified of all forms of nationalism that he saw them as rivals eyeing his position, and decided to arrest the Anatolian ministers and deputies in the People's Party. Sadi Irmak learned of this decision through his friends and prepared to go to prison. This disgrace was prevented by Memduh Şevket Esendal, another Turkist member of the People's Party, who defiantly requested that he too be arrested, thus preventing the deluded İnönü from going any further. In other words, Sadi Irmak knew İsmet İnönü's calibre and ideology very well. Despite this, declaring him a national hero, organising an İnönü week, and deciding to erect statues of him in Istanbul and Ankara is completely contrary to the Atatürkism that Sadi Irmak repeated in every statement, and it does nothing but diminish the value of national heroism. Atatürk benefited from İsmet İnönü as long as he obeyed his orders unconditionally, but when he saw any deviation from obedience, he discarded him. Erecting a statue of a man whom Atatürk did not like is not an Atatürkist behaviour; it is the opposite of it. Especially in the era of the Republic, when there were hundreds of great men in earlier times, such as Kazım Karabekir and Fevzi Çakmak, choosing İsmet İnönü is a more bizarre attitude than defending polygamy.

Sadi Irmak's behaviour contrary to Atatürkism does not end there. When creatures he addressed as 'Turkish youth' at a university in Ankara shouted 'We are not Turks,' raised their left fists in a disgusting communist salute, and hurled insults, he responded with tears and left the hall in a state of disarray. This is a weak and cowardly act contrary to Atatürkism.

Could a prime minister not have immediately summoned the police to arrest these vagabonds shouting 'We are not Turks' and have them brought to justice? Did he not know how Atatürk would have acted in such a situation, how he would have razed that university to the ground?

Truly, a Prime Minister who remains silent while Atatürk's memory and legacy are being insulted and then claims to be an Atatürkist is nothing but a fantasy.

We are already living in an era of fantasies. Demirel and Bozbeyli, who are like goats stubbornly fighting each other on a narrow bridge to avoid giving way, both plunging into the abyss, and who obstructed the formation of an anti-communist coalition solely because of their personal whims; Erbakan, who is eager to collaborate with parties he previously declared 'colourless' for the sake of a seat; Erbakan, who is eager to collaborate with parties he once declared 'colourless,' is not fantasy?

If only two stubborn goats were fighting and falling into the abyss, nothing would come of it. On the contrary, it would help population planning, but it is an entire nation that is falling into the abyss. The first condition of patriotism is not ambition for position, but self-sacrifice.

The rain falling from the sky no longer sprouts seeds of self-sacrifice in this land. The end result could be very frightening.

Professor Caferoğlu Ahmet

Professor Caferoğlu Ahmet, who passed away a few days ago, was one of the Turkish expatriates who rendered great services to Turkish cultural life. Over the last forty to fifty years, the large number of Turkish expatriates who have lived in Turkey and held distinguished positions in the fields of national culture and art is a noteworthy and important issue. Like Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Ağaoğlu Ahmed, Ayaz İshakî, Zâkir Kadirî, Abdullah Battal Taymas, Sadri Maksudi, Reşit Rahmeti Arat, Akdes Nimet Kurat, Ahmet Temir, Zeki Veliî Togan, Abdülkadir İnan, Mehmet Sadîk Aran, and others, Caferoğlu Ahmet was also one of the valuable Turks from abroad who escaped the Black and Red Russians, settled in Turkey, participated in political struggles, and served culture in particular.

After obtaining his doctorate in Germany, he began working as an assistant professor of Turkish Language History at the Faculty of Literature of Istanbul University, where he taught me and my classmates for two semesters. Although his knowledge was not yet complete, his teaching was methodical. Unlike other older professors, including Köprülü, who would simply come and give lectures, Caferoğlu conducted each class as a seminar, which was very beneficial as there were only 8-10 students in the class at that time.

Caferoğlu was one of the most productive professors during his long teaching career. He was hardworking. He knew Russian, German, Persian, and French, so he could easily make use of sources in his field.

While he was an associate professor, his first work, published in 1931, was a scholarly edition of the dictionary *Kitâbü'l-İdrâk li-lisâni'l-Etrâk*, completed by the famous Ebû Hayyân in 1312. Since the book was in Arabic, the dictionary, which was compiled with the help of Kilisli Rifat Hoca, an expert in Arabic, became a primary source. Caferoğlu indexed the Turkish words in the dictionary alphabetically, comparing them with other sources, and created a great treasure trove for researchers.

Later, he published his collection of Anatolian Turkish dialects, which he had recorded during his scientific travels in Anatolia, in several volumes, leaving behind important material for future linguistic studies by recording these dialects, which were destined to disappear due to the rapid social changes in Turkey.

One of his most important works is the first-ever Uyghur Dictionary. Compiled by examining Uyghur texts published in Germany, this work is not only written in a simple language but also serves as a valuable historical source.

Caferoğlu also wrote Turkish Language History as a textbook, filling an important gap.

He published numerous articles in various magazines and in Turkish and foreign languages in Turkish Culture in recent years, and the Faculty of Literature will undoubtedly publish a complete bibliography of Caferoğlu's works in his memory.

Caferoğlu also served Turkish culture by publishing a magazine: the monthly cultural magazine he published under the name 'Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi' (Azerbaijan Homeland Knowledge) ran for 36 issues between 1932 and 1934 before closing down. An attempt to revive the magazine in 1954 resulted only in the publication of the 37th issue. This magazine featured articles by well-known and young historians, literary figures and linguists, as well as a number of articles by Caferoğlu himself.

Between 1942 and 1943, he published a monthly cultural magazine called *Türk Amacı* (Turkish Purpose), but it only lasted for eight issues.

His final service would have been the publication of old Turkish inscriptions. In order for his work to be published in its entirety, I gave him a photograph of a short inscription found in the tomb of the Golden Man near Almaty in Kazakhstan, which had been sent to me by Hasan Oraltay. Reşit Rahmeti Arat had initially attempted this task, but his death prevented him from doing so. After Reşit Rahmeti, the person best suited to undertake this task was undoubtedly Caferoğlu. He had extensive publications on ancient Turkish inscriptions and was fluent in both German and Russian. Indeed, at the invitation of the Turkish Language Institution, he undertook this task, prepared the work, and submitted it to the Institution. Despite the passage of time, the Institution has not published it.

However, it will likely be published eventually. The revisions of such an important work should be carried out by Prof. Muharrem Ergin, who has published a book on this subject among the 'Bin Temel Eser' series.

As both CaferoĞlu's student and successor, he would undoubtedly do a better job of editing than others, and Assistant Osman Sertkaya, one of the young experts on the subject, could assist him. The Language Institute and the Faculty should not abandon this project.

TRT's failure to mention CaferoĞlu is also a behaviour that must be accounted for. TRT, which devotes so much space to trivial matters, has remained silent about a Turk abroad, which is significant.

CaferoĞlu is now alone in a world far from the beauties he loved so much. However, the Huris, with their ruby eyes, created from light, musk and amber, whose beauty will overshadow the beauties of the world, will surely make him forget the world.

#### Nejdet Sançar (1910 – 1975)

The death of Nejdet Sançar means that the Turkish nationalist front has lost its best fighting division. Those marching towards the goal in the second and third ranks will fill the void and the gap created by the exhaustion of those in the front lines, and the march will not stop for a moment.

For real people, life is a struggle. We did not come to this world to enjoy ourselves like animals, but to fulfil a duty. This duty is the battle for Turkish nationalism, which will continue throughout our lives, until our last day and our last breath. The battle for Turkish nationalism, which is to leave the dead in the bosom of Mother Earth, on the pages of history, in the mercy of God, and to march on towards Kızilelma.

This is how Nejdet Sançar died. On the day he died, a page of 'Turkish-Italian Wars in History,' which he was preparing for its second and expanded edition, was stuck in his typewriter.

The loss of Nejdet Sançar, who lived in pain unknown to anyone, who endured periods of poverty, is more than the loss of a brother to me; it is the agony of losing an idealist.

Just as Afşin broke the order with Nejdet Sançar, Sançar also broke the order with me. The greatest law does not listen to anything called the order of death.

Those in the second and third rows should quickly take their places at the front. Time is running out.

The conversations we had when we were alone, sometimes serious and sad, sometimes mixed with jokes, are now over. Now I occasionally address him in my mind, but I cannot hear his reply.

Let me end these lines with the last sentence of Sançar's defence in the 1944 trial:

Long live the Turkish race...

#### The Great Mistakes of an Encyclopaedia

Two words whose meaning cannot be understood in Turkey are 'Turkism' and 'Turanism.' It is very difficult to explain an idea or a concept to people. The main remedy for correcting something that has been wrongly engraved in people's minds may be serious publications.

Although we have explained several times what the words 'Turkish nationalism' and "Turancılık" mean, it is clear that we have not been able to convey our purpose. 'Turkish nationalism' is the Turkish ideal, that is, the idea that Turks are superior to all other nations in every field; 'Turancılık' is the political aim of Turkish nationalism, that is, the unification of all Turks on earth into a single state, as they were in the past.

Those who have no knowledge of history, ideals, or national willpower object to this, calling it a 'fantasy,' yet they consider the unification of all nations around Moscow to be achievable while dismissing the unification of a single nation as a fantasy.

Those who saw the unification of the hundred million-strong Turkish nation, a great source of energy, as impossible, ignored the state of Israel established by the Jews after two thousand years of captivity. Worse still, they regarded Turanism as an adventure and a danger for Turkey and described Turanists as people who would cause the destruction of Turkey.

Since Turanism means liberating Turks outside the borders of Turkey, the independent Turkish state, what else could it be but Turanism to first liberate Hatay and then lay claim to half of Cyprus? If Turkey fought for the 100,000 Turks in Cyprus, why wouldn't it fight for millions of other Turks when the conditions are right?

Incorrect and deliberate articles may appear in newspapers and magazines about Turkism and Turanism. Indeed, they have appeared and continue to appear. Political party members may also make statements against them, filled with distortions. The most typical example of this is the infamous speech delivered by the then President of Turkey, İsmet İnönü, on 19 May 1944 at the Ankara Stadium.

However, there is no place for lies, errors, or distortions in scientific works and encyclopaedias, which must remain within a scientific framework. An encyclopaedia is published with the aim of addressing future generations. Regardless of the ideological stance of those who publish it, it is obligated to remain impartial on the subjects it addresses. This is an ethical duty for them.

The reason that prompted us to write these lines is the major errors in the article on 'Turancılık ve Türkçülük' (Turanism and Turkism) in an encyclopaedia published in instalments under the title '1923-1973 Türkiye Ansiklopedisi' (Encyclopaedia of Turkey 1923-1973). Turkish nationalism is a very old ideological movement that requires extensive study, yet in this encyclopedia, it has been rendered incomprehensible by hastily and carelessly written lines, and words have been used that cast aspersions on our people. The fact that it was written in haste undoubtedly indicates that this encyclopaedia was prepared for commercial purposes. However, the publishers' desire for profit does not give them the right to list false, let alone defamatory, information about others.

Nowadays, many encyclopaedias are published in Turkey, and since all but a couple of them are superficial and worthless, I do not buy or read them. I was able to see the section containing the entries on Turanism and Turkism in the encyclopaedia I mentioned because a young idealist brought it to me. The entries on Turanism and Turkism on pages 1360-1364 are very wrong. Anyone who writes an article for an encyclopaedia is first and foremost obliged to spell the names of the people they mention correctly. However, in this article, the names of four people are misspelled. My name is not 'Nihal Atsız' but 'Nihâl Atsız,' 'Necdet Sançar' is correctly spelled 'Nejdet Sançar,' 'Heybetullah' is correctly spelled 'Hibetullah,' and 'Faiz Hisarcıklı' is correctly spelled 'Fazıl Hisarcıklı.' The name of the magazine I published in the past is not 'Atsız dergi' but 'Atsız Mecmua.' These seemingly minor errors are examples of carelessness and the result of haste. They cannot be excused under any circumstances.

It is also evident that the author or authors of the article mistakenly believed that 'Turan' was a city: Look at the following sentence in the middle column of page 1361: "Above all, with the adoption of the National Pact at the very beginning of the National Struggle, the hopes tied to the sacred land of Turan were set aside.

Since the Arabic word 'belde' means only 'city' in Turkish, describing Turan in this way is both a result of haste and ignorance. However, haste is no excuse. Turan is all the lands where Turks live. Even historical Turkish homelands like Crimea, where not a single Turk lives today, are part of Turan.

For this reason, the statement made by the author or authors of the article that 'the Ottoman Empire was not Turan' (page 1361, left column) is also incorrect. All the regions where Turks lived in the Ottoman Empire were parts of Turan, and today's Turkey is also entirely a part of Turan.

These errors in the encyclopaedia are regrettable for a serious work, but what is important for us is that Turkish nationalists are portrayed as provocative and accused of using the term 'nationalist' as a shield in court by explaining Turanism as nationalism. Turkish nationalism is undoubtedly nationalism, but it is a nationalism with a special meaning, one that considers the entire Turkish nation above all else and does not attach importance to other concepts. Today, even a group that considers the Turkish nation to consist solely of Sunni Muslims living in Anatolia and calls itself 'Anatolian' claims to be nationalist. In reality, Turkism and Anatolianism are two ideas that are incompatible with each other, even hostile to each other. For this reason, it is impossible for Turkists to hide behind the word nationalism. Although some Turkish nationalists defended Turkish nationalism as nothing other than nationalism in the First Martial Law Court, which first convicted Turkish nationalists in the 1944-1945 events, this was to explain the reality of Turkish nationalism to the court, which did not understand what Turanism was, and to the prosecutor and the late Kazım Aluç. Otherwise, many Turkish nationalists, including the author of these lines, did not hesitate to declare their support for Turkish nationalism, Turanism, and racism before the court.

Those who make such a serious accusation as incitement against Turkish nationalists are obliged to present written evidence or other documents to prove their claims in order to avoid being labelled as slanderers.

The meaning of incitement is to provoke people to act unlawfully. If what is called incitement refers to the articles published in the magazines of Turkish nationalists, then these are propaganda aimed at spreading ideas. The propaganda of honourable ideas is not a crime in terms of law and morality. So what is this incitement but a proven nonsense that communists and, on a couple of occasions, İsmet İnönü have directed at Turkish nationalists for years?

Another issue is the astonishing ignorance about 'Turks' displayed by those who wrote the article on Turanism and Turkish nationalism. Consider the following lines:

"While the main goal was to draw Turkey into the war on Germany's side, one of the methods to achieve this goal was to spread the idea of a federation that would bring together Turks in Turkey and Pakistan in order to gather Turkish prisoners in Germany. Germany, even if it did not believe in the realisation of such an idea, hoped to benefit from the emergence of such a pressure group against the Turkish government, which was resisting entering the war. This time, the leaders of the movement were people such as Nihal Atsız and Zeki Velidi Togan, who were surrounded by...

Bringing together Turks in Turkey and Pakistan... Even children would not come up with such a delusion. However, those who published the encyclopaedia apparently consider Pakistanis to be Turks. Was the pressure group that would drag Turkey into war on Germany's side just a few teachers and students during the era of single-party dictatorship? Would the Turkists, for example, go to distant Pakistan while there were hundreds of thousands of Turks living in the former Turkish provinces of Iraq right next door? More importantly, was there even a state called 'Pakistan' at that time? Even if there was, were there any Turks living there besides a few refugees? Such nonsense is only fitting for the memoirs of Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, a Jewish convert to communism. Such errors are inevitable in encyclopaedias published hastily out of greed for profit. While the Islamic and Turkish Encyclopaedias have remained unfinished for years, completing an encyclopaedia in a short period of time is only possible by accepting errors in advance. There is a question to be asked of the publishers here: if they could not find sources on Turanism and Turanists, could they not have consulted living Turanists to obtain reliable information?

I learned that publishers are engaged in publishing such encyclopaedias and encyclopaedic works from Yılmaz Öztuna's article 'The World History Disaster' in the January 1974 issue of *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*. Yılmaz Öztuna is the author of the 12-volume *Turkey History*, which is currently the best available history of Turkey. Öztuna rightly complains that publishers have made numerous quotations from his book without mentioning his name in their encyclopaedic work titled *World History*. No one likes to see their work plundered. Especially when taking historical discoveries from an author, citing the source is a basic rule of the art of writing. It seems that while making comparisons, the publishers have also quoted Öztuna without giving credit. What would have happened if they had cited the source? Would the value of their works or themselves have diminished? On the contrary, they would have gained public favour and done the right thing.

While on this subject, I would like to clarify a point: I was the first to write that the Turks did not establish forty states in forty countries, but rather two main states, one in Central Asia and its continuation in Eastern Europe, and another in the Near East, and that the names known until now as states were actually the names of dynasties. This is the result of tedious studies I undertook out of a desire to understand the difficulties in grasping Turkish history while I was a student at the Faculty of Literature. As I defended this idea in the preface to my work 'Collected Works on Turkish History,' published in 1935, I also expressed the same idea in a more systematic and coherent manner in the article 'How Should We View Turkish History' in the first issue of the magazine 'Çınaraltı,' published in August 1941. This last article is also included in my book 'Issues in Turkish History,' published by Afşin Yayınları in 1966 as the eighth volume in their series.

The errors in the entry on Turanism in the Encyclopedia of Turkey are not limited to this. I was not transferred from my position as an assistant at the Faculty of Literature to a secondary school in Malatya because of my articles in *Atsız Mecmuası*, but because Reşit Galip took revenge on me for sending him a telegram with a few friends at the First History Congress.

Another mistake is that Halide Edib is considered a Turanist. Writing a novel called 'Yeni Turan' does not make one a Turanist. Halide Edib turned against Turkism in later years and demonstrated this through some of her actions while she was a professor at Istanbul University. If writing 'Yeni Turan' in her youth, following the fashion of the time, makes her a Turanist, then Nâzım Hikmet, who wrote the poem 'Yaralı Hayalet' (The Wounded Ghost) in his youth, caught up in the excitement of the National War, must also be considered a poet of the homeland. Yet Nâzım Hikmet is the number one traitor to the homeland.

27 April 1920

The Azerbaijani Turkish State, established after the collapse of the Russian Empire at the end of the First World War, was invaded and abolished by the communists on 27 April 1920. During this period, the Russians committed acts of cruelty, looting and violence, as was their custom wherever they went.

Azerbaijan was the first gathering place for the Turks who founded Turkey. Anatolia, Iraq and Syria were conquered from here.

In the 13th century, Azerbaijan was the central region of the Ilkhanate, which ruled over Greater Turkey, stretching from Khorasan to the Mediterranean. In a sense, Turkey today is like a state that has lost its ancient capital.

Azerbaijan, whose north is in Russian hands and whose south is in Persian hands, is still Turkish today. It is part of the Western Turks. Despite attempts to destroy it through oppression, culture and deceit, it is resisting with great vigour and growing stronger.

Cyprus, the Aegean Islands, Western Thrace, and Kirkuk are what Azerbaijan is. Great nations with a great past and culture will eventually break their chains. That day may come sooner than expected. Desire and belief overcome all difficulties. Let us believe and wait.

23 May (1040) and 3 May (1944)

There are many glorious, sorrowful, and ill-fated days in May in Turkish history. In this article, I will discuss one May that has been definitively ruled upon (23 May 1040) and another May on which the final word has not yet been spoken (3 May 1944).

Friday, 23 May 1040, is the most important and luckiest day in May. For on that day, following the famous Battle of Dendânêkan between the Seljuk and Ghaznavid armies, our state—Turkey (or more accurately, Western Turkestan)—was established. Over the course of its nine-century-long existence, this state faced internal wars, fragmentation, and division, and on more than one occasion seemed destined to vanish from the pages of history. Yet, drawing on the immense strength of its people and heritage, it managed to regroup and survive.

The Turks who founded our state were predominantly Oghuz Turks. A prince from the Karakhanids, the main Turkic state at the time, joined the Oghuz Turks with his followers due to a rift with his dynasty, participated in all the wars, and played a role in the founding of Turkey.

The Oghuz Turks, who had been caught between the Karakhanids and the Hazar Khanate in the west, which was not affiliated with the Karakhanids, spent many difficult and dangerous years in Khorasan, which was under the control of the Ghaznavids, the Turkish state outside their homeland. Finally, on 23 May 1040, they defeated the Ghaznavids' army of 100,000 soldiers, composed of Turks, Indians, Afghans, Persians, Arabs, and Kurds, and on the same day established their state.

It is noteworthy that in this battle, a portion of the Turkish troops in the Ghaznavid army joined the Oghuz Turks, while the Arab and Kurdish vanguard fled in the initial assault; the Indian, Afghan, and Persian troops followed suit. Those who stood firm alongside Ghaznavid Sultan Masud until the end were once again the Turks.

The supreme commander and greatest hero of this battle was 'Çağrı Beğ,' one of the 'Deli Dumrul' figures of Turkish history, while the greatest hero of the Ghaznavid army was Sultan Mesud of Ghazni, despite his drunkenness and lack of caution.

If we forget Çağrı Beğ, who laid the greatest foundation for our state, this would be a greater disgrace than any shame for us. The greatest proof that Çağrı Beğ is not forgotten is that many intellectuals today name their sons 'Çağrı.' However, it is not enough for this hero to live only in the hearts of intellectuals. Until he is given his rightful place in history books and a grand monument is erected in his honour, we cannot consider our duty fulfilled.

This year, 23 May 1975, which again falls on a Friday, marks the 935th anniversary of the founding of our state. In these days when we have been abandoned by our supposed allies and betrayed by internal elements of disorder, commemorating the 935th anniversary is one of our sources of spiritual strength.

May God's mercy be upon Çağrı Beğ and all the Seljuk and Ghaznavid Turks who fought in the Battle of Dendânekan!

The day of May, on which the final word has yet to be spoken, is 3 May 1944. As is well known, a march against the communist-protecting Minister of National Education of the then single-party regime and the communists he had pampered was silenced by censorship in a country plunged into silence, exploding like a bomb, terrifying the then head of state and his entourage of converts, leading to mass arrests, imprisonment, and torture. The sellout and enslaved press, speaking with one voice, launched a disgraceful smear campaign against this guardist movement (they couldn't call it fascist because Germany was still standing at the time) and continued it for months.

May 3rd is now the day of the Turkish nationalists. It was first celebrated on May 3rd, 1945, at the Military Prison in Tophane, over a cup of tea at a table, and later took the form of ceremonies held in fields and halls.

This year's May 3rd marks the 31st anniversary of this ceremony. This means that it has not yet become part of history. According to the rule that at least 50 years must pass before an event becomes part of history, 3 May will become history at the beginning of the 21st century.

However, there are some things to be said about 3 May today: 3 May is a warning: a warning from a few thousand Turkish youth who marched... 3 May is also an awakening. The awakening of the nation with the cries of those young people...

May 3rd is the awakening and anger of a nation that has been drugged by a left-leaning president and his entourage of leftists, communists, fools, opportunists, and sycophants, who have seen the truth.

The attempt to turn the country into a communist state under the guise of social justice and liberation, through secretly prepared plans, was thwarted by this march, and the cowards were forced to abandon their destructive plans.

Otherwise, it would have been only a matter of time before Turkey became communist like Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

Today, it has been partially revealed through publications how the country was enveloped by a treacherous network.

For this reason, 3 May is an important day, and its significance is better understood as the years pass.

The young people who organised 3 May are now elderly citizens. They have started families, some are happy, some are unfortunate, and they are scattered across the country. The fact that none of them have spoken out in pride shows how noble and sincere the movement was.

Empty vessels make the most noise. The May 3rd activists were not empty vessels; they were filled with love for their country and their people. That is why they remain silent. But silence, as Abdülhak Hâmid said, is sometimes more meaningful than the most beautiful poem.

### Turkish Nation, Awaken!

Now everyone has become wise, thinking they can fix the world in an instant by repeating the same old slogans. When we see political clowns shouting 'there is no freedom' while saying everything that amounts to treason against the nation, and those who make impossible promises by telling lies like they are deceiving children, we are forced to believe that the end of the world is near... Mutual accusations... If one says white, the other insists on black. One says, "We are progressing," while the other shouts, "We are sinking." Madmen who consider themselves smarter and more advanced than everyone else, shameless nationalists who parrot the nonsense of foreigners, and disgraceful writers who advise giving up Turkish lands have turned the square into a circus. In the circus, animals and clowns perform antics, and a crowd floating in social ignorance applauds or boos them.

What has been given to this society for years as good, humane, virtuous and Turkish? Nothing! But everything that could be considered disgraceful, shameful and obscene, every lie that could be thought of, was presented as science, art and progress. Cruelty was called justice. The majority of the nation was humiliated by being called 'tail.' There were times when four hundred thousand people were arrested based on the immoral denunciations of a small group. Dishonourable people were seen calling a backward anarchist who shouted 'Turkish peoples' while committing robbery 'the second Atatürk.' Those who claimed to recognise no principle other than Atatürkism, who did everything in their power to erase Atatürk's name, who removed his portraits from money and official buildings, who refused to build his tomb, declared İnönü a national hero and buried him in Anıtkabir. Traitors who called the national enemy a brother emerged.

Are all these people normal? What label can be applied to them? A person is either one thing or the other; one cannot be both Turkish and English, Muslim and Catholic, nationalist and fundamentalist at the same time. None of those who claim to be such are genuine; they are merely hypocrites.

A man who claims to be nationalist knows that his history spans 3,000 years. Anyone who views their history as only 1,000 years old is ignorant, bigoted, corrupt, and not Turkish.

Turkish nation, wake up! Come to your senses. Don't believe everything you hear. Use your brain. Remember your past. Think about what has elevated you and what has lowered you. Stay away from nonsense. Don't follow this or that.

You can't get a diamond out of a tripe pot. Even after being deceived a hundred times, can you still not distinguish between good and evil? Do not waste your time trying to teach the truth to those who are so brainless and dishonourable that they hang the pictures of monkey-faced, bloodthirsty, hypocritical Asian and European vagabonds on their walls while hundreds of great national heroes stand by. They will find their own misfortune. Don't waste your time, try to become the handle of an axe. Becoming the handle of an axe means finding a place to serve the nation, a place to lead. Positions and titles are only for the benefit of the Turkish nation.

If you cannot do this, the Turkish nation will remain only in the pages of history.

### Unredeemed Turks

Sixty million Turks live outside Turkey, unredeemed. Apart from the Ottoman Turks living in Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Western Thrace, Rhodes, Syria and Kirkuk, the majority of Turks are held captive in Iran, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and China. These four states do not grant any rights to the Turks under their jurisdiction, and the few rights that have been obtained were achieved through great sacrifices and struggles.

The 13 million Turks in Iran, despite being the largest ethnic group in this weak and primitive empire, have no schools where Turkish is taught. Opening such schools is prohibited. Many government buildings have signs on their walls stating that only Persian may be spoken. While radio broadcasts in Armenian are available for Iran's 60,000 Armenians, no such consideration is given to the culturally rich 13 million Turks. According to Persian claims, those who speak Turkish in Iran are actually Persians who were forced to speak Turkish by the Mongols when they conquered Iran.

How ridiculous this claim is, is obvious. In fact, after the Arab invasion in the 7th century, Iran was completely destroyed, the Arabs eradicated Iranian civilisation, and even Arab blood mixed with Iranian blood, causing the old fair-haired Iranian type to disappear and be replaced by the current dark-haired, dark-skinned, Arab-like Persian type.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, local dynasties were established in some parts of Iran under the Arab Abbasid caliphs, and the last and largest of these, the Buyids, were overthrown by the Seljuk conquests in the 11th century, thus beginning nine centuries of Turkish rule in Iran. The 'people whom the Mongols forced to speak Turkish' were these Turks who came from the north from the Caspian Sea and Siberia and from the east under the name Oğuz, long before the Mongols appeared on the historical stage. The Gök Mongol state, led by the Chinggisid dynasty, which was descended from the Gök Turks and consisted mostly of Turks rather than Mongols, arrived in Azerbaijan and Anatolia in the 13th century with one and a half million Turanis, ensuring the definitive Turkification of these countries.

Now, our 13 million compatriots in Iran, who have once again come under Persian rule, are deprived of human rights despite being the most intelligent, energetic, hardworking, and warrior-like element of Iran. It is our right and duty to think about them and do something for them.

In the north of Afghanistan, which is far behind Iran and extremely poor, there are 3 million Uzbeks and Turkmen. This northern region of Afghanistan is known as 'Afghan Turkestan.' The Uzbeks, Turkmen, and a small number of Kyrgyz Turks who fled communist oppression and came to Afghanistan now number 3 million, but they are under the rule of primitive Afghans, only 5% of whom are literate. Twenty-five to thirty years ago, the Afghan government refused to allow tens of thousands of Turkmen who wanted to migrate to Turkey with their livestock. These Turks do not have schools where Turkish is taught or radio broadcasters who speak Turkish. The country known as Afghanistan is the land of the ancient Turkic Kushans, Ak Hun, Ghaznavids, and Timurids. The cities of Afghanistan are filled with the civilisational achievements of these ancient Turks. It is our right and duty to think about them and do something for them.

The Soviet Union was home to 40 million Turks, making it the country with the largest Turkic population. It is the ancestral homeland of our people. Our oldest historical monuments and memories are there. The Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Chuvash, Karakalpak, Azeris, Oyrats, Hakas, and other Turks living in smaller administrative regions such as the Yakuts, Balkars, Karachays, Nogays, Kumyks, and Altai, whom the Russians tried to turn into separate nations with separate alphabets to break Turkish power, are all there. These Turks, who have been given separate histories, are successfully resisting Russian oppression with the strength that comes from their great past and great state. They now have their own scholars and experts of all kinds. They are resisting.

The Russians have lost their old aggressiveness. They are afraid not only of the West but also of their ideological allies in China. Communism is heading towards collapse, the Russian population is stagnating, while the Turks are multiplying. Sparks of hope are flashing through the darkness. It is our right and duty to think about these Turks.

The Turks in China, perhaps 850 million or even a billion, the most populous in the world, face an even greater danger: the settlement of several times more Chinese than Turks in these vast lands... However, the forces of nature protect the Turks, and the Chinese cannot live in Chinese Turkistan. Even if they live and multiply, even if not a single Turk remains there, one day that land of the Kungs and Uighurs will be taken back and Turkified. We will not abandon our historical heritage just because there are no Turks left there. Today there are no Turks in Crimea, but Crimea is ours. One day it will surely be liberated.

We will not forget those Turks. We cannot forget them. Just as a family does not forget one of its members who is in exile or far away, a nation cannot forget its brothers and sisters living under other rulers. For this reason, it is the duty of every Turk to think of all Turks wherever they may be, to share their sorrows and joys, to wish them well, and to work towards the day when all Turks will unite.

The Turkish nation is a great nation. Its role in history has been immense. The Turkish state has become one of the greatest states in the world and in history on several occasions. Such a nation cannot be eradicated even if the entire world unites against it. The 20th century has been a century in which Turks have multiplied in numbers unprecedented in their entire history. This century is an era in which Western civilisation and communism have been eroded and dissolved. The Turkish nation needs great leaders once again to rise up. In the last quarter of the 20th century (1967-2000), such a guiding leader will undoubtedly emerge. Such a leader cannot emerge from among party leaders. By their very nature, parties are preoccupied with devouring one another. The leader will not come from the parties but directly from within the nation, emerging as a new Grey Wolf. A leader who has received signs from the spirits of Tanrikut Mete, Çiçi Yabgu, İstemi Kağan, Kür Şad, İlteriş Kutluğ Kağan, Kül Tegin, Bayançur Kağan, Çağrı Beğ, and Oruç Reis will accomplish this sacred task with high morality and great virtue.

While the captive Turkish people and thousands of martyrs like Osman Batur are still alive, damn Zenci Lumumba, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao, who have made epics out of their lives. Damn the leftists who want to make the daily wages of workers the most important issue in life while the great future and glory of the nation are at stake. Cursed be the dishonourable professor who did not silence the bigoted dog who said, 'I will raise the crescent with a Gypsy,' when the greatness of the Turkish race was evident!

The thunderbolt of the Turks will strike.

If God's wrath does not fall upon them, the even more terrible thunderbolt of the Turks will strike.

26 August (1071) and 30 August (1922)

August is an important and glorious month in our history. 26 August 1071 and 30 August 1922 are turning points when two great and exemplary victories were won against the same enemy nation. The first is a day when national consciousness flashed like lightning.

The second is a testament to what we are capable of even in our most exhausting times.

War is a test of the material and spiritual strength of two nations, and fighting and winning is as necessary for life as breathing. Nations grow, gain prestige and rise through war. War is a law of creation. To flee from war is to flee from life. War is the greatest and most magnificent art.

War is the arena where human virtues shine and are revealed. Fear of war brings nothing to a nation; it causes it to lose its honour. However, a nation that goes to war is respected.

‘There will be no more war’ is the biggest lie. War removes the rust of selfishness from the soul, dispels the numbness of the nerves, and stirs the winds of heroism in the hearts.

Our ancestors, who considered dying on the battlefield an honour, were bound to win at Malazgirt.

Their descendants made a ‘Rum Sındığı’ in the Battle of Başkumandanlık.

Kunuri and Cyprus are two small manoeuvres. We need new 26th and 30th Augs to nourish our spiritual structure.

26th August 1975 also marks the 2184th anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Army. The 2184th anniversary of the most disciplined army founded by the glorious and bloodied Tanrıkuş Mete...

Greetings to the memory of our great ancestor Tanrıkuş...

Greetings to the soldiers of his four divisions...

Greetings to the heroes of Malazgirt and the Oğuz and Pecheneg tribes who joined them...

Greetings to the martyrs and veterans of the Battle of the Supreme Command...

Greetings to those who fell and those who remained while liberating the Turkish Cypriots...

And...

Greetings to the fortunate martyrs of tomorrow!...

### “September” in Turkish History

It has often been said that August is the month of victories in Turkish history. This is true. However, September is no less significant in terms of victories and important days.

5 September 1063: The Death of Tughril Beg:

Tughril Beg, the first khan of Western Turkestan (Turkey), died on 5 September 1063 at the age of 70 or 72 in the capital city of Rey, where he was buried. The city of Rey, very close to Tehran, was once a major centre. Tuğrul Beg's steppe-style tomb in Rey is now in a rather inconspicuous state. Both the structures built around it and the trees covering it have rendered it almost invisible. This, of course, is due to the ill intentions of the Persians and their fear of the Turks.

Tuğrul Beg ruled the state established after the Battle of Dendânekan on 23 May 1040 for 23 years, 3 months, and 12 days, from 23 May 1040 to 5 September 1063.

At the time when Turkey was established in Khorasan, there were two main states in the west, one Muslim and one Christian, which were the focus of this new and vibrant state: the Buyids and the Byzantines.

The Buyids were an Iranian state ruling over Fars, Kerman and Iraq. Although they were nominally vassals of the caliph of Baghdad, they actually ruled independently, with various branches of the dynasty governing different parts of the country, yet appearing as a single state to the outside world. The Arab Umayyad State in Mosul and its surroundings, and the Kurdish Mervanids in Diyarbakır, Erzen, Meyâfârkin, and Hisnîkeyfâ were also under the dominion of the Buyids.

The people of the Buyid State were Persians, those of the Umayyad State were Arabs, and those of the Mervanids were Kurds, Arabs, and Armenians.

Tughril Beg, one of the greatest state founders in history, left the administration of Khorasan, where the state was founded, to his heroic elder brother Chagri Beg, and entered the Buyid country with his army, capturing the city of Rey in 1043 and making it the capital. This action, which meant incorporating the northern lands of the Buyids into Turkey, immediately had an impact in the west, and the Mervans, who were under the Buyid dominion, submitted to this new and vigorous state and declared themselves under the dominion of Tughril Beg. Tughril Beg gathered the Seljuk princes and beys in Rey and issued orders regarding which regions each of them would conquer. These orders were carried out with very few exceptions.

In 1055, Tughril Beg entered Baghdad, putting an end to the Persian Buyid Empire, and was proclaimed Sultan of the Islamic world by the Caliph of Baghdad. The title of the Buyids was reduced to 'begs of begs.'

The Shiite Fatimid caliph in Egypt divided the Islamic world in two. He even had supporters in Baghdad. Turkish soldiers and commanders who had entered the service of the caliph of Baghdad before the arrival of the Seljuks accepted Shiism with a purity never before seen among the Turks. After much struggle, Tughril Beg captured the great Byzantine city of Sivas in 1060, plundered it, and defeated the Byzantine army led by an Armenian named Pankoras who had come to capture them as they were retreating. At the same time, Tughril Beg also captured the castle of Ani and its surroundings.

After establishing internal order, Tughrul Beg turned his attention to Baghdad and requested the hand of the caliph's daughter, Seyyide. The caliph initially refused, claiming that his family was sacred. However, in 1062, when Tughrul Beg cut off the caliph's allowance, the sacred caliph agreed to give his sacred daughter in marriage. The marriage contract was signed in Tabriz.

Tughrul Beg entered Baghdad again in 1063 and married Seyyide in a splendid wedding. When Seyyide entered the palace where Tughrul Beg resided, Tughrul Beg and all the Turkish beys present rose to their feet. Turkish games were played in honour of the bride. Tuğrul Beg, following Turkish custom, entered the bride's room for seven days, greeted her, and left without revealing his face. The eighth day of the wedding arrived. Tuğrul Beg bestowed many gifts upon the caliph's entourage. After returning to Rey, he fell ill. He died on 5 September 1063, leaving behind a beautiful legacy. His enemies feared him, but his subjects loved him.

### 13 September 1921 Sakarya Victory:

The 21-day Battle of Sakarya was won on 13 September. İsmet İnönü, who was accustomed to working in the entourage and lacked the qualities of a commander, lost control in the Eskişehir battles, causing the army to retreat to the east of Sakarya and lose a significant portion of its forces. Mustafa Kemal Pasha then took command personally, demonstrating his exceptional military skills and leading the troops to victory, particularly due to the bravery of the officers. The Battle of Sakarya, known as the 'officers' battle' and the longest field battle in the world wars up to that date, with a new tactic, forcing the Greeks to retreat and ensuring that the initiative passed to the Turkish Army. Within 21 days, the Turks deployed 55,000 troops to the front, while the Greeks deployed 120,000. Of the 15,000 Turkish casualties, 1,000 were officers. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who invented the principle of a defensive line instead of a defensive front, managed part of the battle with a broken rib after accidentally falling from his horse. The Battle of Sakarya is the most heroic battle after the Gallipoli Campaign.

### 18 September 1048 Battle of Pasinler:

This was the first major open-field battle in the centuries-long conflict between the Seljuks and the Byzantines. It is known as the Battle of Pasinler or the Battle of Hasan Kale. The Turkish army was commanded by Ibrahim Inal Beg and Kutlamis, both from the Seljuk dynasty. The Byzantine army, composed of Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Abkhazians, was led by Liparit, who was captured and his army annihilated. This battle is as significant as the Battle of Malazgirt and was won 23 years earlier as a decisive battle.

Ibrahim İnal Beğ refused to accept the great material gifts that Tuğrul Beğ wanted to give him for his success, and Tuğrul Beğ also refused to accept the large ransom offered for Liparit's release, thus freeing Liparit.

This battle, which lasted from morning to evening, was won with the same steppe tactics as the Battle of Malazgirt and resulted in the annihilation of enemies who could not comprehend such tactics.

### 22 September 1520: The Death of Yavuz:

Yavuz Sultan Selim, one of the greatest Turkish sultans, was an unparalleled warrior who, during his short reign, defeated two formidable armies—the Kölemen and Safavid armies—far from his base, and crossed the desert with 30,000 men to invade Egypt, demonstrating extraordinary bravery. Had his reign not been so short, and had he lived longer, the Turkish world today would look very different.

This formidable and brilliant soldier was also a refined poet. His Persian divan and some of his Turkish poems have survived.

## 25 September 1396 Battle of Nicopolis:

This was a great battlefield victory against the Crusader Army, which included some of the most famous European knights. The commander-in-chief of the Turkish Army was Yıldırım Bayezid Beg, one of the princes of the Ottoman Dynasty. The composition of the Crusader Army, which had come to expel the Turks from Europe, was as follows:

60,000 Hungarians

10,000 French

10,000 Romanians

6,000 Germans

1,000 English

13,000 Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Czechs, Croats.

The Turkish army numbered 70,000, 10,000 of whom were Serbian soldiers of average ability. Although the Hungarians, who were familiar with Turkish warfare tactics, advised taking precautions accordingly, the armoured French knights, believing themselves to be the bravest soldiers in the world and claiming they would pierce the sky with their lances, ignored the Hungarians. They even accused the Hungarians, who were considered the bravest soldiers in Europe, of cowardice and suddenly attacked the Turks. Mistaking the retreat of the light Turkish archers in the front line, who were following Turkish military tactics, for a rout, they advanced towards the main Turkish army. However, they were quickly surrounded and annihilated. Upon this, the Turkish army launched an attack on the main body of the enemy army. The Romanians and Croats escaped without fighting and were saved. The others fought fiercely but could not escape defeat and annihilation.

The Battle of Niğbolu is also one of the finest examples of annihilation battles. However, it also had a negative outcome: Yıldırım Bayezid became arrogant after destroying this army, which included many knights, and the unpleasant incident with Aksak Temir was fuelled by this arrogance.

## 28 September 1538 Battle of Preveza:

This is the famous naval battle between the Turkish fleet commanded by Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, the greatest Turkish admiral, and the allied crusader fleet commanded by Andrea Doria. Despite being vastly outnumbered in terms of ships and cannons, Barbaros defeated the powerful enemy thanks to his skill, courage, and understanding of the psychology of war, forcing the famous Italian admiral to flee. The memory of this magnificent naval battle, which took place 437 years ago, is still alive today.

It is certain that the spirit of Barbaros, who lies in his tomb in Beşiktaş, is waiting with hope.

### The Navarin Raid (20 October 1827)

148 years ago, on 20 October 1827, the Turkish navy was anchored in the port of Navarin when it was attacked by the allied British, French and Russian navies and sunk. 8,000 soldiers were killed along with 57 ships.

The reason for this attack was the admiration of Christian nations for Greece. The Greeks, especially with the secret assistance of the Russians, had rebelled against the Ottoman Empire, to which they were subject, in pursuit of independence. Whenever they had the opportunity, they killed unarmed Turks, just as they did yesterday in Cyprus, but on a much larger scale, until they were finally suppressed by state forces. Although the main reason for the uprising was admiration for Greece, plans to divide the Turkish Empire also played a role.

The British led the uprising. This was their old custom. In France, there was a hostility towards the Turks, which stemmed from the Crusades and the widespread literature on the subject. The Russians, on the other hand, pursued an unwavering policy aimed at destroying the Turkish Empire in order to gain access to warm seas.

It is worth remembering the Navarino Raid. Because today, once again, we are at odds with the West because of the Greeks. France openly supports the Greeks, while Britain does so covertly; the Russians are playing both sides, as is their communist tactic.

The great benefit of remembering the past is that it shows us that it is never right to trust the friendship of foreigners. For centuries, people have fought for brotherhood, philosophers, prophets, scholars and poets have defended this cause, but there has been no change in the social law of 'war between nations.' Christians, who consider Jesus, who preached brotherhood, to be the son of God, have slaughtered each other in the form of Catholic and Protestant sects, while Muslims, who consider their fellow believers to be brothers, have slaughtered each other in the form of Sunni and Shiite sects. The blood shed by communists, who declared that they would unite people into a single state and even abolish the state, is an unparalleled record in human history.

Given this reality, it is a serious danger to our innocent nation when party leaders who are likely to play a role in Turkey's destiny talk about brotherhood with this or that nation. The Turkish nation has a reputation for quickly believing what it hears from those in high places. That is why it is always beneficial to tell it the harshest truths.

It should not be forgotten that when the conditions and reasons are right, those opposite us will immediately unite against us. The Navarin Raid is an example; it should serve as a lesson.

It should also be remembered that the Turkish nation, including Muslim nations, is a nation that is unpopular with others.

For this reason, we frequently remind Turkish youth of the past. Reminding them of the past is not to prevent them from thinking about the future, but to encourage them to work so that the future does not resemble the past.

Yesterday's realities may also be realities tomorrow.