



ÖTÜKEN

KAYSIZ

Turancılık,
Millî Değerler
ve Gençlik

ÖTÜKEN

Atsiz



TURANISM,
NATIONAL
VALUES

and

YOUTHK

(Articles- 1)



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ÖTÜKEN NEŞRİYAT A.Ş.®

İstiklal Cad. Ankara Han 65/3 -34433 Beyoğlu-Istanbul

Tel: (0212) 25 1 03 50 - (0212) 293 88 71 - Fax: (02 12) 251 00 12

Ankara liaison office:

Yüksel Caddesi 32/4 Kızılay-Ankara

Tel: (03 12) 431 96 49

Internet: www.otuken.com.tr E-
mail: otuken@otuken.com.tr

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Description

In the second edition of the book TRK LKS in 1966, some polemics of a kind that would no longer interest anyone at that time was issued by ATSIZ himself. Today, after an interval of about After another 40 years, it was decided to remove a few more articles from the volumes of Articles I-11-III-IV on the grounds that some of the texts and the persons mentioned in these texts would no longer make sense to the readers. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I personally did not take part in this process of elimination and merely expressed my agreement with the final selection. This revision was undertaken by another friend who was well acquainted with the issues and was extremely meticulous.

Yagmur Atsiz

Presentation

ATSIZ HOCA's Turkish Country book and Articles-1-11-II
All of his writings, which had been collected in the IV series, have been re-categorised as "compilations of articles". The existing disorganisation in the articles in terms of subject matter was eliminated. For this purpose, the articles that had been included in the book Turkish Country were generally left in their places; even a few articles that had been included in the first edition of this book were included in the sections deemed appropriate in our new organisation to be taken into consideration and evaluated.

During this sorting and sorting process, many articles were changed.

were found to be repeated in the books; some of the articles no longer have any meaning for today's generations; some some of the articles were written under the influence of the polemics at the time they were written, and today they are among the fundamental articles reflecting the basic thoughts of Atsız Hoca.

were found to be inappropriate. After these were removed and the remaining ones were sorted, in our opinion, Atsız Hoca's representation and indoctrination

The essence of his ideal has been conveyed to the reader in an orderly manner in this selection of articles with his published books.

12 - Turanism, Mil Values and Youth

Thus, the aforementioned five books "*Turkish Country*", "*Turanism, National Values and Youth*", "*History, Culture and Heroism*

lar", and within these books, they were divided into chapters with various main titles. Some of the articles were even included in Atsız Bey's book titled *History of Turkish Literature*, as it was appropriate due to their content.

We would like to thank Yağmur Atsız for his understanding and kindness in allowing us to do this sorting and sorting.

Our aim is that Atsız Hodja should be recognised by Turkish generations and the ideal of Turkism represented by him should be understood.

Hoping to raise valiant generations with high morals and high ideals as he wanted...

Ötüken Neşriyat

-! TOURISM

• •

Turanism

TURANISM is a subject that has been discussed in Turkey for 60 years. Although from time to time it has been considered as a system that includes the nations related to Turks, what is understood in Turkey today when we say "Turanism" is the ideal of uniting all Turks into a single state, including their historical heritage, and like every ideal, it is a belief that looks at generations, requires blood and life tax, and excites the hearts.

Since the reunification and rise of the Turkish nation, which is antipathetic to almost the whole world due to its history, wars and conquests, frightens many nations, since some states will disappear or shrink as a result of this rise, and even since the interests of the world's major trade partnerships will be undermined, the ideal of Turanism is met with great resistance, this resistance is being propagated and intellectualised, and this propaganda is also effective in Turkey.

The opposition in Turkey to the ideal of Turanism is either due to the fact that it is considered to be an adventure that would expose Turkey to great dangers, or due to the fact that it is not recognised that the Turks outside Turkey are just as Turkish as we are (in a way more Turkish than we are), or due to the fact that it mixes ethnic groups and cultures that have been piling up within our present borders for 4,000 years and that they are now Turkish-speaking.

is to recognise the emergence of a "people".

I do not pay attention to the opposition of those who fear that Turanism will destroy Russia because they are Muscovite henchmen.

First, let us consider whether Turanism is an adventure:

The idea that Turanism is an adventure is a

The reason for this was the failure of Enver Pasha's actions on the Caucasian front during the First World War, which ended in failure and great losses. Just as spring does not come with one flower, judging the wrongness of an idea with one failure cannot be considered as a work of sound logic. It is now well known that Enver Pasha was a great soldier, but an incompetent commander. Furthermore, it is also wrong to consider Enver Pasha as a pure Turanian. The Unionists were both Turanists and Islamic unityists. They wanted to take both the Caucasus and Egypt. Moreover, the untimely Caucasian offensive was not made with the idea of Turanism, but in order to lighten the burden on our ally Germany.

As for adventurism, this word should be thought about well and seriously. Not every adventurism is a mistake and not every caution is a prudent behaviour. The history of mankind is full of adventures in politics, military and science. Christopher Columbus' attempt to reach India by travelling westwards was an adventure. So was crossing the Atlantic on a raft. If we look at our own recent history, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's landing in Samsun was also an adventure. Many people disagreed with him, not because they were not patriotic, but because they did not see the possibility of success. However, because he knew how to make a good heading, he finished his venture, which others opposed as an adventure that would ruin Turkey, in a brilliant way.

In our older history, Babur's plunge into India with 10,000 men, Yavuz's crossing the desert with 30,000 men

Wasn't his entry into Egypt an adventure? Yes, Napoleon's and Hitler's Moscow campaigns were also adventures, but just because they ended in failure, does that diminish the value of the others?

Is it not an astonishing adventure for the Jews to establish the State of Israel in what is now the Arab homeland?

Those who want to live without danger should commit suicide. Life and the universe are full of dangers. Danger exists for individuals, nations and lands. A terrible earthquake can submerge Anatolia in a few hours. The suffocating gases of a comet passing close to the earth can destroy several nations at once. A meteorite big enough to dislodge the Earth from its orbit may hit our globe and bring about the apocalypse of the world. A few nations may unite to launch 500 hydrogen bombs on Turkey one night and then send their specially dressed soldiers into our country. Because all these possibilities exist, are we going to sit lethargically and spend our time only building factories, watching football matches and shouting, organising fashion shows and beauty contests, and analysing the works of some vulgar people in universities? A nation cannot live with these. A nation is not a herd of animals. The nation wants a national goal. Only when it sees that goal will it cease to be a herd and become a human being. and becomes selfless and altruistic.

The most blessed goal for us is Turanism. What can be more blessed than dedicating oneself to an ideal that we will unite as we were united in the past? It is our right and duty to unite all Turks. To take back what was taken away from us by force is to fulfil justice. Turanism is an idea of greatness. The thought of greatness is a noble thought.

To understand Turanism as the unification of all Turks only in the field of culture is empty and wrong. It is a

social fact that unity of culture can only come about as a result of political unity. Turks under the domination of nations hostile to Turks

Is it possible to unite them in culture? Would a foreign nation allow this? By what force, by what method can you unite Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tatars and Bashkirs, whose alphabets were separated in the Soviet Union and whose native dialects were turned into literary languages, with us in a single culture? If you have that much power, it is already in your hands to march your armies and save those countries. Then you can convene a congress for cultural unity, otherwise you will never be able to establish cultural unity.

Today, the unity of culture among the Turks exists only in the form of unity of heart, the consciousness of being one nation, and some linguistic unity. But at this rate, after 50 years, languages will be separated. What will happen then? Will we accept this *fait accompli* with lazy resignation, saying that they have become another nation, or will we risk everything, including war, to save the old homelands and the severed parts of our lineage? Of course we will. Provided, of course, that we bide our time and make our calculations well...

If dealing with Turks outside political borders is an adventure, why did Turkish aeroplanes attack Cyprus? In fact, why would Cyprus have been invaded if the American navy had not prevented it? Why are we so interested in the Turks of Western Thrace and Kirkuk? Yesterday it was "Hatay". Today it is "Cyprus", tomorrow "Western Thrace" and "Kirkuk". The day after tomorrow "Azerbaijan" and beyond... This is what it is. No one should stick their head in the sand.

Another kind of opposition to Turanism is the result of ignorance of Turks outside Turkey. I was recently told that a scholar asked one of the young people at a meeting, "Are the Huns also Turks?". What do you call a scholar who does not know that the Huns were Turks and even partly the

ancestors of the Oghuz? It turns out that he thought that national history begins with the victory of Malazgird. Let's say good night sleep...

There is also the delusion of considering Anatolia as a glass, the nation in it as a cocktail, and the Turks as the last drink added to this cocktail, with the non-national consciousness that comes from not being of Turkish descent, whose adherents consist of a number of mentally ill people.

Those who start our history with Malazgird or the capture of the city of Iznik should ask: What were those who made Iznik the capital or won the battle of Malazgird before? Where were they? The eleventh century is a century under the spotlight of history. It immediately reveals where and what those men were. Thus, it is revealed that the so-called Turkic States were successive Turkic dynasties, that they were in fact a single state that was divided into two or three in times of conquest, and that this extended as far back as Tanrıkut.

In order to denigrate such a blessed ideal as Turanism, which is based on morality and virtue and which accelerates the nation, one must either feel that the blood in one's veins is foreign, be a communist, that is, a traitor, or be ignorant and foolish enough to start national history from Malazgird.

Turanism is not a Romantic Dream

It is noticeable that everyone describes Turanism, which is the ideal of the TURKISH nation, in the way he or she wishes, and presents it as a kind of romanticism. Although there is a romanticism in national ideals, which has a poetic aspect, an ideal is in fact a system of feelings and thoughts based on facts, with clear and definite aims. The fact that some writers, who are known as Turkists, mention Turanism almost timidly when they talk about it, does not leave a favourable impression on those who do not know what Turanism is. Orhan Seyfi Orhon, who has an important place in the history of Turkish literature with his immortal poems such as "Fırtına ve Kar" (Storm and Snow) and "Fairy Girl and Shepherd's Tale" (Fairy Girl and Shepherd's Tale) written in aruz and syllabic meter, wrote an article titled "What is Turan?" in *Son Havadis* newspaper dated 2 February 1968, which will be the subject of this article in terms of false ideas that Turanists can never accept.

The article begins as follows:

"As my esteemed friend Tekin Erer has explained with the most beautiful example, there is no "Turanism" as a Turkish imperialism in nationalism. Turan is the place

chosen as a homeland by the great Turkish race in Turkish history. "

First of all, it is a great mistake to confuse Turanism with imperialism. Imperialism means the domination of other nations by one nation. Then why is Turanism, which means the unification of Turks, Turkish imperialism? Is it imperialism for one of the Turkic communities to liberate other Turks from foreigners by force of arms and unite them into a single state? All nations in the world wage armed and unarmed wars to unite their descendants under the domination of foreign states. This is not imperialism, but irrredantism, which is an acceptable behaviour.

If we had been forced to accept the Peace of Sevres and had left Thrace and Smyrna to the Greeks, would our struggle to liberate these places fifty years later have been an imperialist war? The Turkish nation, which risks war for Cyprus, where 100,000 Turks live, will of course take up arms to liberate the places where forty million Turks live. To say that *"there is no Turanism in the form of Turkish imperialism in nationalism"* means not to want Turanism and to think of Turkish unity as a poem and a dream.

In Orhan Seyfi's piece I have quoted above, there is the sentence *"Turan is the place in Turkish history which the great Turkish race has chosen as its homeland"*. Anatolia was conquered in the eleventh century, Cyprus, which we took up arms to liberate only yesterday, was conquered in the sixteenth century, but what about the lands on which we were born and entered history?

Turanism, that is, the ideal of uniting all Turks, has existed since the third century BC. Turkish unity has always been the only idea that the Turkish elders have pursued after achieving inner peace. However, Islam changed this idea to some extent, and the preservation of Islam

The concern for Turkish unity has made the ideal of Turkish unity more or less neglected from time to time.

Orhan Seyfi Orhon says in another part of his article:

"It is obvious that it is necessary to bring the flag of Turkism to the youth.

The poet (i.e. Ziya Gökalp) does not say that we should conquer the countries inhabited by the Turkish race throughout ancient history. The Turan of the Turks is not the Megalo Idea of the Greeks. The Turkish nation, the ancient Turkic

is to remember it in its history."

These lines are also completely wrong. Just because Ziya Gökalp did not say that we should conquer the former Turkic countries does not mean that we should count them in the same place. Ziya Gökalp's Turkism is today an incomplete Turkism. As time progresses, we are obliged to complete those deficiencies and close the gaps. Moreover, Ziya Gökalp is in favour of the conquest of the old Turkic countries:

Muscovy's country will be ruined;

Turkey will grow and become Turan

He is the one who said. To say that the Turan of the Turks is not the Megalo Idea of the Greeks means that the Greeks want to grow, but we do not want to grow, which is as fatal a thought for a nation as fear of growth.

Today, when even the poor Asian and very backward African nations aspire for greatness, our saying "Our Turanism is not an imperialist idea" is the same as deciding to close our history.

What do you mean we are not imperialists? If our desire to liberate our former lands is imperialism, we are imperialists. If it is imperialism to want Turkistan, Idyl-Ural, Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, Crimea and other places where Turks live is a blessed idea.

In the presence of degenerate traitors who applaud Vietnam's war, the idea of which is not yet known for sure, and denigrate the mention of the Altai, I could not find it appropriate for a Turkic poet like Orhan Seyfi Orhon to describe Turan as romanticism.

While discussing this issue, I would like to respond to a long-standing statement: "Turanism is a disaster. It was destroying us. It would be madness to embark on such adventures from now on."

Which adventure are the poor people who claim this talking about? Is it the First World War? To claim that the First World War was started with the idea of Turanism is to know nothing and to be ignorant of the world. With the published historical documents, it is now well known that whether Turkey entered the war or not, Russia, Britain and France had decided to destroy and divide Turkey. There was no other way out for Turkey but to unite with Germany. Attempts by the then government to seek an alliance with the British and French were not even answered. Now, under these circumstances, was the war being fought a war of Turanism or a fight for life and death? Undoubtedly, both Turanism and the idea of Islamic unity were tried to be utilised in order to win the war, and one of them was used as a weapon against the British, and it was seen to be more or less beneficial. However, if there had been no idea of Turanism, if Ziya Gökalp had not been born, if this word had not been known, would the outcome of the war have changed? Even if the First World War had been fought solely for the sake of the ideal of Turanism, its dreadful end would have revealed not the collapse of Turanism, but the incompetence in its implementation. A medicine, which can revive a patient when used properly, can kill a person if used incorrectly. In that case, the blame lies not with the medicine, but with the wrong user. Throughout our

YRPB
history, we have been subjected to a thousand kinds of troubles because we are Muslims, and today's democratic

The danger we faced in 960 because of the regime is well known. When we think with this mindset, it is necessary to put the blame on Islam and democracy, and to what extent this is true is obvious.

While all this is obvious, to condemn Turanism to eternal defeat as a result of some actions taken during the First World War in order to benefit from the ideal of Turanism, which ended in the opposite result, cannot be compatible with neither reason, nor understanding, nor goodwill, nor mercy.

Turanism is the ideal of the unification of all Turks. What makes people human is the pursuit of a great idea. For the Turkish nation, the most humane, the highest thought is the war it will wage to liberate its kinsmen living in captivity.

Let us not think only of our earnings, our stomachs, our material things. Animals do that too. Let us turn more to meaning, thought, ideal. This is humanity. Let us not be afraid of anyone when we say this: We want our rights, the heritage of our ancestors. And we will get it.

(22 February 1968) Ötüken, March 1968, 3rd issue.

We are Turanists, so what?

In the issue of Uws dated 18 June 1966, under the *title* "*Why are racist and Turanist magazines sent to schools? We are asking the Minister again and demanding an answer.* "

An ignorant article was published. According to this unsigned article, we, along with other racist Turanist magazines, were hostile to freedom of thought, clung to the way of thinking represented by the Justice Party, and were really harmful for young minds. We were being sent to schools in bulk. Like other reactionary, racist, Turanist magazines that were introduced into schools, we were in a publishing style that was hostile to ideas that were against the AP government under the cover of fighting communism and that could not tolerate freedom of thought. Just like the extreme racists and Turanists who tried to drag Turkey into the catastrophe of war alongside Nazi Germany during the Second World War, today this magazine expresses the longing for Kūr Şad. Kūr Şad means "commander" or "commander in chief" in ancient Turks. When it is considered that three students who were expelled from the Military Academy had read this magazine, it becomes clear what disastrous abysses Turkey wants to be dragged into.

Ötüken is not a political magazine and party politicisation

We do not engage in politics because it does not suit our temperament. For this reason, we are neither firmly nor

loosely attached to the way of thinking represented by the Justice Party.

It is no secret that we voted for the Türkiyeş Party in the elections. But we strongly support the AP's anti-communist stance. We will support it until the end.

As the ignorant writer says, we are not hostile to freedom of opinion. We are only hostile to the enmity of Turkishness. For this reason, we want communism or treason against the homeland masquerading as socialism to be silenced. Because we do not consider the idea that wants to destroy our nation as an idea. But why does the ignorant writer, who finds freedom of opinion so useful, not recognise our Turanism as an idea? What idea is more magnificent than the idea of reuniting a nation as it was in the past? Is it the charade called the ideal of the United Nations? Or is it Kurushev's "Peaceful Coexistence" fraud?

During the Second World War, the tale of bringing Turkey into the war on Hitler's side was talked about a lot, but no evidence was produced. Who were these Turanists? Their names were not mentioned. During the Second World War, in 1944-1945, the Racism-Turanism trial was held. In this historical trial, in which I was among the defendants, there were well-known people such as Alparslan Türkiyeş, Nejdettan Sançar, İsmet Tümtürk, Said Bilgiç, Sofuoğlu Zeki, Hikmet Tanyu, Muzaffer Eriş, Nurullah Barıman, Prof. Zeki Veliddi Togan, Dr Fethi Tevetoglu, Dr Hasan Ferit Cansever. But in the end, everyone was acquitted. In any case, due to the positions they occupied (professor, doctor, high school teacher, officer, civil servant, student), it was not possible for them to drag Turkey into a war.

However, there were a few members of the National Assembly who wanted to bring Turkey into the war on the side of Germany. One of them was Yunus Nadi, the owner and editor-in-chief of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, who was at the time criticised for his provocative writings.

He had received a good whipping from President İsmet İnönü at the station, in front of everyone.

It is not clear what the author means by saying "In *Ötüken*, the longing of Kür Şad is expressed". Kür Şad is a symbol of heroism. He is a brave who sacrificed himself to save the nation. If it is a crime to feel love for such braves, let the ignorant author forgive our offence and please let us know who is to be longed for. Let us also correct this here: Kür Şad does not mean "Commander in chief" as he thinks. Kür Shad is a rank and title.

The ignorant author claims that three students who were expelled from the Military Academy read *Ötüken* and says: " ... if it is considered that all three students read this magazine, it will be clear what disastrous abysses Turkey is being dragged into." .

See the head that works?

Turkey will be dragged into a catastrophic abyss because cadets read *Ötüken*...

Poor thing! ... You have already fallen to the bottom of the abyss with this level of perception and understanding. How can you predict the future of Turkey at this level? If Turkey would have sunk because of reading newspapers and magazines, it would have sunk because of reading your Nation.

would have sunk ten times by now. *Ötüken* Turkicist and orcist

magazine. I wish not only three students, but all cadets, all officers and generals had read it. There, the national military spirit, the inculcation of heroism, honour and virtue

What else is there but the air? To be afraid of *Ötüken*, one must be afraid of nationalism, morality and virtue like bats afraid of light.

The expulsion of three students from Harbiye Read more
The fact that they were not allowed to read *Ötüken* is

another form of blackmail. Students are not dismissed from the Military Academy just because they read *Ötüken*. There are of course a number of other reasons for this. Without knowing these

To attribute the earthquake to *Ötügen* is to be on the same level with the bigoted mindset that attributes the earthquake to lack of worship.

In the meantime, let us once again dwell on the epithet of backwardness that is attached to us.

For the last five or six years, it has also become common to call others reactionaries. The Unionists used to call everyone who was not one of them a "*traitor*". With the morality of Balkan communism, which has been transmitted from them to the present day, the disgrace of stigmatising those who hold contrary opinions still continues. However, it is worth noting that trying to humiliate others as fascists and reactionaries is an outright Red method. This ignorant writer, following the fashion, does not even realise who he is playing a part with by shouting the reactionary cry.

One of our great sins, which we are confronted with every now and then, is Turanism. We are Turanists, so what? Of course we will liberate all the captive countries which are our historical homeland. Is this not our duty? Are we not committed to such a great ideal, but are we going to live in animalistic comfort and pleasure? Let the ignorant writer do as he wishes. We will endeavour to liberate both Turkestan and Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, the Idyl-Ural tribes and the Crimea as long as our consciousness is functioning and as long as we have the strength to stand. And not only that... We will also take Western Thrace, Cyprus and the islands... Kirkuk and Bayır-Bucak will also be ours.

We know that we will not be able to see these things while we are alive, and we are not worried about this. The seeds we have sown will flourish and those who come after us will plant the flag with the moon and the star on the blessed lands in an irrepressible flood.

You have to be something other than a Turk not to want this, not to be able to trap this...

21 June 1966, Ötüken,
25 June, 1966, Issue 30

Requiem for those who died under *foreign* flags

O distant brethren, who have fought and shed blood in the ranks against their will! When I read in the newspapers that you fought to the last cartridge and to the last horse against the most formidable forces, in accordance with the blood and glory of your race, my heart ached at the horror of your black fate. In this harsh whirlwind of history, you should not have fought under foreign banners and for foreign ideals, but you should have fought in the same ranks with us, under the shadow of the flag with the moon and stars, for the sake of the great ideal. From the rivers of your blood and from the tears of those you left behind, trees of victory should have sprung up, which would have brought joy to our ancestors who were lost to history.

Your grandfathers and our grandfathers rode at full speed under the same chiefs, under the same banners of victory.

The warriors of our race, with their turbans, swords at the waist, quivers on their backs, fed with our blood on the endless steppes, would appear on the borders of the enemy, competing with the eagles, attacking with songs resembling the howl of wolves, and would destroy everything in their path. There, in that old country, one could go, throw, attack, but one could not turn back.

Hundreds of thousands of hearts beat like one heart
when the kopuzes are struck under the bright moons of
the nights of victory, kah-

How the raman attacked and how the horses rose would be told to the nation in the language of the bards.

There, the soldiers were like pars, lions and eagles. The girls were like the sun and resembled the fourteenth of the moon.

Then our star went out. We were separated and left to fend for ourselves. Defeats and troubles followed one another. Everything in the world deteriorated, everything changed. But there was one thing that remained the same in this changing, deteriorating world: Turkish blood...

Neither the sorrow of centuries, nor the debris of vile blood could change him.

When I read that you fought to the last cartridge and the last horse, following the voice of the history of your race, I remembered all that glittering past. I could not say that I wish you had not fought so hard. You were obliged to follow our tradition. Therefore, by writing these lines to you, I would like to make a lament for your blood spilt in the lands that are now foreign to us.

O you who died under foreign flags, no one will salute your unmarked graves. Perhaps no poet will write for you a burning text.

Let no lips remember you. Let no verse burn for you. When our spirits reach the God Mountain, our ancestor Alp Er Tunga, who has been involved in myths, will put the crown of heroism on your head with his hand; all our heroes will smile at you and our greatest pride, the hero of heroes, will say, may the hero of heroes, the hero of heroes, be blessed with gaza wounds.

O distant brothers who fight until the last cartridge and the last horse! No heroism in the world is in vain. From your blood, which seems to have flowed in vain, tomorrow new heroism will emerge. These rivers of blood will awaken the distracted masses, the feeling of

unity will ripple in the scattered obas and hundreds of thousands of brothers will run towards an ideal, towards the Red Alma.

Till the last cartridge and the
last horse!...

What better sign of admiration for you than these words uttered by foreigners? You are already obliged to do so with the speed of your history, race and blood. Even if God turns away from us and our race is wiped off the face of the earth, the old history will say of us: "They were finished, but they did not return". You are writing the deed that you will not perish by fighting to the last cartridge and the last horse.

As your brothers and sisters fought in Gallipoli, your hearts beat with the same emotion and your hands raised to God, our hearts are beating with the same emotion for you today.

Fight! Fight to the last cartridge, to the last drop of blood!... .. Die in foreign ranks you don't want to! No harm done... From these differences will be born the great unity of tomorrow. .. We will unite and at the foot of Mount God we will drink koumiss and pray to God for your ancestors and ours who are one.

Orkun, 1943, Issue: 14

The Great Mistakes of an Encyclopaedia

"Turkism" and *"Turanism"* are two words whose meaning cannot be understood in TURKEY. It is very difficult to explain an idea or a concept to people. Serious publications can be the main remedy to correct something that has been wrongly engraved in the minds.

Although we, as Turkists, have explained the meaning of the words *"Turkism"* and *"Turanism"* several times, it seems that we have failed to make our point clear. *"Turkism"* is the idea of a Turkish country, i.e. the idea that Turks should be superior to all other nations in every field; *"Turanism"* is the political aim of Turkism, i.e. the unification of all Turks in the world into a single state, as in the past.

Those who had no knowledge of history, ideals and the power of national will objected to this as a "dream", but while they called the ideal of uniting one nation a dream, they considered it realisable to unite all nations around Moscow.

Those who saw the impossibility of the unification of the Turkish nation of a hundred million people, which is a great source of energy, were ignoring 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 the liberation of Turks outside the borders of Turkey, which is the state of independent Turks, what is it if not Turanism to liberate Hatay first and then to seize half of Cyprus? Why should Turkey, which fights for 100,000 Turks in Cyprus, not fight for millions of other Turks when the conditions are ready?

The only thing that makes human beings human, the only thing that distinguishes them from other creatures is the ideal. Man is the creature who can die for his ideal. No animal dies for an ideal. Because it has no ideal. An animal can fight only to protect itself and its food.

False and deliberate articles may appear in newspapers and magazines on Turkism and Turanism. As a matter of fact, they have appeared and are still appearing. Members of political parties may also make unfavourable remarks full of criticism. The most typical example of this was given by İsmet İnönü, the then President of Turkey.

On 19 May 1944, the infamous speech was delivered at the Ankara Stadium.

However, in scientific works and encyclopaedias, which must remain within the scientific framework, there is no room for lies, mistakes and distortions. Encyclopaedias are published with the aim of addressing centuries. It is obliged to remain impartial on the subjects it describes, regardless of the opinion of the authors. This is a moral duty for them.

The reason that prompted us to write these lines is the great mistakes in the article "Turanism and Turkism" in an encyclopaedia published in fascicles under the name of *Encyclopaedia of Turkey* 1923-1973. Although Turkism is a very old intellectual movement and its analysis depends on long studies, it has been rendered incomprehensible by hastily and carelessly written lines in this encyclopaedia, and in the meantime, words have been used that would put our individuals under reproach. The fact that it was written in a hurry undoubtedly shows that this encyclopaedia

was prepared for commercial purposes. But the desire of the editors for profit is different.

It does not give them the right to list false, or even derogatory, information about Ian.

Now there are many encyclopaedias in Turkey, but I do not buy and read them because they are shallow and worthless, except for one or two. I was able to see the fascicle of the encyclopaedia I mentioned, which contains the article on Turanism and Turkism, because a young nationalist brought it to me. The article on Turanism and Turkism on pages 1360-1364 is very wrongly written. The person or persons who write an article in the encyclopaedia are obliged, first of all, to write the names of the person or persons they mention correctly. However, in this article, the names of four people are misspelled. My name is not "Nihal Atsız" but "Nihal Atsız", "Necdet Sançar" is "Nejdet Sançar", "Heybetullah" is "Hibetullah", and "Faiz Hisarcıklı" is "Fazıl Hisar cıklılar". The name of the magazine I once published was not "Atsız magazine" but "Atsız Mecmua". These seemingly minor mistakes are an example of ins seriousness and the result of haste. They cannot be excused in any way.

It is also evident that the author or authors of the article mistook "Turan" for a city: See the following sentence in the centre column of page 1361:

"First of all, at the very beginning of the National Struggle, with the adoption of the Misak-ı Milli, the hopes attached to the holy land of Turan were abandoned."

Since the Arabic word "belde" means only "city" in Turkish, to describe Turan in this way is the result of both haste and ignorance. But haste is no excuse. Turan is all the lands where Turks live. Even historical Turkish homelands such as Crimea, where not a single Turk lives today, are included in Turan. For this reason, the statement of the author or authors of the article that *"the Ottoman country is not Turan"* (page 1361, left-hand column) is also not an

excuse for haste.

tun) is not correct. Just as all the regions inhabited by Turks in the Ottoman Empire were parts of Turan, today's Turkey is also a part of Turan in its entirety.

Although these mistakes of the encyclopaedia are shameful for a serious work, what is important for us is that the Turkists are described as agitators and accused of using the word "nationalist" as a shield for themselves by attempting to explain Turanism as nationalism before the court. Turkism is undoubtedly nationalism, but it is a nationalism with a special meaning, a nationalism that considers the whole Turkish nation above all else and does not attach importance to other concepts. Today, even a group that considers the Turkish nation to consist of Sunni Muslims living in Anatolia and calls themselves "*Anatolians*" claim nationalism. In reality, Turkishness and Anatolianism are two incompatible and even hostile ideas. For this reason, it is out of the question for Turkists to hide behind the word nationalism. Although some Turkists defended that Turkism was nothing but nationalism in the Martial Law Court No. 1, which first convicted the Turkists during the events of 1944-1945, this was in order to explain the reality of Turkism to the court committee, which could not understand what Turanism was, and to the prosecutor, the late Kazım Alöç, who was deliberately hostile to Turkism. Otherwise, many Turkists, including the author of these lines, did not hesitate to say before the court that they embraced Turkism, Turanism and racism.

It is a great accusation to accuse the Turkists of provocation.

Those who have done so are obliged to show writings or other documents to prove this in order to avoid being denounced as slanderers.

The meaning of provocation is to incite people to unlawful behaviour. The so-called provocation is the incitement to unlawful behaviour

As for the articles in magazines, they are propaganda to spread ideas. The propaganda of honourable ideas is not a crime in terms of law and morality. Therefore, what is this word of defamation other than a proven mumbling that communists and, once or twice, İsmet İnönü directed against the Turkists?

Another issue is the astonishing ignorance of those who wrote or are writing the article on Turanism and Turkism about "Turks". See the following lines:

"Although the main aim was to bring Turkey into the war on the side of Germany, as one of the methods to achieve this aim, the idea of a federation that would bring together the Turks in Turkey and Pakistan in order to gather the captive Turks in Germany within its structure was being spread underhandedly, and 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 in the face of the Turkish government, which resisted not to enter the war. This time, people like Nihal Atsız and Zeki Velidi Togan were the leaders of the event, and were also in their close circle. "

Bringing Turks from Turkey and Pakistan together... Even children would not make such a delusion. However, the publishers of the encyclopaedia seem to consider Pakistanis as Turks too. Were three or five teachers and students in the era of the one-party dictatorship the pressure group that would bring Turkey into the war on the side of Germany? Were the Turkists going to go to distant Pakistan while there were, for example, a few hundred thousand Turks living in the former Turkish provinces of Iraq? More importantly, was there a state called "Pakistan" at that time? Even if there was, were there any Turks living there other than a few refugees? These absurdities are only worthy of

the memoirs of Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, a Jewish convert and communist. In encyclopaedias published in a hurry with the greed for profit, these

all kinds of mistakes are inevitable. *Islamic and Turkish Encyclopaedias*

It is possible to complete an encyclopaedia in a short period of time, when it has not been completed for years, only by taking into consideration the mistakes in advance. Here is a question to be asked to the editors: If they could not find sources on Turanism and Turanists, could they not have obtained solid information by contacting living Turanists?

I learnt that editors were engaged in publishing such encyclopaedias and encyclopaedic works from Yılmaz Öztuna's article titled "World History Disaster" in the January 1974 issue of *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*. Yılmaz Öztuna is the author of the 12-volume *History of Turkey* and this work is the best of the histories of Turkey available today. Öztuna rightly complains that in the encyclopaedic works of editors entitled *World History*, many quotations are made from his book without mentioning his name. No one likes to see his own work plundered. It is one of the rules of etiquette in the art of authorship to cite the source, especially when taking the historical discoveries of an author. In other words, the editors, on the one hand, attribute actions and ideas to the Turanists that do not exist, and on the other hand, they are in the position of having quoted Öztuna's work and not mentioning his name. What would happen if they cited the source? Would it diminish the value of their works or themselves? On the contrary, they would have become lovable in the public conscience and would have done the right thing.

By the way, I would like to clarify another point here: I have written for the first time that the Turks had established not forty states in forty countries, but two states, one in Central Asia and its continuation in the vast region of eastern Europe, and another state in Asia Minor, and that the names hitherto known as states were the names of dynasties. This was done as a student at the

Faculty of Literature, out of a desire arising from the difficulties in comprehending Turkish history.

is the result of my tedious work. In 1935, I published the preface to my work titled *Collections on Turkish History*.

As I defended this idea in the first issue of *Çınaraltı* magazine published in August 1941, I wrote the same idea in a more systematic and proper way in the article titled "How should our view of Turkish History be?". This last article is also included in my book titled *Türk Tarihinde Meseleler*, which was published in 1966 as the 8th issue of Afşin Publications.

The article Turancılık in *the Encyclopaedia of Turkey* is incorrect

This is not all. It was not because of my writings in *Atsız Mecmua* that I was exiled from my position as an assistant at the Faculty of Literature to Malatya Secondary School, but because Reşit Galib, to whom I had sent a telegram together with a few friends at the First History Congress, had been appointed Minister of National Education at that time, in other words, Reşit Galib took revenge on me.

Another mistake is that Halide Edib is considered a Turanian. One does not become a Turanian by writing a novel called *Yeni Turan*. Halide Edib turned against Turkism in her later years and showed this with some of her actions during her professorship at Istanbul University. If *Yeni Turan*, which she wrote in her youth in accordance with the fashion, makes her a Turanian, then Nazım Hikmet, who wrote the poem "Wounded Ghost" in his youth in the excitement of the Mim War, should also be considered a patriotic poet. However, Nazım Hikmet is the number one traitor.

(11 February 1975), Ötüken, 1975, 4th issue. 64

Red Crescent did not fulfil its duty

In recent months, Tashkent has been hit by one big earthquake after another. Many houses were destroyed, people died and thousands of Tashkent residents left their city and moved to other places.

According to the current Soviet organisation, Tashkent is the capital of the Republic of Uzbekistan. This means that Tashkent is a Turkish city. The suffering of a Turkish city is the suffering of all Turkish cities, the suffering of Uzbeks is the suffering of all of us.

There is a Red Crescent Society in Turkey. This association, which was established to relieve human suffering and to help those who have suffered disasters, has worked by spending what it has collected from the Turkish nation back to the nation, and it is an association that has received good marks in the eyes of the nation and is well liked. The Red Crescent is the light of dark days.

Wherever there is an earthquake, fire, flood, famine or disease in Turkey, the Red Crescent is there.

He is the one who rushed to the aid of the baby homeland Cyprus.

A year or two ago, when there was a great earthquake in Skopje, he was the one who rushed to Skopje because it was a Turkish city.

When the friendly and allied Pakistanis were fighting with the Indians, he went to their aid. In fact, at the end of

the Second World War, when Greece was starving and suffering from tuberculosis, he sent food and medicine to the Greeks as a way of "feeding the snake".

But why was Tashkent not helped? Don't those who run the Red Crescent know that Tashkent is the capital of Uzbekistan and Uzbeks are Turks? Even if they have heard these words for the first time in their lives, don't the words "Tashkent" and "Uzbek" tell them something? Don't they realise that all syllables of these two four-syllable words are Turkish?

Why didn't they come to Tashkent's aid? Because it was under foreign rule?

Skopje was also under foreign domination. Greece was not under foreign domination, it was foreign. Moreover, it was historically hostile.

Tashkent didn't need help? Neither did Skopje. There were many brothers who would help Greece.

Why were they helped, but not Tashkent?

Moreover, the Red Crescent's duty is not to help near and far, but to help everyone. Why didn't it do that?

Why didn't they think of the result, the moral gain, which cannot be measured in hundreds of billions, of setting up a Red Crescent tent in Tashkent and helping a few hundred Uzbeks, even if it was symbolic? Why were the hopes of those who had been waiting for years for help from us, not help but a friendly glance, dashed?

Will these minds never work and what we expect will always remain unrealised?

* * *

As long as hearts and minds are not filled with national beliefs and ideals, as long as enemies of the nation are given equal rights in the name of freedom and democracy, and as long as the highest positions remain open to those of unknown lineage, yes, this will be the case... He will not be mistaken in the pain of the Turks,

Those who strive for Turkishness will be undermined and the Greek will be helped while the Uzbek will be indifferent...

* * *

O Turkels!... Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kara-Kalpaks, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, Oyrats, Altaians!.. ... O East Turkestanis, Uyghurs, Taranists! O Azerbaijanis, Kirkukites, Bayır-Bucakis, Cypriots, Western Thracians, Balkans; Gagauzians! O Balkars, Karachays, Nogais, Kumuks! O Crimeans, Bashkirs, Bashkirs, Mishers, Tatars!

Your pain is our pain... Your homeland
is our homeland.

Our homeland is a large and perpetual country from the Sea of Islands to beyond the Altai.

Ötüken, 25 June 1966, Issue: 30

-11-

NATIONAL VALUES
AND ISSUES

National Self [/}

We observe that the sense of national self has been shaken in many people who have come into contact with the civilisation of the twentieth century and the nations of Europe. Undoubtedly, every civilised person with a high sense of sense feels admiration mixed with admiration and respect when he sees the high science and fine technique of Europe and America. However, many of them do not stop there; they also admire their religious, political, social and economic morals and their human dignity and begin to disregard our own nation and our own national identity. Among these, there are those who say "Where are they, where are we?" with a deep sigh of relief, as well as those who worship Europeans and Americans by passing out and forgetting everything, and those who fall into deep denial and even weep when they return to their homeland to take up a position after a few years in foreign countries.

It is impossible not to pity people who are dazzled by the splendour of these advanced civilisations and lose their national identity. But it is not enough to pity them alone.

If the Turkish nation is wretched, miserable, poor and backward compared to the nations of the West, the blame lies neither with them nor with us. However, in the past times, it is the Turkish nation that has been chained and

driven

It is in the external and internal policies, in the evils, and finally in the treaties and the intellectuals.

If today we are not attached to Europeans and Americans with an unconscious love for this branch, but live in admiration of their humanity, it is the greatest humanity to raise the Turkish nation, which we judge to be pathetic and backward, to that level.

Those who, admiring the good and the beautiful, forget and disregard the poor and the suffering, are only people with weak energies and barren souls. If we are strong in our humanity, lineage and genus, we are obliged to move towards these nations and countries that we consider high, without losing our national identity, without falling into the frustrations and denials befitting the weak and misanthropic.

However, our national endeavours are not so low that they need such a simple and simple feeling of pity and the love of a missionary. There is truth, strength and nobility in our cause.

The Turkish nation is the source of many gems, virtues and nobility not found in Europe and America. As a matter of fact, our present vital power and capability are beyond the hopes of European and American minds and mentalities. For years they have been saying that we are dead, dying, buried and will be buried. But today we can shout with a freer and louder voice than ever before that we exist, we are alive and we will rise.

Since the Turkish nation, like the Turkish homeland, has not been well analysed, we live without being aware of its material and spiritual treasures, and we are deceived when we look at our nation and homeland with the eyes and mentality of foreigners.

While the nations and greats of the world admire our racial nobility, energy and human virtues, our disregard for our own nation and our despair of our own abilities are

despicable if they are motivated by evil intent.

If it is believed without such an intention, it is blind-eyed folly.

Pay attention. Look at the statistics of Europe and America, which show the naturalisation and immigration movements. There you will see that Syrian Arabs are only called Syrians instead of Arabs. Because they could not find the virtues and characteristics of a historical race in the people they saw and they could not call them Arabs.

Again, in many places you will read that Greeks, Armenians, and even Mısliler are called "Levantine". They considered it too much to give them the name of a nation.

However, everyone who travelled to, passed through or stayed in these lands is called Turk. In past times - we consoled ourselves as Ottomans, and we recognised our nationality as Ottoman.

and they used to call us Turks. As a matter of fact, Japanese children are called Japanese everywhere.

We are Turks. Based on our history and our most recent past, we say that we are Turks and take justifiable pride in this.

There are Turks living in the farthest corners, in remote cities on the coasts of North America. Everywhere they find jobs in accordance with their national identity and live noble, clean and honest lives. However, many other nationalities, in the same countries, are the elements that often fill the police incident lists. The most honest of them are engaged in running public houses and establishments. Seeing and knowing this situation, the foreigners did not give them the names of their own nations and, more precisely, could not recognise them as a historical race.

Therefore, this nation is recognised by everyone, from the farthest to the closest nations. Those who have had the opportunity to come into contact with it have always admired its national identity and nobility. We are such a

noble nation that even on the battlefields, a stage where people become the most savage

We do not lose our humanity, and we endear ourselves to the enemies who stand against us.

A nation may be impoverished and backward due to many historical, economic and political enmities, misfortunes and mismanagement. The first duty of the sons of that nation who see, hear and pity this is to try to rescue this nobility from the mud and misery and to try to raise it. This can only be done by believing in our national self and national energy.

Believing in the national self means believing in the sacred rights, virtues, capabilities, gems and nobility of the Turkish nation.

Those who believe in this can work for great achievements that will raise the science and technology of our country and show their humanity. However, degenerates who do not recognise their nation, attribute incompetence and primitiveness to it, and who do not like the shelter in which they have been born, and who make a living by advertising foreigners, are stateless people who have no allegiance to any nation. We also call them Levantines.

Our nation is not inferior to any other nation neither in sacrifice, nor in nationalism, nor in patriotism, nor in creativity, nor in faithfulness.

The Turkish nation does not blindly accept anything without weighing it with its own philosophy and thought. However, it is not one of the nations with an aggressive spirit that confuses and muddies the society with flamboyant nonsense. It has great and steel Turkish calmness and strength.

His obedience is not blind worship. It is a calm expression of humility towards his elders.

The Turkish nation has the highest honour. It does not hesitate to strive to succeed and to die in order to live. The day we equip it with modern sciences and means, it

is destined for the greatest future.

Those who are ignorant of this, who think that this nation is an emotionless, reactionless, backward and primitive nation because it does not get involved in political gossip, and whose eyes are blinded by the clamour of foreign nations, should look at the most recent past if they do not read history. This nation, which yesterday was thought to worship the sultans, when it saw its national existence in danger, came under the command of a commander and won its independence and future by putting its life on the line.

This nation, whose laziness was mentioned yesterday, is the nation that pays the heaviest taxes.

In order to understand the reasons for these facts, in order to explain these incomprehensible phenomena, it is necessary to go into Turkish villages, to be tested in village cafes and in front of them, and to work to respond to their needs. Let us be brief: It is necessary to meet and mingle with the Turkish self.

Let us believe in our national identity. Let us worship our nation.

National Self [//]

A characteristic of strong communities is national self-confidence. National self is born from self-confidence. A self-confident community is a community that carries out its own cause without caring what others will think or do.

Two examples from the present day are very interesting as they show how communities with a national identity behave:

The situation of the Union of South Africa, which seceded from the British Empire, and Rhodesia, which declared independence.

The first is the case of two and a half million people of Flemish and English descent who, despite being subjected to the protests and threats of the whole world because of their exclusion of 12 million Negroes from the national sovereignty by considering them second class citizens, did not mind.

In the second, 200,000 whites, despite pressure and threats from Britain, declared their dominance in a country of two million Negroes.

I am not arguing whether these behaviours are right or humane. I want to explain how communities with a national identity struggle and what they risk.

By mobilising the national feelings of the entire Turkish nation in the Cyprus case and opening the aid campaign for Cyprus, 18

Collecting million liras and building landing ships is a good behaviour. But it is nothing in the face of the greatness of the cause and the infinite sacrifice it requires.

Is 18 million liras all that the Turkish nation can do for the Cyprus cause? One hundred times this amount is spent every year for entertainment and debauchery. Where are the aeroplanes that will land in Cyprus? Where are the assault boats that will protect the landing ships and sink the ships that want to obstruct the landing? Where are the parachute commandos who will go to Cyprus by sea and air? Where are the volunteer raiding teams that will attack Western Thrace without asking for any help from the state?

These will not be done by the state, but by the nation. Organisations will be established and immediately put into action. Money will be demanded from the rich Muslims who prepare iftar tables for forty people every night for gamblers in order to gain good deeds. Those who do not give will be exposed. The middle class and the poor already give; money will be collected from them too.

University students will lead the Commando. Everyone above the age of fifteen will be called upon to eat one less meal a day every month and to donate the money for that meal to the organisation. Cinemas, theatres and places of profit will donate the earnings of one session a month to the same place. These will amount to 100 million a year. In addition, every civil servant will give one per cent of his salary. With this, the University Division will be prepared.

Of course, there are retired staff to train this division. After the preparation is completed, the nation will hold Greece to account...

It's a dream, isn't it? Yes, imagination... Imagination is a creative power unique to humans. Animals who think only of eating, drinking and pleasure are of course devoid

of imagination.

Ötüken, 1965, Issue: 24

Millz Values and Millz Spirit

YAHYA KEMAL, in a poetic joke with Ziya Gökalp: "*I am the future with its roots in the past*". This four-word verse is a constant motto for all nations capable of living. Even if we forget, discard or deny the past, our root, our origin is there. The genes of our spiritual blood, in other words, of our souls, of everything good or bad, come from there. Knowing them and correcting the defective ones is the condition and law of the belief in the life of the nation.

Nothing comes out of looking down on the past. It is a wrong idea to despise it. Just as it is an injustice to dislike a newborn baby because it is ugly, mindless, incapable, without thinking about what a beautiful thing it will become later, it is just as wrong to dislike the past with its flaws.

Yet, behind the glorious and great curtain in the misty horizons of the past, there are other curtains that are dim and horrible. The time when man was still a creature halfway between man and animal is not an age to be proud of. But this is the way it is. It is the destiny that the creative power has drawn for us.

It is not in anyone's power to change it. Our pride, when we were a nation or a tribe, from the law. Because it is now in law, in order, in virtue,

A life lived with solidarity, organisation, sacrifice, risking death in war has begun and life has become beautiful. Doesn't this beautiful life also have ugly sides? Of course there are. But just as a beautiful poem cannot be discarded for a limp verse, just as the art of a violinist girl with a very ugly voice cannot be denied, just as a first class doctor who kills a patient in 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.

A judgement cannot be made by looking at a single word of a person, a move of a fencer or a battle of a commander. In order to make a judgement, it is necessary to look at that person, that athlete, that 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 is also a great commander. He was also defeated. He was also captured. Does this take away Atatürk's and Gazi Osman Pasha's status as great commanders? The greatest testimony to the fact that they do not is the permission given to Gazi Osman Pasha by the Czar of Moscow to travel with a sword, and the dedication of the British to Atatürk at the beginning of their official history of the Battle of Gallipoli.

As Mehmet Emin Yurdakul said:

"Nationalities are floods flowing from the past. "

There is a unique beauty in the past. Because it will never come back again. Because the dead always live there and look at us only with their greatness, stripped of their offences. The past is a source of power, a river of virtue.

It is not for nothing that nations cling to their past. Evaluating the shapeless pieces of stone unearthed from

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under the soil, a building with only one wall left standing

Striving to keep it is a struggle for life, a manifestation of the ideal of being rooted.

The Scots probably don't wear those grotesque skirts to make people laugh at them, and the Spaniards don't do bullfights for the sake of brutality.

One of the indispensable elements of national life is music. Even if, as some people say, music was born out of primitive man's desire, it has now entered life as a part of fine arts. It cannot be removed.

It is known from historical records that we have had a palace and army harmonica since the age of the Huns, that is, since centuries before Christ. A national anthem, a military composition, a piece depicting a mela or a cheerful melody can inspire individuals, communities and nations, and sometimes make them ecstatic. People are moved by music, rejoice and sometimes cry.

Turkish music is a dignified music that shows the maturity of the soul of a nation that founded a world state. Of course, not every piece of it can be called beautiful. Just as not every piece of Western music can be called beautiful. There is not much definition of beauty. Because there is no weighing and measuring of beauty. Whatever has a great aesthetic effect on those who see and hear it is beautiful. For this reason, what a Turk finds beautiful and what a Westerner finds beautiful, although sometimes the same, are often not the same.

One of the great masters of our music is Itri. He sang the national spirit and expressed the feelings of the Turks. Itri is a past, a symbol. He is a giant of Turkish music.

Even if the Turkish nation one day ceases to be Muslim, it will celebrate Itri in the same way as it would love Süleymaniye, no matter what path and direction its music takes. Itri is not a mukallid, i.e. an instrumentalist, but a creator, i.e. a composer.

While this was the case, we were astonished to read in *Milliyet* dated 27 November 1971 an article by "Dev let Artist" Ms. Suna Kan, who denigrated both Itri and Turkish music, which we call monophonic music. Suna Kan, a master violinist, was once a child prodigy. So now she is no longer a child prodigy, only a child. What is it to despise a single voice? It's a s i g n of undigested elevation. ... Isn't it childish to explain the progression or regression of music only in terms of one voice or many voices? Jazz music is also polyphonic, but that doesn't save it from being a vulgar clatter.

Ney is also a monophonic musical instrument. However, the ney has taken place in our history not only as a musical instrument but also as a glorious weapon. Because Selim III, who was imprisoned in a room after he was deposed from his throne, was playing the ney when a crowd of mostly non-Turkish slaves attacked his room to kill him, and he defended himself with that monophonic musical instrument.

Countries were opened, organisations were established and the culture and civilisation of the Ottoman Empire, which British Toynbee described as *one of the two and a half empires established on earth*, lived on for centuries (the other empire was the Roman Empire and the h a l f o f it was the British Empire).

To despise the music of a glorious history is to despise that glorious past and not to consider oneself as a member of this nation. Suna Kan said that if "museum pieces" occupy the State Concert Hall on 22-23 December, she would return her title of State Artist.

Let him!... The Turkish nation would have lost nothing if a Suna Kan had not come to this world. Nor will it lose anything with her departure. Because, she is finally a skilful instrumentalist and there are others who are more skilful than her.

However, if Itri had not come to the world, the musical aspect of the Turkish race would have remained a little lower than it is today. Because he was a true artist, that is, a composer.

Also, cases will not be solved by confusing Atatürk with everything. Suna Kan is not old enough to know Atatürk's speeches or words about music. There are probably people who taught her.

He should never forget that if Atatürk did not like monophonic music, he would not have had songs with this music sung at his table, he would not have sung it himself, he would not have even had zeybek airs played and had Safiye Ayla brought in to sing monophonic compositions.

National values may go out of fashion, they may become museum pieces. But they are still respected. Beethoven is also a museum piece, but he is not insulted, he is honoured. Do the dehumanised youth of today's Europe listen to and understand Beethoven? They can only jump up and down with wild sounds called pop muzak. But they do not, cannot shake Beethoven's place in history.

Despite Suna Kan's offences, Itri was still able to take his place in history.

It is indestructible. It is impossible to knock down the three centuries old stone monument by striking it with a light violin bow. It is a part of the national spirit and will stand firm as long as the Turkish race lives.

Spiritualising Nations

Just as a running machine needs to be lubricated from time to time in order not to stop, living nations also need to be spiritualised in order not to decay spiritually. Nations that are not spiritualised and for which reasons and remedies cannot be found for spiritualisation are doomed to break and fall. If you want an example, look at the wretchedness, crumbling and collapse of the British Empire after the Second World War.

Spiritualisation is achieved by reminding a nation of its greatness and greatness in the past, even by reminding it of its defeats and betrayals, and above all by showing it great national goals for tomorrow.

Spiritualising a nation is a purely nationalist act. It is not possible to spiritualise a nation by commemorating the greats and achievements of foreigners and by international ceremonies.

Commemorating Malazgird and Alp Arslan is an act of national spirit. Not only is it an act of gratitude and a debt of loyalty, but it also has the great benefit of encouraging Turkish youth to be like him by his example. People, especially young people and children, take in what they see. The people who fill the streets today, who look more like monkeys than human beings

The creatures with hair, beard and moustache were not born like that from their mothers; they became like this by seeing those examples.

Large ceremonies for Alp Arslan and Malazgird should have been held all over Turkey on 26 August 1971. It could not be done. Political crisis, party fights, ambitions and grudges did not allow this. However, if at least five years in advance and competent people had been appointed, these spectacular ceremonies would have been held in spite of everything, and a great success and gain would have been achieved in terms of feeding the youth with national spirit.

Although we see some ceremonies and commemoration days being organised in our country, we do not know whether to laugh or cry.

On 4 September 1971 Saturday evening, Istanbul Radio talked about "Ahi Evren". Ahi Evren had founded a tradesman organisation in Anatolia. This organisation was an Oghuz species coming from Central Asia. The tradesmen's organisation of nomadic Oghuzes. ... Our minds are in God's hands!.. It was another festival when the Minister of Labour not only believed these tales, but also read this man's name as "Ahi Evran". "Ahi" and its old form "aki" are Turkish words meaning "brave, valiant, friend". "Evren" means both "dragon" and "universe" and is used as a male name. "Ahi", on the other hand, is a Persian word which means "ahli", "ah-li", "ah-li" and is a fabricated word used by poets as a pseudonym. In fact, a poet with the pseudonym Ahi lived in the era of Yavuz Sultan Selim.

On the evening of 5 September 1971, we again listened to another fairy tale on Istanbul Radio. According to this tale, which it is not clear whether it was serious or a joke, Seyid Battal Gazi started to Turkify Anatolia 1200 years ago... We do not know which scholar of history discovered this great historical fact and put it in the middle. A "school

of the nation"

Shouldn't the radio be more knowledgeable, dignified and serious when addressing the nation?

There is no such man as "Battal Gazi" in Turkish history. There is a *Battal Gazi Epic* which is read among the people. Although its language and metre are Turkish, the heroes in it always bear Arabic names. For the time being, no studies have been carried out to reach a final decision on it.

1200 years ago, in 770, the Turks had neither become Muslims nor had they come to Anatolia. The name of an Arab commander who died in the battles with the Byzantines in 740 was "Abdullah Battal". Although it is hypothesised that there were Turks among the mercenaries of Abba siler and that the *epic* of *Battal Gazi* emerged among these Turks because they fought against Byzantium, the issue has not yet been resolved. Therefore, the radio broadcast that a Turk named Battal Gazi started to Turkify Anatolia 1200 years ago cannot be anything other than a fabrication.

The biggest commemoration was held on the occasion of the 650th anniversary of Yunus Emre's death, and turkologists of other nations were invited to it. This was not a serious event either. First of all, in order to commemorate the 650th anniversary of Yunus Emre's death, it was necessary to prove that he died in $1971 - 650 = 1321$. However, it is not even clear whether Yunus Emre was one person, let alone the years of his birth and death, or whether he was two or even three people who were confused with each other due to similarity of names. According to what we heard from the participants of the Yunus Emre ceremony, his humanism was mentioned throughout. First and foremost, a nation commemorates and celebrates those who are its own in all their aspects. Humanist means to equate the Turk with others. The current environment of Turkey shows that we do not need

humanists, but Turkists.

We have a strange side: When we commemorate someone, we lift them to the skies. The blind die, they become almond-eyed; the bald die, they become golden-haired. However, the commemoration ceremonies should be the expression of the truth, not of falsehoods and lies, and the younger generations should get used to learn about the old ones, both their virtues and their shortcomings.

Now, if we look from this point of view and put Yunus Emre on the anatomy table of history, the conclusion we will reach is this:

Yunus Emre is a great artist of Turkish. He is one of those who revealed that Turkish is a great language of poetry and ideas.

However, Yunus Emre's ideas poisoned the Turkish nation and numbed it. Because he, too, was caught up in the diseases of ideas and emotions of the time he lived in, he put forward inconsistent words as 'tasawuf' and tried to inculcate a philosophy of begging to the Turkish nation, which was obliged to be a warrior nation due to the fact that its environment was covered with enemies. His:

*The beater needs no
hands, the cursing needs
no tongue, the Dervish
needs no heart.
You can't be a dervish*

Is this a thought that fits Turkish morality and creation? Are even Turkish dervishes like this? Are the dervishes who participated in the wars with Orhan Gazi not dervishes? Is this how the Arab İznü Hassıllı, the scribe of the first emperor of Turkey, the Seljuk Tugrul Beg, described the Turks in his book translated into Turkish?

*He who does not look at seventy-two
nations with one eye is a rebel in truth,*

even if he is a public scholar.

Is Yunus Emre not in heresy both in terms of nationality and religion? The word "nation"

If he uses it in the place of "nation" in its present meaning in Turkish, then he is a man without a nationality and a man without a homeland. If he uses it instead of "religion" in its Arabic meaning, then he is an infidel. Because Islam does not regard other religions as equal to itself. It is already his:

*Fasting, prayer, zakat and pilgrimage are crimes;
The fakir is free from this in his eagerness*

This is nothing but disbelief in a way that leaves no room for any interpretation and exegesis. Attempts to explain these with Sufism are futile and ridiculous endeavours. Yunus Emre, who was accepted by the people as a saint, was dismissed by the great statesman and sheikhulislam Ebussuud because of his Sufi heresies.

Now let us ask: Did the jaws that chatter like storks every day about Atatürk's Turkey and Atatürk's nationalism find the perverted-minded, sick souled Yunus Emre in the entire Turkish history to make his jubilee? And how did they invent the year of his death? If a ceremony is to be held for Yunus Emre, why did they take his humanism, which is a national betrayal, while his "Turkish language", which is a national service, was retained? If Yunus Emre is really a great humanist, he will be presented to the experts in a scientific study. Not to the whole nation.

While we, in a national heedlessness, are trying to destroy ourselves, Iran is preparing to celebrate the 2500th anniversary of its foundation, and while we cannot find three to five million liras for Malazgird, they are allocating a year's oil revenues, that is, several billion liras, for this work.

If you look at the historical reality, there is no state of 2500 years. There were the Persians who were destroyed by Alexander of Macedon, the Sa'sanids who were destroyed by the Arabs centuries later, and the Büveyhlids who were

destroyed by the Seljuks centuries later. After that, Iran existed until 1925.

It was always a Turkish state or a part of a Turkish state under Turkish rule. Turkish sovereignty even influenced Persian and the language adapted to the structure of Turkish language. In other words, verbs come at the end of the sentence. In order to give a national spirit to the Persians in this state, a legend of 2500 years has been created, preparations have been made for ten years by spending billions, works have been written, cities have been established and the whole world has been invited to accept the existence of a 2500 year old state.

In view of this, we say: The newly established Ministry of Culture should, on the one hand, publish the necessary works in order to inspire the nation, and on the other hand, it should search for Turkish greats whose jubilee will be held, days to be commemorated or Turks who have served the national culture. If the newspaper reports are correct, the Ministry has found this important man: Ertuğrul Muhsin...

Much has been written about the identity of Ertuğrul Muhsin, claiming that he was a good director. In fact, there is no difference between a good director and a good coach. Both prepare teams to satisfy people's excitement.

But on the other hand, there are people who really serve Turkish culture that no one even thinks about. Let us introduce one of them: Abdülkadir İnan, who lives in Ankara and is now 82 years old, is a Bashkir Turk. No one knows all Turkish dialects, Turkish folklore and the national Turkish religion Sha manism better than him. Atatürk recognised his value and gave him a professorship. Hasan Ali Yücel, one of the famous Atatürkists, revoked this professorship during his ministry. Abdülkadir İnan, who is fluent in Arabic, Persian, German and Russian, could be commissioned to write and translate *the Manas Epic*, one of the

monuments of national culture. The Altai Turkic epics collected by Radloff could be translated, and the booklet on *Shamanism*, which was his own work but was printed and sold out by the Historical Society, could be reprinted.

Above all, great ceremonies are held for the days of honour in history, but they are held in such a way that they are taken seriously.

There are lessons to be learnt from this tale of Iran's 2500 years. While Iran, which has passed over how many cylinders, is trying to invent national legends in order to keep the spirit of Persianism alive, we are trying to erase the only power that keeps us alive, the national consciousness and national spirit, by forgetting the spirit of Turkishness, which is our only basis, and replacing it with God's scourge, humanism.

O Turkish nation! What a strong and durable thing you are! You never collapse!

(11 October 1971). Ötüken, 1971, Issue: 10

Millz Symbols

One of the conditions for living as a nation is to respect national symbols. When a person becomes civilised, he is obliged to sacrifice some of his freedoms and respect certain rules. A civilised person cannot lie down and sleep at random like an animal. He cannot shout or sing a folk song whenever he wants. He cannot do whatever he wants, whenever and wherever he wants.

Civilised people also respect living or non-living things that are considered sacred by the nation. Objects considered sacred are things like the flag, coat of arms, national anthem, honour and honour. For an animal, all cloths, including the flag, are worthless. Because it cannot be eaten. It is impossible for an animal to have a feeling or instinct of honour and honour. The animal does not know the national symbol either. Because it is not a nation, and for it the national symbol is just an object like a stone or a tree.

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.

When 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: Do they do so out of ignorance or ignorance, or out of ulterior motives?

When the national symbol, Oghuz Khan, is spoken against, you should know that he is working for the enemy, knowingly or unknowingly.

The situation is the same for those who call the national symbol Bozkurt a dog. Moreover, they see themselves in the mirror.

(13 April 1974), Ötüken, 1974, Issue: 5

National Economy

A nation whose production is bedouin
cannot be civilised.

For centuries, we have been a nation whose hands and feet have been tied by cruel chains such as capitulations and exploited like a milking cow by greedy and rapacious nations and capitals. Everyone used to acquire colonies and suck their blood. We also exploited our motherland for the sake of our colonies.

In addition to these, since the Tanzimat, we have come into closer contact with European civilisation and its requirements, and we have wasted all our wealth thoughtlessly like a prodigal, especially due to the blind extravagance and snobbery of our so-called intellectual classes.

Our losses are not limited to this. Since 1310, we have been dealing with internal wars, which have broken out almost every year, and we have incurred many expenses. In addition to these, we have made the revolution of legitimacy. We have incurred a lot of expenses which are the natural and hard-working results of this revolution.

The Italian offensive and the Tripoli war came our way. We struggled with it. The Balkan started before it ended. We lost a lot of our defence equipment that we

had just procured and materials such as girls whose balances had not yet been opened to our enemies together with large and fertile pieces of land. In the meantime, we made loans.

The great war came. While our children could not find bread to eat, our crops were reduced to zero and our exports had stopped, we were busy distributing gold to the naked people in the deserts. Finally, the armistice came.

We have lost a large amount of land and great fortunes, which will again be inherited by a few imperialists.

We achieved the War of Independence with debts over our heads and money pouring out of our nation's bottomless coffers in crumbs.

After that, our great inquisitions, which made everyone's fingers curl, began.

All of these were great works which were costly and whose value could not be measured in money. In order to ensure our national defence, we have created important institutions with necessary sacrifices.

Then, we accepted a new civilisation with all its surroundings and its levahiki. We had won this last victory at the cost of our lives. Victory and success emptied our souls of the fullness of our souls and the hardness of our life of suffering, and for a while we indulged in extravagance. In the meantime, there were again internal revolts. We suppressed them at great expense.

The most flourishing parts of our homeland had been trampled by a rabid enemy. Instead of their mud-brick ruins, we have raised concrete towers. Many of Turkey's cities and even towns have acquired buildings and civilised organisations and installations that they had never even dreamed of. Finally, we created the city of Ankara, the first nucleus of a new and great centre on the Central Anatolian plateau.

Meanwhile, the economic depression that swept the

world hit us too. We came to our senses. We started to take measures.

From an economic point of view, each of the events we have mentioned above in a sentence is a great event in itself. These are our many material and spiritual treasures.

They exhausted us. But against all this, we won our freedom and independence. We had our national existence within our national borders.

In the face of all these bankrupting events, as in the realisation of all these wonders, the Turkish peasantry has been our sole support.

The Turkish peasantry paid for these sacrifices with their lives and property. Contrary to economic theories, they have preferred hunger to immorality, misery to slavery, suffering to vagrancy. We believe that this people is an inexhaustible treasure and its energy.

Because he has proved and demonstrated these at every stage of our history.

The Turkish woman, who nursed her child by eating wild grasses while her husband fought on the fronts, proved that she was a kind of Turkish mother whenever necessary.

Our peasants, who poured their veins to the fronts while their obas were struggling with hunger and darkness, always showed their lionship to the world. We asked for many things without giving him anything. He gave. When we were in trouble, we asked him to come in case of danger, and he came. What crisis and what danger can a nation possessing such a treasure and such a sacred mass succumb to? Does the lion, who fights and claws with death for independence, fear and grow tired of struggling with poverty and hunger in order to live? ...

We've endured everything and won. We'll endure everything and win.

We are a nation that has learnt to fight with fists on our empty stomachs in seven climates. We will eat grass, burn oil, wear sacks, but we will not die, we will not lose our freedom and independence and we will save and preserve them. All this for the sake of a free and

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independent Turkey and for that...

That's why there is economic mobilisation. Farewell to
waste and debauchery...

There is a war on wild goods. There is a war on automobiles, which are city monsters, on silken fabrics that shine like snakeskin, on luxurious hats that adorn empty heads, on fur and velvet pieces that make vanity fools worship, on Frankish rice, which is a favourite of the puffed stomachs.

There is a war against the opium-addled films of the century that instil dreams, and against the dirty sound records that make the ears drink raki. There is war against polished nails, matte faces, colourful ties and champagne exploding everywhere like enemy cannons planted on our homeland; there is economic mobilisation.

All Turks will beat as one heart, think as one head and fight as one army. That is why we say: *All Turks are one army, those who do not join are deserters.*

Ata is singing. We are shouting with him. We have set foot on a new Samsun. We are travelling through a new Sakarya to a new Dumlupınar and from there to a new Lausanne.

The success of this army, which will fight under the command of Gazi, will be the second masterpiece of Turkish history in recent centuries. We are going to economic liberation through Sakarya and Dumlupınar. We are going to Sakarya, Dumlupınar and Lausanne.

Our path is the same as last time. Our road leads to Dumlupınar, not Moscow or Rome.

If there are those who join us with crusted intentions, let us inform them in advance. Let them not try again the disappointment they faced in the First National Struggle. Let there be no more trials, no more trestles. Let them not be interrogated and weep again.

Not Moscow and Rome. We're going to Dumlupınar and Lausanne.

The Turkish nation is not a puppet of fashion seeking examples of sacrifice and heroism. History alone,

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We are a nation that has invaded and revolutionised on its own, a nation that has cut its own belly.

We are not going to the Red or Ka ra regimes, as some people think and dream, but to the Al-bloody Sa karya, Al-bloody Dumlupınar and Al-bloody Lo zan created by the Turkish nation.

Atsız Mecmua, 1931, Issue: 8

Economy and *National Defence*

Unsung heroes,
it is necessary to save nameless
producers.

Until the end of the seventeenth century, a country possessing a certain amount of land and a sufficient number of inhabitants could ensure and maintain its economic independence by means of its own national means of production without being dependent on anyone else.

The economic relations of such a country with its neighbours consisted of importing luxury goods from them which they did not have.

In this period, countries were endeavouring to provide for the needs of their citizens themselves and to be independent of external aid in case of any danger. The duty of government officials was firstly to ensure the free movement of goods within the country, and secondly to encourage and protect production. However, the development of industrialised life put an iron barrier in front of the economic sovereignty of nations. Nations became linked to each other in their economic life to the extent of their political independence. While the economic events of a country were initially the sole property of that country, later on their good and bad consequences had an impact on all countries. Today, the depressions in the economic life of a country have an

impact on the political life of that country as well as on the economic and political life of other countries with which it has relations.

It also affects other countries. A country which has no money cannot buy all or part of the goods it is purchasing from another country with which it has relations, and this consequence is a serious problem for the seller country. There is a close co-operation and division of labour among nations just like among people. The surplus production of one country is utilised by the others, thus ensuring a balance in the world economy.

Behind these cohesions that bind nations together, nations also have private fronts. The name of these fronts is "*national* feelings". Nations need to contact and exchange with each other in order to ensure their economic relations; this cannot be doubted. However, the necessity of exchange and contact does not imply the neglect of national feelings and national economy.

In the nineteenth century, nations fluctuated between nationalism and internationalism. Finally, in an attempt to reconcile these two positions, they concluded trade agreements and special customs tariffs and included provisions protecting national crops. During the General War, these treaties and agreements proved to be insufficient; nations suffered very bitter and painful frustrations and agonies due to their inability to procure the materials they needed domestically. Especially Turkey suffered the most severe of these frustrations and agonies. After the General War, it was understood that national defence could only be ensured through the nationalisation of production, its expansion and development.

However, production depends on consumption and exports. Excessive production over consumption and exports in a country may lead to grave consequences.

It is first the army and then the national economy that will protect the independence of our Turkey.

It is the economic might and factors that will sustain the army, give it strength and movement, and give it economic power. The essence of economic power and factors is the production, its multiplicity, and its utilisation and exportation. There are four means that are effective in production:

- 1- Handicrafts (primitive arts);
- 2- Soil;
- 3- Power (electrical and mechanical powers);
- 4- Capital...

Today we can note with regret that we have not yet fully recovered from the primitive economic period in which hand and arm labour was the main factor in production. We have enough land to comfortably feed five or six times our population. This land is completely primitive and unsuitable for utilisation. A country whose agriculture is dependent on the mercy of the sun and the water cannot be called an agricultural country. There are such places, which play the most essential role in our exports, where the absence of rain causes famine.

Despite our primitiveness in agricultural production, Turkey can become a country that can export agricultural products to the Balkan markets and fairs if it works in accordance with serious and scientific principles.

In addition to its agricultural capability, our country is also rich in power and mechanical strength. In fact, the mines in the country are utilised very little. On the other hand, we have very rich coal mines and rivers that can be utilised in industrial installations with little efforts. We are obliged to conduct our national defence and national economy not with speeches and societies, but with new principles. For this purpose, we need to civilise our production, to make our rivers capable of being utilised, and to save our mining from the mining of picks and shovels.

Today's wars are the clash of civilisations and social economies against each other. No matter how great the military capability of an army, if it is unable to procure the stones to sharpen its bayonet, the gunpowder to explode its muzzle, and the provisions for its soldiers' backs and bellies through its own national elements, its success depends on chance.

Whatever the wishes and decisions of the disarmament assemblies and international congresses, if there is one certain fact, it is that all nations are heading towards unconditional and unconditional military service.

Today, the integrity of a country can only be preserved by the strength of its army and the perfection of its military industry. All nations that realise this truth are arming and militarising.

Countries: Poland, Finland, Italy, Romania, France, Russia.

In Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary, which are bound by the unrelenting terms of the treaties of war, this desire to recruit and arm themselves has become an ambition. Our need for an army and soldiers is completely different from that of other countries. Switzerland can recognise its neutrality and completely abolish its army. But this is impossible for us. Turkey without an army is a land without independence; a hinterland.

Belgium, which was a neutral state yesterday, today orders tens of thousands of British pounds worth of war equipment and aeroplanes from British factories.

* * *

Our soil does not yield good and abundant crops. We must find the reasons for this and eliminate them. The low yield of our soil is due to the lack of competence of the hands dealing with it. Chemical analyses carried out, especially-

sa shows that our riverside lands are among the most inhospitable black lands in the world.

Every part of the country is watered by rivers with plenty of water. The rivers, which are a means of prosperity for happy societies and civilised countries, bring disease in summer and death in winter.

As for the lack of good yields on our lands, this is due to the lack of organisation and the lack of protection of small agricultural producers.

The division of labour has played a very important role in the development and development of the economic and industrial institutions with which we are contemporaries. To what extent is it correct to claim that this talismanic maxim, which has not yet entered even our schools and administrative institutions, exists among agricultural workers? Implementation of the division of labour system in various institutions was the most important event that ensured the success of the XIXth and XXth centuries.

Our peasants are in a very pathetic situation. The brightness of village laws, the beauty of words and finally the existence of good behaviour are not enough.

The division of labour in the agriculture and work of the peasant is unknown.

The peasant spreads his oxen in the pasture, sharpens his slingshot, makes his food, builds his house, builds his wall, ploughs his field, reaps his wheat, grinds, goes to town, sells wood, buys gas, and performs thousands of similar works. The fact that our peasants are obliged to do such a variety of jobs, and that there is no positive division of labour in their work, is the reason why the results they have obtained are not brilliant. If a part of the population of a village is engaged only in tobacco cultivation, the tobacco of this village will be very different and very delicious from the tobacco of the village which is engaged in watermelon, melon and tobacco cultivation. The finalisation of our crops,

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which constitute the backbone of our national production and national economy

For this purpose, we must introduce the principle of division of labour in our agriculture, and we must teach the peasants specialisation in the work they can do.

In today's democratic institutions, the peasant is the most vibrant element of national prosperity and national defence.

Peasants are the unsung heroes of victorious armies that achieve great victories. Individuals who provide national wealth are also peasants. We are obliged to protect our national wealth as much as national defence. This is possible only through the promotion of the peasantry. We must supply and export our agricultural crops in accordance with scientific and civilised principles. The customer who pays us money wants the best eggs and figs without worms. Therefore, we must civilise our agricultural production, which constitutes an important part of our exports.

For this purpose, we should organise official state fairs in various regions of Anatolia. The peasants who will participate in these fairs should use state vehicles to transport their crops.

We must pay particular attention to the training of the peasants in the improvement of their crops.

Therefore, we must attach particular importance to village education: the training of young villagers.

Armies are the saviours of countries: It is the national economy that gives strength and movement to armies. In order to protect our country, we have to save the national economy, national agriculture and national life.

For this, we need to save unsung heroes and unsung producers.

Law on the Protection of National Culture

We have nearly six thousand laws, perhaps more than any other state in the world. Some of these laws are said to be unconstitutional, mutually contradictory and undemocratic. It is seen that some of the political struggles between the parties arise from antidemocratic laws, and it is reported in the newspapers that a new law called the Law for the Protection of Democracy or the Revolution will be prepared. All this is good, but not enough. We need a law to protect our national culture before these. Because in a country, regime considerations must come after the concerns of national existence. A state can survive without many other things, but it cannot survive without its national culture. Regime is clothes, culture is food. There are states in the world that live with all kinds of regimes, but there is no state that can live without national culture. As soon as the national culture is endangered, the vitamin of the social structure has decreased. Weakness, collapse and diseases will follow.

Turkey today is in a great cultural crisis. If the state does not intervene, this will end in a spiritual chaos and there will be no "nation" on the territory of Turkey.

Today, a civilised nation with a civilised past lives on the territory of a nine-century-old state like Turkey.

This nation, 40% of whose people can read and write, is ahead of many nations of the world and especially its neighbours. This nation has a high military and political tradition and a developing agriculture, industry and education. But in spite of all this, the national culture of this nation is in a terrible confusion and there is no movement to correct this confusion.

Since 13 centuries, this nation, which knows how to write, does not have a proper orthography today. Among all the civilised and semi-civilised nations of the world, the Turks are the only nation that has no orthography.

The language is in a painful dichotomy. Scientific terms are different in secondary and higher education. The intellectuals are in two separate hostile groups over terms.

There is still no grammar taught in Turkish schools and even professors do not have a command of the language. At the end of every book published in this country, there is a huge wrong-correct chart and a few spelling mistakes are visible on every page of every book.

Fabricated surnames, which are completely contrary to our national culture and the structure of our language, are being adopted.

New generations are given strange, absurd, ridiculous, laughable, and sometimes even foreign-rooted names, and even those that can be considered obscene are among these names.

Again, contrary to the structure of our language, invented titles such as "Mr" and "Mrs" are used at the beginning of names and words such as "beğ", "hanım", "ağa", "paşa", which have a history of many centuries, have been discarded.

Exorbitant mistakes, such as dropping the suffixes at the end of noun phrases (izafet compounds) and saying

"Kiraz Sokak", "Kefeli Han" in Jewish dialect instead of saying "Kiraz Sokak", "Kefeli Han", are seen even in official advertisements.

Unfortunately, this gross error has penetrated even into our most nationalistic institution, the army. Instead of saying "captain of infantry", "lieutenant of cavalry", "lieutenant of infantry", "lieutenant of cavalry", "major of engineering" in accordance with the structure and taste of the Turkish language, such innovations as "captain of infantry", "lieutenant of cavalry", "major of engineering" are destroying the language.

One of the bitter truths in the field of national culture is that our current alphabet is incomplete. In order to fully express our language, three or four more letters should be added to this alphabet. It is possible to introduce these three or four letters into the alphabet without surprising those who read and write Turkish.

The conclusion is that we need a law with sanctions to protect our national culture. Before the publication of this law, an association of competent persons who are trustworthy in all respects shall be established, the letters to be added to the alphabet shall be decided and the spelling shall be determined precisely. In the law to be published thereafter, the following points shall be taken into consideration.

1- All kinds of written media, starting from newspapers to signboards, shall be subject to a fine for spelling mistakes, to be increased in the case of repetition.

2- Spelling is given importance in schools and during a holiday period all teachers take a course and those whose spelling is not correct are dismissed from the profession.

3- Typists are subjected to courses and examinations to ensure the correct typing of official documents and those who fail are dismissed from their jobs.

4- A committee consisting of historians and linguists takes on the task of changing non-Turkish names in Turkey. Non-Turkish institutional and geographical names are

Turkishised in the most appropriate way. In particular, place names belonging to Oghuz tribes and clans, which had been changed by ignorant zealots under the assumption that they were not Turkish, were restored to their former places (Konya, Kastamonu, which has a historical tradition

famous and large cities and towns such as the city, etc. are, of course, exempted from this).

5- Thereafter, the names of the children to be born were obliged to be in Turkish. However, a list of names is published by this committee in order to prevent fabricated names. Those who wish can also give their children an Islamic middle name.

6- The law on surnames shall be amended so that surnames shall be initialised and end with "son" or "gil". Everyone is allowed to use historical surnames. It shall be obligatory for the surnames to be adopted to be in accordance with the Turkish language and taste. Minorities shall be free to take their surnames and first names.

7- The law on "Mr" and "Mrs" shall be repealed and the old handcaps and titles shall be revived in a modern way and it shall be clear who shall be called what. Anatolian customs shall be taken into consideration in the preparation of this issue.

8- Turkish grammar and Turkish history lessons are repeated from primary school to the end of high school, each year becoming more and more comprehensive, so that the embarrassment of encountering young people who do not know the battle of Malazgird when taking the maturity exam is prevented. Turkish history was taught as a separate subject from general history and the main importance was given to it.

9- In public and private constructions, these works are taken under control for the continuation of our national architectural style.

10- Especially in the army and education, sanitary, practical and inexpensive clothes based on the national memory shall be adopted, and in their adoption we shall act without any sense of inferiority towards the West. We shall adopt the new clothes from the old religious universities of Europe, which are taught by our professors in a personalised

manner.

The ludicrous pa paz disguise, blindly accepted at the cost of their ability, is abolished.

The civilised needs and means that the century has rapidly developed

In order to prevent the invasion of Turkish by foreign words, a truly scientific Language Institution shall be established and its task shall be to immediately find the best Turkish equivalents for foreign words that enter all branches of science and specialisation.

12- As a result of a careful study of the customs of Anatolian Turks, a new Civil Code and Penal Code are drafted with the inspiration and knowledge to be taken from this study.

13- The rapid restoration of all our national cultural and civilisational monuments of the past shall begin and severe penalties shall be imposed on those who destroy them.

14- Measures shall be taken to revive our national arts and sports which are dying out, and if necessary, schools shall be opened to learn them.

15- And finally, the name of our state shall be changed to Turkish and "TÜRKELİ" shall be accepted instead of "TÜRKİYE".

The purpose of publishing this draft, which undoubtedly has many deficiencies, is to give an idea of what the law on the protection of national culture will contain. Since the commission that will prepare the law will be composed of serious thinkers and will not be in a hurry, it will undoubtedly produce an excellent work.

It is necessary to shake off the years of laxity and levity. We are in a position to accomplish this work in the best way with our own forces alone. Goodwill and honesty are enough.

Millz Respect for Heritage

People who have rendered great services to the nation are national heroes and respect for them is a duty of conscience of the members of the nation. Knowing what national honour is is ultimately a matter of culture. This culture is learnt in the family hearth, at school, in the environment and in life.

Those who address the nation through speech or writing are more obliged than others to know what national values are. Because teaching by speaking or writing is a kind of honorary teaching. The teacher has to be protected from mistakes, especially exorbitant mistakes.

The reason that made us write these lines was two articles we have seen in the newspapers recently:

In a newspaper dated 10 August 1974, an article titled "To be and to be likened to Atatürk" was full of insults against a national hero and contrary to historical facts. Look at the following lines in this article, which was written against Prime Minister Ecevit's being compared to Atatürk:

"We have seen many great men in history who were spoilt. Bis Marks, Napoleons, Mussolini and Hitler, Genghis, Kromvels have all been defeated by thinking that they were moulded in someone else's mould. "

Of the six people mentioned above, let us skip Napoleon, Mussolini and Hitler. These are people who died defeated. However, Kromvel, Bismark and Chengiz, especially Chengiz, were "spoilt".

How does one use the word "tucked"? Leaving aside the positive roles of Kromvel in English history and Bis mark in German history, let us turn to Chengiz:

Who spoilt him and in whose mould did Chengiz think he was moulded? To say that a man who built the greatest empire in the world and realised Turkic unity to the greatest extent in history was spoilt is to be ignorant of both Chengiz and history.

The great Turkish conquerors of old grew up nourished by national epics. The lion in their hearts was the hero of the epic. They were fighting for this cause. There were those who lost their lives on this path, as well as those who achieved victory. But they were not spoilt. Their characters were not favourable to be spoilt. For this reason, it is a duty of conscience to use respectful language when writing about them. In particular, to address the nation by portraying Chengiz, who died in glory and honour, as defeated is to be far from national culture...

In another newspaper dated 11 September 1974, an article on Atila and the Huns does not consider the Turkishness of the Huns as positive and mentions the bad influence of the name given to the Atila Line in Cyprus in the Western world.

Attempting to prove again that the Huns, originally known as the Kuns, were Turks is like proving that the earth is round, and it is completely absurd to dwell on it. The fact that the Kuns were Turks had already been put forward by Deguignes in the 18th century, and it was accepted for the last time in the conferences of Prof. Spuler, who was invited by the Chair of Turkish History at Istanbul University a few years ago, and the matter was closed. Spuler, then a professor at the University of Hamburg, was no ordinary professor. In addition to Latin and Greek, he also knew French, English, Russian,

Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Mongolian and Turkish.

Now, while the conclusions reached by the great authorities of the science of history stand, what is it other than an absurd endeavour to open the door of discussion about the Kuns by taking into consideration the opinions of insignificant persons who appear from time to time in this or that manner?

As for Atila: Atila does not become a barbarian because Westerners consider him a barbarian, nor do we change a military term in order to look nice to Westerners or not to look horrible. Atila became a bad person because he subjugated the West. Towards his own nation, however, he was a very good, just and great political man. To dominate several million people, all of them warriors, with a few hundred thousand people and to conquer half of Europe is undoubtedly a work of human intelligence. Other nations have not been able to do the same. If total offence is an offence, Alexander of Macedon was the first to do it. But he is civilised, Atila is barbaric. Because Alexander was a Greekised Macedonian, he was considered Greek, while Atila was the ancestor of the Ottomans who later invaded Europe.

To be a wise man, to be a man of wisdom, to be a prisoner of his emotions.

It is not an obstacle to be a barbarian. Most of the Western scholars, out of religious fervour, have been preaching the barbarity of the Turks, whereas the Turks in their entire history, even when they were at their most offensive, did not show the savagery of the Westerners. Only the atrocities committed by Europeans against each other during sectarian wars are enough to make them bow their heads for ever.

The Romanians, descendants of the Romans, fried and ate Turkish prisoners in the 17th century. Are these the Europeans who will look at us sideways because we use the name Atila?

On 31 August, in his speech at the Thessaloniki Fair,

Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis also discussed Atila and said the following words:

"It is shameful that some civilised countries tolerate the implementation of the plans of those who perpetuated Atila."

By this Karamanlis was begging for help by saying "Why do the Europeans not help us but tolerate those who keep the name of a barbarian like Atila alive?" and added the following:

"It has been proven throughout history that the moral and virtuous superiority of the Greeks is a virtue more effective than bitter force. The same historical fact is the historical legacy of Cyprus."

Was the "Greek morality and virtue" mentioned by Karamanlis the Byzantine life of debauchery, disgrace, murder and prostitution? Or was it the philosophy of ancient Greece that bequeathed the disgrace of homosexuality to Europe?

Military valour, which he called "bitter valour", has been a virtue in every era of history and it has achieved great results. This is because true virtue and morality, the philosophy of sacrifice and risking death, is characterised in that bitter courage.

The fact that the author who wrote an article about Atila is in the same line of thought with Karamanlis is probably not a situation that would give him dignity and honour.

Atila's lines about Atila being written with different spellings and not knowing the correct one are correct. Because that word is the different form of the name of a Turk in the Germanic dialect.

It is highly probable that his Turkish name was "Etil". Since the mention of an *"Etil Alp"* in the copy of the *Oguzname* in the Top Kapı Palace shows that there is such a name in Turkish, it is possible that Atila was called *"Etil"* among the Kuns.

But whatever the name, it is of course a brilliant invention of the Turkish army to draw the name of Atila, who was not only a sovereign but also a great commander, to Cyprus.

The Atila Line will be drawn tomorrow in further areas.

Ötüken, 1974, Issue: 10

Peasantry

Marble buildings cannot be built on adobe foundations.

The growth and upliftment of our country and nation depends on the growth, increase and upliftment of our villages. We all know this, but we do not put this knowledge into practice when we are in charge of any work.

In our country, the deceased Turkish Quarry was the first to start peasantism outside the official organisation. The Turkish Quarries carried out peasantry experiments in various places and were partially successful. However, this success was not even a fraction of what was expected. The January January considered peasantism rather as a matter of show, luxury or ornament. It was more of a show of love for the peasantry. In the meantime, opening dispensaries, caring for village patients and distributing medicines were not forgotten. Undoubtedly, the gratitude and appreciation of people who have a problem and pain can be gained more easily and quickly. In order to become the conqueror of hearts, the Ocak had started in this way.

This may also be necessary in peasantry, but the material sufferings of the peasants are dwarfed by the deep darkness, misery and poverty of the villages.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs was the first to take the first step towards villagisation in the state organisation. The Village Law is the first heart-warming work in this direction. After this, the village organisation comes next in the field of organisation. However, it would be more correct to call this as *nahiyecilik* rather than villagisation. Because in essence it is a top-down organisation completely similar to the others and the old ones. It descends from the *kaza* to the sub-district and endeavours to build fully organised sub-districts. Even though this movement appears to be village-oriented in form, it is not the result of the same principle. The salvation of our country depends on the salvation of our villages. Therefore, our first duty is to save and raise our villages. The villages will keep the Great Turkey alive and the villages will raise it.

The more we strengthen these foundations, the stronger our social structure becomes. Our state form becomes bronze. Only then can we look forward with full faith.

In our opinion, the issue to be considered first and above all else is our villages. Everyone, from individuals to societies and finally to the government, every group and every organisation is obliged to spend every effort and every force, big or small, for our villages and to build institutions and organisations for the welfare of our villagers.

Cities cannot be built in Turkey while village houses are mud-brick ruins. Cities in Turkey are always built and expanded to the detriment of villages. Since we are not an industrial country, we do not have industrial cities full of factories that are beneficial for national production.

In other words, the servants of the peasant live in the city; but strangely enough, our masters live in ruins, and their paid servants are the inhabitants of the big cities. In other words, the servants of the peasant live in the city, but strangely enough, *our masters* live in ruins, and their

paid servants are the inhabitants of big cities. It is not right to electrify cities without electrifying villages. In the villages, we have to build a

It is not permissible to build big buildings in big cities without starting a programmed development in accordance with village architecture. It is haram to make city dwellers listen to the radio without giving radio to the villages.

It is not appropriate to spend money on the sewerage of big cities when the village streets are swamped with manure.

While village schools are located in limited places and under mud-brick roofs, ornate and large school buildings are not suitable for cities and even towns.

It is possible to increase the number of these examples and to find various examples in every field, since there is a difference in the essence of the subject and the point of departure of the way of thinking. Our intention is not to criticise the state practice in this or that field. We want to emphasise a principle that should be considered at the beginning of all our objectives. This is peasantism.

From individuals to societies, professions, social classes and state organisations, the welfare of villages and peasants must be considered at the beginning of every work. If we want to build a stone upon stone in a place, we must first do it in our most needy villages. If we want to plant a shade tree somewhere, we must start from the most barren villages. If we intend to open a sanitary establishment in a place, we must first of all consider the needs of the villagers.

According to what we see today, it is immediately clear that we are dealing with the cities in the first plan. We want our villages to move to the first plan. Nowhere is a dwelling for servants built before the master's building. Nowhere is the master sitting in the dark while his servants are lit by electricity. There may be some who see in these words a little bit of dark ideas and violence of feeling. However, since we regard the peasant as superior to everything else

and recognise him as the source of all our successes, we should not think of him more than ourselves.

It is our obligation to think, to try to satisfy the needs of our cities before we do anything for ourselves.

As long as we see our peasants in colourful automobiles and beautifully shaped costumes on the asphalt streets, wearing hair shalwar and shoes made from wool, tying the head of their young with dirty handkerchiefs, going from door to door in order to print a petition, we are obliged to be peasants.

This field is wide. It requires a comprehensive programme and methodical work. We must have a clear and positive programme in every field from economy to health, from administration to settlement. We must start from the most necessary places according to our means and efforts and mobilise without delay. Our villagers must be freed from desolation, filth and orphanhood. Vitality and festivity must come to the villages.

Let us not forget to remember our villagers, who are our life, our lungs, our everything, while we live and enjoy ourselves in the cities, which are centuries ahead of our villages; perhaps as we remember, we will pity them, as we pity them, we will love them, and as we love them, we will begin to work for them and enjoy this work.

Village architecture and plans, village agriculture, village sanitation, village administration, village education and entertainment, village law and village obligations should be analysed separately and the field of work should be determined. We will outline the main lines of this programme as far as we can think of them. It is our heart's desire that everyone, from every student at the school desk to the elders in the highest positions, should think every day about our villages and the means to raise them. Because our villages are the basis of our revolution and our future. We must always remember that a tree with a large trunk and a permanent tree will not grow from spindly and diseased roots.

National Values and Issues - 89
Atsız Mecmua, 15 September 1931, Year. 1,
Issue: 5

People and the intellectual

The people are not for the
intellectuals, the intellectuals
are for the people.

If we look at our social life since past times, we see that the intellectuals of this country have always been more or less indifferent, insensitive, incompetent and even harmful at times.

Only in very limited and short periods of time, this intellectual elite embraced the people with enthusiasm, approached them with many promises and attempted great social movements. The Tanzimat is one of these movements, one of those that were left unfinished and died in its birth.

Then we encounter a constitutional revolution, and we see that a movement towards the people and an awakening that endeavours to appreciate the suffering and needs of the people is born among these intellectuals. It did not last long either, and then it deteriorated during the Great War, starving and exploiting the people.

During our War of Independence, the intellectuals showed great humanity and chivalry and joined hands with our people, mingled with them, struggled with their needs, in short, cried with them and laughed with them. Goals and lives are common. They will die together or be saved together.

This fusion of the intellectuals and the people was successful and we wrote one of the brightest and highest pages of our history such as the War of Independence.

The intellectual, who has been mingling with the people for years, has received many painful inspirations from that great source of suffering. He is determined to work for his people and live for them. A new and noble movement towards the people begins.

Sultans are fleeing, Caliphs are being kicked out, the influence of tekkes, tariqas and softies with shrouded brains, which had been exploiting the people like a dragon for centuries, are being broken and their damage is being reduced, even if their bodies are not removed.

We are celebrating the people's republic with our Law on Organisation and Principles, and we are completing this revolution with the legal instruments issued afterwards, and we have paid part of the debt owed by our intellectuals to our people, whose anguish they have seen and heard.

People who were heard in public yesterday are
mus~~???~~hJir today.

Because they have made the most beneficial regime for him and have taken all the favourable measures they have thought of **for** him.

Having taken a deep breath after fulfilling his duties towards his people, the intellectual begins to think about his own troubles and sufferings, and to work for his own welfare. Is this not his most natural right?...

The intellectual has attained a prosperity that he could not have imagined even in his youthful dreams. The intellectual has retreated into his own realm, his contact with the public has been reduced or cut off. There is a mediator in between: *The half-movement*.

This half-movement has existed since time immemorial. This is what fills the gap between the people and the

mavver. In the Tanzimat period, the munevver who wanted to go towards the people failed, and all the work was left to this half munevver. It is such a group that it has learnt to exploit the people. It is the most vivid example of what a little education and a lot of intelligence can do.

He looks at even the most sacred goals as a means to fill his own stomach, stomach and purse.

Constitutional Monarchy comes. When the munewer comes into direct contact with the people, this half munewer begins to work normally and honestly within the framework of laws and directives, which is its main duty. But it does not last long. The munewer moves away from the people and even starts to exploit them, the best means being the half munewer.

With the War of Independence, the munewer is again among the people. Half of them are in front of and under the influence of the munewer. He is obliged to be honourable and live for the good of the people. He knows that if he does otherwise, he will be punished by the munewer.

Revolutions took place, good laws were passed and the munawer returned to his own realm. Half a munewer has been left with an empty field, and he has also been given powerful weapons. He will implement the laws that the people are still unfamiliar with, and he will accustom the people to the political life that they do not know at all and are very inexperienced in.

Half a munewer interprets everything according to his own desires and interests. He uses and wastes everything for his own welfare, his own power and his own gluttonous ambitions.

The cleanest works and the most beautiful laws are harmful and horrible tools for the people in the hands of this half-master. This half-monarch, whose masterpiece example we see in accidents, is the greatest enemy of the people and the revolution. Because he is a monster that poisons while loving, deceives while doing good and is not satisfied with devouring.

The munewer who returns to his own realm, sure that he has done good deeds, is deceived. He is as miserable

as a shepherd who has entrusted his lambs to the wolf. His beautiful excitement and beautiful works are tasted in the dirtiest hands and in the worst ways. The suffering of the people is increasing. The people are crying inside.

His moan is beginning to be heard. There is a vivid awakening in the mounewer with the rage of a deceived man. He has realised the evil of entrusting his lambs to the wolves and he has heard the mistake of retreating to a prosperity in his own realm with too much hodgepodge. We see the People's Houses as the most beautiful work of this awakening. There is a mobilisation of the public. Münewers will again enter into the people, become a partner to their suffering and a brother to their needs. The Münewer begins to work within the people and for the people.

Good news for the people. The Mounewers are coming to you. He has a saying, "*Great men do no harm.*" he says. By this he means munewer.

"Those who know the laws are wolves and those who do not are lambs. The wolf will always eat the lamb!" This is the same people who said this. With this representation, he wants to explain half a munewer. Here I give him good news. Great men are coming. They are coming to destroy the wolves on your back and to save you from the hands of half a munewer. We want and wish very much that the movement towards this people will be continuous and full of faith. Let us not leave this beautiful merging on the side and go to our own pleasure and sleep. Let us not leave our people again in the hands of half munewer.

Atsız Mecmua, 15 February 1932, Year: 1,
Issue: 10

Sacred places of this country

Everyone now knows that the land we call "Turkey" today was taken from the Greeks and their subordinate Armenians and Georgians by wars that started in the eleventh century.

These lands, which were conquered through years of offensives and then defended by years of defence, can undoubtedly be considered sacred with every inch of it. However, in the memories of nations, there are some wars and heroes who have led these wars, and the places where they fought, died and killed become symbols of the "belief of being a nation" and become sacred.

The history of the past, that is, history, is the memory of the nation. As a person who has lost his memory is not considered alive, a nation without memory cannot be called a nation.

On the 26th of August next year, the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Malazgirt will be celebrated, the second major battle of the fierce Turkish-Greek wars (the first was the Battle of Pasin in 1048) will be commemorated, and monuments will be erected for Alp Arslan, the martyrs and veterans of Malazgird.

Malazgirt is only one of the great monuments we have the duty to erect, and Alp Arslan is only one of the homeland builders we have the honour to commemorate. Whenever the opportunity arises, we should

commemorate them all and erect their monuments, and even erect monuments to Turkish conquerors in Anatolian cities with foreign names.

When the national consciousness will rise to its full height, giving the names of the Turkish nationalities will be one of the first things to be considered. There is no harm, let some articles of encyclopaedias be changed, let foreigners falter a little. Let us call "Bursa" "Orhankent" or "Orhanbalık" and "Edirne" "Muradkent" or "Muradbalık", and let us make everything in these lands Turkish, from matter to name, no matter what the world says. Just as "Keşiş Mountain" became "Uludağ" and "Ayastafanos" became "Yeşilköy" and everyone got used to it, one day all big and small city names will be Turkified and the necessity of national consciousness will be fulfilled.

In Anatolia today, 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; In addition to the names of rivers such as Yeşilırmak, Kızılırmak, Göksu, it will be one of the great works that the Turks of tomorrow will take into consideration to Turkishise hundreds of non-Turkish city and river names and to leave no trace of the foreign here. Our cities will be named after their conquerors; statues and monuments will be erected in front of which statues of these conquerors will be paraded, and as the nation sees them, it will come to its senses by realising where it has come from and where it is going, and will cling more firmly to its national identity.

People are influenced by what they see and hear. This is propaganda. The abominable acts committed today in Turkey by a group of debauchees are the blossoming oleanders of the traitor propaganda that has been going on for years. If it were not these vile writers, professors, teachers, novelists, playwrights, but patriots who addressed the youth, the national scene would be completely different.

The reason that prompted us to write these lines was a news item we read in a newspaper, which was both ridiculous and angering. In the *Milliyet* newspaper dated 2 and 3 May, there was an article, whether it was an interview or a news article, about the famous Kasım Gülek, and we wanted to warn those concerned, as we considered the attempt mentioned in the article to be dangerous for tomorrow. The article is as follows:

When a former minister, Kasım Gülek, was in Rome, the Pope summoned him for a meeting and asked for information about Tarsus. Kasım Gülek informed him that there was a well of Saint Paul in Tarsus, the ruins of Saint Paul's church and the house where the same man was said to have lived. The Pope, delighted by this information about Paul, or rather Paulus, one of the 12 companions of Jesus, decided to declare Tarsus the number one holy city of Christianity. Thus, he would ensure that Christians would make pilgrimages there. Kasım Gülek, a fellow countryman of Paulus, immediately founded a "Saint-Paul Association" in Tarsus. The area around the well was to be opened and the ruins of churches and houses were to be repaired. Thus

...

I wonder if Kasım Gülek did all this to make others laugh. Kasım Gülek travelled around the villages of Tarsus in his car, shook the hands of thousands of villagers and tried to get votes. However, this last act of his was not humourous, but rather bitter. Although he mentioned that he would fill the water of Saint-Paul's well into bottles and sell it to Christians, and that he would provide foreign currency, his attempt was not without a sense of worry. Because:

If we act with this distorted thinking, it may be possible to turn the whole of Anatolia, the whole of Turkey, into the holy land of Christianity. In every city of this country, where Christians lived for centuries before us, there may be a memory of them. These cities,

mountains, rocks

What is the meaning of trying to keep alive the memories of an earlier age, the memories of foreigners, instead of reviving the memories of Turks and the conquest? Do we want to create a new "*Makamül-ı Mukadde se*" ordeal?

What a porky Catholic the current Pope was, who had deceived Kasım Gülek by accepting him and taking advantage of his vanity, was revealed when, during his visit to Istanbul, during his visit to Hagia Sophia, he disregarded Turkish laws and, in a fait accompli, knelt down and worshipped there in front of the eyes of the Foreign Minister İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil. Now, the same Pope, as if there is nothing left on earth, wants to make the Turkish Tarsus, the city where Paulus, one of the 12 Apostles of Jesus, was born, a holy Christian city, and Kasım Gülek is a tool for this.

The so-called Paulus was actually a Jew named Saul [and was so named because he converted Hadrian of Rome to Christianity] and was later executed in Rome. Now, the Turkish Kasım Gülek, in order to revive and keep alive the memory of this Jew, has set up an association in Tarsus, has had the area around the village named after him opened, has restored his church, and is grinning as if he thought he had done a good deed.

Kasım Gülek is a former minister who graduated from several faculties and speaks half a dozen languages. It means that even all these virtues sometimes cannot prevent a man from going astray.

Had Kasım Gülek been a sane and nationally conscious Turk, he would have thought of commemorating the memory of the conqueror who brought Tarsus to the Turks, instead of reviving the remains of this obscure Jew, and would have taken action in that direction.

Tarsus was conquered in 1082 by "Suley Mansah", the son of the famous Anatolian conqueror "Kutlamış" and the first of the Anatolian Seljuks. Qasim

- Not "Kutulmuş" or "Kutalmış", but "Kutlanmış". Other names similar to mine belong to the names of Sulemish, Beklemish and Aghlamış.

Let Gülek learn about this and if he is really a son of this homeland, let him leave Paulus the Jew and establish an association for the conquest of Tarsus, the 900th anniversary of which will be in a year's time. With the help of organisations such as the Ministry of Tourism, the Historical Society and the Seljuk History Institute, he should bring a great monument to Tarsus. Let Tarsus be reconstructed. If the aim is to show tourists something, let them be shown the monument of the Turkish hero Süleymanşah, not the well of Paulus Jew filled with who knows what bacilli.

With a heedlessness [befitting people devoid of national consciousness], they spent millions on the restoration of Christian artefacts, as if it was necessary to show only Christian artefacts to tourists.

A church in Ephesus, which had never been visited by *the Blessed Virgin Mary*, who was a Jewish wife and famous in history for giving birth to a fatherless child, was made a tourist attraction by attributing it to her name. The Papacy accepted this with joy. They created an office in Antalya in the name of an unknown man called *Father Christmas*. Hidden churches in many places were uncovered and repaired.

Instead of these, the works of art of the Seljuks, which were in ruins, could have been repaired and these works could have been shown to tourists. Furthermore, most of those who come to Turkey as tourists do not come for history and archaeology, but for relaxing and enjoying the sea.

It is desirable to generate foreign exchange, but for this purpose there is no need to turn Turkey into a collection of Christian holy cities and places. This would be a national crime and a trump card in the hands of the Yunanians who want to revive Byzantium in Anatolia.

If we act only with the materialistic idea of earning

foreign currency, then making Hagia Sophia a church will earn us billions, and becoming a Christian as a nation will earn us trillions.

We hear that the government is preparing a new law for associations. We hope that with this new law, associations which are contrary to national interests will be closed down and people will be saved from being unsafe and harmful.

In a city like Tarsus, a city of valiant Yoruks, behaviour that would 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 man, is avoided and it is remembered that there is an object called "cid diet" in the world.

Ötüken, 1971, Issue: 90

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FOR TRUCIANISM
ARTICLES

*Open Letter to the Prime
Minister Saraçoğlu
Şükrü*

MR PRIME MINISTER,

I am writing this open letter to you because you are both a Turk and a Turkish Prime Minister. If you were only a Turkish Prime Minister, I would not have taken the trouble to write this, because I know how useless it is to address a non-Turkist Prime Minister. If you were only a Turkist, I would not have bothered to write again, because I can always discuss the problems of the country with Turkists older than you, after they will be useless. But since you, as a Turk, are at the head of the administrative machine, I believe that there may be some benefit in talking to you, and for this reason I am addressing you.

In your speech delivered at the National Assembly on 5 August 1942, you said: *"We are Turks, we are Turkic and we will always remain Turkic. For us, Turkism is as much a matter of conscience and culture as it is a matter of blood!"* As an intellectual who has been engaged in Turkish history, I can say that neither in the history of our race nor in the history of our state has Turkish nationalism ever been expressed with such definite words from an official mouth. It is unnecessary to explain how these words were welcomed with joy in Turkist circles. However, although more than one and a half years have

passed since then, we are troubled to realise that this Turkism has not been put into practice. When ideas turn into work-

meaning. We call this an ideal. Ideas that will not be realised are nothing but crude dreams. The time has surely come for the strong Turkism, which has been cultivated for seventy years and has reached its present state, to show itself in practice. The purpose of these lines is to ask you why Turkism has remained only in words and has not been translated into practice to the extent of the possibilities of today, and to explain how ideas which are enemies of our country have developed and spread because Turkism has not been put into practice. You cannot say to a prime minister in what capacity and how dare you ask this question. If you are the prime minister of a populist government, if our regime is a democratic regime, as has been repeated many times by the newspapers of the party to which you belong, and if you are sincere in your words expressing your pride in having grown up among the people, as you have said many times, and if the members of the National Assembly are really our deputies, you are obliged to listen to me as a prime minister, a man of the people, a democrat, a populist and a Turkist. If, on the other hand, these are not true but mere show-offs, then, without a doubt, my address is an insolence that goes beyond audacity, and the first response to this is the silencing of Orhun.

Mr Prime Minister!

I have to say with regret that while Turkism continues to remain in the field of theoretical theories, leftist ideas, which are the enemies of this nation and this country, sometimes sneakily, sometimes openly, continue to grow and propagate. However, this should not have been the case since one of the six arrows of your Tü^{rk}kist and your party is nationalism. Since it would be more correct to show today's realities by giving examples rather than deviating from the essence by talking at length, I will

show you events which are incompatible with the nationalism of our country, our laws and your Turkism:

A few days ago, an important incident took place during a lecture given by Baltacıoğlu İsmail Hakkı at the Eminönü People's House. I don't know if you have heard of this incident, which was only reported in the humour columns of the newspapers. Let me briefly tell you about this incident, which you probably have not heard: Some people (i.e. leftists, communists, i.e. traitors to the motherland), who had heard that Baltacıoğlu was going to speak in favour of nationalism, decided to cause an incident at this conference. On the day of the conference, they filled the left side of the hall (I draw your attention) and when the lecturer took the lectern, they made the first demonstration with applause that lasted for minutes. But since this demonstration is in the form of applause, no one thinks of anything bad. Everyone thinks that this is an ill-mannered show of affection. At some point in the conference, when Baltacıoğlu makes a pleasant gesture or expression, everyone smiles. But the left side continues this smile in the form of laughter for a long time. Again, no one thinks of anything. Everyone thinks that this is the laughter of ill-mannered people. But a little later, when Baltacıoğlu is talking about the Turkish theatre, a cough starts from the same left side, increases and becomes noisy. Again no one realises that this is a communist demonstration.

The lecturer is forced to keep silent because of the noise. While everyone's eyes are on the coughing people, a soldier from the back of the left side gets up and walks towards the coughing people:

"University youth! You are obliged to religion/labour!" he shouts. It was then that those in the hall realised the meaning of the first applause, then the laughter and now the coughing. Upon the stern warning of the young man in a uniform, who was obviously a modern Turk, the coughing suddenly stopped and a nationalist medical officer, who was one of those who understood the situation at that moment, stood up from the

right side and said to the coughing people: *"Rogue communists! This is what you do when you talk about nationalism.*

Isn't it?" he exclaims. Of course, no one among the communists, who consider honour and dignity as a bourgeois invention, pays any attention to this insult. They only cower and remain silent under the fiery gaze directed at them. At that time, Baltacıoğlu, looking at the demonstrators, said: *"Do not think that I kept silent because I was afraid. I only kept silent out of pity."* Ha tip continues his lecture. He says a few words with his characteristic gesture, turning communism into rags. The Marxist draftsmen, who could not stand it any longer and sensing that the conference was about to end, started to leave the hall. But they do this in the form of a demonstration and with a deliberate noise. Outside the hall, in the hallway, a nationalist university student, who wandered among this crowd gathered in groups of two or three out of curiosity, said that one of these drafts, after hurling a swear word at Baltacıoğlu with the language of a bagpipe- sister, ".....*To us*

"he was going to feed us nationalism", he hears him say. Meanwhile

When they see four or five policemen in official clothes coming inside, the drafts quickly run out into the street and disappear.

But the astonishing point is this: Even though a member of the People's Party is insulted by enemies of the homeland and the nation in an institution of the People's Party, no one lifts a finger. Neither the People's Party nor the police see the need for any prosecution or investigation. On the same night, when a quarrel between nationalists and leftists in the dormitories for students of Leyli Medical Sciences was about to escalate into a fight, the matter was closed with the intervention of the conciliatory neutrals who are always seen everywhere.

Mr Prime Minister!

Such an event is taking place in a Turkish country

where Turkism is dominant. The worst part of the matter is that those who organised this demonstration were university students, and many of them were students studying in student dormitories with state funds. This means that the state is unknowingly feeding a snake in its bosom. Red

snakes with eyes, insidious and poisonous... When these snakes become doctors tomorrow and take office in the corners of the country, their first act will be to engage in undermining movements, they will strike the homeland from behind, and they will act as spies for the foreign armies that will bring the red morning they are waiting for to Turkey. The fact that they are already organising mass and organised demonstrations at conferences is proof that they have already begun to act as spies. I do not know if it is not worth looking at with admiration that among the participants of this demonstration there are two brothers of a communist who was sent to study in Germany and was taken back by the student inspector because he was a communist, but thanks to some parliamentary uncles he got into Ankara University as an associate professor.

Could such a case have happened in other countries? How would the slightest movement contrary to Marxism in Russia, to nationalism in Germany and Italy have been received?

Even in this small Bulgaria, how would a word or a movement against Bulgarianness be received? In all probability, it would be met by eradication. It is a pity that children who adopt foreign ideas, which are forbidden by our constitution, and who will tomorrow constitute the upper stratum of the state, are against nationalism, but we do nothing to them.

The insolence against Turkishness in Istanbul was not limited to these. There were also mulattoes who did not stand up during the playing of the National Anthem at the People's House, a history teacher at a boys' high school who mocked Turkism by saying, *"Just as a coachman is not a car, a Turk is not a Turk"*, and a student at a girls' secondary school.

"Aren't you Turkish? God damn you. German or I regret that I am not British!" Another history teacher is a

germ that attacks our national honour, but continues to increase its arrogance because it does not receive any response.

The danger of these germs is no longer in the age to cover up.

and we are not in a position to do so. İsmet Pasha, who was once the Prime Minister, established the method of showing the dangers as they are by saying "*There is an air danger; we should have at least 500 aeroplanes*", and Refik Saydam, the Prime Minister before you, took another step in the method of open speech by saying "*The state organisation is corrupt from A to Z, it needs to be corrected*". You, too, showed that you could not cope with ihtikar and that you were continuing in this line by saying that some people engaged in the olive oil trade were a nuisance to the state. Based on these, I strongly hope that I will be able to speak openly with you. Didn't both the President İsmet İnönü and you ask for the co-operation of the nation in your speeches? Here I am responding to your sincere words with all my national and personal honour, cooperating with you, and informing you of some events which can only be seen from below and which cannot reach your eyes because you look at the affairs of the State from above.

Mr Turkic Prime Minister!

What I have described above cannot be regarded as isolated incidents. Leftism is insidiously advancing by taking advantage of the tolerance and indifference. In high schools there are patients who are obsessed with this idea. They have the audacity to say to their friends, "*Soon you will all rot in communist dungeons*". In higher education, this disease increases even more. It grows by taking in non-satisfied and non-Turkic people. It does not only remain in the form of private and sincere thoughts, but becomes a movement. Magazines of all sizes are published. In these magazines, morality, the sense of honour and dignity, and the truth of the nation are attacked with the same terms. By pretending to fight against bigotry, they make fun of it. When one of these magazines is closed down, another one appears with the

same signature. Where do these unemployed vagabonds get the money?

How do these magazines survive? Why do you allow this anti-patriotic idea, which is being propagated in magazines and even in daily newspapers, to poison the Turkish nation, sometimes disguised as statist, sometimes as patriot, sometimes as humanist, sometimes as scientist? Why do you give places in high positions to those who see independence as too much for this country and want to enslave it to others? If these are the requirements of democracy, then there must be a wide freedom of opinion in the country, especially in the scientific field. If these remarks of mine are met with the consensus characteristic of democracy, I have much more to say. Then I can tell you how there is no freedom of opinion even in the field of science, who are those who try to strangle this freedom, who occupy important positions even though they want to enslave us to others, who are the teachers who make fun of Turkism and regret that they are Turks, and believe me, I can prove my words with witnesses and material evidence. But for this I need to know how this preliminary statement of mine will be received. The reception that these words of mine will receive will show whether there is a serious freedom in Turkey, it will reveal whether it is possible for the members of the nation to help the government without expecting anything in return, and it will help to clarify many other dark points by giving a very important result in terms of indicating whether you are a true democrat or not. Otherwise, to paraphrase an old historical legend, I can say that in response to the 400 lions that came to Anatolia 700 years ago, today we will have to re-pitch our tents as 400 sheep and set off in the exact direction of the road the lions came from...

(Maltepe, Sunday 20 February 1944)

Orkun, 16 February 1951, Issue: 20

*Second Open Letter to Prime
Minister Saraçoğlu Şükriye*

MR PRIME MINISTER,

The open letter I addressed to you in the March issue of *Orhun* was very well received in Turkist circles. The letters and telegrams I received from various parts of the country told me that I was the interpreter of a great public opinion. As for you, I know that you have also received it well. I believe that even if you had not said anything when you read *Orhun* and had only smiled bitterly, you would have received it well. Because I understand the meaning of that bitter smile. Because I believe that your heart beats with ours and that you think about the affairs of the country just like we do.

The fact that *Orhun* was welcomed by the official authorities in a completely normal way was very good in terms of showing that there is freedom of writing in Turkey and the sincere Turkism of the government. Because *Orhun*, which was Turkish in every respect, could not be closed down by a Turkish government in a Turkish country. A magazine like *Orhun*, which shouted the cause of Turkism and wanted to draw the official gaze on the enemies of Turkishness, could only be closed down in a country dominated by enemies of Turks, for example in the country of the tsars or their successors.

Mr Prime Minister!

According to our constitution, communism is forbidden in Turkey and our state is a nationalist state. Those who want to introduce communism, which is against the special structure, moral and national tendencies of the Turkish race, into Turkey are degenerate and dishonourable in the eyes of the nation and traitors in the eyes of the law. No nation would allow ideas that it considers hostile to its national structure to live in its own country. Even in England, the motherland of freedom and democracy, the fascist party was dissolved and its members were imprisoned as soon as the war began. Turkey is the only state in the whole world that tolerates enemies of the homeland and even gives them positions and authorisations.

<Iir. This tolerance may also arise from the strength and self-confidence of the state. However, when one considers what troubles the tolerance of the great and glorious Conqueror Fatih in an age when Turkey was at its strongest brought upon us, the great danger of tolerating the enemies of the country and the nation can be understood immediately. The thing that knocks down the most solid bodies is the establishment of a bridgehead in that body by a few tiny microbes. If they are not removed immediately, they multiply over time and destroy a vital point of the body. The aftermath is destruction and death.

Some may ask the question whether there are communists in Turkey. It must be remembered that communists never openly declare themselves as communists. They take populism from the very elastic six arrows of the People's Party and present themselves as populist patriots. But it is not necessary to be a genius to realise their true self. Enmity against race and family, opposition to religion and war, undermining the nation under the guise of attacking fascism, excessive love for the

minorities in our country, and seeing everything from an economic point of view are the stigmatising marks they bear. The fact that they attack their greatest enemies, the nationalists, from the point of racism, shows that racism in nationalism

is the foundation. They also realised very well that the structure whose foundation was destroyed would collapse in an instant.

These master communists, anti-communists and Turkists have sneaked everywhere in Turkey, they have taken important positions, and from the bridgeheads they occupy they have launched a fierce offensive to destroy Turkey. However, they cannot be easily detected, as they are not a hard enemy coming from the borders. Since they are dressed in the uniform of our country, like parachute-landing defence spies, not every Turk can recognise them. Therefore, they can shoot many Turks with their insidious weapons and turn them away from nationalism.

Mr Prime Minister!

In this second letter, I will limit myself to mentioning the communists who have entered the field of education. These communists have taken advantage of the ignorance of the Ministry of Education, which is very indifferent towards the enemies of the homeland, and have taken important positions and have started to spread their poison from there. The Ministry of Education is so oblivious to the enemies of Turkishness that, in my first letter to you, I asked my students, *"Are you not Turkish?"*

God damn you! I regret I'm not German or English.

Although I mentioned a history teacher who said *"I am"*, until now the Ministry of Education has not even bothered to investigate who this teacher was. However, it is hard not to agree with the Ministry of Education. Because there are such people among the civil servants used by him that this poor history teacher is as noble as a hero of the motherland compared to them. You want an example? Here they are in order:

1- Today there is a "Sabahattin Ali" who is a member of the Language Institution of the Ministry of Education

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and a teacher at the State Conservatory in Ankara. Almost
all of his-

Sabahattin Ali, known to those who knew him as a communist, was sentenced to 14 months in prison in Konya in 1931. The reason for this was that he had written a rambling diatribe criticising all state officials and the regime, including the then President Atatürk. It is possible to find the whole of this rant, some of the lines of which are also known by some of today's parliamentarians, in the archive of the courthouse in Konya. Mr Prime Minister! In two verses, which I feel great anguish in writing here out of necessity (I beg you to excuse me), this traitor of the motherland says the following:

İsmet in jail yet?

Was Bald Ali beheaded?

As you can easily understand, İsmet İnönü, the then prime minister, the current president and above all the commander-in-chief of the İnönü victories, was the commander-in-chief of the regiment that fired the first bullet against the Greeks in Ayvalık, and the Kel Ali, whom he wanted to be beheaded, was Ali Çetinkaya, the commander of the regiment that fired the first bullet against the Greeks in Ayvalık. Sabahattin Ali, who uttered these delusions, lives comfortably today in an important position in cultural affairs, thanks to the personal sympathy of Hasan Ali, the Deputy Minister of Education, and with the money of the Turkish nation he wanted to ruin.

2- Today, there is a Pertev Naili Boratav, an associate professor of folklore at the Faculty of Languages in Ankara. I, in particular, know very well what kind of a komünist he is. In 1936, he had been sent to Germany by the Ministry of Education to study Assyrian and Sumerian languages. However, since he had started to be a communist while he was still in Turkey, he was warned by his friends, Ziya Karamuk (now the principal of Samsun High School), Fazıl

Yinal (now an archive specialist in Ankara) and Şükrü Güllüoğlu (now engaged in trade in Istanbul).

A complaint was lodged and the inspector sent by the Ministry of Education, Reşat Şemsettin (now a member of parliament), found him guilty and he was immediately returned to Turkey. Per tev Naili was to become an associate professor after 6 years of study. However, the virtue of communism was that when he returned to Turkey after two years of interrupted education, he was first appointed as a warehouse clerk in the Ministry of Education, but with the intervention of some parliamentarians, he was appointed as an associate professor of folklore and gained four years. During the demonstration at the Eminönü People's House, which I told you about in my first letter, among those who sat on the left side of the hall and made noise were two of Per tev Naili Boratav's brothers who were medical students.

3- Today, there is a Professor Sadrettin Celal at the head of the Pedagogical Institute of Istanbul University. While there are many other people in Turkey who are worthy of this chair, he was brought here only because of his personal friendship with the Deputy Minister of Education. This Sadrettin Celal went to the International Communist Congress in Moscow in 1920 under the pretence of being the representative of Turkey, tried to undermine the Turkish nationality by publishing a raging communist magazine called "*Aydınlık*" in Istanbul between 1921 and 1924, endeavoured to sell Lenin as a genius prophet, and tried to cause the Turkish nation to break against each other by making a class revolution in Turkey, He was a traitor who caused many military medical students to be expelled from the school as communists (Hasan Ali Ediz, who now practises literary communism with translations from Russian, and Hikmet Kıvılcım, who was imprisoned in a town in Anadolı, were among these military medical students), and who was himself imprisoned for this reason. It is a masterly blunder to appoint a traitor of the homeland and a convicted criminal to head the Pedagogical

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Institute of a Turkish university.

4- Today, there is Ahmet Cevat, one of the members of the Language Institute in Ankara and a member of the parliament of the last period (yes, Mr Prime Minister: a member of your party). Turkish

This linguist, who spoke just like the Greeks of Istanbul, fled to Russia in 1920 and became a member of the "External Bureau of the Central Committee of the Turkish Communist Party". His letter to Pavlovic, one of the Russian communists, about the 16 communists who were lynched by the people in Trabzon in 1921 was published in the fourth issue of Orhun dated 20 February 1934.

I published Pavlovich's *"Revolutionary Turkey"* in 1921.

I am reprinting this letter taken from pages 19-121 of the book he published in Moscow:

My dear Comrade Pavlovich,

On 28th July I want to have a serious discussion with you about Comrade Suphi, 4 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey and 12 other communist comrades who were brutally murdered and thrown into the sea near Trabzon.

For some time we did not receive any information about our disappeared comrades, but then it was realised that they had been killed by executioners hired by the Trabzon bourgeoisie.

Starting from Erzurum, demonstrations had started against our comrades. They were saying to the people: "The communists who came from Russia are Bolsheviks. They came to close the shops. No one will be allowed to buy or sell. Then they will start investigations and everyone's belongings and money will be confiscated. Communists have no religion. They will imprison those who believe in God. Religion, trade and private property are banned by the Bolsheviks." Among the demonstrators there were many ignorant people who had been paid by the bourgeoisie and turned against the communists by the police organisation. They attacked our comrades, stoned them and tried to tear them to pieces. On the road no one was selling bread and

fodder for their horses to our comrades. The government, on the other hand, did not sell bread and fodder for their horses.

that the government was trying to play the role of protecting the communists. It is a lie that the government took measures to defend the communists. According to the news we received from reliable sources, the police not only encouraged the people to close the shops, but also provoked the people to stone our comrades who were left defenceless. Our comrades were subjected to such attacks in four or five cities and towns. But these comrades were subjected to the most brutal attack in Trabzon. As soon as they arrived in Trabzon, they were sent to the harbour under the shouting and insults of the people. Here they were stripped of a few pistols they had on them and then forcibly put on a motorboat and sailed out to sea. Following this motorboat, a second motorboat left the harbour. There were armed men on this motorbike. They tied up our friends, bayoneted them and threw them into the sea. The next day both motorbikes were on the beach. And their crews were telling everyone that the Turkish communists had gone to the bottom of the sea. The representative of the Russian Shura Republic wanted to visit our comrades, but the governor prevented this and ordered the representative not to leave his house, otherwise he would be torn to pieces by the people. The Russian representative should have informed Moscow and Ankara about this incident and tried to take our comrades from the hands of the executioners. But, unfortunately, at that time, the Russian representative in Trabzon was not a brave man. No one in Trabzon knew this. The motorbikes and their owners are mullahs. It is rumoured that this incident was committed by the mayor of the municipality and the leader of the National Defence League. Here (=Russia) no decision has been taken on the matter yet. But it is no longer possible to remain silent. We have lost 16 or 17 of our best and bravest comrades. You must agree with us and demand the execution of those executioners. It has been decided to kill every communist who comes to Trabzon. The Anatolian bourgeoisie is guilty of

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barbaric crimes.

and continues to pursue the communists vigorously. I hope you will take it upon yourself to defend our most valued comrades who have been killed by the executioners. Communist greetings and regards.

Ahmet Cevat
Member of the External Bureau
of the Central Committee of the
Turkish Communist Party

It can be seen that Ahmet Cevat, who is very attached to his national and religious traditions, characterises as "the barbarism of the Anatolian bourgeoisie" the fact that the people of Trabzon, who were very loyal to their national and religious traditions, destroyed 16 communists who had been inciting against religion and the nation. By saying that this action was carried out by the Turkish police and the National Müdafafaa Cemiye ti (i.e. the Society for the Defence of the Law), he insults the organisation that led the War of Independence and was the founder of the People's Party. He provokes a foreign state to interfere in Turkish affairs by saying that 16 tramps were killed. After having done all this, he was able to crawl like a snake into Turkey, enter your party and rise to the position of a member of parliament in the last period. Now he is so nationalistic that he is attempting to prove that all languages originate from Turkish in the Language Institute, which is to create the Turkish language. We do not agree with this, Mr Prime Minister. Reason and logic do not agree either. The souls of our martyrs, who created independent Turkey and who lie like mountain ranges beneath the soil of this land, do not consent to this either. You, the Prime Minister of democratic Turkey, whom we believe to be a democrat, will fulfil the wishes of the nation. We believe in this.

Mr Prime Minister!

These are people who are known to be communists by positive facts and documents. Otherwise, besides these...

It is always possible to count many more. When he was in his last year at Boğaziçi High School, he defended and propagandised communism against his friends, insulted what they considered to be national sacredness, shouted *"One day you will all rot in communist dungeons"* and when threatened with being reported to the government, he said: "If I go to the police station, I can get out in fifteen minutes, but if you go in, you will not be able to get out easily", Doğan Aksoy was finally caught while fleeing to Russia, envelopes of letters with Moscow stamps were found among his documents, photographs of Lenin and others were found in his locker, and his actions against national sacredness were proven by the testimony of his friends, but unfortunately he was not convicted. On the contrary, this communist, in whose case I was a witness, was allowed to take his high school exams. Now he is at the university as a student of philosophy. I have to say with regret that this germ, who should have been convicted, was released by using the influence and favour of his father, who is the governor of Kars today.

Mr Prime Minister!

Have you thought for a moment about what goes through the minds of patriotic Turkish children who see these things? These children sometimes ask me: *"Why should we work when the one who breaks the jug and the one who fetches the water are one? Why should we be loyal to our country?"* I could not give a reasonable answer.

Yes! Communists are trying to penetrate into our army with secret propaganda. Again, I regret to say that the government gets serious when it sees a member of the army involved in communism, but it does not care when it sees thousands of members of the education system who are red-blooded communists. At the Education Council, the

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government said, "*The family is a poison.*"

What is the difference between keeping a Sadrettin Celal, who wants to destroy the foundation of our education, as a professor of pedagogy and choosing all regiment commanders from communists? Isn't the harm done by leftist associate professors at the Faculty of Languages, where communists are swarming among the teaching staff, a thousand times more terrible than the communism of two reserve officer cadets? Just a few days ago, Halit, an associate professor of chemistry at the Istanbul Medical School, addressed the military students: "*I hate soldiers*". Do you not perceive underneath this statement the revelation of a leftist ideology?

It can be said in defence that these leftists have now renounced their old ideas. But is it not the greatest blunder against the homeland and the nation to believe the promises made by communists who consider our tradition of "honouring our word" as "*bourgeois folly*"? With what assurance can we believe that those who returned yesterday will not return tomorrow? Even if they had returned sincerely, should they not at least be deprived of the right to interfere in the affairs of the nation today because of the offence they had committed in the past? Just as a repentant prostitute, even though she is now considered to be honourable, should not be allowed into the harem of honourable families, communists who had turned away from their old ideas should not have been allowed into the state harem either. The centenarians were also pardoned. But are they given the smallest duty in the government machine? Are the centenarians more guilty than the communists? It must not be forgotten that as long as these communists remain in our country and occupy a place in the state, the Turkish children who will run to protect the country at the borders tomorrow will not consider themselves and their frontlines safe. I wonder what thought and what tactic can be

considered superior to eliminating this feeling of insecurity among the children of the homeland? What is happening in France is not a shining example of how communists in government can ruin a homeland.

Is it? Even if, hypothetically, the removal of these communists from the places where the Turkic youth, who would gladly die for Turkey in the future, can this issue be as dangerous as the national weakness that would arise from leaving the sons of Turks in agony?

Mr Prime Minister!

All nationalist Turks are with you. They ask you to crush the enemy of the homeland, communism, at this difficult moment of our history, so that it will never rise again. If the existing laws are not sufficient, make new laws to eradicate this hearth of corruption. The law will have meaning if it is the instrument of the national conscience. The national conscience wants the enemies of the homeland to be crushed. Immediately abolish the procedure of "giving positions to communists", which is a bad example before the eyes of patriotic Turkish children. The examples I have given above show how the field of education, which will educate the generation of tomorrow, is infected with these germs.

The recent incident at Haydarpaşa High School is the latest evidence of this contamination. In the face of these events, the Ministry of Education has a great duty: This duty is higher and more important than the translation of the classics and the Latin and Greek lessons that have been introduced in some high schools as if the teaching of foreign languages and even Turkish was going very well and it was now its turn. This duty is the duty of cleansing Turkish education of all communists, whether teachers or students. On the one hand, the Ministry of Education shows such distrust as to demand a doctor's report from a teacher who misses a single day of class, while on the other hand it acts with astonishing confidence towards those who have tried to introduce ideas prohibited by our

laws into Turkey. We cannot attribute this to the bad intentions or deliberate behaviour of the Ministry of Education. Because in that case, the Ministry of Education

tini's complicity in the betrayal of the homeland. This, at best, can be attributed to negligence. Although a deputy's negligence is not excusable, it is always possible for him to show his goodwill by repairing it with the warnings made to him. Otherwise, it would mean that the deputy's chair is considered as a place of luxury to give whomever he wishes the position he wishes, which is unbecoming of the democratic and populist government of Turkey. Education
Until now, the Ministry of Defence has published the *İnönü* Encyclopaedia and many

He tried to show his loyalty to the head of state by dedicating books. The time has come to prove that this loyalty is sincere. Keeping all these communists, especially the traitor who wrote those ravings against the National Chief, in important positions is in contradiction with this loyalty. In order to prove loyalty, it is imperative that their duties be terminated immediately. In fact, it would have been a very patriotic gesture for the Minister of Education himself to resign from that position in order to erase the shame that has arisen from keeping them in office until now, somehow as a result of a blunder.

(21 March, 1944, Maltepe),

Orkun, 2 March 1951, Issue.

Open Letter to the Turkish Nation

Dear TURKISH NATION!

After 3 May 1944, we have decided to publish this open letter and to appeal to your noble conscience and superior wisdom by following the voice of our conscience in the face of the tendency of the aftermath of 3 May 1944 to revive, albeit on a small scale.

Today, more than ever, the Turkic people, the creators of national consciousness, who are being treated as stepchildren, who would like to be drowned in a spoonful of water if possible, and who have been labelled as "*Racist Turanists*.. in the language of their opponents, feel the need to commiserate with you more than ever. Because, in the face of the rain of slander and accusations in their homeland, they could not imagine any being closer and warmer to them than your compassionate, just, faith-filled, pure heart, which is full of faith, which does not indulge in petty feelings, which does not indulge in simple grudges.

O noble Turkish nation that has endured thousands of hardships for the sake of democracy and freedom! In the recent past, when a totalitarian mentality prevailed strongly in our country, on 3 May 1944, the decent and meaningful demonstration of the nationalist youth to condemn communism, communists and their protectors,

which won your admiration, and on the pretext of this demonstration, they were able to attack their actually weak positions.

You are aware of the series of trials instigated and instigated by armchair enthusiasts who were under the impression that the Turkish people were being erased. Of course, you will remember the vicious publications made against the Turkists before the police investigations had even been concluded, in order to alarm and terrify the public opinion. Of course, you also remember how your ears were filled with propaganda against Turkism, which has no rough lines other than being a faithful Turkish nationalist, through radios, speeches, conferences, lectures, newspapers and magazines, official books, communiqués and communiqués, and how your peace of mind was disturbed by propaganda as if you had lost consciousness.

What was the result?

For months, the Turkic people had been attacked in the most vicious ways;

Turkists whose names were hanged on the gallows as "traitors to the homeland", "revolutionaries who were going to stage a coup d'état", and "bastards who collaborated with Germany";

The Turkists, whose conscious nationalism, based on a concise understanding of homeland and nationality, on the ideals of independence for Turks, freedom for Turks, social and economic prosperity and justice, was transformed into racism-Turanism by unbelieving indoctrination;

The Turkists were subjected to the most severe tortures and the most vulgar treatment, "which had not been inflicted on the perpetrators of the Sheikh Sait rebellion, on the prisoners of Bolshevism and even on prisoners";

The Turkicists, who were constantly cursed and counted against them, were not given the opportunity to defend themselves with a single word, and were reduced to the level of weaklings who had incurred the wrath of

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mortals who wanted to compete with the wrath of God, and whose honour and dignity, which they considered above everything else, were wanted to be played with; by the Military Exemplary Court, which was formed by the heroic representatives of the glorious Turkish Army, who were the rightful heirs to the virtues of valour and valour of their predecessors,

None of the allegations against them were found to be true and they were acquitted altogether.

Noble Turkish nation! You must have felt a great deal of astonishment and a great deal of satisfaction in the face of this clear, sufficient and just result. For, the total acquittal of the people against whom so many things had been said and done, and who had been cursed and reviled, was a complete surprise for you. You must have felt irritation, because your pure heart and your ability to believe were being mocked so openly and so disregardingly... The Turkists, whose name had been changed to Racist-Turanist, were pleased to regain their place in the nation and the country as citizens whose honour and integrity had not been tarnished. Even though they could not erase the unforgettable memory of the inhuman treatment they had been subjected to for months from their minds; even though they could not be so naïve as to hope that the perpetrators would give a style; the friendly efforts of their relatives and friends to make them forget their troubles and sufferings by no longer considering them as "dangerous people" or "traitors to the homeland" sprinkled the freshness of a spring sky on their passionless hearts; and this was enough for them in abundance.

Months passed. The enemies of Turkish nationalism, whose threads were exposed in the light of the air of democracy that began to blow in our country, could not find the opportunity to attack Turkish nationalists because they were dealing with new enemies. They were in trouble with democracy. They had accumulated so many accounts to be given to the nation... There is no way to put the spear in the sack. The situation is very difficult and terrible. Despite a relative freedom, under the constant attacks of the impartial press, it might have been expected that their noses, which had been climbing to the heights of the Kafdağ Mountains, would have been rubbed a little, and therefore, their nemrudane habits would have eased a little. Then the

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former minister Hasan Ali, whose honour and dignity had
been aroused by the revelations, Prof. Kenan Öner, a lawyer.

He filed a lawsuit against Beğ. The martyrdoms that took place in connection with this case have again endangered the "position of fortification" of the principal enemies of the Turkists and have shown their willingness to expose their cemaziyülewel, so that these men, who should have been overwhelmed under constant blows, have begun to struggle to spread the ugliness of slander and accusation against Turkism all over again, not bothered in the slightest by the fact that the truth is denying them every moment, and to spread the ugliness of slander and accusation around them. The accusation of "treason against the motherland", which finds its expression in the form of seduction of the nation under the mask of "Racism-Turanism" and "giving the country to the Germans", is still being hurled at the Turks, who constitute a magnificent masterpiece with their patriotism, their fierce devotion to everything national, and their sense of chivalry and honour, which cannot be laid hands and tongues on by the famous pencillers.

In the face of this heavy accusation: Despite the Military Court of Appeal's judgement of reversal with great vigour;

2 despite the total and final acquittal of the Military-Partial Court;

In spite of the fact that, according to the explicit provisions of our Constitution and other laws, neither racism nor Turanism can be criminalised;

Despite the fact that not even the slightest indication that could lead to or confirm the suspicion of collusion with foreigners or treason has been established;

Although it is a matter of common knowledge that Turkism is a completely indigenous and national idea, inspired by the Turkish nation's view of life, spirit and the depths of Turkish history and the current necessities of Turkishness, and that it is concerned with the causes of

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nationality, freedom and social justice;

Despite the frequent talk of democracy, rule of law
and equal justice:

On the one hand, even the acquittal of the Turkists, who had been accused of the gravest offences before the police investigations had even been concluded, was not considered sufficient for their exoneration; on the other hand, despite the magnificent contradiction created by the declaration that those accused of communism would remain clean citizens until the end of the proceedings against them;

Although it is obvious that such obvious contradictions and contradictions will create problems in the national conscience:

Despite the demands and roars of human reason, human logic and human conscience, one cannot remain silent; the Turkic Turks cannot justify their silence with their own morality, their own honour, their own chivalry, their own humanity, and cannot reconcile it with their own character! Because, like every Turk, they were born as honourable people; they want to live and die like honourable people. They cannot conceive of any material or immaterial existence that cannot be sacrificed to protect their personal honour. Everything of the Turkists can be seized and confiscated, but their honour is their own. Neither Falih Rifkî and his family nor any other force can usurp it; no force can play with their honour! Not to remain silent and not to bow down in the face of any power is - we say with pride - our foremost virtue, and it will always remain so! A Turk recognises two powers to bow his head: GOD and the LAW, which is the instrument of his national conscience!

Dear Turkish nation!

It is entirely possible and feasible to go to court in the face of these unjust encroachments of the enemies of Turkism, which weigh heavily on the conscience, and to have the offenders convicted one by one. However, the Turkists are not doing this for the time being and will not

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do so. For the day is coming when the perpetrators will be held to account in a clearer and more fundamental way. Therefore, we appealed to you and appealed to your wisdom, make your judgement!

On this occasion, we have a clear and simple request from the Republican Government, the Republican Courts of Justice and the Istanbul Special Administrative Command:

If they have any documents proving the Turkists' links with any foreign state, they should be brought forward, even if it means their execution! This address also extends to Falih Rıfkı Çelebi and his cohorts; if they are men and brave, they too, if they are men and brave, should stop bragging and speak plainly, and if they have any evidence, they should reveal it in front of the general public. For, "He who claims the opposite of the obvious is obliged to prove his claim" and he is obliged to do so! Let us know that even the "Law" does not have the authority to play with the honour and dignity of the Turkish citizen; otherwise "violation of rights" would be legitimate.

Dear Turkish nation; we bow before you with reverence; because you are the greatest, the truest, the supreme power!

*Oppression has cannons, cannonballs and fortresses,
Truth also has an unbending arm and a face
that does not turn. Do not turn away from the
sun, no matter how much its light dims, there
is a day for every eternal night.*

Fear of the Grey Wolf

BOZKURT is our national symbol. Turks believed that they were descended from a Bozkurt in ancient times, in the totem age. Thus, the Gok Turks were considered to be the descendants of the female Bozkurt, the Nine Oghuz-On Uyghurs were considered to be the descendants of the male Bozkurt, and the Kun, that is, the Oghuzs were guided by the Bozkurt in great marches.

Totem and nominal ancestors exist in every nation, tribe and tribe. These are embedded in the conscience of the nation, and although it is accepted that it is not possible for humans to descend from wolves in the face of today's advances in science, Bozkurt continues to be the national symbol.

"What the hell is a grey wolf? It's finally an animal."

changes. Then nothing in the world has any spiritual value. A handle is attached to every being that is recognised, loved and respected: "Mother" is a female who finally gives birth to a child. "Flag" is a colourful piece of cloth. "Head of State" is any man. "Constitution" is a list of articles. "Morality" is a lie that the greedy use to fleece the gullible, "family" and "discipline" are useless things that do not play any other role than to cause trouble to people.

If the nation in one of the two neighbouring states of equal power accepts the above-mentioned definitions, and the second one believes in the holy principles and beings,

the second one will definitely defeat the other one one day, or even wipe it off the map.

To believe in the talk of eternal peace is ignorance, folly and treachery. The recent Pakistan-India conflict is the best example of the fact that eternal peace will never come, and that the wrestling between nations and states will continue until the end. The Hindus, the most miserable and lowly nation of the world, seized the opportunity and succeeded in tearing off East Pakistan from P a k i s t a n to be swallowed up in the future.

Living in a dangerous region in terms of its geography and history, Turkey is obliged to be strong. One of the conditions of being strong is to be strong in the spiritual field, to be attached to principles, symbols and persons that will unite the members of the nation.

When Turkism and communism clash in Turkey, the government cannot look at both sides with the same eyes.

It is madness to equate the two ideas, one of which is to enlarge the homeland and the other to dismember it and link it with other states.

* * *

In the issue of *Yeni Meram* newspaper published in Konya on 7 January 1972, the events at the Selçuk Institute of Education there are mentioned. Because a group of more than 300 students had come to school wearing a Bozkurt badge, the school principal "Yusuf Ziya Beyzadeoğlu" had sentenced them to the Disciplinary Committee. It was decided that they would not be admitted to school if they came to school with a Bozkurt badge.

The badge with the Grey Wolf is a national-historical symbol. To punish those who wear this badge in a school of the Turkish State is an act that cannot be accepted by reason, comprehension, national honour and national feeling.

According to *Yeni Meram* newspaper, the director

explained this action as follows:

On 30 December, about 300 students came to school wearing Bozkurt badges. Among the students, this

The situation caused unrest and stirrings. We informed our students that wearing a badge was not forbidden, but entering the institute with a Bozkurt badge was strictly forbidden. Students who did not comply with this decision were not allowed to enter the classroom.

The reason for this decision is to be found in the events of last year, the director says:

Some of our students wore Mao hats and raised their left fist. Some came to school wearing a kalpak. Some saluted with their right fist. Clashes broke out one after another. We decided to take some measures to prevent this and to erase this atmosphere.

So the director tried to cure malaria with a mosquito net. First of all, to equate the Maoists and the Turkists with hearts is to be ignorant of the world. The Maoist's duty and thought is to destroy Turkey, while the Turkists, whom he calls hearted, are to keep it alive. If the principal has not completely eliminated the traitors whom he calls Maoists, he has not done his duty. Tomorrow they will poison Turkish children as teachers, and Beyzadeoğlu with his strange name will be to blame for this. Also, the word about the heart-hearted ones saluting is a mere misconception. Turkists do not salute by raising their fists, they salute like men.

If there are those who are uneasy about the Grey Wolf badge, they are enemies of nationalism. They must be brought to their senses. The 12 March Memorandum was not against those who wore the Bozkurt badge, but against those who saluted with a left fist.

I draw the attention of the Minister of National Education: I urge him to take this matter into his own hands and clarify the situation.

It is hard not to pity the teachers at the Konya Institute of Education. So there was no one among them who knew what a Grey Wolf was. And what do they know?

Not Atatürk? They don't know that either. If they did, they would know that a book called "Bozkurt" has been written about Atatürk in English.

Why this fear of Bozkurt?

Or does Beyzadeoğlu think he's a lamb?

19 January 1972, Ötüken, Issue:
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Traitors in the High Ranks and Secret Organisations of the State and spies?

An extreme leftist magazine called *Yön (Direction)* dated 25 September 1964

In its 78th issue, an article that should immediately mobilise the state forces was published. In this unsigned article, titled "The National Security Organisation must be reformed", some people at the head of the National Security Organisation, which provides the internal and external security of the state, are strongly criticised and two confidential documents belonging to this organisation are published.

The unsigned article is summarised as follows:

1) During the time of the Democrat Party, a member of the National Police named Hakim Hidayet accused İnönü of being a communist, or at least of having protected communists, in a secret session of the National Assembly.

2) Within the National Police, it was still customary to accuse anyone of being a communist, and to publish articles in *Yeni İstanbul* and similar newspapers.

who were in the habit of feeding the organisations with National Security reports.

3) Even the person who today occupies the most important position in the National Police was one of these

outdated mindsets.

4) This person saw no harm in publicly accusing a professor, who was their teacher, of communism in front of young district governors, and he was not aware that young people who wanted to enter the Foreign Ministry

His future was saved only by Kemal Satır's intervention.

5) In the "Anti-Communism Group" established with the participation of all parties in today's National Assembly, zealous members of the Justice Party, such as Pehlivanoglu and Tevetoğlu, submitted a report to the National Security Organisation in which they denounced ministers such as Kemal Satır, Turhan Şahin, Muammer Erten and Kemal Demir as suspicious and very dangerous persons. Fuat Doğu Pasha, the former head of the National Security Organisation, said in a conversation that there was such a document in the National Security archive.

After these allegations, Yön Magazine published some parts of two secret letters given by the National Police to the then Minister of Interior Namık Gedik on 31 July 1959 and put forward some patriotic (!) and national (!) ideas on these secret letters. One of these secret writings was written by Ziya Selışık, the head of the National Police, and the other by Ergun Gökdeniz, the National Police Inspector. According to Yön, these two people wanted to convict a number of citizens by accusing them of communism with the reports they attached to their articles.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the writings of Yön is this: Yön magazine is so intimate with the National Police that it can obtain the secret reports of the National Police and hear private conversations in which the head of the National Police reveals some secrets. Or there are agents of Yön within that organisation. In order to come to this very important issue later, let us now review the items listed above one by one:

1) It is true that during the time of the Democrat Party, a secret session was held in the National Assembly and a judge from the National Police gave an hour-long lecture to the deputies. However, as claimed by Yön, neither the name of this judge was Hi dayet, nor did he accuse İnönü of

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communism. These are outright lies. We, who were MPs in
that period and were secretly

We heard details of this from two of our friends who were present at the session. In this secret session, the National Security Judge, who was introduced to the National Assembly under his own name and title, made a long speech based on documents and gave information about the communist activities and organisations in Turkey, and since these explanations had a very positive and profound effect on the members of the Assembly, the famous Articles 141 and 142, which increased the penalties for communists, were adopted. According to these two friends of ours, the National Security Judge delivered his speech with great seriousness and impartiality and did not utter a single word about parties and partisanship, let alone speaking against İnönü.

No other behaviour could have been expected from the members of the National Police, who were supposed to be impartial due to their duties. Since *Yön* magazine was skilful enough to obtain even confidential documents, it should have obtained the minutes of that secret session and learnt what the National Police judge had said. Perhaps he had learnt this too, but since his aim was to crush those who were against the communists, it was not in his interest to tell the truth.

2) Another claim made by *Yön* was its statement that it was aware of the secret activities of the National Security Organisation. It is as follows: The outdated elements within the National Police organisation accuses me of being a communist. With *New Istanbul*, I gave him that they were feeding the newspapers with National Police reports. What can be said in the face of this terrifying allegation? Either the *Yön* magazine has a stronger organisation than the National Police, an organisation so terrible that it can steal confidential documents, or these are slanders made to refute the National Police. This is what

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they call falling into the well they have dug. *The Director* should answer: If the National Security Organisation has such activities, how and how does it know this?

3) Ziya Selışık, today the head of the National Police, was one of the old-fashioned thinkers. It is impossible to draw conclusions about the identity of the members of the National Police, whose personalities are more or less concealed, without the help of the British or Russian secret services. *Direction* turns this impossibility into a possibility and leaves one marvelling. We do not know who Ziya Selışık is. We only know that he must be a trustworthy person to be put in charge of security affairs by the government of whichever party. The fact that *Yön* tried to destroy Ziya Selışık is a good note in itself. Because *Yön* is a magazine, which does nothing but undermine national values, and which reveals its character by featuring writers convicted of communism in its pages. We will recall the joke attributed to Koca Ragıp Pasha in order to praise what he denigrated: Grand Vizier Koca Ragıp Pasha, who was also a poet, philosopher, historian and scholar, said to someone who asked him about his political principles: *"By doing the opposite of the wishes of the Muscovite ambassador, I am sure that I am managing the state in the right way"*. Just like this, we, too, hide our belief that the people who are vilified by the *Yön*, which always attacks Turkists with the nursery rhymes of fascists and racists, are necessarily good. Ziya Selışık, who is reported by *Yön* to be the head of the National Police today, must have been a member of the M. M. Group established in Istanbul during the War of Independence.

Colonel Hüsametdin Ertürk, who was the head of one of the nationalist secret organisations such as pu, mentioned in his work *Two Devrin Perde Arkası* (p. SOS) that the artilleryman Mülazim-i Eweli Göz

Mr. Ziya Bey of Lüklü. In other words, one of the bouncers who, risking death in the dangerous days of the armistice, smuggled weapons and ammunition from the

warehouses where British guards were waiting and smuggled them to the national army...

Because such a person reported to the Minister of the Interior that some citizens were communists.

le can only be explained with the concern of protecting the communists. The National Police is an institution worthy of admiration for chasing communists, who are Moscow henchmen, inside and outside the country and bringing them to justice, in other words, for protecting Turkey from the ravages of traitors. National morality and national thought can only respect the people who are at the head of such an institution, who manage these national services and crush communism. The opposite meaning of calling those who crushed communism "old mentality" is "to say that communism is an advanced mentality". From the time he became a first lieutenant, i.e. from 1920 onwards, he worked in the branches related to these secret affairs and worked his way up to the position of chief, and in the meantime, having been in the position of being the expert in these affairs both during the times of the People's Party and the Democratic Party is sufficient witness to the kind of an expert Ziya Selışık was in communist affairs. In the meantime, Atatürk's famous Eskişehir speech should not be forgotten: *Communism is the greatest enemy of Turkishness. It must be crushed wherever it is seen...* What does *the Direction* say to this?

6) Ziya Selışık's speech in front of the young district governors

We do not know whether he publicly accused a professor, his teacher, of being a communist. After the tale of Hakim Hidayet, which he fabricated by completely changing a speech delivered in front of 600 deputies, none of *Yön's* words can be believed. Since the so-called Young District Governors were graduates of the Civil Faculty, their teacher, who was accused of being a communist, would probably be Sadun Aren. It is well known that he was an extreme leftist. In the great communist arrests of 1951, a warrant of arrest was issued for Sadun Aren, but he could not be arrested because he had travelled abroad, and in

the trial held on his return after a long time, he was only saved from conviction due to insufficient evidence.

Q) Since communism is illegal in Turkey, the Administration, like everyone else, and even more than anyone else, knows that communists work in secret and that they publish by taking advantage of the deficiencies and loopholes in the laws. The "Commission for Combating Communism", which was established in the National Assembly with the participation of members from all parties, was established to close these loopholes and to take measures to choke the communists. It is seen that the magazine Yön was extremely displeased with the work of this commission. If Yön is to be believed, two members of this commission, Pehlivanoglu and Tevetoglu, submitted a confidential report to the National Police and jailed four ministers of the current cabinet as dangerous individuals. This report was kept in the archive of the National Police. Somehow the Directionists could not get hold of it, but they learnt of its existence from a speech of Fuat Dogu Pasha. Fuat Dogu Pasha is a former chief of the National Police and now a general serving in the military. It is natural that a general at the head of the National Police would make disclosures about secret documents in private conversations. As a matter of fact, this allegation in Yön was denied by the general, which means that Yön lied here too. Furthermore, Pehlivanoglu and Tevetoglu must have been insane to forget that they had gathered for the fight against communism and to give a secret report on four ministers who had never been stained with communism. As a matter of fact, Pehlivanoglu, He denied this claim of the Direction.

6) Taking advantage of the somewhat ambiguous wording of a letter marked confidential and given to the Minister of the Interior Namık Gedik in 1959, Yön wants to accuse Ziya Selışık of unscrupulousness. The text is exactly as follows:

In our opinion, a legal opportunity has arisen to intervene in the situation that has become known and alarming. It is conceivable that the matter may have a political repercussion. But

As there is a legal basis, it may be difficult to find another opportunity. In my opinion, it is possible to keep the matter strictly confidential at first and then deal with it as a communist issue. I respectfully submit.

Deputy Chief of National
Security Services
Ziya Selışık

This article is the introductory article to the main report. The original report undoubtedly contains information and evidence about harmful activities.

After publishing Ziya Selışık's article, the magazine *Yön* makes the following comment:

The article mentions a harmful activity, the nature of which we do not find it useful to explain. However, Selışık is afraid that this harmful activity might have a "political repercussion". For this reason, he advises Namık Gedik to keep the real criminal offence secret and to "treat the matter as a communist issue"! The person writing on behalf of the Head of the National Security does not see the slightest harm in accusing everyone of being a communist.

Yön is such a nationalist and patriotic magazine that it sees no harm in revealing the harmful activity mentioned in Ziya Selışık's report. Let us leave the championship of nationalism to him, but let us say what he did not explain: This harmful activity is communism and Kurdism; it was reported in the newspapers; the activities of local and foreign Kurds in establishing a Kurdish state and communism were brought to court; they were acquitted due to lack of legal capacity; in the meantime, one of them, Ziya Şerefhanoglu, was elected as a senator from Bitlis; and finally the Military Court of Cassation ruled against these

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Kurdists.

The judgement of acquittal was overturned both procedurally and substantively. Their trial has now resumed before the Military Court of the General Staff;

As regards Ziya Selışık's article on the Kurds, the meaning of it is as follows: The evidence concerning the communist activities of the Kurds, who are pursued by the National Police and who aim to dismember Turkey, has matured and has reached a stage where it can be taken to the court of law. For the time being, there may be legal and political drawbacks in bringing the Kurdish activities to the court of law. While the communist aspect of the matter has matured, we should not miss this opportunity and take action on that front.

This is how it is. Otherwise, there is no such thing as putting Kurdish people on trial not for Kurdishism, but for a fabricated communism. As a matter of fact, in the stages of the case reported in the newspapers, it was seen that Kurds were tried for both offences.

Communist organisations and activities have been outlawed in Turkey. In the secret activity programme of the secret "Communist Party of Turkey", which has been found in many arrests and trials carried out so far, it is clearly written that *"the Kurds and Laz, who are among the Muslim minorities, will be given independence on condition that they will be under the command and administration of Moscow"*. This should also be known to the Directionists. This is the most important point and the one that must be emphasised strongly.

Now, let us come to the crucial point of the issue: How did *the Direction* obtain two documents in the secret files and archives of the state, which should not be seen by anyone other than those concerned? Documents related to the security of the state can only be stolen by the enemies of the state. Is *Yön* on the side of the enemies of the state? If not, why did he obtain these documents?

All these are serious offences. *Yön* is obliged to account for them. Otherwise, after seizing the confidential documents of the state, the so-called patriot-

No one can swallow as patriotism the fact that they claim that they "find it inconvenient to publish it in its entirety" and that they come forward with the intention of refuting its content.

The publication in Yön of a document that Moscow would have paid millions to obtain because it is a report against the communists has a terrible meaning and this meaning puts Yön, which characterises the mentality of those who want to destroy communism in Turkey as "terrible mentality", in a terrible situation. Yes! How did he obtain those documents? Or who gave those documents to him? And are the documents in the possession of Yön the originals given to the Minister of Interior, Namık Gedik, or are they the copies that should have been in the National Police? All these are terrible questions that demand answers.

With the disclosure of these secret documents, many people are now under suspicion. In order to save innocent people who are under suspicion unjustly, this matter must be brought to light and the traitorous thieves who stole the confidential documents must be caught.

Look who's under suspicion:

1) Firstly, the members of the National Unity Committee are under suspicion. Because these members, who were at the head of the 27 May 1960 movement, actually seized all documents and administration of the state. In the meantime, the secret or open writings and files of all the ministers who were detained have also fallen into their hands. For this reason, such confidential documents, which should only be in their hands, can only be transferred to the outside world by one of them.

2) Officers and cadets who had not joined the National Unity Committee but had participated in the revolution and arrested ministers were also under suspicion. When Namık Gedik's house was searched, this or-

An officer or cadet who found the dice may have kept them to himself and later disclosed them to the outside world.

3) Members of the National Police are also under suspicion. If the text published in Yön is not the original given to Namık Gedik, but a copy of it, this copy can only be obtained from the archives of the National Security Organisation. In this case, at least the members of the National Police who are in charge of its archives will be under suspicion.

4) The Ministry of Interior is also under suspicion. If Namık Gedik's documents were normally transferred to the files of today's Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Interior at all its high levels is responsible for its disclosure.

5) The owners and officers of the magazine Yön and the anonymous scribe who published that article are also under suspicion. Because they may have obtained the secret documents neither from the National Unionists, nor from the officers and cadets who participated in the revolution, nor from the members of the National Police and the Ministry of Interior, but through a completely different means. Even if they did not obtain these documents through secret methods but on the street, publishing them is still a grave offence and this behaviour is a clear evidence of a complete lack of a sense of national responsibility.

I am now addressing the authorities: the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ankara Public Prosecutor's Office, the National Security Service and the General Directorate of Security.

This article is a denunciation. The confidential documents of the National Police have been stolen and published. It is possible that thieves who are skilful enough to steal this information may also obtain and disseminate state communications, General Staff plans and secret orders. This means that national security is in danger.

On 27 May, the officers who searched Namik Gedik's house should apply on their own and provide the judicial authorities with information to explain the incident.

They should gather together and clarify their side of the matter with a declaration that would refute the rumours that there were leftist elements among them. As a matter of fact, in an insinuating statement of Yön, it is recorded that "*Ahmet Yıldız was the person who was most upset about this*". What this means should be explained.

If the Directionists, who speak of the homeland and the nation, are really concerned about the homeland and the nation, they should explain through which channel they obtained these secret documents and inform the Turkish public how they learnt what they claim Fuat Doğu Pasha said in his private conversation.

Since it is certain that the directors will not be able to show this bravery, the official authorities must act immediately and vigorously to reveal whoever the traitors of the homeland and nation are who reach up to the state secrets and the Turkish nation, which is worried about its future by seeing that official secrets have become child's play, must be given the necessary confidence.

(7 October 1964), Ötüken, IS October 1964, Issue:
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Giving the Enemies Trump

27 MAY 1960 In one of the months following 27 May 1960, when the situation seemed politically sound for Turkey, a Cypriot student told me: *"The Greeks will soon take action against the Turks"*. I did not agree with this opinion of an inexperienced young man and asked him where he got it from. Because at that time there were neither 10.000 Greek soldiers nor heavy weapons on the island. Even the local Greeks were not yet properly armed. In such a situation, on what basis would the Greeks attack the Turks? I asked this question to the student: *"They will benefit from the internal conflicts in Turkey and the fact that the nation is divided into two camps"*, he replied.

Time proved the young student right. The Greeks used every opportunity. While we were eating each other and spending time with literary blackmail, they went from weak to strong.

If we pay attention, we have reached the same situation today. Party fights, behind-the-scenes games, Zonguldak incidents, increase in the salaries of MPs, leftist provocations, statements, concessions, book collections and then the Greek Cypriot movement in Cyprus...

We are unrivalled in giving foreigners, especially the enemy, ammunition. Heads are not working. There are no politicians making political forecasts. Moreover, those

who manage the destiny of the country

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It does not pursue either a short-term or a long-term national policy. This is the only way a state can be managed with daily politics. Before the Greeks brought 10.000 troops into Cyprus, Turkish gangsters were to be brought in. Stocks of provisions and ammunition were to be made before they acted. Instead of such small things, they were busy with important and big things such as domestic politics, party transfers, social justice, reform, reform, reform, reform again. Only after the egg was on the doorstep Back to Cyprus.

Now let's sort out the rice. Those who think that staying on the defensive is a political feat, those who take action at the instigation of the enemy, may be fine. When the nation wakes up from a sweet sleep with a hard blow, they will come to their senses, but then it will be too late.

Let's wake up. We have so much at our disposal. Let's learn that the best defence is offence. Let's use our own trump cards. Every prudent action, even if unjust, pays off in the international world market. Let us do the same without corrupting our just cause. Those in charge know better than anyone else what this means.

We can only lose by taking prudence to the level of cowardice. Assertiveness, risking danger, is a prerequisite for gain.

Those who have the most right to live are those who are willing to die.

(17 March 1965), Ötüken, March 1965, Issue: 15

United Nations Ideal

The naivety of the TURKISH nation is characterised by its excessive susceptibility to social currents coming from outside. The intellectuals are at the forefront of those who succumb, and they force the common people to become like them.

Since the national consciousness was very high in the pre-Islamic era, there were those among the intellectuals who opposed the evil influence of foreign culture and these were able to get their point across. I will cite two people from the time of the Kuns and the Gok Turks as an example: One of these intellectuals, both of whom were at the level of today's prime ministers, was Çun-hang-yue (we do not know his Turkish name) in the age of the Kuns, and the other was Bilge Tonyukuk in the age of the Gok Turks.

These two prevented the acceptance of Chinese customs and Buddhism. The important thing is that they were both born in China and brought up in Chinese culture. The greatness of their behaviour is revealed in all its brilliance when measured against the sense of inferiority among intellectuals today who were not born in a Western country and studied there, but who stayed there for a few years and even only knew the language of that country. Among today's real intellectuals who have been educated in Western culture, there is a small minority who are free from the feeling of inferiority, and all of them are nationalists and

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Turkists.

Leaving aside the tragedy of the Turks in the age of Islam adopting Islam by forgetting their Turkishness, let us take a brief look at the influences we have fallen prey to while entering Western civilisation: First, the disease of parliamentarism... Our intellectuals, who saw France and were dazzled, saw or thought that the brilliance in France came from the parliament and believed that if the same procedure was applied in our country, every difficulty would be solved. They did not realise that there was only one nation in France and many nations in the Ottoman Empire. They did not realise with their historical naivety that in an Ottoman parliament, Turks would remain in the minority and others would have a say.

In the 1908 Constitutional Monarchy, the principles of *"liberty, freedom, equality and brotherhood"* came to the fore. Uhuuvet, or brotherhood, was the brotherhood of all the elements of the Ottoman Empire. While the nations of the Empire were embracing each other, it was only the pure Turks who seriously believed in this. It was obvious that the Balkans, whose weapons were soaked in Turkish blood, and the Arabs, who had already made an agreement with the British to destroy the Ottoman Empire, would not believe in such a thing.

The Turkish-Russian friendship that emerged as a result of foreign policy manoeuvres after the Republic influenced many intellectuals, except for those who were true communists. These intellectuals believed that the past was forgotten, that a new era had begun, that friendship with Russia was necessary against Western imperialism, and that the Russians no longer had any malicious intentions against Turkey. They did not wake up from their sweet sleep until Russia demanded a base in the Straits from Eastern Turkey.

After the Second World War, the ideal of the United Nations was the spell that blindfolded the intellectuals.

Every time our brigade participating in the Korean War was mentioned, it was said that the Turkish nation had shed blood for the cause of the United Nations ideal. No one has ever heard that among the "United Nations"

He did not remember that Russia was in North Korea and Communist China, that Russia was fighting against the United Nations army in a roundabout way by providing arms to North Korea and Communist China, and that the Turkish brigade was fighting for Turkey alone on a very advanced line.

The Turks were again carried away by their historical naivety. Starting from calling the forty-year-old "China" in English or American "Tajnez", they believed that they were shedding blood for the benefit of humanity. Thinking that all nations in the United Nations were eternal brothers and sisters, they again fell into their sweet Oğuz sleep.

At Christmas 1963, this sleep would have continued had it not been for the Turkish Cypriot uprising.

How many disappointments, how many illusions?

Where will the Turkish nation be dragged from one abyss to another by intellectuals whose minds function incorrectly and whose judgement is frozen?

On the one hand, the Ummahists and Nurists want to lead us towards Arabisation with the principles of Sharia, on the other hand, Marxists and extreme leftists want to lead us towards Muscification with the promise of social justice.

Another group, under the delusion that human beings are and will be brothers and sisters, considers nationalism an unnecessary obstacle and endeavours to lure the Turkish nation towards humanism and Americanism.

A utilitarian group, which has been created by the undermining of national morality, is in a state of complete degeneration, seeking profit and entertainment with an animalistic ambition.

When Athenagoras came to Turkey from America and became the Orthodox Archbishop, apart from the politically motivated behaviour of the official authorities, the respect he received from the people, especially from the intellectuals, was the result of a naïve thinking that

believed that everything was over and that brotherhood had begun.

National consciousness is the only medicine to prevent the intellectuals, who came to their senses after the High Priest went to Jerusalem and met with the Pope, from falling into a sleep of heedlessness again tomorrow. New generations to be raised by teachers with national consciousness, school books, propaganda publications, radio broadcasts, films, theatre, etc. that will foster national consciousness... Otherwise, it is destined to become numb to the United Nations advertisements.

The so-called United Nations ideal is a treaty and, like all treaties between nations, is temporary. No one can predict how long it will last. What must be known for certain is that it is not eternal and that there are those who have already broken it without thinking of their signature.

To believe in an eternal treaty is folly for individuals, but suicide for nations.

What kind of an ideal is this of the United Nations, in which some of them openly or indirectly clash with others in Korea, Laos, Vietnam? What kind of an ideal is it that one of them, on behalf of one group, can become a base from which others can strike at home, and the other side can only prevent this by counter-threats and counter-measures?

The most conclusive witness to the ridiculous bankruptcy, or rather the realisation of the bankruptcy, of the United Nations ideal is the return to the United Nations of the medals won by the Turkish veterans who fought in the Koran.

We are obliged to see the facts and not to indulge in illusions. There is no such thing as the United Nations ideal. Talking about the ideal of the United Nations in a time when the ideal of the United Turks is not accepted is like talking about a man who cannot build a house building a palace. To attribute to the nation the United Nations, which is a matter

of foreign policy and which can only be handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is no different from putting one's head on the railway and sleeping. Those who wish to live must be vigilant and work only in their own national interest.

They think of their own. The sale of machinery, weapons, food and trucks to Communist China and Cuba by Britain, one of the partners of NATO, which was established against Communism, shows how far national selfishness has reached.

Let us leave aside this fantasy that numbs us and for the time being, let us only cling to the ideal of "United Turkey and Northern Cyprus"...

(14 May 1964), Ötüken, 15 May 1964, Issue: 5

Unable to Change the Course of History

People are longing for a better and blessed life. With the development of intelligence, man realised the horror of the misery in which he lived, and endeavoured to prepare the reasons for this on the spiritual side while expending energy to be happy.

For a better and more beautiful life, sometimes realistic, sometimes idealistic, sometimes imaginative principles have been put forward, and history has been full of the clash of these principles.

Realistic principles are those that are easy to implement, sound reasonable, short-term and do not require great sacrifices. Wanting Turkey to industrialise is a realistic idea. Since it is easy to implement, it is acceptable to all minds. It is short-term. It needs a plan to be realised in 40-50 years at most. It does not require great sacrifices. The greatest sacrifice to be made consists of simple measures such as slightly increasing working hours and tightening consumption for 40-50 years. In the life of a nation, 40-50 years cannot be called a lot, and cutting down on expenditure cannot be considered a serious sacrifice.

Nationalist principles are difficult to implement. They are too bright and grandiose to be easily accepted by every mind. They are long-term and require infinite sacrifices, blood and life taxes. But they are the driving

force that fills the hearts of nations with joy and excitement.

They are. The greatest heroism and sacrifices of history have been made for their sake. Ideals that demand tough battles are also extraordinary environments in terms of raising tough warriors. Nationalist principles are the principles that raise the people who fight for them and bring them closer to God.

"Red Red" is one of them.

The greatest right in the world is to live. The ideals are so great and powerful that people give up this right. It must be recognised that there is an unprecedented greatness and glory in the renunciation of life by hundreds of thousands.

Imaginative principles are vagrancies, which cannot be realised, and which have sprung up in damaged minds. They can be imposed on people not by endearing themselves to them, but by deception or tyranny. Such was the wish of Alexander of Macedonia to make all men one nation. This is also why anarchists want to abolish governments. The last example is communism.

But the course of history cannot be changed. Gradually the Kremlin communists are returning to the bourgeois countries which they had declared to be exploitative, which they had declared enemies and declared war against. Because they have begun to realise what forty years of dreaming has cost them, they have begun to sober up from their delusion. They have realised that people have the idea of "property", the love of "freedom", the feelings of "nation" and "religion". They are returning. Now that all the nations of the Soviet Union have become culturally advanced and in a position to resist, they are inevitably turning away.

They have left the old vulgar and shameless communist urclfes to the Chinese and Albanians, and to the left-handers in our country.

The following lines of Dr Mihaylofun, Professor of

Literature in Yugoslavia, who travelled to Russia in 1964 and wrote about his impressions, are worth reading with an example:

The Russian youth, in particular, are causing capitalist ideas to spread widely in the country and threaten Kremlin.

The middle class, which has emerged in Russia in recent years and is rapidly developing, is not interested in politics, but in a good and high standard of living, and in order to achieve these rights, it is struggling against the government and all kinds of old-fashioned bureaucratic administrators. Judging from the developments, the emergence of Soviet Russia as a fully capitalist country is not a matter of many years, but of the next few years.¹

It is evident that those who attempt to change the course of history will in the end smash their brainless skulls against the rock of truth. It is one thing for the worker to be given rights; it is another thing for him to dominate a civilised society. The ruler of society will always be the intellectual and executive class called "bourgeois". The domination of the labourer cannot produce any other result than to bring nations to the state of Hotanto.

I don't think the Yugoslav professor's article will open the eyes of our leftist animals. They have already made their judgement about Mihaylof. Fascist and b a c k w a r d ...

(15 September 1965), Ötüken, 24 September 1965,
Issue: 21

Progressives

DISCIPLINE is a form of behaviour brought about by civilisation. Since the issues raised by civilisation require many sacrifices, people comply with this discipline by giving up their freedoms, rights and interests.

There is no romantic freedom in today's civilisation. Freedom exists only in the conscience and in the head. Freedom of behaviour is the work of backward societies. Unlimited freedom is reserved only for animals.

A society of snobs and animalised people who call themselves "progressive" and everyone who does not think like them "reactionary" want this unlimited freedom. They do not want to recognise any of the disciplines that keep a community alive. They want to abolish the articles in the laws that do not suit them. They defend the unrestricted freedom of the press even if it destroys morals. They want free love.

Laws are made to curtail freedom, that is, to save human beings from animalism. Laws are in force to prevent the freedom to do evil, the freedom to destroy society, the freedom to steal, the freedom to murder. In order to keep a society alive, freedom of opinion is also restricted if necessary. Every society has a different temperament, allergies and tendencies. This cannot be deviated from. If you do, it will lead to misery and disaster.

In Sweden, Norway and Denmark there is a law on artificial immunisation for women. As a matter of fact, this procedure is very appropriate for raising a healthy generation. But let's see if this appropriate procedure is applied in Turkey. The ground would shake. Because the way of thinking, moral principles and human pride of the Turkish nation are completely different.

Freedom of the press is like that. You cannot say everything. The press must have the value of ideas and emotions, the truth of science, and the element of national benefit. In the absence of any of these, what humanitarian benefit can be achieved by writing articles that offend morals or nerves or hurt national feelings in the name of freedom of the press? There must be a healthiness to the idea. Is an idea that advocates the intermarriage of brothers and sisters an idea?

Can there be such a ridiculous behaviour as the storm that is raging over Babeuf in these fading days? What would humanity, even France, have lost if Babeuf had not come into the world? Is it the prosecutor who finds an element of crime in this man's work according to Turkish law who is wrong and his defenders who are telling the truth? When the law requires it, the works of Kurd Said will be confiscated in the same way as those of the Frankish Babeuf will be confiscated.

If the poor wretches who demonstrated for Babeuf believe that they will go down in history for their behaviour, good for them! ... Not to mention the hero who travelled all the way to the court and made himself one of the accused. Just one small point: They should have done this marvellous bravado during martial law.

As for the free love advocated by the progressives, this freedom they want exists only in animals. It should not be forgotten how Pa gan Rome was scandalised by free love. Religious pressure on male-female relations is

nothing but a social reaction to these outrages.

The terms progressive-reactionary were coined by communists. In the past, there were the words *progressive* and *reactionary*. But they were not used in today's progressive-reactionary sense.

Today, these words used by everyone have become worn out, meaningless and meaningless. Especially after seeing the disgusting masqueraders who call themselves progressives, honourable people have even developed an enmity against this word.

Progress is to ensure that everyone in the country attends at least primary school and to educate world-class scholars by establishing world-class universities.

Progress means creating a high level of morality and family order, love and respect among individuals, eliminating all kinds of immoral and abnormal individuals and currents, bringing the ideas of rights and morality into the minds, and extending a helping hand to the compatriots outside the political borders.

Otherwise, progress does not mean writing articles that disrupt ideas and order, or dividing the nation into hostile classes by translating articles into Turkish, publishing ugly and immoral publications, mocking national sacredness and being a sneaky servant to foreigners.

(8 December 1964)

Ötüken, 15 December 1964, Issue: 12

Social Facelessness

Instead of discussing the problems of the nation with an open heart and in good faith, instead of criticising deficiencies and mistakes in a patriotic manner, there is that type of person who acts as if he alone knows every issue and every remedy, and who attacks and slanders those who do not think like him with rancour and hatred, that is the perfect example of the traitor and enemy of the nation.

Are you talking about Turks in other dominions? The Türedi is right in front of you. He will accuse you of imperialism. You have spoken of the superiority of the Turkish race, have you spoken of the treachery of the minorities? He will call you a skullcap. Did you say that tradition, history and religion are necessary? He will labelled you reactionary.

And then the same record rhymes: Social justice, the landlords, the means of production, infrastructure-superstructure, the system of the vassalage system, blah, blah, blah...

According to Türedi, when you take the land of the landlords and set up a collective farm, everything will immediately be rosy. When the means of production are owned by the state, parasites will disappear and we will enter the atomic age. Socialism is a magic wand. Namik

Kemal was already a socialist. Atatürk was an advanced socialist. Would there have been a War of Independence if Russia had not helped us? That War of Independence was fought by the Turkish workers and peasants.

was nothing but a revolt of the people against the capitalists.

This tirelessly spouting off this rubbish, he solves all the issues in one fell swoop with the rhymes he spouts from the drinking table.

However, there is a flow of history and nations are bound by social laws. Even if a stone cracks, you cannot push a society outside the boundaries of these laws. Nationalism is a social law. It is the result of the maturation of human societies over the course of a hundred thousand years, five hundred thousand years or whatever. You cannot abolish it, you cannot destroy it. There have been fools like Alexander of Macedonia, who wanted to make people into one nation, and in order to achieve this goal, he committed childish acts such as bringing Greek immigrants to Persia, and in the end he went astray and perished in his claim of demi-godhood.

Although the communists started their work by denying nations, within three or five years they became heirs to the politics of the tsars and fell into the oddity of nationalism by insulting the idea of nation. Because nationalism is an immortal idea and the result of hundreds of centuries.

In Russia under the communist regime, one would have to be blind not to see the subconscious move of Russian nationalism in the liquidation of Jews by Trotsky and Georgians by Stalin. If communism rejected nationalism, why does Red China want land from Russia? Why does it claim the territories it once briefly captured as historical heritage?

What does historical heritage have to say? Isn't this an expression of nationalism? If he has a large population, why doesn't he send them to Russia to become Soviet citizens? What is the difference between being a Chinese or Soviet citizen?

According to communist theory, there should be no

difference, but there is... Because nationalism is the main social law. As long as human beings exist, there will be nations and as a result of this, nationalism.

There will also be dualisms and nations will, from time to time, clash over national interests.

Even though this is so, the derivative comes from not knowing these things. Because he has been sold. Either because he is fed from outside, or because the documents of a grave offence he has committed are in the hands of those who play him, he will turn a blind eye. He will resist and stomp even though it is now clear to whom he has been sold out and to whom he has been a servant. He is obliged to stomp. He will change disguises, ideas and tactics according to the directives he receives; he will praise Namik Kemal, whom he cursed as a bourgeois yesterday, as a socialist today; he will not be ashamed to call what he called black yesterday white today. What is being ashamed? Is it not a bourgeois invention?

As a result of the wrong, inadequate and even negative teaching that has been practised in our country for years, a materialistic generation, devoid of moral values, with a poorly functioning mind and, worst of all, in pursuit of "comfort" and "easy earnings", quickly falls for these materialist balloons. There is no other word but social justice in their mouths. These poor people, who solve all complicated cases with the nursery rhyme "*There is no other way of salvation but socialism*", are unable to think about the whys and wherefores of those who willingly become labourers in many places by handing over the land given to them to the landlord. Like those who make judgements without considering the mental state of the gypsy girl who, after being taken from the misery of the streets and the countryside to a luxurious mansion, cannot stand the comfort and runs away to the streets again, these poor people try to console themselves with the tale of the magic wand without taking into account the factors such as centuries of habit, tradition, necessity and mental state.

As soon as socialism is proclaimed, everything will be rosy, is that it? Then why do hundreds of thousands of people flee from socialist countries to capitalist countries, risking death? Why are the most advanced countries of the world still capitalist-

on the side of the derivatives? What resemblance does socialism (i.e. social democracy or Christian socialism) in the advanced countries of the North have to the socialism put forward by the derivatives, other than that of a namesake? Those countries first advanced and then became socialist. They still have kings at their head, counts and barons in their castles. But everyone is prosperous and happy. For this is the result of a historical development. Türedi, on the other hand, first declares its socialism (and how) and then wants to develop, but it cannot. Like nature, society also has its laws: The child is swelled, then walks. It does not walk first and then walk.

The cause of the Turkish nation is a cause to be accomplished with high national consciousness and national belief, that is, with strong nationalism. It is an issue to be brought to an end by working with reason, knowledge and method within the principles of nationalism, i.e. Turkism. It is not a case of magic wand. It is not a cause that can be solved by having holidays on Saturdays, by establishing brothels and by looking nice to tourists.

In order to understand how many idiots there are in the country, it is necessary to look at such idiocies (as well as immoralities) as Saturday holidays and the proposal for brothels, and to see the misery of democracy. Those in charge. Those in charge should not be frightened by the cries of "democracy is going out of hand", but should take precautions, put experts in charge of each job, eliminate the defects of democratic methods that protect the enemies of the homeland with great courage, and should not hesitate to tear out the institutions that have degenerated over time when necessary. Otherwise, this social impudence will continue, pushing Turkey in unknown and undesirable directions and leading to great national disasters for the next hundred years.

(7 November 1964), Ötüken, 14 November 1964,

Issue: 11

Moral Justice

The Adventure of 1500 Cadets

DURING THE YEARS 1944-1945, when we were imprisoned for the Racism-Turanism case, an interesting incident took place in the Military Prison in Tophane, where we spent the last months of our imprisonment: A private accused of espionage was shackled after he escaped from prison and was captured. His life story was as follows:

In the last year of high school, he failed a single subject and could not graduate. According to him, he became hostile to the teacher of this unfairly failed course. Thinking that his future was ruined, his enmity against the teacher, who he thought had ruined him, turned into hatred. The hatred did not stop there. It spread from the teacher to the society to which the teacher belonged, the Turkish nation. When this unfortunate, at the same time weak-willed and undoubtedly immoral young man became hostile to the Turkish nation, he decided to take revenge on this nation for destroying his future. When he was conscripted into the army, due to his level of culture, he was appointed as a clerk at the 1st Army Headquarters. Since all the secret correspondence of the army, all the double-monthly certificates passed through his hands, he stole copies of them and took them first to the German consulate and then to the Russian consulate when he could not find any favour with them, just to do Turkey a disservice. The Russians, of course, accepted these

After taking advantage of the youth, the situation was realised and the youth was caught.

The conclusion of this tragic incident is this: What infuriates people the most is being wronged. Reactions are gradually harsh in proportion to the injustice. Sometimes the reaction emerges as a new injustice. Such as the betrayal of the homeland by a young man whose future is in jeopardy.

We have seen many examples of this in our recent history. The infamous injustices of the Committee of Union and Progress led many people from various parties to betray their homeland, and among these betrayers were cultured, enlightened and even scholarly people. A man who betrays his homeland because he has been wronged has nothing to be excused. He is still a traitor.

However, those who forced him to betray are also to blame for his betrayal.

As in the Nasreddin Hodja joke, the one who fell into the pit because he did not see the dry grass in front of him is guilty, but the one who dug the pit there is also guilty.

It is a fact that not everyone has a very strong character and high morals. People of high character do not betray their homeland no matter what conditions they are in. However, many people, from those with weak character to those with weak nerves, even if they do not betray their country, become resentful of society, withdraw into a corner, become mentally ill and become people who are lost for the country forever. Those who cause them to reach this state are guilty. They are the ones who have done evil to the country.

My intention in this article is to touch upon a subject which is still bleeding, and to say a few words about 1500 cadets, especially about the unfortunate ones among them who live a life of imprisonment. After some mention of them in the newspaper columns, they were all

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forgotten.

and 1500 young people were left to their own fate.

Now, as a person who was once expelled from a military school and experienced the agony of having to take off the uniform and put on the clothes of a marauder, I would like to talk about the agony of these former cadets, which is not known by anyone, but which would rise to the skies if it were possible to measure it.

In my own adventure, I was unjust in terms of Turkish law. I was dismissed for being a Turkist and a racist, for refusing to salute First Lieutenant Mesut Süreyya, an Arab from Baghdad, even though he was wearing a Turkish uniform.

However, the situation of these 1500 former cadets is completely different. They were brought up with the principle of "obedience to orders", with the mentality of friendship and chivalry, and considered it the greatest shame to leave their friends alone.

Would these 500 young men have been considered acceptable if, when the alarm was raised, instead of taking up arms, each of them had slipped away to some corner or other? Would these boys, who today are not considered worthy of becoming officers, then have been entrusted with platoons and battalions?

It was known that 21 February and 20 May would happen. If there is a culprit here, it is not 1500 children, but the government of the time, which did not take measures even though it knew that the uprisings would take place, and left those who were close to Talat Aydemir at the Cadet School and in Ankara. It would be childish to say that it was undemocratic to expel those who were close to Talat Aydemir when there was no tangible evidence. Is it too democratic to expel young people acquitted by a court of law from the Cadet School? Is it too democratic to believe that these young people, who have been raised with a spirit of discipline

outside the civilian mentality for years, are doing their duty by placing them in the gaps and loopholes here and there in the university, which lives in freedom as much as possible?

It is nothing but deliberate deception. Among these, there are many who drop out of higher education due to financial difficulties, which is another social wound.

But the imprisoned cadets are a bigger wound. As in all political cases, they are in prison because they were hit by the lottery. Among them there are cadets who completed their secondary education with great difficulty, who worked during holidays and even in the evenings during school hours in order to pay for their education, and who worked their way up to the Cadet School. Now, what is the difference between these cadets and a person who swims for hours in a raging sea and reaches land, only to find that the land he steps on has collapsed? How much difficulty, how much hardship they had to endure to reach higher education! Their main concern should be that the disaster that befalls them does not bring them down, that they are not shaken in spirit, that they are not lost to society. To say that everyone is equal before justice does not mean that a former cadet and a thief are equal.

In addition to social justice, which is much spoken of these days, there is also moral justice, which means that everyone should be treated according to his level and usefulness to the country. This is the real justice recognised by conscience and reason.

Since Turkey is in an age of transition, some injustices are being committed, sufferings are being experienced, the future of many people is being plunged into darkness and ugly things are being done. These things are done because they cannot be avoided. But there are also things that can be prevented, and not doing them would be a national offence. Any injustice that alienates people from their own state is a national crime. Today, such an act was committed against 21 former cadets in Balıkesir Prison.

These 21 people, in this building, which is a normal

166 prison, were not allowed to enter after their impending
release.

They were trying to alleviate their suffering by making intellectual preparations and studying for the faculties they envisaged. With a sudden order, they were distributed to the districts of Bigadiç, Sındırgı, İvrindi, Dursunbey, five to each district and one to Kepsut. The reason was not their indiscipline, but the fact that according to the new execution law, Balıkesir Prison was to be allocated only for thieves...

Isn't there a reputation for mercy in that place?

In order to keep thieves, i.e. immoral people, under observation, revolutionaries, i.e. brave people, or soldiers, i.e. moral young people, who obeyed the order, will be distributed to unsanitary, unsanitary structures. Especially that strange young man who was separated from his friends and sent to Kepsut alone, who knows with whom he will spend his ordeal?

Five of them, who were sent to Bigadiç, were put in a room with a diameter of two and a half metres. It is a marvellous room. As if all kinds of vermin were not enough, there are even ticks and rats crawl on the beds. They are miserable from the humidity. There is no place to set up a stove in the tiny room. Five beds and five suitcases completely fill this shack. A water flows from their small garden. They use this water, which the animals also drink in common, for all their needs. This is the water they drink. How can the conscience allow these young people to sleep in this place, which the doctor reports as uninhabitable? How can five people belonging to the most enlightened stratum of the country be harboured here, when even those who were born and raised here in the most primitive conditions are painful to the heart?

Look at the state of this country: The traitor Nazım Hikmetof was made to live in luxury in Bursa. He was driven around the city. His wife was allowed to come there

and stay overnight, and Hikmetof's child was born there.

The traitor Sabahattin Aliyef was transferred to a hospital in Konya and received the same honour.

But when it came to the Turkish cadets, then the execution system started to work. Is there no shelter for these 21 young men in these days of cold and damp? Can't the state, which has a budget of 15 billion, protect the health of these unfortunates victimised by coincidence, prevent them from being lost, and take them to a building where they can live like human beings by spending a few thousand liras? If such a building does not exist, can it not be rented? Lack of budget? How easily an allocation of 40 million liras for an increase in the salaries of MPs was accepted!...

I address these lines to the Minister of Justice:

Mr Minister: You are a member of a government that came to power with great promises. Can't you enact a three-article law in a week and ensure the release of these children? Even if no one doubts the loyalty of these young people to the nation and the homeland, if a few deviants come out among them tomorrow because of the injustices they have suffered, the sin of this will be on those who put them in this situation, those who ordered them to spend their last months in those terrible places and, by the way, on you...

The hidden sufferings of these children are nothing but a summary of what has been suffered for centuries. It is nothing but a disgraceful disgrace to humanity that people, like dogs at loggerheads, spend their lives eating each other and consider it their duty to do so, when it is possible to alleviate them with a little charity.

Shame on those who put humanity to shame...

(14 November 1965), Ötüken, 22 November 1965,
Issue: 23

Destruction of the National Defence Force

Everyone knows that the power of the NATIONAL COUNCIL is based on two foundations, one material (i.e. man and arms) and one spiritual (ideals and morals). It is easy to measure and weigh this since the material basis is visible. It is possible to say that we have so many hundred thousand soldiers, so many aeroplanes and tanks, and it is possible to boast of this and calculate that our future has been secured. But the spiritual element is invisible to the eye. It manifests itself only in the field of final results. Only specialised "ideal engineers" can calculate its value, its power and what it can do before the final result.

It is easy to prepare the material element. A nation can always prepare its soldiers and equip them with weapons that it can make in its own factories or, if this is not possible, have them made by foreign factories. This can be done in a short time.

Preparing a spiritual element is not so easy. It takes a very long time to put an idea into people's minds and a love into their hearts. Preparation for this begins at school and in the family. In countries where the families are too low to achieve this, the task of the school is doubly heavy.

A school means a teacher and a programme. A teacher who is not ignited with national love aims to give the idea of international culture and human brotherhood instead of

national culture and love.

nothing happens with programmes that have acquired a national culture. National culture is the culture that teaches national ideals and national enemies.

Children are brought up in primary school with the idea of "*Great Turkishness*". He learns that there are so many Turks outside the political borders. It is written in his heart with fiery letters that saving them is a holy cause. He is taught that Russia and China, which exploit the motherland, are national enemies.

If this is not done and children are brought up with socialist and humanist naïveté, with the tale that all human beings are brothers and sisters, a mass of idiots will emerge, of which we see examples today, and a group that is incapable of naming the names of ten Turkish greats will show a unique ability to name the names of well-known artists and professional footballers like nightingales.

I appeal to the cowards who are scared to death of Turanism and who are responsible for this bad result: Of course you will be a Turanist. If you are a Turk but not a Turanist, you are not a man. If you do not know that the Turk is only a nation, and yet you do not pursue the ideal of liberating your captive kinsmen, you are no better than an animal. Because it is only great thoughts that make a human being human, that is to say, that distinguish him from an animal. Profit and prosperity, economic development is not the goal. Gangsters also want this. Economic development is only a means to prepare the Turkish race for the great and holy war.

Your homeland will be burnt down, Turks will be exterminated, and here you will be ranting "We are working for the welfare of 32 million people".

No enemies? You're dead! If you cannot risk death for great thoughts, you are dehumanised! If you cannot see

those next to you or within you who are trying to undermine you, you have lost your intelligence.

What does it mean to be afraid? Fear is an animal emotion. People and nations who are committed to an ideal are not afraid of anything.

What is left today after the destruction of the national ideal as "adventure"? Even Atatürkism, which is inculcated to children in schools, has been turned into an insincere ceremony and has become a gum in the mouths of the Reds.

The national ideal is one, unchanging. Its name is Turkism. Unless we stick to it, unless we introduce it into schools, unless we put an end to the enmity against Turkism in the press and media, we will end up in darkness.

Will the Turkish nation be saved and elevated by these democratic conflicts? Will it be developed with sectarian and religious party organisations? What are we doing while Greece, our ally and the bastard child of Europe, is eyeing our lands, taking advantage of the West's support for it and our lethargy, and advancing step by step towards its Megalo Idea? We are only "watching events carefully".

The moral element of national defence is being destroyed and burnt in Turkey. Some faculties and high schools are full of leftist extremists. There is no authority dealing with these issues, no one who thinks about them, no one who openly tells the danger of these events. Everyone is optimistic. Everyone is cheerful. So much so that one of the seven big plants to be built by the Russians in our country will be a vodka factory. Do you see where the intelligence and consciousness has fallen in the country? While this vodka factory alone is a terrible blunder enough to sink a state, the fact that nothing will happen to us will again be the miracle of Çağrı Beğ and Tugrul Beğ: They laid the foundation very firmly.

As long as national ideals, national enmity and sacred

selfishness do not enter the heads and hearts, and as long as the spiritual aspect of national defence is undermined, 50 divisions, 20 tank brigades are needed,

You can have 10,000 planes. It's worthless. First heart and faith, then weapons...

In order to achieve this, it is first necessary to inspire a national spirit in the country. We need daring, hard-headed ministers. We need new laws. Turkey must be rebuilt. And for this we need a national leader.

The intentional and unintentional destruction of the spiritual element of our national defence power must be prevented. If not, it is clear what will happen.

It is enough for thinking minds to think of Czechoslovakia, which surrendered to Germany without firing a shot because it lacked the moral element, despite its formidable weapons, favourable geographical conditions and population of 15 million, and Finland with a population of 3 million, which fought on equal terms against the great Russia thanks to the strength of its moral element.

Propaganda

Propaganda is essential for the spread of all sects and professions in the world, from the most innocent ideas to the most devilish creeds. Many people do not hesitate to use propaganda openly in order to spread the ideas they find just and proper. This is legitimate. Even the states have allocated radios, cinemas, press and publications to this work because they have appreciated how necessary this work is. Germany even had a propaganda ministry.

Propaganda is so effective that sometimes even things that are not intended for this purpose have such results that the law forbids the publication of certain events in newspapers as ordinary incidents. As in the case of suicides...

Once it is understood that propaganda is so effective, it comes to mind what can be done illegally, against the law, even against the existence of the nation. Propaganda can be done in thousands of ways and with thousands of means. For example, is there to be propaganda in favour of communism and Muscovites in Turkey? Firstly, Russian novels are translated. They are put on sale at cheap prices. Eulogies are written and praised for the authors of these novels. In the years of their death or birth, ceremonies, rites, jubilees are organised. After creating a love for the writers

Of course, the turn comes to the nation to which the scribe belongs, and so on...

Our country is far behind other countries not only in terms of valuing propaganda but also in terms of detecting and preventing negative propaganda. Nevertheless, we have realised the value of propaganda and have embarked on propaganda, albeit weakly. However, it is evident from some bitter facts that in addition to the propaganda made with good intentions, the propaganda of those who want to mature their malicious intentions and treacherous dreams has been accelerated more, and even today this kind of propaganda has still not gained momentum. Red propaganda, which has been proven to be more successful among uninformed people, has allocated a completely different field for itself in our country in these last days. This red propaganda, which has taken a course towards poisoning the smallest and most innocent hearts and minds, has carried out its negative activity so skilfully and brought it to such a favourable situation that today even those who have been instrumental in this work may not be aware of what they are doing. The single but powerful example I shall now give will not only expose our ignorance, but will also show how, if it is systematised, negative propaganda will have to make use of many methods, how far it will have to travel, but how, in spite of everything, it will be able to take a successful step in its own way.

The children's magazine *Doğan Kardeş* is a magazine that has gained a foothold in the country thanks to the patronage of the Ankara state radio. Recently, this magazine started to publish fairy tales compiled for children under the title "Tales of this Land". The first book in this series, "Pomegranate Tanesi", bears the signature of Eflatun Cem. The book was first recommended by Ankara radio. An authorised mouth trusted by parents... From the back of the

Ministry of National Education's *Journal of Communiqués* of 17
February

In its 42 lth issue of 1947, it made a new recommendation. I reproduce this recommendation below:

Volume: 9 Issue: 421

17.11 .1947

Directorate of Publications.

Sa❖: 1 803 21/1/1947

The book "Pomegranate Tanesi" by Eflatun Cem Güney, the third of the Doğan Kardeş publications, has been recommended for primary schools. With a price of 50 kuruş, this book can be obtained from Istanbul Mailbox 2217 Beyoğlu.

On behalf of the Minister of National Education

B. Kadırgan

This is, of course, a second official mouthpiece and signature that can be trusted by parents and teachers. In fact, even literate parents, whose percentage is very low, can buy this innocent children's tale for their children after this official recommendation. Moreover, in these times when books are as expensive as everything else, it is not too much of a burden to buy this book for 50 kuruş, despite its good printing and beautiful illustrations.

Now, by chance, let us take a look at this book, which was compiled with the best of intentions and propagandised through the Ankara radio and the Ministry of National Education. I do not know whether you, or anyone else reading these lines, will be able not to tremble with horror, not to shout with astonishment and not to be angry at those who unknowingly took part in this insidious propaganda. Look at these lines I have taken from the 19th page of the book:

"Hey mankind, mankind! You came and saved me when God was abundant and man was scarce. If I carry you on my back for seven years and seven seas, I still cannot repay you. May Allah the Giver give you whatever you wish. But just in case. God's work cannot be trusted. Sometimes he plays with his tail, sometimes with his servants..."

Do you see the poison poured into the young minds as "Tales of this land"? Allah, whom the owners of this land recognise as the most blessed being and whom they know as "the only one", is being devalued by making it abundant. Then this Allah, to whom it is not permissible to obey, plays with his tail.

O descendants of those who died shouting Allah Allah for this land! O generations of those who have been striving for God for nine centuries!.... You see how God is being imagined by these red schemes and deceits to our young children, whose young minds are just waking up. Do not be deceived. The aim is to destroy the idea of God, which is one of the fundamental foundations of Turkish society. After the idea of God, the love of country and nation, the sense of morality and family ties are destroyed, what remains? An animalised mass ready to accept every foreign invasion.

Why the magazine *Dogan Kardes* magazine
We now realise with clarity that he had 7 stories from toy translated. If *Doğan Kardeş* was a nationalist magazine, it would have presented us with Dede Korkut tales, not with translations from the vulgar language of our enemy of peace, Muscovy, who wanted our eastern provinces and the Bosphorus, and would have turned to Scandinavian literature when translation was necessary.

God cannot be disrespected in any Turkish tale. No Turkish peasant can mention that God has a tail while telling a tale. Therefore, neither Eflatun Cem, who prepared the tale, nor Vedat Cem, the owners of *Doğan Kardeş*

Nedim and Mrs Neriman Hilal, the famous Ayşe Ab la of Ankara radio, are also responsible. Even if Vedat Nedim denied God because he was a former communist, Ayşe Ab la, who gave gentle advice to Turkish children every week, should not have done so.

We can only issue a warning. Turkish parents, if they are nationalists, if they want to remain Turkish and raise their children as Turks, must be vigilant, very vigilant...

Golden Light, 15 March 1947, Volume: 1,
Issue: 3

Queen of England il. Petition to Ezi[?]abeth

MAJESTE,

Due to a serious illness, I was unable to go to my duty on 21 June 1965 and I notified the department to which I belonged and asked for a doctor. On 22 June, the doctor who was supposed to come to me received the official paper of the department to which I belonged, but since this doctor did not come for examination until noon on 25 June, I wrote a petition to Kartal District Governorate, who was the supervisor of the doctor, and asked for a municipal doctor to be sent instead of the government doctor who did not come, and after the examination and report of the municipal doctor who came immediately, I complained to the Ministry of Health about the government doctor who did not do his duty, and asked for the punishment of the doctor who was so indifferent to the health of people.

The Ministry of Health processed the petition and had it investigated. Statements were taken and finally the Istanbul Provincial Administrative Board met on 27 October 1965 and made its decision. According to the decision, there was not enough evidence in the file to bring the doctor to court.

Since I have given up hope in a board so devoid of reason and comprehension that not attending a patient's examination for three days can be considered as evidence

of a crime, and in my government that has given them these positions, I have given up hope in my state's allies and the Ottoman House.

I had to appeal to your majesty, the queen of England, which is ruled by the most noble dynasty since the last century.

The Istanbul Provincial Administrative Board, which made this wonderful decision, was chaired by Deputy Governor Ekrem Gönen instead of the Governor, and consisted of Muzaffer Çağlar, Director of Legal Affairs, Semih Atabey, Deputy Treasurer, Hamdi Tekiner, Director of Bayındırlık, Dr Mehmet Bulgan, Acting Director of Health, and Hasan Ertan, Director of Veterinary Medicine. Halis Kurtça, Director of National Education, and Necati Arat, Director of Technical Agriculture did not attend the meeting that day.

In such a case, which is a purely legal matter, the fact that engineers, physicians, doctors, medical doctors and bookkeepers are the decision-makers is one of the oddities that belongs to us, but the guilt of a doctor, whose absence from his duty was proved by the dates of the petitions and official papers, could have been understood not by such highly educated high officials, but by ordinary people, even by the citizens of Soviet Russia. However, because they had been accustomed for many years to having their heads upside down, these high officials could not show the virtue of coming to a correct judgement in such a clear and obvious case, and they could not even realise that they were ridiculous.

Was the evidence these directors were looking for something like my death? I assure Your Majesty that if this question were put to them, they would not be able to give any answer, but would only look at the questioner's face like sheep.

I taste with all its bitterness the gravity of a man's appeal to the ruler of a foreign state, albeit an ally, being so disgusted and despairing of his own government, and sometimes I even doubt whether "I am a citizen of the

Hittite state and not of the Turkish state", and maybe I will warn my government and act in the right way.

Because our governments are so hospitable that they will never fail to fulfil any wish of hundreds of thousands of their own citizens, which they would ignore, at the signal of a foreigner, especially a noble person of the highest rank like His Majesty.

My government is a signatory to a declaration of Human Rights which I have heard exists. When it came to the rights of the Negroes in Africa, it did not fail to act in honour of its signature, but it acquitted a civil servant who flagrantly disregarded the right to health of one of its own citizens.

I hear that justice is administered in your country in a complete and unadulterated manner. If there had been an agreement, like the agreement on the right of some American officers in Turkey to have their offences against Turkish citizens heard in American courts, by which some Turks who had been wronged could appeal to the British administrative authorities, I would have immediately complained to the above-mentioned directors and even travelled as far as London, although I knew that I would receive no assistance from the Turkish embassy. As these facilities are not available, I am writing this petition and request that my request be accepted.

Your Majesty,

My request to you is this: Give a directive to your amiable Prime Minister and ask Turkey, through the Foreign Office, to punish the doctor who did not do his duty and to dismiss the managers who found a doctor so guilty of such an offence. This request will also be in the interests of England. Because if Turkey, which is governed by officials whose minds are far away from their skulls, finally loses the patience of God and sinks, the sinking of this great trunk, whose roots go back to the depths of history, will be one-

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Youth

It will cause a tremor equal to the explosion of several dozen cobalt bombs, and with this tremor not only Turkey but the whole world will be destroyed.

ATSIZ

(Teacher at Süleymaniye Library)

Ötüken, 16 December 1965, Issue:
24

Vodka Factory

According to the economic agreement made with the MOSCOWS, one of the seven plants they will establish in our country will be a vodka factory.

Yes, it's mind-blowing news, but it's true: The vodka factory...

At a time when even the Russophobes are being asked for help for development, the attempt to build a vodka factory, as if it would help development, is nothing but making fun of the nation with the idea of development. This foolish behaviour is no different from the delirium of the red fool who attributes our backwardness to not eating pork.

While all kinds of liquor are made legally and illegally in abundance in our country and drunkenness is rampant, building a vodka factory is nothing but another stake in the grave of national health.

According to the great scholars and socialist planners, perhaps this factory will be established to provide foreign exchange. If a vodka factory is established, it will be argued that we will not have to spend money abroad to buy it. If you say that we should not import vodka, of course, it will be argued that this is against human rights, democracy and perhaps against the Constitution. Our foreign officials, on the other hand, will claim that Turkish-Moscow friendship will develop thanks to this

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factory.

It is true that our factories cannot produce beer in summer and raki in winter. It is also true that the products of not one, but ten vodka factories will be consumed and drunk while we have this extravagance. But the duty of governments is not to undermine the health of the nation, but on the contrary to protect it. How can we explain morality and virtue to ignorant hashish smugglers when the government sells vodka because it provides money to the state?

While there is still time, this proposal should be abandoned and new negotiations should be entered into with the Russians for the establishment of a useful facility instead. Although this is what they would most willingly do in Turkey, it is in the hands of the government to dissuade them from doing so. However, if it is absolutely necessary to enrich the people, there are innumerable national interests in at least making an agreement with our Tahtacıs and spreading the eteless raki, which they make with great skill and drink like water, throughout the country, thus providing the poor Tahtacıs with some abundance and preventing their deforestation.

Announcement...

Being Open Hearted...

ALL religions and moral systems recognise open-heartedness as a moral behaviour. This is because there is a nobility in open-heartedness, such as not deceiving the other person, which has been recognised and celebrated in all ages of history. Deception has always and everywhere been regarded as bad behaviour. In Turkish, "*al datmak*" and its old form "*aldamak*" come from the root "*al*" meaning "*trick*". "*albız*" meaning "*devil*" and its later variant "*albastı*" are derived from the same word.

Open-heartedness is such a beautiful human trait that it has penetrated into politics, and many politicians have made it their motto to be truthful. Churchill's words to the British nation in the crisis days of the war, "*I promise you nothing but blood and tears*", are a great piece of political literature in this respect, and Churchill, although he was one of the two great and unforgettable fools who, together with Roosevelt, led Europe and Western civilisation to collapse by believing in the communists, still deserved the title of a great leader with this statement.

We have explained in a previous article that politics is not a deception, but in Turkish thought it means "*the knowledge of making the nation happy*".

Politics undoubtedly requires some tactical behaviour. In politics, it is necessary to hide many things from others. In politics it is even permissible to lie in order to deceive the enemy. However, the more open-hearted and sincere politicians are towards their own nations, the more they deserve to be labelled as "good" and "great".

Being open-hearted and truthful is also a wise move in terms of gaining trust. It is possible and easy to deceive people once or twice. But once trust is lost, everything is over for that man. Our history of recent years has given pathetic examples of such politicians. The saying "*The liar's candle burns until the end of time*" is very appropriate in this respect.

* * *

After Atatürk, there was no peace in Turkey. You will say Atatürk was a dictator. He was. But İsmet İnönü was also a dictator. But the unravelling started during his time.

İsmet İnönü was the man who introduced in this country the custom of celebrating small achievements as great successes. Since he himself admired his works the most, he used the word "auspicious" a lot about such works. The arrival of the railway to a city or the opening of a factory in another city was always celebrated as a feast, the people were gathered by force and unnecessary expenses were made from the poor state budget. It is not something to be proud of or desirable for a nation to start seeing small achievements as victories. These are, on the contrary, merely manifestations of a sense of smallness.

To organise a big ceremony for every small deed is the work of political men who do not have confidence in themselves, in their future and in their nation's view of them. An empty vessel sings a lot. Great deeds are done

in silence.

Building a few hundred kilometres of railway or establishing a large factory are undoubtedly achievements. However, these are insignificant in comparison to large-scale works such as defeating a national enemy, making a great discovery or leaving no landless farmer in Turkey. For this reason, the eyes of the nation have always been deceived by the custom of *"big ceremonies for small deeds"* and open-heartedness has been abolished.

Have you ever heard İsmet İnönü admit a mistake? That is to say, he pretends to be a perfect, infallible person. In business life, family life and state life, people who think they are perfect have always had a destructive effect.

If you look at the interviews in the *Ulus* newspaper last year, you will see that the War of Independence was fought by İsmet İnönü. Atatürk only dealt with the defeatist opposition in the National Assembly, the rest was the work of İsmet İnönü.

The main purpose of this article is not to analyse whether İsmet İnönü was open or not. This fact is now fully known to the Turkish nation. The person we want to touch upon is another leader who was trained in the school of İnönü: Turhan Feyzioğlu.

Feyzioğlu is a serious scholar from a famous family in Kayseri. He is a person who has shown enough energy to leave his chair for the sake of his convictions. Another point in his favour is his adherence to Turkish, or at least Turkish national traditions, and his understanding that communism is a national enemy. It should not be considered strange that we praise a professor's view of communism as a national enemy. While there are many professors and ordinary professors who are incapable of understanding this simple fact, Feyzioğlu is certainly a person who deserves to be commended. His more important virtue is that he has been

able to promote internationalist socialism amidst the "left of centre" rhetoric of the People's Party.

When he was unable to prevent the shift, he left this party with a large group and founded a new party.

Now: Is it not our right to expect a professor leader with so many virtues to be open-hearted? Shouldn't Turhan Feyzioğlu have made statements to the press in the first days of the judicial prosecution of the MDO? In the past, when declarations were sent to newspapers and individuals under the signature of MDO (= National State Army) and some people were threatened, Turhan Feyzioğlu, who was the deputy prime minister at the time, made a speech at the rostrum of the Parliament and said something like "These are three people; if I give their names you will applaud". What could be more normal than a deputy prime minister knowing these things? It was rumoured at the time who was running the MDO and everyone knew these things.

Now Feyzioğlu has separated from the People's Party, which supported the MDO, and has allied himself with the AP, and this alliance is of a much stronger character than our connection with Greece in NATO.

Since the MDO is an illegal organisation and since Feyzioğlu is a lawyer, the punishment of its founders concerns not only his intellectual and moral but also his professional aspect. If, as it is alleged, it was founded by Senators on the Basis, and if the penal code declares such activities to be a criminal offence, the Senators on the Basis should be punished.

The authority, which suspended the prosecution against Temelliler, claimed that the denunciation or allegation was not serious. Since the testimony of a vice-president, undoubtedly based on official intelligence and documents, would be completely serious, should he not have personally applied to the necessary authority and clarified the situation?

By not doing so, Turhan Feyzioğlu becomes a politician who refrains from being open-hearted and is no different from İsmet İnönü in his insincerity.

To know that there is a group of criminals in the Grand National Assembly and to hide it can be explained either by fear of them, by having relations with them or by not caring about the affairs of the country. Moreover, if these accusers are really guilty, it would be to carry on their shoulders the heavy burden of still being under suspicion.

For the sake of the country, we do not like to see Turhan Feyzioğlu in this situation.

Observation, 23 January 1969,
Issue: 9

Military Thought and Political Thought

Everyone has recognised the principle that military thinking should prevail in times of war. When a nation starts to fight with its armed forces, the only aim and objective is for the army to achieve a decisive result. In order for the army to achieve a decisive result, it must remain united and intact. For the fulfilment of this condition, fortresses and provinces may be abandoned and even a part of the nation may fall under enemy invasion. But as long as the army remains intact, all losses can be compensated.

It is a serious tragedy for a commander to retreat, leaving parts of the homeland to the enemy, leaving a part of the nation to the invasion of the enemy, especially a brutal enemy. But there is no other way to save the nation. Just as doctors are sometimes justified in sacrificing a part of a body in order to save a body, a commander is justified in sacrificing castles, countries, a part of the nation, a part of the army in order to save the whole nation.

If Gazi Osman Pasha, the last of the first class commanders in Turkish military history, had not been overcome by his feelings of mercy in addition to his great military virtues, it is highly probable that he would have broken through the Russian circle and thus the fortunes of the war would have changed. While making the

breakthrough, he acted only with military considerations and did not consider Pilevne as a civilian town.

If he had been able to abandon his people to Bulgarian and Russian savagery, he would have been relieved of a weight hindering the march of the army, and if he had been able to break the Russian circle, the outcome of the war of 1877-1878 would have been different.

Today, the world is faced with new institutions. There is a situation which we can call war in peace. This situation is a state of war because it will eventually lead to war. However, since war has not been officially and legally declared, it is intended to be considered as a state of peace. We would like to analyse this special situation:

This situation, which is a third state between war and peace, is in reality a state of war. In the face of this situation, it is very dangerous to leave military thought behind.

Among the nations which have suffered the penalty of neglecting military thought in our times, the Abyssinians are the first to be mentioned: When Italy began to mass troops in Eritrea and Somalia, risking a confrontation with the whole world, it was certain that its aim was to invade Abyssinia. It became clear that no European state would defend Abyssinia. At that time, the only way to save Abyssinia or to delay the invasion was to act with a military mindset. When Italy started to build up masses, the Abyssinians would make a general mobilisation, which they would finish very quickly compared to their simply organised armies, and they would obtain nearly half a million combatants. Although the Italian weapons were superior, the Abyssinians, relying on their superiority in numbers, courage and climatic conditions, would try to destroy the Italian divisions, which were very weak compared to them at the beginning of the massing, or throw them on the coast. It was possible for the British and French to supply them with the weapons they could use. Moreover, an experienced soldier like Vehip Pasha, who was superior to the Italian generals, was more or less the chief of

staff of the Abyssinian army. The first successes of the Abyssinians would certainly give them the opportunity to take over the Av-

The Abyssinians, who had already defeated the Italians, would fight with fervour against the Italians. The Abyssinians, who had already defeated the Italians, would fight against the Italians with fervour.

But Negus was not driven by military thinking. He was obsessed with politics. He demanded peace. He did not make a general mobilisation. He even withdrew his troops far back from the borders with the idea of not angering and provoking the Italians. All these actions were gross mistakes. His sacrifices did not dissuade the Italians from their decision. On the contrary, it gave them plenty of time to prepare. Then the invasion succeeded.

The British retreat to Dönkerk in the Second World War was a successful result of military thinking. Everybody sees and recognises this action as a defeat. In reality, it can be said that this retreat prepared the German defeat. By abandoning first its allies, then one fifth of its own forces, and finally all its weapons, the British army achieved the following results by retreating to England: The Germans could not attempt to invade England; England became the base for the British and American armies and the leap to France was achieved in this way.

Again, the German aggression against the Russians in the Second World War was one of the most energetic examples of military thinking. In the newspapers, radios and other propaganda publications, this action of the Germans was portrayed as a purposeless act, an aggression for the sake of aggression. This is only the surface side of the matter. In reality, the Germans acted more swiftly than the Russians, who had been massing to attack them, and they destroyed both 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 thought and political thought are clashing over the Korean War. MacArthur represented the military thought and put forward the idea of striking the enemy at its root, at its source, in order to defeat him. Truman was influenced by political thought. He was afraid of conflicts.

However, the conflict he feared has already happened: China and Russia are involved in the war by wasting troops and materials. Their official and legal intervention in the war will not change the present situation to any great extent. What should be done then? Here a co-operation of political and military considerations is necessary: Political thought should try to increase the number and number of troops of the United Nations participating in Korea; military thought should try to wear down the enemy by taking the war to Manchuria and from the air to the Chinese industrial and military centres.

Unless this is done, and as long as the present limited forces continue to move back and forth on the Korean Peninsula without high administration, the war will be prolonged and degenerate, thanks to the enemy's endless sources of revolt.

(Selim PUSAT)

Yesterday and Tomorrow

To go forward is not to break the connection with the past. Every living and non-living being is the present result of the past.

Backwards is not always bad. As a matter of fact, forward is not always good either. It is we as a whole, the "back" and the "forward", that cannot be destroyed, whether good or bad. Denial of this gains nothing; denial of the hard truth simplifies, degenerates, animalises the denier.

Backwards and forwards, that is, yesterday and tomorrow, will always exist. Billions of yesterdays and tomorrows are a link in the chain of time. It is essential to know yesterday in order to grasp tomorrow. Grasses and insects do not know yesterday. Even higher class animals have the ability to remember and know a few days ago.

The total denial of "yesterday" is to reduce people to the level of grass and insects. People cannot be brought down. It is the one who wants to bring them down.

In the National Education Centre, a few teachers swore at yesterday's literary work. They have ruined Fuztlli and Baki. These are ignorant people who are too low to understand even one verse of Fuztlli or Baki. How can they understand the genius of Fuztlli, the subtlety of poetry? Their intellectual and literary level is only enough to

understand Nazım Hikmet, Orhan Veli and those reasonable people.

There has always been a non-national atmosphere in these songs until now. Enmity against the past was made. They wanted to break ties with the past. What is the meaning of this? It is so obvious that it does not even need to be said.

Until a Turkish and authoritarian Minister of National Education who is steeped in national culture and who is a Turkist to the core is appointed, these herculean acts will continue.

Otherwise, the word "*sovereignty*" becomes "*sovereignty*" and the national culture, the nation, the past and the future are mocked by appointing a person who is not even a secondary school graduate to head the committee that will select cultural artefacts.

Ötüken, 8 July 1974, Issue: 9

Forbidden Book

The article titled "Publishing Life" written by Türker Acaroğlu on the 6th page of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper dated 26th February 1969 is very exemplary. Türker Acaroğlu is the head of the "Directorate of Compilation of Printed Works", which receives five copies of every book, magazine, newspaper, note, picture, etc. printed in accordance with the law.

In his article of 26 February, at the very beginning of the section entitled "Banned Books", he included my small work, 900th *Anniversary*.

Why does a government ban books? Undoubtedly because they are against the state and the nation in one way or another... A book to be banned must either humiliate the nation, insult the leaders of the state, want to dismember the state, or incite to acts that are criminalised by morality and the law.

The "Nine Hundredth Anniversary", first published in 1940, is a patriotic attempt to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the foundation of our state by giving a summary of our history. Since the people who were in charge of the state at that time were unaware of when the state was founded and were engaged only in political schemes, since the Ministry of National Education did not think of such a celebration, and since the Turkish History

Institution did not make any attempt, I myself did not have a moment-

I have fulfilled a national duty by writing and publishing this small work for the purpose.

It is inconceivable that such a book would be banned. While dozens of works against nationality and morality have been published and sold in the country for years, the banning of a work that reminds the Turkish nation of its past and reminds it of the heroic pages of Turkey's history is a crime that can only be committed during an enemy occupation.

The strange thing is that I was not aware of this ban. Had it not been for Acaroğlu's article, I still would not have been aware of it. However, since the person who gave the news was in the most authorised position, there is no way that there could be any mistake in his news. A final oddity is that the work was published for the second time in 1955 and the government did not realise this.

The 1955 edition was produced by nationalist youths who had organised a "book reading and publishing" association, headed by a young girl, now a doctor.

The main source of today's unrest and unconsciousness in Turkey is the fact that National Education has been used for years for non-national purposes. It did not occur to these gentlemen that a nation which denies its own history and culture is destined to be destroyed. Due to the laxity of the governments and the fact that the politicians did not think of anything other than their greed for power, the main causes were lost in the shuffle, the management of the day was thought to be state management, and the dangers of tomorrow were not considered. The banned small work entitled "*The Nine Hundredth Anniversary*" is not a book that a government with a national consciousness would hide, but a book to be read in schools.

I don't know which authority banned this book, but regardless of which one it was, the man at the head of this

book and the man who signed it lacked national consciousness and historical culture.

I am sure that he is a deprived ignoramus. Otherwise, he would not have done what a Muscovite or Greek statesman invading Turkey would have done.

Is patriotism forbidden in Turkey? Is it an offence to show national history as a whole? Is it a sin to commemorate national heroes?

If I say that the book was banned because it contains historical inaccuracies, it is not that either. Because while there are history books full of inaccuracies taught in high schools and secondary schools, it is inconceivable that the government would ban it because of a few inaccuracies that will undoubtedly be found in my little book. Then what is it? I ask the one who banned it:

While destructive, divisive, disintegrating, immoral and immoral works were being printed in heaps in the country, while obscure men from some distant and foreign countries were being glorified, while obscene novels that would make the stories of "*Lily*" and "*Cream Plate*" look good were being printed and filmed, did you find this to ban them?

The governments of 1940 and 1955, when this book was printed and banned, have fallen. Today, in an age when many freedoms are in abundance and the government is tolerant of many behaviours, the fact that this book is still on the list of banned books is indeed a disgraceful act. Especially, while a book written by a Georgian, a Turkish citizen (!) and containing Georgian nationalism and insulting slanders against the Seljuks and the Ottomans for their conquest of Georgia is not banned², the banning of a book with Turkish nationalism is an act of blindness that cannot be described in words, and is a disgraceful act.

² The work was confiscated by the Erzurum prosecutor's office

because it contained sentences against Turkishness, but the Istanbul prosecutor's office authorised the work. Because the work was defending independent Georgia against Soviet imperialism.

While applying to the right and left to reach the number 1000 in our time, not seeing and not thinking about what is at hand is the heedlessness of heedlessness.

Take this work, print it in tens of thousands and distribute it from the President and the Prime Minister to village teachers and high school students, so that everyone can learn their national history in compressed form and have an understanding of it. Do not think that I want this for my own benefit. I don't want copyright. It's yours. Just print it, read it and learn it. Learn and know a little bit about your past so that you know where you are heading.

Ötüken, June 1969, Issue: 6 (66)

Founders Assembly

Founded in 1040, the republican era of "Western Turkelia", i.e. Turkey, was not really a republic.

On 14 May 1950 a real republic was established and a legitimate government came to power, but this government is in great difficulties because it took over the administration of the state from an illegitimate government. These difficulties do not arise from the incompetence of the new government or from the confusion of affairs, but from the fact that the legitimate government is the successor of the illegitimate government and regards that illegitimate government as a legitimate government.

The first and the last National Assemblies of the Republican era were legal assemblies elected by the will of the nation through honourable elections. The others were illegitimate assemblies established not by elections but by the appointment of dictators to favour cronies, to make a living and to breed slaves. In these assemblies, the men of a single party sat, and these men raised their hands in unison, passed 200 laws a year with unanimity, beat or killed men, assaulted rape and honour, earned money from other sources besides the salary of the dictatorship, and cursed our national past and sacred values, saying that Turkey had surpassed centuries and surpassed all nations in ten years.

Later, there was an opposition party in the previous

National Assembly. But that assembly was not legitimate either. Because the mil-

Although the population everywhere voted for the democrats, the illegitimate government won the majority by counting the votes to its own men through pressure and fraud and remained in power for four more years. In the 1946 elections, İsmet İnönü, who had not been elected in Ankara, and Recep Peker, who had not been elected in Istanbul, *were made to look as if they had been elected* and became president and prime minister, but they were not congratulated by any foreign government except Spain and Jordan for this disgusting fraud that the whole world saw.

The most dreadful thing that will tire and wear out the new Democratic government is that it will have to work with the laws enacted by illegitimate assemblies. A law is a legitimate agreement. If the dictates of a gang of bandits take the place of law, no good can come from the society that enforces it as law. In Turkey at the time of the People's Party, there was nothing but a government of slaves. Because the People's Party enshrined its own statutes in the constitution and did not hesitate to enact laws contrary to the constitution whenever it felt like it, and although torture was prohibited by the constitution, the torture inflicted on citizens during the time of the People's Party was not inferior to the torture inflicted in the country of the Bolshevik Muscovites. I say this as a person who has seen, known, witnessed and suffered these things.

Accordingly, does the legitimate democratic government have the right to administer the state with the laws made during the illegitimate government or not? If we leave this legal issue to the experts and listen to the voice of reason and logic, we come to the following conclusion:

The republic of Turkey was founded on 19 May 50.

Before that, the period between 1923 and 1950 was the time of an illegitimate and tyrannical dictatorship. It was the

People's Party, especially its leaders, who were the dictators.

To pull the wool over the eyes of the nation and the world with such shenanigans as the Free Republican Party and the Independent Group

The laws made by this party, which is deprived of intelligence to the extent of thinking that they are painted, do not qualify as laws. Because laws are made by the National Assemblies elected by the nation through honourable elections. However, with the exception of the first and last ones, the National Assemblies were not appointed through honourable elections, but through threats, deceit and orders.

The claim that the People's Party itself gave democracy to the country is empty and ridiculous. The People's Party and its chief, acting out of a unique sense of inferiority towards foreigners, seemed to have consented to democracy because of the warnings of the American and British ambassadors, and allowed some 60 opposition deputies to be elected in the 1946 elections, while the rest of them were made by his own men, again by appointment and deception.

In the 1950 elections, although the People's Party fell into humiliations such as oppression in the eastern provinces and begging for help from the sons of sheikhs whom it had hanged in the past, and into humiliations such as distributing money and making promises in the west, it could not be overthrown and was defeated, and thus a legitimate government came to power.

However, this legitimate government is obliged to operate with the laws (!) made by the illegitimate government. Yet, all these laws, besides not being genuine laws, are not prepared for the nation, but according to the views and interests of the gang.

Then what should be done?

This is what to do:

A legitimate government has replaced an illegitimate government without bloodshed and revolution, which is unprecedented in the history of the world. Since this new government has come to power without a revolution, it will

also change the illegitimate laws without a revolution. The beginning of this process should be the preparation of a new constitution, and the Founders' Assembly should start its activities to prepare this constitution.

From now on, the issues of how the Constituent Assembly will be elected, whether it will be contented with drafting the constitution alone or whether it will submit it to the nation's vote after it has been drafted, are mere details.

The first thing that the new legitimate government must do in order to succeed and serve the nation is to convene a Constituent Assembly to prepare the new constitution.

Orkun, 1 December 1950,
Issue: 9

Insider Collapse

The classical way of defeating a state is to defeat it by marching an army. If this fails, then the method of internal subversion is resorted to. The method of collapse from within is to create enmity between the elders of the state (princes in ancient times), to inflame the rivalry of the various divisions (tribes, uruks in ancient times) that make up the nation, and, as a last resort, to kill the people who are the foundation of the state by open or hidden assassinations (by shooting or poisoning).

The Chinese, our oldest enemy, have used many of these methods to bring us down, and sometimes they have succeeded.

In recent centuries, a new element has been added to the way of internal collapse: To learn the secrets and intentions of the state to be subverted by buying the people at the key points of the state to be subverted. There is, of course, no need to explain what a catastrophic disaster it is for state secrets to be known by the enemy.

At the outbreak of the First World War, the Commander of the Gendarmerie of France was a German, while Colonel Redel, then Head of the National Police of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was a Russian: Colonel Redel, then head of the National Police Organisation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was a Russian. This was perhaps the main reason why the Germans rushed into

France and the Austro-Hungarian armies were defeated in the first battles.

During the Second World War, it was later revealed that Wallace, an aide to President Roosevelt, had been Stalin's agent. Preparations for the theft of America's atomic secrets by the Russians were obviously made by Wallace.

We have now learnt from newspaper reports that Gunther Guillaume, adviser to German Chancellor Brandt, has been arrested on charges of being an agent of communist East Germany. According to his surname, this adviser, who must have been of French origin, had passed secrets of West Germany and, through that channel, of West Germany's allies in NATO, to the Kremlin via East Germany.

Since a vice-president, a general commander of the gendarmerie, a chief of the national security organisation, an adviser to the prime minister can also be bought by the enemy, it is necessary to think deeply and find preventive measures. In our time, communist states do not allow any foreigner to enter their countries and publicly put poisons behind those who enter with permission, whereas democratic countries open their doors to all foreigners by adhering to the principles of human rights and freedom. States with minorities are in a more dangerous situation in this regard. Members of minorities who harbour enmity and hatred from within the state and nation they belong to are very favourable for serving foreign ambitions. Especially the fact that materialism and greed for quick gain are very popular increases the number of these favourable people.

As it has become clear through many experiences that the countries in our neighbourhood are not friendly, how about taking some precautionary measures in advance to prevent Turkey from facing such a situation tomorrow, and to prevent a high-ranking official from opening a breach in

the foundations of the state?

Ötüken, 8 May 1974, Issue: 6

Law Is Not Everything

The terms "POLICE STATE" and "State of Law" are the inventions of recent years. What is meant by the rule of law is a state where the law is the rule of law, and in this state 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 sound organisation.

But today everything is developing rapidly. New needs arise. New situations arise. For this reason, the form of the rule of law in the minds of some law professors has also become in need of correction.

Today's laws stipulate a number of conditions for every post and position in the state. For example, it is a legal requirement that the head of state must have a higher education and senators must be at least forty years old. These conditions are neither contrary to the principle of equality nor to the constitution, as is often claimed.

However, the situation in the world shows that this is not enough and that other conditions should be sought. Today, there are many mental illnesses that are the subject of psychiatry. These patients live like normal people for a long time, but when the moment of crisis comes, they fulfil their illness and ruin everything. These diseases, which we call short-temperedness, are the key to a state.

If it is found in the people at the points, it means that the state order is not sound. This is because sick people cannot perform their duties correctly and continuously, and in a crisis they may also engage in abnormal behaviour that would be beneficial to the enemy.

Before the exams, a conversation is held with the students to be admitted to military schools. In this conversation, which is called "interview", the spiritual aspect and character of the prospective student is examined, even if sketchily, and sometimes a child who is superior in terms of knowledge is rejected. This is a correct procedure and it is desirable to extend it further.

There is a great benefit in carrying out this examination for those who will become officers, also for those in higher positions. Psychiatrists understand this. In this way, it will be prevented that people with mental illness, weak will, incapable of judgement and lack of seriousness will dominate a part of the affairs of the state and lead to major setbacks. Since these people will also be examined in terms of national consciousness, it will also be prevented that people who consider their own nation and culture inferior will hold high positions.

State affairs do not tolerate jokes, cowardice, favouritism and impunity. For this reason, the state mechanism is no longer just a matter of law. When making laws, the opinions of sociologists, political experts, historians, staff and psychiatrists should be taken into consideration along with those of lawyers.

The fact that the Chief of General Staff is subordinated to the prime minister as if he were a general manager, according to a law made 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 chief of the Turkish armies is subordinate to the prime minister like the general director of cadastre probably hurts all officers and non-commissioned officers as well. The Chief of General Staff has been in that position for many years.

After a troublesome and, of course, honourable life, he comes at the age of sixty. It is sometimes very easy to become Prime Minister. It is sometimes even possible for a man like Brandt in Germany, who fought against his own homeland in the uniform of a foreign state, to become prime minister. Although our present traditions are not favourable to such antics, it is conceivable that in an environment where freedom is desired to the utmost, some unpleasantness may arise tomorrow.

Therefore, it is an inevitable necessity for tomorrow's "Greater Turkey" that the constitution, the civil code and the penal code be revised in this way, and that all professions and individuals be satisfied.

Ötüken, 29 May 1974, Issue: 7

It is necessary to draw a line...

It is difficult to demarcate the boundaries of MANY things, or more precisely, to distinguish objects that are distantly related to each other.

They say that "genius" and "insanity" meet at one point. It is certain that many people who were considered "geniuses" in the history of mankind were also insane in the medical sense. There is no need to give examples. Everyone knows one or two of them.

Similarly, "politeness" and "hypocrisy", "truthfulness" and "rudeness", "prudence" and "cowardice" are characters that are a hair's breadth apart, difficult to separate, and easily confused with each other. So are "freedom" and "anarchy".

As long as they remain between individuals, they may not be considered harmful. A man's rudeness or cowardice concerns only his close circle. But when it comes to society, the matter is different.

Governments, in theory, are elected committees for the order, welfare, safety and morality of nations. Therefore, hypocrisy, rudeness and cowardice of governments are not like hypocrisy, rudeness and cowardice of individuals. It would be very harmful in terms of its consequences.

The issue we would like to discuss today is "tolerance". Tolerance (in the old

"tolerance") is actually a good thing. It is not good to see people's faults and mistakes, to point them out and punish them. It is both discouraging, hurtful and provokes a reaction. It is useful to try to correct the faults by admonishing, reminding and finally by stern words. However, when these do not yield results, or when the person who persists in the fault or offence cannot be corrected in any other way, punishment is resorted to.

Today, when everyone in Turkey wants peace and the nation is accustomed to the principle of changing governments by voting, the "nauseating behaviour" among the youth of higher education, which they themselves call "depression", is slowly becoming a cancer that is engulfing the spiritual structure.

It is certain that some professors have turned professorship into a means of gain, that there are flaws and even injustices in the examination systems. It is well known that there are unqualified and unworthy lecturers in universities and that some cliques pursue schemes resembling the intrigues of the Byzantine palace. It is, of course, the right of students to resort to certain legal remedies to protect their rights.

But what are these occupations and boycotts? What are those declarations of insult that infuriate the police officers who carry out their orders? What is this spoilt bravado of wanting to have a say in the university administration? What is the destruction of occupied university buildings?

University autonomy means that professors should not be appointed and dismissed by political power and that no one should interfere in scientific studies. Otherwise, it does not mean tolerating the delirium and intimidation of a bunch of spoilt people against the state and the nation, while all kinds of disgrace and marauding are carried out within the university. It is not to tolerate the ravings and ravings

against the state and the nation by a bunch of spoilt brats who do not yet pay taxes, who have not yet done their military service and whose livelihood depends on others.

people provided by the state cannot claim to govern the state. If they do, they are sell-outs who receive orders and directives from others.

Today, the vast majority of university and higher education young people aim to graduate as soon as possible and start life and earn a living. Most of them have to take the responsibility of one or more members of their families upon graduation. It would be contrary to the sense of justice, above all, if the future of thousands of young people were to be jeopardised because of the impudence of a few hundred spoilt and sell-outs. This is where the government's leniency ends. Because as Ziya Pasha said:

*The one who does not come to his senses
 with nush must be kicked; the one who does
 not come to his senses with kicking is the
 one who is not corrected with kicking...*

During the Yassıada hearings, one of the questions asked of the defendants by the chief judge was the harsh attitude towards the youth, the apple of the nation's eye.

Since then, the pictures of foreign countries, which have appeared in Turkish newspapers, showing how the police beat university students must have changed the opinion of the Turkish public opinion. In Germany, France, England, Italy and especially in Japan, police beatings during the suppression of anarchic movements without saying "God created you" do not require insulting the police in those countries. It should not be forgotten that all these countries are more advanced than Turkey in democracy and culture. Progress brings discipline, not anarchy.

Occupying a university and throwing professors out is the work of a street bully, not a university student. A person who has fallen to this level is not told "please get out of there", he is beaten. Just as one does not say to a pickpocket,

"Would you be so kind as to return the money you stole?"

When the limits of tolerance are exceeded, it is called "indifference", which is never permissible for a government.

The government is probably reluctant to take the hard line in such cases in order to avoid political tension. But this hesitation is not in its favour.

The Turkish nation, in accordance with its 3000 years of national upbringing, has a character that likes and desires strong and authoritarian governments. Especially if red propaganda and communist provocations are made under the name of university crisis, it is a patriotic obligation not to turn a blind eye to this and to suppress it with the utmost severity. Tolerating the unpatriotic people who take down the Turkish flag from the Beyazıt Tower and replace it with a red flag will infuriate the patriots, which is not good for the country and the government. The limit of tolerance has been exceeded. Attention! ...

Observation, 24 April 1969

Duty Boundary

The best society is the society in which everyone fulfils his duty perfectly, and the highest morality is the morality of duty.

The duty of students in the Turkish state is to study their lessons and to enter life as knowledgeable and cultured people. However, this duty has been forgotten due to the faulty education policy of recent years and various influences; the quality of students has decreased; schools, especially higher schools, have been in turmoil.

A student is a consumer who lives on the money given by the state or his/her family. The number of students who both earn their living by working and studying at the same time is too small to be taken into account.

While the main concern of these consumer students would be to finish school successfully and as soon as possible, most of them look in other directions, are used as tools for political propaganda and become captives of a wrong idea to the extent that they consider finishing a four-year faculty in six years as a success.

Higher education youth is an important part of the intellectual stratum of the country. It is essential that they think about world affairs and have political convictions. But it is also essential that they have a maturity of mind befitting the university level. This necessity means knowing one's own limits and rights, respecting the rights

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of others, and recognising that other ideas may also be correct.

Today's outlook is very often the opposite. Generations brought up without culture quickly fall prey to destructive propaganda and, believing that the idea they have fallen prey to is the absolute and only truth, they are lulled into the ridiculous delusion that humanity can be saved by it. The incident of 2 March among the Turks in Munich is a sad consequence of this ridiculous dream.

Turkish students, who were sent to Munich to study with the money of the state or their families, made a march as if the lessons were over, and with the provocation of the "Federation of Turkish Socialists" they took part in a behaviour that would disturb the peace of their host country. They did this uncouth behaviour for two reasons. Firstly, to protest against the visit of the Sixth American Fleet to Turkey, and secondly, to ask for the pardon of a person named Şadi Alkılıç, who was imprisoned in Turkey for communist offences.

The wish for the American fleet to stop coming is a common feeling among almost all Turks today.

But asking for the pardon of a communist can only be a communist behaviour. Because a communist is a traitor who has sold his state, homeland and nation to Moscow. To ask for the pardon of a traitor is not an act of compassion, but a despicable behaviour arising only from being a partner in treason.

This march of the students was suppressed by the Turkish workers in Munich before the German police, and these parasites, who were engaged in treason and disgrace instead of studying, were dispersed.

Under normal conditions, the workers should have been of extreme left-wing ideas, but the Turkish workers remained loyal to their homeland and nation due to their national upbringing, while the students, who constituted the so-called intellectual stratum, proved that they were

poisoned and deceived losers.

A person in a foreign country represents his/her homeland to some extent. The more successful this representation is, the better the country gets.

By disturbing the comfort of their host country, the students have done a rude and ill-mannered thing. Moreover, by asking for the pardon of a communist prisoner, they have shown that they have no love for their own country.

Is there no duty here for the Ministry of National Education? If these young people, who are sent to the West at great expense to learn something, instead of "science" are engaged in these heresies, is it not possible to call them back and send serious young people in their place?

In a country, if the one who breaks the jug and the one who brings the water are the same, it is necessary to despair of the future of that country.

That is why crimes, disgraces and immoralities are increasing day by day.

If character education were given place in schools before knowledge, young people would probably be raised who would know their limits and boundaries, understand their responsibilities, realise their function in society and would not fall into the ridiculous trap of playing the role of "saviour of the motherland" when they were still consumers.

Ignorance of the limits can be excused to some extent, but never national treason! ...

There is no excuse for the rascals who, although they live a lavish bourgeois life, recite socialism songs; who, although they are supposedly Turks, make such lightnesses as giving the Muscovite salute; who, although they sing epics for Viet nam and are hostile to American imperialism, admire the Russians who exploited their own motherland, Turkestan.

These are traitors to the homeland. The Ministry of National Education must wake up, stop being a fool who feeds snakes in his bosom, embrace national consciousness, and save the future of Turkey by liquidating all teachers, students and administrators who are not nourished with national spirit.

Students don't know the limits of their duties. That's right... Does the Ministry of Education know?

Observation, 13 March 1969

Fears

FEAR is perhaps the first human emotion. Superstitions are born out of fear. The civilised man is more courageous because superstitions are defeated by intelligence.

Today, everyone, every group, every community, every nation fears different things. The type of fear varies according to character, ideals, creation and soul structure.

A Turk (but a real Turk, i.e. Turkist) fears dishonour. He shies away from gaining advantage through lies and slander. He is alien to the struggle whose weapon is dishonour. For this reason, Turks have always been at a disadvantage in conflicts with dishonourable people.

Those with a lowly spirit are afraid of greatness and elevation. Every glimpse beyond the present political borders is a dream for them that will have dire consequences.

Devshirme and communist are afraid of Turkishness and Turkism. He is against every movement, every behaviour, every work, every law in favour of Turkishness. He shudders and trembles at anything that reminds him of Turkishness and Turkism, even from afar. That is why it is hostile to the grey wolf. Because Grey Wolf is the national symbol of Turks. They have accepted it as a guide in the prehistoric ages and even believed that they themselves descended from the Grey Wolf. The surname of the Turkish Khans is "Eçine", i.e. "Wolf". In the devshirme

and communist school, the badge of the Grey Wolf, in the square, the statue of the Grey Wolf...

Prayer. The slander is ready: Bozkurt; Turanism is the symbol of imperialism.

Just as the thief fears the police, the traitor fears the law that will prevent treason. The talk of freedom is not freedom for the freedom of thought and conscience; it is freedom for the destruction of morality, nation and homeland. It is the freedom to deny the past and history, to favour prostitution and sexual disgrace.

The religion merchant is afraid of the truth of religion. The immoral, dishonest person caught in a gambling house, who has defrauded everyone imaginable and unimaginable, while exploiting gullible people whom he deceives with the words Allah, Prophet, religion and heaven, is most hostile to logic and intelligence. For it is logic and intelligence that reveal his falsehood with mathematical certainty.

The fear of those who rise where they have no right or seize what they have no right to is right and justice. Because the sense of righteousness is one of the highest principles that human virtue has ever found, of which there is not a speck in those who commit injustice.

The lazy and pleasure-loving animalistic fears discipline, labour, danger and war. It considers war, which creates civilisation, discipline and morality, as an atrocity, but does not raise its voice against the sale of young girls, the exploitation of the poor, profiteering and theft.

We are in the atomic and space age, but hundreds of millions of people are still at the level of the first primates. They worship idols of their own creation. Sometimes they run after a low and disgusting ignoramus as a saint, sometimes a low and cowardly traitor as a great man, sometimes a low and despicable sellout as a progressive voice.

Those who are afraid of losing their comfort make concessions to everyone and everything: If he is a millionaire, he will pay tribute to the communists; if he is a professor, he will give a note to the anarchists; if he is a government official, he will give a face to the profiteers.

This fear turns into a rabid courage in newspapers that fear a decline in their sales. They attack everything that is good, high and holy. The martyrdom of Enver Pasha in Turkestan is portrayed as an unconscious adventure of Turanism that ruined the country, while the five or ten wretches who wanted to destroy the Turkish State in the Nurhak Mountains are applauded as heroes of "*Class Consciousness!*".

Fear is a disease. It can be cured with national education, national press, national radio, national film and stage.

But where are those doctors?

Ötüken, 8 December 1972, Issue: 12

The Re-establishment of Turkey

The Republic of TURKEY is the current name of the state of a nation that has existed continuously for 22 centuries of a nation that is more or less 3000 years old.

If we leave the earliest ages, which are dark, our history begins with the attack of Alexander of Macedon in the 4th century BC on the Maveraünnehir, which means the west of the Turkish hands, and the states established by our ancestors from east to west in Northern China by our ancestors who retreated further east due to the resentments caused by his attack. Godkut Mete (or Motun) united these states between 209 and 174 B.C. and established Turkish unity and created the Turkish nation with its laws and organisation. After that, it is the story of war against enemies outside and against nature and disasters inside. In the meantime, internal fights, conflicts between tribes and uruks and dynastic changes at the end of these conflicts complete the picture.

After four centuries, Tanrıkut's Kuns left the sovereignty to the Siyen pi-Tabgachs and withdrew from the stage of history of the motherland. Most of them took the name of the new rulers. The rest of them marched westwards and finally, with Attila, they disrupted Europe. After the Gok Turks overthrew the Apars, who replaced the Siyenpi-Tabgachs, the name of our nation was finalised as "Turk" and it has survived until today.

The borders of the state extend from Manchuria to the Caspian north and west of the Urals. Sometimes in the west

Sometimes it is seen that some Turks who revolted against the state did not recognise the official state and lived in a separate state. However, these are temporary and arise from the greatness of the state.

Throughout our entire history, the princes' struggle for the throne, which arose due to a national defect such as the lack of a dynastic law and the inability to determine who would succeed the deceased khan, finally gave birth to the principle that the state is the common property of the dynasty. Thus, sometimes several emperors reigned in a great state, but one of them was recognised, even by name, as the greatest of the others, as the metbu. We see this in the Gok Turk, Karakhanid, Seljuk and Chengizid eras when decentralisation was dominant.

In fact, the state is one. Even among the two Turkic states in conflict with each other, one recognises the other as the greater and original state. The fact that the non-Muslims Chengiz, Ögedey, Güyük, Mengü and Hüle gü, who were not Muslims, are mentioned with mercy in a history in the form of a "calendar" written during the reign of Murad II of the Ottomans is an expression of the principle of one state in Turks. It was not "states" but "dynasties" that clashed.

For this reason, it is a great mistake to call the part of the Seljuk dynasty that ruled in Anatolia *the Seljuks of Turkey* and to regard it as a separate and independent state. The Seljuks of Anatolia were a province of the great empire which was governed from the capital 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 mother state as the metbu.

The dominance of *the Ilkhanids* in Anatolia also led to the rise of the great giant

It was an event of dynastic change in the state. The clash of the Karamanites against the Ilkhanids was not a national

uprising against a foreign invader, but a national uprising, as exemplified in the history of Germany.

This is an act of ambition and influence of a petty ruler. The same Karamanids made the same kind of behaviour against the Ottomans, and the Ottoman-Karaman confrontation showed very bloody and ugly stages.

The Ottomans dominated Crimea and Kazan for a while, but they could not conquer Turkestan. The main reason for this was that the Turks who dominated Azerbaijan and Iran adopted Shiism and introduced sectarian strife into Turkish history. Had it not been for the Safavids' Shiism, the Uzbek Khanates in Turkestan would have accepted the Ottoman rule and the unity would have been realised not only in sentiment but also in administration.

Today's Turkey is the heir and continuator of Turkish history. The Republic of Turkey will also establish the future Turkish unity.

However, with its present appearance, it is evident that the Turk is afflicted with a number of spiritual diseases unprecedented in all times of history. In their history, Turks have seen and passed through terrible famines, famines and disasters. They had such painful memories that they would grind dead human and animal bones into flour and eat them. However, they survived these terrible disasters because the national spirit survived.

Today, the national spirit has been undermined by external influences and internal stooges. The saddest part of the matter is that those at the head of the government are indifferent to this subversion and fail to see the danger. In the past, the main principle was "to grow and dominate other nations". Now the principle has become "not to offend foreigners, not to make noise at home and to cover up everything".

No matter how far humanitarian ideas advance, the world will continue to be a battlefield of nations. This is a social law. Literature and philosophy cannot change this law. All over the world, nations or parties that talk about

humanity, when they gain power, will continue to fight on the battlefield of nations based on their principles.

We see how they turn their backs on each other. Russia is not ashamed of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, while declaring the presence of American troops in Vietnam to be "rape". The attitude of many other states is the same.

Since our subject is Turkey, we will start talking about our own state without giving too many examples from abroad:

Today, for the first time in the long Turkish history, we see a man who has been the head of state attempting to save from execution traitors who wanted to destroy the state and bind it to foreigners. Even this single example is a symptom of a very important disease. This outrageous behaviour is done on the basis of the constitution. This shows that the constitution has shortcomings.

A senator of this country was arrested in France for smuggling basmorphine. A minister of culture of this country gave a culture award to a person who said that communism was the last solution for salvation and to another person who wanted to give land to Armenians in the east.

People in this country are full of greed. Smuggling, theft, fraud, deceit and murder are carried out in abundance for quick and easy profit.

Many young girls who do not settle for a poor or middling life run away from their homes and fall into prostitution centres.

The newspapers are full of adverts showing young girls and boys running away from their homes and being called by their fathers and mothers.

There is no discipline and no respect for law and order.

This country is full of idiots, lunatics, the mentally ill, and it's full of

Neither municipal laws nor state laws are in force.

These are the spiritual aspects of the collapse. There are also material and natural aspects: Because of the

landslide-

millions of tonnes of soil are dumped into the seas every year. Forests are deliberately destroyed to open fields and the country is becoming a desert. On my journey from Istanbul to Ankara by plane in 1960, I saw a desert without forests and greenery. The area around the Bolu Mountains, which I had seen covered with pine forests in 1931, was empty on my return journey to Istanbul by bus in 1960.

Big cities, especially Istanbul, the so-called "pearl of the world", are being destroyed with billions of liras worth of shaddadi buildings. 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 make a suburban journey by train between these two stations will see large apartment buildings of 4-5 storeys built at a spacing of 3 metres along the railway. However, according to municipal regulations, this should be 6 metres in the suburbs. Why didn't the municipal engineers check all these construction offences? Why didn't the Ministries of Interior or Zoning send inspectors to investigate those responsible? Is every offence here to be left unpunished? Why are these offences being committed?

The problems and offences are endless. Rather than enumerating them, let us list the remedies and the foundations on which a new Turkey should be built:

If the Turkish nation is to survive, the first issue to be addressed is to ensure its health.

Health is not only a matter of good nutrition, utilising the sun and physical exercise. Health is also a matter of heredity. A nation whose many members are afflicted with hereditary mental and psychological diseases cannot be called a healthy nation. We are in this situation today. In recent years, 400.000 retarded children were mentioned. It is necessary to restrict the individuals who

will transmit mental and psychological illnesses to their children, and to use the method called "family planning" today, which is called "family planning" in Turkey.

The measures to prevent the rapid transformation of the country into a country with a large population must be taken before the measures to prevent the rapid transformation of the country into a country with a large population. Factors such as factory and heating fumes, exhaust gases, tobacco, heavy alcoholic beverages, which cause various types of cancer and insanity, must be prevented. Remedies for some of these have been found. It is never right to neglect them because they are expensive.

A solid nation is a good raw material. In order for it to be processed, it must be educated and trained. Although we do not know what the word "reform", which is currently in vogue, will bring to education, it is not very hopeful, as Thursday is the arrival of Wednesday. There will be no reform with passing courses instead of passing classes, with 4 numbers or points instead of 10 numbers. Especially when the literacy rate is 55 per cent according to the 1970 census, extending primary education to 8 years is nothing but a fantasy. Nothing can be done without a total weeding out of the communists who have infiltrated the teachers in considerable numbers.

The nursery rhyme "de-memorisation" is a very dangerous thing. How can one learn the National Anthem, the quadratic table, years of history and foreign languages if memorisation is abolished? It is not necessary to "abolish memorisation", but to abolish "memorisation without understanding" and to abolish seriously unnecessary courses and subjects. After primary school, it is necessary to immediately divide into specialised departments, but to teach national culture (i.e. Turkish language and grammar, Turkish history, geography of the Turkic lands and civics) as the basic course, as well as courses to be chosen and selected according to the child's ability.

For a nation to establish a state, it needs land, that is, a

homeland. This homeland can always be found if there is a strong and striking nation at hand.

Since there is no indication that the soil of Turkey will sink due to an earthquake, there is no fear in this respect. But the soil

There is a serious danger of desertification of the country as a result of run-off into the sea and deforestation.

After racial health, Turkey's most important issue is to make the surface of the earth habitable, to increase agricultural productivity by providing rainfall through forests, and then to take care of the underground wealth before exploiting the underground wealth.

There are 60,000 villages in Turkey, including those with 4-5 houses, and 40,000 villages without counting them. When travelling by train from Istanbul to Ankara, look at the villages on both sides of the line. Some of them have "only one" tree. Most of them have no more than three or five trees. In other words, the view is completely steppe and desert. The flourishing villages mentioned by Evliya Çelebi are not seen along the line.

Our age is the age in which villages are gradually being liquidated, and nations are settling in cities. These "villages" are not villages with 50 or 100 houses like ours, but villages with at least 500 houses.

Uniting 40.000 villages into large villages is a good idea in theory, but it is very difficult to implement. However, it is a process that must be done. This great work is not for the Planning Department to accomplish.

In Turkey, which is located on an earthquake zone, the General Staff should be consulted in terms of national defence in order to select hazard-free locations, as well as locations close to rivers or lakes.

While expanding villages, it is necessary to give equal importance to the downsizing of cities. Former Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel had announced as if it were good news that there would be a single city between Istanbul and Izmit in five to ten years. However, this was news of disaster.

Big cities have great drawbacks in terms of health, morality, public order and defence. There is no need for big

cities. For a nation to be advanced and strong, it is necessary to have big cities.

It is not measured in terms of land. Even if this is a necessity for nations with little land, it is a fantasy and a mistake for a large country like Turkey.

The establishment of new cultural and industrial cities after a good survey of Anatolia, the establishment of factories in selected villages, as Sweden did fifty years ago, in order to prevent the rapid expansion of big cities, and the migration of agricultural population from the congested areas of Western Anatolia to the Muş Plain, which today is very sparsely populated but fertile, are the most appropriate measures.

One of the most important factors in the reconstruction of Turkey is laws. As it is known, laws arise from customs, racial tendencies and needs. Our major laws are always translated. The law professors who drafted the Constitution have no idea that there is a Turkish constitution. They have no knowledge of Turkish history, so that they should know the laws born out of that history.

It is very wrong to think of the constitution as a matter of law alone. Therefore, the constitution should be prepared not only by lawyers, but also by sociologists, psychologists, historians and psychiatrists. Today's..... attempts to do so, of course, disrupt the national order.

The 1962 constitution was drafted with the strangest of intentions, forbidding a person from becoming head of state twice in a row, lest he establishes authority and becomes a dictator. In that case, shouldn't prime ministers also hold office for only one parliamentary term? If dictatorship is achieved over time, wouldn't a party coming to power four times in a row lead to the same result?

Throughout Turkish history, Turkish heads of state have been authoritarian. It is absurd to think of any other head of state who is not authoritarian. Restricted by law-

After that, there is not harm but benefit in electing presidents with high authority. There is also the fact that when personalities are strong, no matter what the constitution says, a strong personality can become a dictator. As a matter of fact, according to the constitution of 1924, Atatürk was a dictator even though the authority of the heads of state was low.

When the country is in a deadlock because of the parties, a president who dissolves the parliament and calls new elections becomes the saviour of the state. Why should not a popular, favourite and useful president be elected two or even three times in a row?

The Senate is an unnecessary institution. There is no need for a Senate when there is a Constitutional Court. It prolongs the work and costs the state a lot of money. The Constitutional Court should be enlarged a little more and important laws should be checked.

450 deputies is too many. Elections to be held on the basis of national balance, in which even the smallest rights shall not be defeated, will enable the strongest parties to form a government on their own in a Parliament with 200 deputies. If not, instead of new elections, the Head of State should be authorised to keep the strongest party in power. Nations need peace and stability. The state cannot be left without a government because of a duel of speeches.

Our time is a time when specialisations multiply. We see new ministries being established in every period. This is also a drawback. The solution to prevent this is as follows: Ministries such as the Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Health, Education, Finance, Economy and Transport are basic ministries and they will always exist. It is impossible to remove a Ministry of Health from the country. However, the ministries other than these are second class ministries and it is also possible to abolish them. As a matter of fact, the Ministry of Culture was abolished. Some ministries such as the Ministry of Sports and the Ministry of

Forestry may not be needed in time. Thus, these ministries

There will be no need to build separate buildings for second class ministries.

National: The Ministry of Defence should be abolished and all its duties should be transferred to the General Staff. The army has nothing to do with politics, but this is politics in the sense of party politics. The army has to do with national politics. It is not right to have a civilian who does not understand military affairs at the head of a military organisation. The Chiefs of General Staff should be present at cabinet meetings when necessary.

In order to prevent the retirement of many valuable officers due to staff and age limit, if a dual organisation is established in the Turkish army instead of a triple organisation and the ranks are adjusted accordingly, it will prevent the dismissal of officers who love military service from the army. In this case, there will be company commanders at the age of 40. What is the benefit? It was like this in the past and no harm was seen. Today, a 40-year-old person is a young person.

Military: Two-year officer class schools should be established for high school graduates, and the most successful students of these schools should be sent to the Military Academy.

There are a number of weak points in our Penal Codes, called "loopholes", which criminals who take advantage of them continue to commit their offences for years.

Turkish society will continue to be troubled as long as those who commit crimes and disturb the order are not put to death.

The majority of those who commit crimes such as blood feuds, rape, killing for money, extortion, bullying, theft, bribery, fraud, etc. live professionally.

As we have already written, pre-Islamic Turks used to execute those who assaulted a married woman and those who committed grand theft. Today these things are done

collectively. Those who are caught b l a m e each other. Desperate

The remaining judges, after giving a heavy sentence to one of them, either acquit the others due to insufficient evidence or let them off with a year or two. Is it humane to keep alive those who rape children as young as three or five years old, as we often see? We must never forget that immoral people and traitors cower in the face of harshness.

The fact that weapons and cannabis have been smuggled into prisons for years has not opened the eyes of the government. Prisons should be places where those who have been punished regret what they have done. This is done through isolation and being left alone. Not by swearing and beatings. We must also remember this: Prison is not only a house of correction. It is also a place where society takes revenge on those who have harmed it.

The sense of humanity has become a slovenliness all over the world. According to these humanitarians, one must search for the "whys" that brought the poor criminal to such a state. Who cares if people will be ruined and reduced to the level of animals while they are searching for those "whys"?

The memorandum of 12 March and the present situation is a good opportunity. Commissions to be set up now for the re-establishment of Turkey and for national traditions, reason, consciousness and science to prevail in the process of re-establishment should start work, and since they are not in a hurry, they should take the matter seriously and prepare everything necessary to establish a superior state.

Of course, it goes without saying: The name of this new state will not be "Turkey", which is half Turkish and half Arabic or Italian, but "Turkeli", which is entirely Turkish.

Türk Budun, Ökün!

NOW everyone has become wise. With the repetition of five or ten nursery rhymes, they can fix the world in one fell swoop. When one looks at the political clowns who say everything up to the point of treason against the nation and still shout "no freedom", and those who make promises that cannot be fulfilled by telling lies as if they were deceiving children, one has to believe that the apocalypse is about to break. Mutual accusations... If one says "white", the other always says "black". One says "we are developing", the other shouts "we are going west". Maniacs who consider themselves smarter and more advanced than everyone else, shameless people who talk about nationalism while clowning for foreigners, shameless writers who advise compromising Turkish lands have turned the square into a circus. In the circus, animals and clowns make a mockery of themselves and a crowd swimming in social stupidity applauds or jeers at them.

What has been given to this society for years as good, humane, virtuous and Turkish? Nothing!... But everything in the name of disgrace, disgrace, disgrace, disgrace, whatever lies come to mind have all been presented as science, art, progress. The marginalisation was called a right. The majority of the nation was insulted by calling them "tails". There were times when four hundred thousand people were arrested on the immoral denunciation of a few. Shouting

"peoples of Turkey"

"Second Ataturk" to an idiot anarchist

who say, "I have no honour. Beginning with Kemalism

Those who said that they did not recognise any principle declared İnönü, who did his best to make Atatürk's name forgotten, removed his pictures from money and stamps, official offices, and did not have his grave built, as a national hero and had him buried in the Mausoleum. There were scoundrels who called the national enemy a brother.

Are all these men normal? What can I call them? A man is either this or that. A man cannot be a Turk and an Englishman at the same time, a Muslim and a Catholic, a nationalist and a shariaist. Anyone who says he is is neither, he is only a hypocrite.

A man who says he is a nationalist knows that his history is 3000 years old. Anyone who looks at his history as 1000 years old is ignorant, bigoted, corrupt, not Turkish.

Türk Budun, Ökün!... Come to your senses. Come to your senses. Don't believe everyone. Use your brain. Remember your past. Think about what brought you up and what brought you down. Get away from sophistry. Don't follow this or that.

You can't get dibba out of a tripe cauldron. Are you still unable to choose between good and evil even though you have been deceived and cheated a hundred times? Don't waste time in vain to teach the truth to those who are so brainless and dishonourless as to hang on their walls the pictures of may-faced, blood-drinking, hypocritical Asian and European vagabonds while there are hundreds of great national heroes. They will get their comeuppance. Don't waste your time and try to make something of yourself. To be an axe to grind means to take a place to serve the nation, to take charge of water. Positions and positions are only for being useful to the Turkish nation.

If you cannot do this, the Turkish nation will remain only in the leaves of history.

Ötüken, 10 June 1975, Issue: 6

Are we falling into the same historical mistake?

In the most ancient times, Turks (i.e. the tribes, hands, which were the ancestors of Turks) were living in the eastern parts of Turkestan. It was the flood of migrations and invasions of Aryan tribes that pushed them further to the east, as far as Mongolia. In particular, the invasions of the Iranians in the 6th-4th centuries B.C. and of the Greeks under the command of Alexander a little later on, into the south Turkestan caused the Turks, who had been outnumbered in every period of history, to be thrown towards the east. Although the Turks fought heroically against these invasions for a long time, they did not want to accept captivity in the face of more civilised and more populous tribes than themselves, and retreated to the east. Traces of this migration are preserved in the oldest Turkish epics.

The Turks, who had retreated to the east and established a state there under the name of "Kun" ("Hiyong-Nu", "Hun") in the third century BC, came into close contact with the Chinese. These relations, which were sometimes peaceful and often warlike, exposed the Turks to a great danger: Falling into the captivity of the Chinese, who were then, as now, very populous and civilised, could have wiped out the Turkish race from the face of the earth. Among the information given by the Chinese

histories of that time about the Turkish-Chinese relations, it is mentioned several times that all the Turks were not even equal to the inhabitants of a Chinese province. Turkish chieftains

The whole endeavour and policy of the Turks was directed towards avoiding this danger. Nevertheless, with the Chinese ambassadors coming to the Turkish country and Chinese princesses being introduced into the Turkish palace, Chinese civilisation was also entering among the Turks. In the second century BC, Chinese debauchery, Chinese immorality, Chinese clothes and fabrics began to spread among the Turks. If this continued, it was certain that the military capability of the Turks would be destroyed and this would end in captivity. At that time, a leader emerged among the Turks. He fought against Chinese civilisation. He explained that those thin, elegant clothes could only be worn in China and that the steppe race had to live as a hard soldier. He argued with Chinese ambassadors and defended Turkishness against them. He tried to justify and justify the Turkish customs which the Chinese found ugly and inhuman. He explained that Chinese civilisation brought immorality along with it and corrupted the pure people, that the Turks could make China tremble despite their small number only because of their morality and military might, and that they could seize the crops grown by China whenever they wanted. In this way, the Chinese danger was averted for a long time. However, after the death of that vizier and the absence of rulers who were as powerful as before, the Chinese influence started to show its influence again. Especially after some rulers showed such pettiness that they forgot the national existence for a Chinese princess, national purity deteriorated.

As a result, the state collapsed in the third century BC. Fortunately, there were unspoilt Turkic tribes to rebuild the Turkic state in their place. And the Siyenpi (Topa) immediately took over the Turkish hegemony and were able to maintain the state, though not as glorious as before.

This was the first destruction in Turkish history due to

foreign civilisation.

Turkish history from the third to the seventh centuries always shows the same picture: tribal struggles at home, war and sometimes peace with China, Persia and Byzantium abroad. Byzantium was far away. It could do nothing to the Turks. However, resistance against such populous and civilised nations as Iran and China was only possible thanks to the military qualities of the Turks. We know that Iran and especially China had sent large armies to eliminate the Turks several times. These armies could not succeed because of the steepness of the Turkish terrain and the Turks being first class soldiers. However, the Chinese policy continued with the aim of sowing discord in the country and obtaining the rulers through princesses. In this way, a large part of the Turkish country fell into the hands of the Chinese. The Orkhun monuments tell us very eloquently how the Turkish people remembered this time.

At the end of the seventh century, Kutluk Khan, who went to the mountain with only 17 people, launched a war of independence. Hearing this, Turks rushed to his side. In a few years the Turkish state was re-established. He again subjugated China. All the Turks in the world came under the same flag. But this great luxury made the Turks dizzy. Bilge Kagan (716-734), one of the most powerful kings of the last period, wanted to introduce the Turks to the Buddha religion and accustom them to city life. However, a Turkish vizier, Bilge Tonyukuk, prevented this attempt. He explained to the khan the reasons why the Turks, who were small in comparison to the Chinese, could stand against large Chinese armies and even frighten China, and said that this was due to nomadism and military life. Tonyukuk was saying:

"When Turks see themselves strong, they attack China. When they are weak, they can retreat to the steppes. No

matter how strong the Chinese armies accustomed to the cities are, they will not attack the steppes.

cannot go into the countryside and destroy the Turks. However, if the Turks get used to urban life, they will be destroyed after the first defeat. Because they will no longer be able to live in the steppes, their roots will dry up in the face of the Chinese crowd. The Buddha religion, on the other hand, makes people lazy because it inculcates compassion and humility. If Turks accept this religion, they will gradually lose their courage and become powerless. The Buddha religion is not something to be inculcated in a nation like the Turks, which is obliged to fight a lot. "

Bilge Tonyukuk, this great Turkish politician (Turkish Bismark, as the Germans call him), this first Turkish historian, understood that the introduction of a foreign civilisation would destroy the Turks and thus prevented it. If the Buddha religion and Chinese civilisation had spread completely among the Turks, during the great internal and external turmoil of 740-745, the Gok Turk dynasty would have disappeared and a new tribe, the Nine Oghuz (Uyghurs), would not have emerged in their place and immediately re-established the state.

However, the Nine Oghuzs (Uighurs), who were a formidable military force, quickly succumbed to the influence of foreign civilisation. At the end of the eighth century, when they conquered the Chinese capital, they saw the temples of the Manichaeian religion. The sultan wanted to impose this religion on the nation. Although the beys tried to prevent it because they thought it would shake the military mind of the nation, they could not succeed. Manichaeism was accepted with a bright ceremony and a speech of the Khan. Since the times had changed a lot compared to the old times, the influence of foreign civilisations was greater. In this way, after the adoption of Manichaeism, many foreign words began to enter the Turkish language. The strong influence of

foreign languages can be seen in many Uighur works we have today. In contrast to the clean and pure Turkish of the Orkhon and the first Uighur monuments, these later Uighur works are very confused and very confused.

zuktur. Since there was no great vizier like Bilge Tonyukuk at that time, foreign heritages had begun to refresh the Turkish spirit. However, this spiritual influence could not spread to the whole Turkish world. Therefore, the Turkish national spirit did not lose anything great. But this time a new civilisation from the West, namely Islam, had entered Turkestan. At the beginning of the Tenth Century, the Turks in the western part of Turkelia (Bulgarian Turks) and in the middle of the same century, the Turks of Central Turkestan converted to Islam by command and the Turks entered a new civilisation.

While the Persians, who changed their national religion for fear of the sword, kept their old religion and spirit under this new guise, the Turks, who accepted Islam for completely different reasons (*eskeriya iktisadi*), came to the point of losing their national identity. Undoubtedly, the greatest blame for this excess was not the mass of the people, but the intellectual class. The influence of Islam was stronger than any other influence so far. So much so that even in the times when Chinese civilisation and manichaeism were at their strongest, the Turks, who had Turkish names, changed even their names to Arabic-Ajem one or two centuries after their conversion to Islam.

In this way, we all know how much trouble the Turks, who have remained within the framework of Islamic civilisation for almost a thousand years, have suffered because of their neglect of their national heritage. For the last one hundred and fifty years, we have been experimenting with entering a new civilisation, the western civilisation. Since the last ten years, we have passed this experience and are on the road to realisation. Are we falling into the same historical mistakes while entering a new civilisation today? Is the Turkish national spirit in danger today? We will try to answer this question

in the future.

A tsız Mecmua, 1932, Issue: 11

Sixth Fleet?!

It is often possible to eliminate major malfunctions with small measures. Changing the position of the light prevents the eyes from being damaged, and wearing woollen undershirts in winter prevents various diseases caused by cold. The precaution for a child who sticks to the stove is not to scold or beat him, but to surround the stove with bars.

There are similar cases in social life. In order to save young people from bad habits, it is necessary to drag them to sporadic camp life, reading; to prepare fields, beaches and libraries, to find jobs and livelihoods for them in order to prevent some people from committing offences. Of course, law and order sanctions are also necessary.

The anti-Americanism which has developed in Turkey in recent years has the potential, if measures are not taken, to divide the members of the nation into two hostile groups. Today, there is no one left in our country who likes the Americans except a few hysterical girls and women and a few profit-seekers. However, when anti-communists are confronted with the actions of the extreme left, which they take in order to support Russia and act with a Muscovite mindset, it is as if they are acting in defence of the Americans. However, their suspicion is of communism disguised as anti-Americanism.

Even in the most normal times, there is already suspicion of each other.

The groups, which are on the target and on the alert, never fail to come neck to neck when the American fleet comes to Istanbul or Izmir.

On Sunday 16 February, bloody events took place in Taksim Square in Istanbul.

The fact that the protesters against the arrival of the Americans included people known to be extreme leftists and pro-Russian mobilised anti-communist and anti-Russian groups. Because they are worried that the movement that started as an anti-American one will degenerate into a communist revolution.

The real cause of the events of 16 February was the Sixth Fleet. If it had not arrived, there would not have been such ominous events as the death of two people, the injury of many others and, even worse, the transformation of the nation into groups that harboured hatred against each other.

The coldness that started after the US, which favoured the Greeks in the Cyprus dispute, prevented the Turkish landing by means of the Sixth Fleet and after the US President wrote the infamous letter to the Turkish Prime Minister, gradually turned into an American hostility and the nation became unable to tolerate the sight of Americans.

Even if there were no leftists in Turkey, this enmity would grow and grow, and anti-American demonstrations would still be organised to the same extent.

America is our ally in NATO and has given us a lot of help. Political parties, with the exception of TIP, are in favour of Turkey remaining in NATO.

But remaining in NATO does not preclude hating the Americans. The majority of the Turkish nation today looks at the Americans in the same way as it looks at the Greeks, who are also our NATO allies.

It is certain that the NATO Treaty has a number of overt and covert obligations. However, these obligations

are not openly against one of the parties or in a way that inculcates hatred in the hearts of the parties.

should not be. The frequent visit of the Sixth Fleet to Turkish ports is perhaps one of these obligations. However, the situation has become such that the arrival of this fleet, far from being beneficial, is likely to drive a wedge between the two allied nations. If there is a strategic necessity for the fleet to approach the shores of Turkey from time to time, there is no need for it to enter the ports of Istanbul and Izmir and to bring unpleasant American sailors into our cities. The Sixth Fleet, which is a great striking force, can carry out its mission without approaching Istanbul, but by stopping at a point in the Marmara Sea close to Istanbul. There is an absolute need for the Turkish government, recognising the national feeling, to ensure that these ships do not arrive, at least for a long time.

Because the Americans are technically advanced, but uncultured and rootless, they create antipathy everywhere and are becoming more and more undesirable. Many years ago, when the Missouri ship made its first visit to Istanbul amidst the demonstrations of love, the American sailors strolling along Istiklal Street in Beyoglu [those who saw them in those days have not forgotten the behaviour of the American sailors, who were very unlike us. These sailors were doing various spoilt acts,] throwing the chickpeas in their hands in the air and trying to catch them with their mouths before they fell to the ground, and not feeling ashamed of this mischievous behaviour on a very crowded street.

As it turned out, that American naval officer was a very innocent and very decent man. On 15 February, after seeing the picture of the American admiral in the newspapers, I was forced to think this way, because Admiral Charbonatta was wearing the sequined skirt of a stage dancer, half-naked and dancing a belly dance with the word. I have no words to say about the ugliness of this scene. After this scene, if the American state still continues to use this man as an admiral,

I give up.

And also Turkish generals and admirals, in short, Turkish
pa-

Think of their chauffeurs. Even the most inferior of them is a thousand times more dignified and honourable than this ridiculous admiral, and I believe that the fact that they do with ease what we consider shameful has a great deal to do with the hostility of our nation towards the Americans.

It is certain that religious prejudice played an important role in the Taksim events. Those who were blinded, or more precisely, converted, by religious prejudice, saw the participants in the anti-American march as communists and infidels, since most of them were socialists, and as a result, two citizens, one of whom was married, who had participated in the events as a spectator and who happened to be among them by chance, lost their lives.

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

These conflicts will continue. The parties, who have become emboldened because of the lack of precautions, will take things even further. Of course, there will be those who participate in these marches, which are organised with more or less national feeling by all citizens from the right to the left, with ulterior motives. Some of these are political ummahists 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 reach their goal one day, there will be bloodshed in Turkey. This must be prevented, and preventive measures are very simple. I ask the government: For a while marches and demonstrations should not be allowed and for a long time the Sixth Fleet should not visit Turkey. If our nation, which is already very much divided because of partisanship, is divided again because of the Americans

and starts to fight, we will have no choice but to say,
"What days have we come to, O Gazi Hünkar".

Observation, 6 March 1969

The Abominable American

On 30 AUGUST 1964, a photograph worthy of a lesson was published in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. This photograph showed the capture of Trikopis, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hellenic Army, an unnamed Hellenic prince and General Dionis, the Chief of Staff of the Greek Army, by Turkish Colonel Reşit Beğ after the Battle of Dumlupınar.

Dionis smoked a cigarette as if he was going on a holiday, and the Greek soldiers, who were packed into the train, watched with laughter as their prince and commander were taken away. Only the prince, who was looking ahead of him and holding his hat in his hand, seemed to have a sense of embarrassment.

These soldiers, who did not care at all that they had suffered a terrible defeat and fallen into the hands of the enemy, and who laughed at their commander's grasp, were undoubtedly the most dishonourable and dishonourable people in the world. The palikarians of today, who kill little children and their mothers in the bath, but who take off their white shirts and wave the flag of surrender when they see aeroplanes overhead, are also, without a doubt, the most dishonourable people in the world.

However, it should be observed that this group of dishonourable people, under the leadership of leaders

with national consciousness, marches step by step towards their own ideals and takes every beating.

then get up and move towards the goal as if nothing had happened.

The Turks, who are very superior in terms of national pride and honour, are in the opposite situation compared to the Greeks. In other words, the rulers of the Turkish nation think first and foremost of protecting the law of their friends and not to offend them. In May 1953, the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul was disgraced for this reason. Many wrong behaviours, which need not be listed here, were committed for this reason.

Since the principle of favouring friends makes us look like docile people, favoured friends have become accustomed to demanding sacrifices from us. We have seen the most painful example of this in the behaviour of the Americans in Cyprus. The Americans, whom we had let into our midst more than necessary as friends, betrayed us in the most despicable way. Had their betrayal been motivated by their own interests, they would have been excused to some extent and justified logically, if not morally. But the fact that they violated even their own interests by betraying us shows that they are not only traitors but also fools.

NATO is an army and America is its commander. For one reason or another, this army is making a great withdrawal and retreat. Thus, it has become necessary to sacrifice some of its forces. The 20 divisions on the far right of the right flank and the 5 divisions on its left are in danger. After trying for some time to save them all, the commander realised that this was impossible. He must inevitably sacrifice either the 20 divisions on the extreme right or the 5 divisions on its left. The thing to do for a sane commander is to save 20 divisions by sacrificing 5 divisions. Because twenty divisions, apart from their superiority in numbers, are far superior to the other in terms of combat capability, discipline and loyalty. It is so

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Yusuf superior that

It is strong enough to defend even the front of the 5 divisions to be lost.

Now, under these circumstances, if the commander sacrifices an army of 20 divisions instead of 5 divisions, what would you say to him?

Call it what you will!... That's America...

* * *

America is today the world's first state. It is first with its vast and rich territories, its population of nearly 200 million, its atomic power, heavy industry and trade. However, being first in the balance between nations, as in the relations between individuals, does not necessarily mean "being first with its values and rights". Measure Finland with its 200 million inhabitants next to America with a social and giant magnifying glass and compare the two. Or do the opposite: Look through a giant social magnifying glass and turn America into a country of 4.5 million people and make Finland a neighbour. How small it would be!

Because none of the virtues that make nations great are found in America.

Their political morality is zero. They are apostles of democracy, they want all nations to be democratic, they strive for elections in the Negro states, they take a front against fascism and communism, and at the same time they treat their own citizens, the Negroes, who have bled for America in wars and won first prizes at the Olympics, as slaves.

It both organises elections and does not get the Zenists elected with all kinds of shenanigans.

The assassination of Kennedy and the mysterious cover-up of the affair, the fact that presidents are always protected by death, show the degree of political morality.

There is no sexual morality in America. It has been revealed by Dr Kinsey's report that almost all married women commit adultery.

There is no commercial morality either. The gangsterism over joint bets on horse races and boxing matches, the deceitful behaviour to evade taxes, the games played to sell arms to backward nations are obvious.

The way atomic secrets were sold to the Russians is an example of their national and patriotic morality.

In short, America is a country of disgraces. The disease of bank robbery spread to the world from there. It is America that introduced primitive Negro music to the world market instead of classical music. Sexual immorality and Holivut prostitution are all American inventions. America is the only country where flirting lessons are taught in girls' schools under the pretence of teaching sexual manners. Although the Americans are one of the nations that use the most soap, they have spread polio, a disease born of filth and uncleanness, throughout the world. Millions of mental and nervous patients, millions of obesity patients, millions of homosexuals are all there.

What we have in America that we don't have elsewhere is only disgrace and vulgarity.

Why is this so? Because they have not yet become a nation. America is not big, it is large. They are like this because they are the descendants of the hordes of adventurers, serse ri, murderers, thieves from Europe and the females of a certain level imported for the female needs of this hordes. What makes them shine is their endless wealth. With this wealth they are able to gather the world's greatest and best scholars and experts in their own country.

It is the Jews and Europeans who lead the scientific and technical life in America. By Europeans, I mean those

whose father or mother came from Europe and who have not yet become Americans. The number one atomic scientist

Even Von Braun is German. The real American is a creature who cares only for making money, not for science, monoculture and culture. Beneath the veneer of a superficial polish, a primitive and crude human being is hidden. The extermination of the Indians, the natives of America, who had a highly developed culture in comparison with their own, is an indisputable witness to the savagery of the Americans.

When the Russians fired the first missile into space and put a dog named Laika in it, there was an uproar in America about such torture of animals. However, Laika returned safely to earth. The same Americans were cold-blooded when they killed their own citizens, the Negroes. They did not lift a finger when Turks were killed, murdered and condemned to starvation in Cyprus. That is to say, their blood drew the Laika.

* * *

Some people, whose logic and judgement work against them, claim that we are to blame for this latest situation, not them. Well, Nasreddin Hodja, who was mocked for falling down because he could not see the huge pit in front of him, asked: *"Is there no blame on the one who dug this pit here?"* Can we not ask:

Are the foreigners who exploit our goodwill and use our loyalty for their own interests, namely the Greek Cypriots and the USA, not to blame? Is America, which has prevented the Cyprus settlement, which we could have achieved in a few days, and turned it into a world-wide crisis, causing thousands of Turks to suffer pain and misery, and which itself cannot find a solution, our friend?

The one who brought the Red Muscovites to the centre of Europe and made them the scourge of the world; the one who split Germany and Korea in two and opened wounds in Europe and Asia that would bleed for years;

and the one who made the then President İsmet İnönü agree with Russia

Wasn't it Roosevelt, the number one fool in the history of mankind, whom the Americans, contrary to tradition, elected president four times in a row?

Didn't Kennedy, whose assassination was rejoiced by some Americans but deplored by everyone in Turkey, when negotiating with the Russians for Cuba, have the American missiles in Turkey removed on the pretext that they were outdated, in return for Cuba being cleared of Russian missiles?

All this shows the degree of loyalty of our friend. Let the government take the necessary political action against such a friend. Let us, as a nation, know that he is an abomination, that is enough for now.

- * *

Written on 3 September 1964 and published in Ötüken on 12 September 1964

Published in its 9th issue, the above article seems to have been written for today. Although there is not much to add to this article for today, it would be useful to include two newspaper reports to explain what kind of creature the American is.

In the issue of Milliyet dated 2 August 1 975, there was the following news report from Washington by the Anadolu Agency:

One in Ten Americans
is Mentally Ill

According to a report of the American "National Institute of Mental Health" published in Vasing ton, 20 million people in the United States are mentally ill, of whom only three million have received treatment.

The report states that "at least one tenth of the population of the United States, some 20 million people, suffers from various mental illnesses" and that the

government has been

It is reported to have spent one billion dollars in psychiatric research.

According to the report, only one in seven patients receives treatment and the mentally ill cost the country 21 billion dollars every year. The damage caused by alcoholism and drugs is around 15 and 10 billion dollars.

A society in which "at least" one tenth of its population is mentally ill is an open-air museum in the world. When at least one tenth of a nation with at least one tenth of its population is mentally ill and two tenths of its population is also mentally ill tomorrow, you can call this state a super-state as much as you like. This means that there are at least 45 lunatics in the American Parliament, which has imposed an embargo on us. If you add the idiots of Greek and Jewish origin to these lunatics, it becomes clear who holds the destiny of the entire state in their hands and what a national mistake the former Turkish governments committed by trusting this state. Another proof of how stupid the Americans are is that they believe that the use of poisonous substances in their country will end by banning poppy cultivation in Turkey. They believe this because they are so red ignorant that they do not know that there is only Iran, Afghanistan and the Far East producing poppy in the world. Only Americans are the only geography teachers who come to Istanbul, look at the Bosphorus and ask "Which river is this?".

I have a word for the apostles of "freedom" in our country: Excessive freedom is the reason why America is in this situation. There are very few people who would not abuse excessive freedom. When excessive freedom is given to the materialistic, pleasure-seeking youth of our age, a generation of hippies, gangsters, poison addicts, immoral, in

short, a generation that has been stripped of humanity and turned into animals. If we are not to become like this, it must be engraved in our minds that freedoms are limited, and this must not be advocated and propagated.

The second newspaper report was published two days before the first one, on 31 July 1975, also in Milliyet. It is a news report given by the Anadolu Agency from California. The news is as follows:

Brothel for Women Opens in California

Anne Meyers, a mother of four children, applied to the authorities to open the first brothel where men would work and women would be customers. Mrs Meyers stated that she wanted to use the two floors above a bar she ran with her husband for this purpose and requested a business licence.

The authorities stated that it would be very difficult to obtain a business licence for such a house because California law penalises prostitution in any form.

You are amazed, are you not, at the impudence of this American woman, at the dishonour of her husband, at the boorishness of the authorities? So this brothel will be officially authorised even though the law in California forbids prostitution, and America will be first in one more thing.

The mother of four children(!), seeing her earnings from the tavern as insufficient, did not hesitate to risk this disgrace just for the sake of earning. If this had happened, you can imagine in what a splendid display of morality and virtue Mrs Meyers' four children would have grown up, and what disasters they would have become in the future.

Now let's come to the conclusion: America is a rhino. It is strong and stupid like a rhino. But an elephant or a nimble pars could kill it at any moment. However, it will not be necessary. Because, as often happens to real rhinos, he will sooner or later get bogged down in a

quagmire due to his

he will drown to death. He showed by his last behaviour that he was on the edge of the swamp.

Until Turkey establishes a national industry for its national defence, it should apply to the neutral countries of Europe, such as Sweden, to obtain everything necessary for its defence, but it should not waste any more time in taking measures which will bring the national industry from words to deeds. Since the \$180 million worth of material which we have paid in advance to the United States is also subject to an embargo, this money should be paid by confiscating American goods (schools, hospitals, etc.) in Turkey and a moratorium should be imposed on our debts to the United States.

The war industry is no joke. The nation must make sacrifices, tighten belts and impose taxes for five to ten years if necessary.

When the alliance with the USA was concluded, the then Democrat Party government, on the grounds that America was going to give us all our weapons anyway, turned the military factories in Kırıkkale and Kayseri into tractor factories, thus making a mistake that history will never forgive.

America is an abomination. A rootless band of thugs. It will get its comeuppance. We, on the other hand, as a nation with many human virtues, the product of 30 centuries of history, must cut all ties with these scum.

5 August 1975, Ötüken, 1975, Issue: 8

Lesson

The assassination of two of our diplomats in the USA by an Armenian inevitably took us back to the past and the lessons of that past. When the Turks opened Anatolia, they found Greeks, Armenians and Georgians as Christian nations, and Arabs and Kurds as Muslim nations; they defeated all of them and established a state within the lines very similar to the borders of today's Turkey, establishing the order that they had been customary since time immemorial, and they practised justice completely and without any breach, even though they considered their subjects as second class. As a result of this justice and the wealth generated by not serving in the military and engaging only in trade and industry, Armenians, in particular, became very close to the Turks, adopted Turkish culture, adopted Turkish as their mother tongue in many regions, and were rewarded for their loyalty to the state. There were even Armenian ministers in the Ottoman era. However, their number was very small. If I am not mistaken, according to the history of the chronicler Enveri, the number of Armenians in Turkey

300,000, and it is noted that upon the Armenian patriarch's application to the state, measures were taken to prevent the efforts of Catholic priests to convert Armenians from their national sect of Gregorianism to Catholicism through propaganda.

The date when the Armenians numbered 300,000 is approximately 1779-1780. In 1914, the First World War began-

However, the fact that they had reached 1.500.000 people shows how rapidly they multiplied. This increase was due to both prosperity and the fact that Armenians were not conscripted into the army. As is known, only the Turkish race paid the blood and life tax of the Empire.

At the beginning of the XXth century, Armenians were in a very good position in terms of wealth in Turkey, and they had taken many industries under their control. They were robbing Turks by means of their money-laundering activities, sending their own children to Western countries for education, where they were indoctrinated with anti-Turkish ideas. Moreover, the American College in Istanbul was showing great success in raising Turcophobes among the children belonging to Muslim and Christian minorities.

There were also external influences. The indoctrination and propaganda of Russia, which wanted to use Armenians as a tool, the British Empire, which saw the Ottoman Empire as a danger for its own empire, and France, which had never been able to erase the enmity against Turks from its mind and heart since the Crusades, did not delay in bearing fruit. Armenians, who had forgotten their mother tongue and spoke Turkish, were taught Armenian, and secret organisations against the state began to carry out activities with the dream of establishing a great Armenia in the east of Turkey. What happened next is well known. At the beginning of the First World War, after a Turkish army of 222,000 men had perished from the cold in the Sarıkamış disaster, the Russians were advancing towards Erzurum and the Armenians, who were prepared, mobilised everywhere. They wanted to turn the retreat into a rout by hitting the Turkish Army, whose supply organisation was broken, from behind. At the same time, they killed the Turks in villages and towns, killing women and children and

causing a terrible massacre of Turks. Undoubtedly, the reaction of the Turks, who were the dominant nation, was very harsh. There were no Armenians left in Eastern Turkey. Some of them

They were exterminated by the Turks. Some of them went and settled in Syria, Marseille and America. There is no longer any possibility for them to return to Turkey. Those who remained in Istanbul are gradually emigrating from Turkey and settling in France and America.

Here, two nations killing each other is considered and when accounting for this, of course the first question that comes to mind is who is right and who is wrong. No state at war is lenient towards its own subjects who unite with the enemy. It is right to do so.

While Armenians are still carrying out intensive propaganda activities against Turkey in America, France and Lebanon, and pursuing their dream of a Greater Armenia, we as a nation must be vigilant and recognise and accept that the Armenian is an eternal enemy. Saying "Let us forget the Armenian, let us be brothers!" will not resolve any issue; it will not remove any enmity. There is no mistake as dangerous as mistaking the enemy for a friend.

Armenian publications against the Turks are constantly multiplying and, of course, influencing the public opinion of the West. At a time when we are a member 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.

Even though 50-60 years have passed, the Armenians are still not aware of the Turkish enemy.

to see that there has been no change in their manliness, one is tempted to think that the CUP's policy of '*İttihid-i anisur*', which was very lame and he's having imitations of it prepared today.

In prehistoric times, unity of the ancestors was realised in various parts of the world and the matter was closed with it. In our time it is not even a dream, but a *hezeyin-i*

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Körmteis. Just as the Flemish-Valonian conflict in Belgium
is an example from Europe, the Bengalis in Pakistan, who
are a separate nation

The fact that, after the separation of the Bulucs and the Patans, now the Bulucs and the Patans are involved in the same case is a clear example of the fact that a state founded solely on religious unity cannot survive.

Enmity is one of the human emotions and will remain until the end of humanity. To ignore it is no different from burying one's head in the sand and embracing the cobra snake with the lure of mysticism.

Istanbul, 25 February 1973, Ötüken, 1973,
Issue: 3

The Necip (!) Sons of Moss should know that:

No one in the world loves the creature called JEW except the Jews and the corrupt people. Because, while humanity has always worshipped strength, heroism and goodness, the Jew has always been an example of weakness, cowardice, wickedness and lack of character. In our language, expressions such as *"like a Jew"*, *"don't be like a Jew"*, *"bazaar of Jews"*, *"resembling a synagogue"*, *"one who buys an egg from a Jew cannot find the yolk inside"* show the value our race attaches to this despicable nation. This is not only the case in our country. Even in France, which was hospitable enough to accept the Jews expelled from Germany, our friends who have travelled there say that the simplest compliment about Jews is "Dirty Jew".

We all know that in some countries such as Germany, Poland, Hungary and Romania, anti-Semitism has taken a ferocious form and that one day the Jews in these countries will certainly be expelled. Germany was the first country to settle the Jewish question. Other nations will learn from this. The fact that even an isolated nation like Sweden is anti-Semitic should prove how this abominable nation is perceived all over the world.

Millî İnkılâp magazine, which started to be published in Istanbul

The Jews were in an uproar after the publication of the book of the Jews, which revealed the true nature of the Jews,

they even organised a secret meeting in Beyoglu, *Mill!*

We have heard that they have made some decisions to take a counter front against the *Revolution* magazine. This action alone shows the feelings they harbour against Turkey. Firstly, holding a meeting secretly from the government is a legal offence. We draw the attention of the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution. Secondly, if they want to prevent publicity against them, they are obliged to remain loyal to this homeland. While they are always telling us that they are separate from us with their every behaviour and all their clamour, we are certainly not going to write eulogies for them. We know the notorious economic and moral role of the Jews in the country. In fact, we have not forgotten that among the British, French, American, Italian, Greek, Armenian and Greek flags that adorned Istanbul during the intervention years (!) there was also a Jewish flag. They have not forgotten the indecency they committed during the funeral ceremony of a Jewish girl named Eliza Niyego. The case of the two Jewish lawyers who were caught in Ankara while offering a bribe to a finance officer and the Jewish girl who was arrested for insulting Turkishness constitute the last act of their dishonesty. Instead of trying to deceive us by establishing Turkishisation societies for Jews every now and then, they should remain honest Turkish subjects.

Because we have never forgotten that they will become Turks, nor do we want this. Just as mud cannot become iron no matter how much it is baked, a Jew cannot become a Turk no matter how hard he tries. Turkishness is a privilege; it cannot be granted to every servant, especially to servants like Jews.

The warning to them is this: Let them know their limits. If we get angry, we will not only exterminate the Jews like the Germans, but we will go further: we will scare them. As you know, according to the saying of our ancestors, *it is better to scare a Jew than to kill him.*

Orhun, 1934, Issue: 7

ATSIIZ

Turancılık & Millî Değerler ve Gençlik

["Turancılık" deyince Türkiye'de anlaşılan şey, tarihi mirasları da dâhil olduğu halde bütün Türkleri tek devlet halinde birleştirmek ülküsüdür ve her ülkü gibi nesillere bakan, kan ve can vergisi isteyen, gönüllere heyecan katan bir inançtır.

Tarihi, savaşları ve fütuhâtı dolayısıyla hemen bütün dünyaya antipatik gelen Türk milletinin yeniden birleşerek şahlanması birçok milleti korkuttuğu için; bu şahlanış sonunda bazı devletler ortadan kalkacağı veya küçüleceği için; hatta dünya çapındaki büyük ticaret ortaklıklarının çıkarları baltalanacağı için Turancılık ülküsü büyük bir direnişle karşılaşmakta, bu direnişin propagandası ve fikriyatı yapılmakta, bu propaganda Türkiye içinde tesirli olmaktadır.

Turancılık ülküsüne karşı Türkiye'deki muhalefet ya bunun Türkiye'yi büyük tehlikelere atacak bir macera sayılmasından yahut Türkiye dışındaki Türklerin de en az bizim kadar Türk olduklarının bilinmeyişinden, yahut da bugünkü sınırlarımız içinde 4000 yıldan beri üstüste yığılan etnik zümreleri ve kültürleri karıştırıp bunlardan şimdiki dili Türkçe olan bir "halk"ın peydahlandığını kabul etmekten doğmaktadır.