EPISODE 1

BAŞBUG ALPARSLAN TURKES AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT PARTY

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özkan AKMANSuleyman Demirel University

Introduction

Alparslan Turkes, who led the construction of the idealistic movement, was the bearer of nationalism's transformation from being a natural element of national identity to a separate political identity. He was born in Cyprus. He is the son of a family that migrated from Kayseri to Cyprus. He immigrated to Istanbul as a family in 1932 and entered Kuleli Military High School in 1933. He graduated in 1936 and transferred to the Military Academy. After graduating from here in 1938, he entered the Infantry Shooting School with the rank of infantry junior and joined the army ranks in 1939 with the rank of lieutenant. In 1955, Staff Major Turkes was appointed as a member of the Turkish General Staff Representative Delegation to the "Permanent Group" in Washington in America and remained in this position until 1958. During this time, Turkes studied international economics and English composition at the night department of George Washington University (Ağaoğulları, 2006). It was sent to Germany in 1959 to the Atomic and Nuclear School. He has been the representative of the General Staff at various NATO meetings in Europe. Turkes, one of the leading figures of the National Unity Operation on May 27, 1960, thought of this movement as a reform movement that would ensure supra-party and national unity. After the intervention, he became a member of the National Unity Committee and the Undersecretary of the Presidency. Presidency under secretariat lasted from 27 May 1960 to 25 September 1960 (Turkes, 1977). Drafts for the benefit of the state and the nation, which could not be enacted like the Union of Ideal and Culture and that became law like the State Planning Organization Law, were prepared with the directives of Turkey. Turkes, who worked to bring the National Unity Operation to reach its real goals in this period, was dismissed from the committee with some of his friends after the Constitution was violated on 13 November 1960 as a result of the suggestions made by some politicians of the party to some members of the National Unity Committee. In 1960, he was obliged to reside in India with the rank of Government Counselor (Turkes, 1975). Returning to the country three years later on 22 February 1963, Turkes established an association, was arrested due to the 21 May incident, 5 September 1963 He was released in. Turkes, who entered the CKMP (Cumhuriyetçi Peasant Nation Party) on March 31, 1964, was appointed as the general inspector of the Party and was elected as the Chairman on July 31, 1965, a year later. The name of the CKMP became the Nationalist Movement Party in February 1969 with the proposal of Turkes. Alparslan Turkes was elected as a deputy from Ankara in 1965 and from Adana in 1969 and 1973 elections (Alsac, 2009).

With the May 27 coup, a new actor appeared on the political scene: Alparslan Turkes. Turkes took part in the junta that carried out the coup as a colonel (Bayraktar, 2016). Shortly after the coup, a crack formed within the National Unity Committee (MBK), which was in control of the country; On the one hand, the first group, which wants to transfer power to civilians immediately, and on the other hand, the second group that advocates the continuation of the military administration for a while and various top-down reforms (Ağaoğulları, 2006). Turkes was among the group that suggested that power should not be transferred to civilians immediately and that the military administration should remain in power for a while (Ahmad, 1996). The split form of the MBK made the committee inoperable after a while. In the end, the second group of fourteen people, called the Fourteen, including Turkes, was assigned abroad and liquidated. Turkes, has completed its mission abroad after a while and returned to Turkey in 1963 (Akçam, 2009). Turkes tried to enter politics shortly after his return home. First, he tried to join the Justice Party (AP), which was established as a continuation of the Democrat Party (DP) (Akçam, 2009). In the meantime, Turkes supported Sadettin Bilgiç against Süleyman Demirel in the presidential race that was continuing in the EP, but Turkes gave up hope from the AP after Demirel won the race. Later, in March 1965, Turkes and his team joined the Republican Peasant Nation Party (CKMP). Turkes's friends soon got organized in the party and, four months after joining the party, they ensured that Turkes was elected chairman at the extraordinary congress in July 1965. In 1969, the name of the party was changed to the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and its emblem to three crescents (Bayraktar, 2016). Ulku Grills MHP and its youth organization, which, in parallel to the whole world between the years of 1960-1980 in Turkey also gave a violent struggle against the rise of the leftist movement (Ağaoğulları, 2006). In fact, this war against the left turned into the MHP's raison d'être after a while. The nationalists claimed that they supported the state and helped the state in the fight against communism and motivated them in this direction (Bayraktar, 2016). The situation of the Idealist Movement before the 1980 Coup is explained in the last part of the second chapter (Ağaoğulları, 2006).

Nations system in case the value of the center sat nationalist movements, as well as the world agenda the agenda of Turkey is an ideology that is still quite deeply affected and are also affected (Bayraktar, 2016). At the same time, nationalism has the power to influence other ideologies. Most ideologies contain a bit of nationalism within them; They use nationalist discourses to influence the people, or some ideologies criticize nationalism and nationalists and try to produce discourses against them. Since its inception, nationalism has been an effective weapon against internal enemies, as well

as being a unifying cement against external enemies. Sometimes those who oppose the government are labeled as traitors, enemy agents, and enemies of the state, and the exclusion, prosecution and imprisonment of these groups from society are justified thanks to nationalism; sometimes even the job of silencing the dissidents was carried out by the nationalists (Akçam, 2009).

There are basically two different views on when nationalism arose. The so-called primitives claim that the nation is the same as humanity (Öğün, 2000). Roughly the nation comes before the state, according to the ancients; First, the nation was formed, and then nations created nationalism. Innovative thinking, which has dominated official history and mainstream media, argues that nationalism is created by nations (Poulton, 1997). The age of the nation is quite young compared to the other group, modernists, who are more dominant in academic literature; nation was born in modern times. Modernists argue that the concept of the nation was created by nationalisms (Öğün, 2000).

Nationalism is a political movement and ideology that strives to gain power and justifies it based on nationalist claims. Nationalist claims are based on the assumption that a specific nation has existed forever (Yalçıner, 2014). It keeps the interests and values of this nation above all other interests and values. At the same time, he advocates that the nation should use its own political sovereignty, that is, it should be politically independent. Thus, the nation becomes the sole subject of loyalty and legitimacy. The concept of nation in its current form, that is, the nation as the subject of political loyalty and political legitimacy, is only encountered in the late 18th and early 19th century (Öğün, 2000; Yayman, 2009).

With the establishment of the Millet Party, the number of parties started to increase. The Nation Party is one of the parties that will later form the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) (Yalçıner, 2014). After a short time after the National Party's closure it was founded in the nature of his more Republican Nation Party, in 1958, established previously combine their way with Turkey Peasant Party, which will change its name in 1969 as the Nationalist Movement Party Republican Villagers Nation Party (CKMP) 's (Yayman, 2009). Colonel Alparslan Turkes, one of the defendants in the 1944 Racism-Turanism case, tried to gain a place in politics by trying to join the Justice Party (AP), which was established as a successor of the Democrat Party (DP), as well as with his connections in the army when he was sent from his mandatory overseas post after the military intervention on May 27 (Bora & Can, 1994). Alparslan Turkes, who accelerated his activities with anti-communist associations after his return to the country, was elected as the chairman of the nationalist, conservative rural middle class party CKMP in 1965, after Osman Bölükbası's departure in 1960, the party, Turkist and fanatical anti-communist factors. It started to plan. This year also participated in the elections is considered as the first year of the nationalist movement in Turkey (Yayman, 2009). An important change observed in the party with the advent of Turkes is that while secularism was definitely defended in the statements made for the 1965 elections, this discourse changed in the following years. The party gathered its changing discourse around the idea of a "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" in 1969, Turkes's famous "we are Turks as much as God Mountain, we are Muslims as much as Mount Hira. Both philosophies are our poems (Bora & Can, 1994).

Alparslan Turkes is a soldier, politician and statesman who has left a mark in Turkish state and political life with his actionary and intellectual personality. Turkes has always had a specific weight, regardless of his military rank, the voting rate of his party, or his representation power in Parliament (Karakurt, 2016). Starting after the death of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and until 1997, when he passed away, he assumed political and personal responsibility in all the depressing processes of the Turkish state and was involved in a struggle that he believed he had placed on history. In this respect, Turkes, whose memory is remembered by the majority of the Turkish nation in a respectable and exclusive place, has been subjected to constant accusations by a narrow and limited circle (Yayman, 2009). The fate of all actionist figures in history was also manifested in the late Turkes. As a result of the struggles and the current and intense turmoil in this framework, he did not find the opportunity to disseminate his ideas and philosophy in a calm and good cheer (Yalçınkaya, 2011). Perhaps for this reason, the state system envisioned by Turkes and the state philosophy adopted by him have not been studied sufficiently and scientifically (Karakurt, 2016). This article can be regarded as a short essay examining the view of the late Turkes, who presented Turkish nationalism to the Turkish nation as a political program, to the notion of democracy (Yayman, 2009).

The fact that Alparslan Turkes began to be recognized in Turkish political life as a Turkish nationalist intellectual and actionist was mentioned with the events of 3 May 1944. At that time, thousands of Turkish nationalist youth protested the trial of the Turkish intellectual and literary scholar Hüseyin Nihâl Atsız and realized the first peaceful, unarmed and civilian demonstration in the history of the Republic (Bora & Can, 1994). This demonstration is a proof that Turkish nationalists have the courage to seek rights and freedoms even in the oppressive environment of the single-party period, and that no illegal incident occurred in this pursuit of democratic maturity (Karakurt, 2016). The courage and democratic maturity of the Turkish youth was met with a harsh reaction from the single party government, and the nationalist youth were beaten and wounded on the orders of the administrators of the period (Yalçınkaya, 2011).

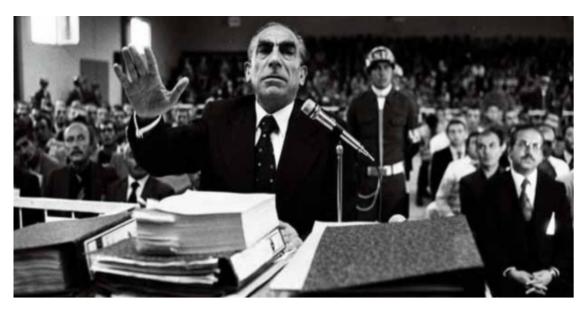
In 1945, a few years after the end of the Second World War, the Cold War broke out between the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union, which affected almost all countries of the world. Socialist Soviet Union during the Cold War in the face, situated next to the US anti-communist in Turkey, antisosyalist groups have gained

strength. One of the prominent groups of these groups was Turkists. During the 1950s, many Turkist magazines were published and a Turkist association was opened. In the 1960s, nationalists began to organize widely beyond magazines and associations. During this period, the leader of the nationalist movement was Colonel Alparslan Turkes, who read the army's declaration on the radio when the coup of May 27, 1960 took place. In the 1960s, especially after 1968, the rise in the world left movement began to gain strength in Turkey. Against this developing left movement, Turkes and his party, MHP, used an anti-socialist rhetoric and also resorted to violence against left groups by acquiring a paramilitary, fascist character. The Idealist Movement, which saw the struggle with the left as its main goal until the 1980 coup, developed more anti-PKK discourse after 1980. In the 1990s, the Idealist Movement, on the one hand, showed great interest in the Turkic Republics in Central Asia. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the Turkic Republics gaining independence, Turan dreams of nationalists in Turkey, it has revived again. During this period, the Idealist Movement, which has pan-nationalism features, made discourses wishing to unite with Turkic Republics. As you can see, the Idealist Movement, which is a branch of Turkish nationalism and Turkish nationalism, has different characteristics in each period. Turkish nationalism, which emerged in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, was divided into many schools, especially in the Republic period. Even the Idealist Movement, which is a subgroup of Turkish nationalism, which is the main subject of this study, has had different characteristics and made different discourses from its birth until today (Bayraktar, 2016).



In the 1970s, it began to rise in political tension in Turkey. The army argued that the conflicts between political parties increased especially after the 1977 elections and this situation dragged the country into anarchy and terror (MGK, 1981: 191, 193). According to the military, this situation between the parties divided the country into hostile camps and weakened the authority of the state. Therefore, the army, the Turkish Armed Forces Internal Service Law given to him by the Republic of Turkey on the basis of protecting and safeguarding September 12, 1980 "has been announced that the act (Resmi Gazette, No. 17103). In the Number One Declaration of the National Security Council, which

was read in the name of the junta on the morning of September 12, it was declared that the army completely took over the administration of the country due to the failure of the state organs (Resmi Gazette, Number: 17103). The activities of all political parties were banned with Declaration Number Seven (Resmi Gazette, Number: 17103). Later, political party leaders other than Alparslan Turkes began to be arrested. Turkes, who had been hiding for a while, surrendered two days after the coup (Zürcher, 2012).



https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/341147740503196422/

With September 12, the nationalists sitting on the defendant chair felt a deep sense of deception and use. The nationalists say that the regime used themselves as a gendarme through various games in the past, but that these gendarmerie duties ended with the coup; "Our gendarmerie ended after the revolution. Some of us are on the rope, some of us have found our place in prisons. "They stated it in their words (Yıldırım, 1991). Leading idealists to prisons and even death; there were soldiers they believed were at least as opposed to communism as they did. The nationalists were quite surprised by the torture they were subjected to in military prisons, which they describe as prison camps. Because the army, which was against communism like them, seized the administration, but the doors of the state, which they regarded as sacred, not the gates of power, were opened before the idealists (Karaaslan-Uzun, 2008).

Having experienced all these changes after the September 12 coup, the idealists have reached a very different point from September 11, 1980. This change is particularly noticeable for nationalists in prisons. During this period, the source of most of the criticisms directed to the state and the upper party level were these idealist prisoners. One of the transformations experienced is focused on religion; Islamization has become increasingly widespread among idealist prisoners. These idealists have now defined themselves as the Turkish Islamic idealists, and the cause they are fighting for is spreading Islam (Bayraktar, 2016).

With the lifting of the political party bans in 1983, idealists, like other political movements, entered in an effort to establish their own parties. During this period, some differences of opinion arose about the future of the idealist movement. One group argued that the idealist movement ended its life with September 12, and that it should remain an organization that deals only with cultural activities. Another group suggested that idealists engage in political activities within right-wing parties. Unlike these groups, a third group stated that idealists should establish their own parties (Uzun, 2005). The Conservative Party (MP), which claims to be the nationalist movement's own party, the continuation of the idealist tradition, was founded on July 7, 1983 (Kaynar et al., 2007). However, this party was able to gather a very small part of its idealist cadre potential. Because most of the MHP cadres turned to other right-wing parties, especially the Motherland Party (ANAP) (Uzun, 2005). Many of the prominent figures of the party have joined the Islamist and nationalist faction led by Mehmet Keçeciler and Mustafa Taşar in the ANAP (Poulton, 1997: 140). During this period, some idealist cadres left politics for good (Uzun, 2005). The MP, who had a shortage of staff, was also in a difficult situation because Mehmet Pamak, a member of the Advisory Council (DM), which was charged with preparing the new constitution by the National Security Council (NSC), was the founding chairman. Pamak, who voted "Yes" to execute some nationalists during his membership in DM, was not adopted as a leader in the idealist community, even if he was a custodian (Yıldırım, 1991). Another difficulty faced by the party was the closure case filed against it. The closure case opened on 5 August 1983 and continued until 3 November 1983 put pressure on the party administration and greatly disrupted the political work of the party. When entering 1984, it has become necessary for MP to arrange a showcase in order to bring fresh blood (Bayraktar, 2016).

These evaluations on rights and power also constitute the essence of the democratic nation state, the framework of which Turkes has determined with very concrete expressions. According to him, no state can be established and sustained only by shedding blood, with the power of weapons (Turkes, 1996) States are the highest artifacts and institutions created by human communities. These institutions can only become a reality with values such as belief, ideal and morality, and a talent such as organizationalism (Turkes, 1994). A state built on these values and abilities will have the opportunity to live in harmony and happiness regardless of religion, sect, race and nationality (Turkes, 1996) Because the nation state is not a class state, it is is a state. It is out of the question that both the Liberal state and the Marxist state can provide this. Because the state theory of Western liberal democracy does not express a whole nation, but a few bosses, owners of capital, in other words, a political form shaped within the framework of the democracy of a class. On the other hand, the Marxist system of the East expresses the same crisis. The only difference is that the bourgeois class will be replaced by Communist Party members (Turkes, 1998) in other words, they are far from promising a political project or system

that embraces their citizens as a whole, beyond being class democracies and class states. However, there is a clear reality that "one's ability to benefit from political democracy, political rights and freedoms depends on his economic possibilities (Turkes, 1994).

The fact that a person who does not have economic opportunities receives a fair and equal share of rights and freedoms remains only in the texts of the constitution and law. In other words, justice and freedom, which are theoretically expressed by both the liberal state and the Marxist understanding of the state, cannot emerge from them as reality (Turkes, 1998). The state as the political form that will allow this is only the democratic national state. If we list the basic characteristics of the democratic nation state in terms of Turkes; With the democratic nation state, the gap and injustice between different segments of society will disappear. In order for this to be eliminated, the cheats in politics must disappear and it must turn into a structure dominated by feelings such as unity and brotherhood (Turkes, 1996). Together with the democratic nation state, the people will be descended and the people will be known and known. Because one of the most important reasons underlying the problems is the inability to know the public sufficiently (Ağaoğulları, 2006). Therefore, the democratic nation state aims to be the voice of the nation and to defend their rights (Turkes, 1994) According to Turkes, the Turkish nation should not be seen as a stepping stone for power, and democracy should not be understood only as a voting system. In the words of Turkes; It is necessary to "unite in the maximum, not in the minimum commons (Turkes, 1996) Those who rule the people should be from the people, live with the people and work for the people. In this way, the problems of the country can be solved. The only way to achieve this is through the democratic nation state (Turkes, 1998)

The Turkish Union and Turanism in the Works of Turkes Alparslan Turkes's views on foreign Turks are detailed in many of his speeches and works. In particular, "Turkey's Issues", "Basic Opinion" and "9 Light" in his speech in Parliament and has done work includes detailed information on these issues (Ağaoğulları, 2006). Here, some parts of them are presented to the readers as a summary. For example, the outer Turkes has explained why it should be dealt with Turkey: "Whether in Turkey, except for prompts, or no matter where in the universe Turkish nationalist, with interest against Turkey there is full respect (Yalçıner, 2014). Since they are from our nation, who will take care of them other than us? We have to take care of them. This is a principle of our nationalism understanding. The functioning of this principle alone is subject to one condition: We will take care of them, but showing love to them should in no way harm the Turkish State and nation. We will deal with them subject to this condition. If there is any harm, we will immediately cease this relationship. Why is that? Because Earth is the only independent Turkish state in Turkey. Not putting him in any danger is the greatest service to the idea of great Turkism. Why will we take care of them? If you examine the history of Turkish

intellectual movements, you can see four main streams of thought. "In this context, after mentioning the Ummah and Ottomanism movements, his view on Turkism, which is the third trend, is actually a summary of his view of the Turkic World: "With the bankruptcy of the idea of Ottomanism, a new idea was born: Turks do not benefit from any other than Turks (Nihat & Emre, 1995). Because, saying there was Ottomanism, Hejaz railways and other infrastructure facilities were built in the Balkans, Syria. But Anatolia remained poor. He was in a miserable condition without maintenance, and this idea was born from this point on (Turgut, 1995). They said, "Let's go back to ourselves." At the same time the Turks outside Turkey also moved. They contacted each other and published newspapers and magazines. They said, "We are Turks, there is no benefit for Turks other than Turks, let us strengthen our cultural connection and unite" and thus the Turkism movement started. As the fourth trend, Turkes, which deals with the idea of the Turkish Union, defines Turanism as follows: "Turanism: It is the idea of uniting all nations and tribes of Turanian origin under a state, under a flag. this is Turanism in the sense. In the folk language, it is the unification of Azerbaijan, Kirkuk, Iran, Crimea and Turkistan Turks. Turkes stated that those who find the movement of Panturkism (Turkish Union) and the boundaries of this movement wide in addition to Scientific Turanism, suggested the name Panturkmenism (Turkmen Union); He stated that these ideas were spread under the influence of the Turkish Hearth, which accepted the principle of Turkism in ideas, language, everything, and especially Ziya Gökalp, who pioneered these ideas. In fact, these words are a very short and striking summary of Turkes's view of the Turkic World. Turkes stated that Turkish nationalism was born after the War of Independence, which was won under the leadership of Atatürk, and that those who were afraid of Turkism put forward the idea of Anatolianism; against them to ensure that Turkey's rise as an idea and powerful "Nine Light" doctrine put forth and say that they are the words concluded: "We have this idea of a political party in the action. This love the Turkish nation, to connect to the Turks, think like Turkey, the Turkish nation to exalt, to avoid damage to Turkey to deal with foreign registration provided that the Turks won their independence, it is to help the development. It is never about taking up arms and attacking (Turgut, 1995). I repeat this requirement: Turkey will deal with them, without prejudice to the record. "With the establishment of the MHP, Turkish nationalism, which had existed as an intellectual movement until that day, entered the program of a political party with the "National Doctrine Nine Lights". When we look at the principle of "nationalism", which is the first principle of the Nine Lights, we can see Turkes's views on the Turkish world, which we have summarized above, more clearly and broadly. Başbug Alparslan Turkes, in his work titled "National Doctrine Nine Lights", expressed the ideal of the Turkish Union as follows: The ideal of the Turkish Union is the ideal of gathering all Turks in the world as a nation and state under a flag. The realization of this may seem impossible to some people at first glance. Many people may also characterize this as a harmful dream (utopia) (Turgut, 1995). But it must not be forgotten that every truth

first begins with a dream. Again, remember that in 1919, requires to establish a free and independent Turkey to engage in war against the world's madness and delusion he had characterized as winners in Anatolia. But who believed and gave themselves an ideal, dormitories recovery and succeeded in forming an independent Turkey. Turkish Union also systematically work, insidious and protect Turkey before everything and will certainly one day Hakikat by working to upgrade. Atatürk and Turkes Got Right: The Soviet Union Disbanded (Yayman, 2009). The predictions of Atatürk about the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1933 and Alparslan Turkes in 1944 came true in 1991 and history justified these two leaders. Turkes shared his views and suggestions on how and under what conditions our relations with the Turkic Republics, which gained their independence after this breakup, will develop on various occasions, and in his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on December 12, 1991, he briefly said: Turkey's foreign policy has been taking place ever. Turkey's foreign policy has been set by the Soviet Union (Yayman, 2009). But developments in the world, new formations and new developments in other parts of the world in the Soviet Union, Turkey has brought issues such as how to adjust their relationship thereafter. Previously, Turkish Foreign Affairs directly targeted the Soviet Union; Turks in them were never mentioned. Even the Turks to address the issues beyond our Turkey Turkey for various reasons, especially in the political field was seen as a fearful subject, it said it was the accused who have seen little (Turgut, 1995).

As you know, as an old friend of yours who has been in the field of politics for a long time, I spent 55 years of my life dealing with these issues. According to the statistics of the United Nations recently, Turkish is the fifth most spoken language in the world. First is Chinese, second is English, third is Spanish, fourth is Arabic, and fifth is Turkish, so despite having experienced many disasters according to this order, the Turkish nation is still one of the most populous nations on earth (Yayman, 2009). To say "200 million people speak Turkish" means "there are 200 million Turks". The Soviet Empire began to fall apart and dissolve. There are five Turkish Republics living here; These are Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. When we consider them Turkish Republic and Turkey's foreign relations, foreign policy, what should be? She Considering the geopolitical characteristics of the republic, be they economic opportunities have the resources taking into consideration, taking into account the social structure and the non-Turkish other units, such as Armenia, like Georgia and taking into account the situation of others, what should be the policy of Turkey said based on rational and scientific principles. We need a new political plan. This foreign policy cannot be organized with such unprepared, random and fast-paced attitudes. These are people who are the same as our descent and religion, our brothers and sisters, and they feel affectionate towards us. Turkey are in love, they expect leadership from Turkey. Consequently, there is a need to make a policy planning based on new scientific

principles, taking into account these characteristics of them and taking into account the effects of our recognition of other non-Turkish republics on them. In the opening speech of the Turkish Congress on Friendship, Brotherhood and Cooperation of States and Communities held in March 1993, Turkes expressed this framework more clearly and clearly outlined the boundaries of the relations as follows: The establishment of close cooperation and rapprochement among Turkish communities time will not seek to harm and attack. The aim of the solidarity and cooperation activities desired to be carried out will be to ensure peace and prosperity in the world. No matter where they are in the world, they want to cooperate closely with their neighbors of another nationality or with other communities they live in, based on friendship, goodwill and peace. Having stated this, it is necessary to say a few words about our ongoing relations with the Russians (Yalçıner, 2014). According to Turkes, many Turkish regions were kept alive as Russian colonies until the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but this situation should change. Due to the various links divided by geography and historical events, Turks should organize a very close cooperation with the Russians, based on friendly and human rights, in accordance with the principles of democracy. This new order of relations with the Russians should be based mainly on the following principles: "The first principle is the principle of reciprocity (Yayman, 2009). Relationships between us in every issue will be in the same measure, quality and quantity. The second principle is the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. The third principle is that the parties will be in equal terms and equality in the relations. The fourth principle is that the parties will always have equal rights. "Atatürk and Turkes predicted but could not see: "The Turkish Union Will Be Established One Day Of course! Alparslan Turkes, in his work "1944 Nationalism Event", and in the book of Mahmut Esat Bozkurt published under the title "History of Revolution" and "Atatürk Revolution" and taught in universities, I have faith that "Turkish Union" belonging to Atatürk will one day become the truth. He says that even if I don't see it, I will close my eyes to the world in his dreams (Yalçıner, 2014). Like Atatürk, Turkes predicted the realization of the Turkish Union and worked for its realization. Years passed, but even though progress was made on certain issues, it was insufficient and most of Turkes's proposals regarding the Turkish World could not be realized. On the 100th anniversary of his birth, we cannot end by explaining the contributions of Alparslan Turkes, the Prime Minister of the Turkish World, to Turkish nationalism and the Turkic World (Turkes, 1998). At the Azatlik Square in Baku, the late President of Azerbaijan, Abulfez Elchibey, who greeted the people together with the gray wolf sign, expressed his feelings after Alparslan Turkes's march to the right, with these laconic words (Turkes, 1994): "A great leader who blessed his protection from external enemies for the sake of liberation, independence and the rise of world Turkishness, saw that his struggle was stealing victory and closed his eyes with ease. Many over the years considered him a dreamer (Yalçıner, 2014). He did not believe what he said. Alparslan Turkes still reported in the court of 1944 that, as in 1917, in 1965 or in 1999 a revolution

will begin in Russia, my biggest enemy. And Turkey should be prepared for this. History confirmed the appearance of the great leader by several years. Russian imperial broke up. But what a pity that Turkey had not expected this. Alparslan Turkes has struggled patiently, resolutely and steadfastly for more than 35 years (Turkes, 1996). Turkey fall into the bondage of communism, Moscow or Beijing was brave toy Lack of direction. He believed wholeheartedly that Turks in Cyprus, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, Central Asia, Siberia and other lands would gain independence and acted constantly. Turkey in the training of staff and a great nationalist Turkish youth stand up for their national identities of its services inaccessible (Turkes, 1998).

Result

In the light of which of the birth theories the MHP, which is one of the oldest parties of Turkish political life still continuing its activities, was founded in accordance with the historical background mentioned above, which class parties it is among in terms of party typologies and Huntington's criteria for institutionalization of political parties, Analyzes have been made regarding the state of its institutionalization (Karakurt, 2016). According to this, according to Duverger's classification, it can be said that the MHP entered the Turkish political life as a party of participation crisis from within the parliament, although it received the support of some groups and individuals from outside the parliament. When the MHP is analyzed in terms of political party typologies, it can be said that although it was a cadre party as of its birth, it later acquired the characteristics of a mass party, like most Turkish political life parties. At the same time, looking at the policy of the MHP in the 1970s, it can be stated that it tends to be a totalitarian integration party. Within the scope of other party typologies, it can be concluded that MHP does not conform to the typology of professional parties, and likewise does not enter the cartel and catch-all parties. Likewise, it can be argued that although it was appropriate at the beginning, it did not enter the typology of the leader party because it was able to change its leader and continue on its path without any problems, but it is an ideological party due to its strict adherence to its most important feature, its ideology (Karakurt, 2016).



Alparslan Turkes has managed to become a rare politician who has succeeded in creating a great circle of loyalty and love around him; With his ideas and struggle, he established a unique throne in the hearts of his fans and became the father of ideas of all idealists without exception. In addition, we can even say that he is jealous with a secret envy that is ashamed of being confessed by those who do not like. We can summarize the role, contributions and achievements of Alparslan Turkes and his political struggle, namely the "Idealism Movement" in recent Turkish history: Turkey is a "Turkish state" spread the idea that the audience was massification. For the transportation of youth in politics in Turkey, no one has succeeded in setting Alparslan Turkes and Nationalist Movement. One of the most fundamental aspects of modernity "massification of politics" is that this struggle, Turkey has opened up great horizons in this regard. Turkish Nationalism in the whole of Turkey is provided to reach a very effective weight. However, this power was able to concentrate in the MHP only as a certain percentage. This, MHP has prevent the popularization to and personally power as a party, but since the news has led to something else: almost all mass parties a little bit in Turkey "ülkücüleş have", and even many ideas and principles advocated by the MHP, this It was implemented as a "state policy" by those who shut down the party and imprisoned its leaders and cadres. In this respect, it should not be accepted as an exaggeration to say that even the State is "idealized" in some respects. In this respect, the numerical vote values of the MHP cannot be taken as a healthy criterion for the real power of both Turkish Nationalism and the MHP mission in the broadest sense, more clearly, "Idealism". The MHP is only a fraction of this power, the portion of an iceberg above water. Thanks to Alparaslan Turkes, the degeneration of Turkishness was prevented by restricting it to Anatolian geography and Anatolian-Turkish history, and the idea that it has a very large geography and a very deep historical dimension surrounding Anatolia has always been kept alive. As a result, the holistic and encompassing idea of "World Turkishness" gained vitality; Azeri, Turkmen, Kyrgyz etc. A terrible disaster throughout history such as the disintegration of the World Turkishness was prevented by the transformation of names such as names into separate nations (Hocaoğlu, 1997).

References

- Ağaoğulları, A., M. (2006). *Aşırı milliyetçi sağ. Irvin Cemil Schick ve Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (Der.)*, *Geçiş sürecinde Türkiye içinde* (s. 189-236). 5. Baskı. Belge Yayınları.
- Ahmad, F. (1996). *Demokrasi sürecinde Türkiye (1945-1980)*, (Çev.) Ahmet Fethi. 2. Baskı. Hil Yayınları.
- Akçam, T. (2009). Türk Ulusal Kimliği Üzerine Bazı Tezler. Tanıl Bora (Der.), Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce, Milliyetçilik (Cilt 4) içinde (s. 53-62). İletişim Yayınları.

- Alsaç, N. T. (2009). Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik ve Kalkınma: Alparslan Turkes'in Çalışmaları e Günümüze Etkileri. [Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. İstanbul Üniversitesi.
- Bayraktar, Ö. (2016). Ülkücü Harekette Bölünme: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi ve Büyük Birlik Partisi (Tez No. 449536) [Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi]. Yök Tez Merkezi.
- Bora, T., & Can, K. (1994). Devlet ocak dergâh 12 Eylül'den 1990'lara ülkücü hareket. İletişim Yayınları.
- Hocaoğlu, D. (1997). Hakk'a Yürüyen Bir "Er" Kişi: Alparslan Turkes. Son Çağrı Gazetesi, 10.
- Karaaslan-Uzun, A. (2008). 12 Eylül 1980. Erhan Öztunç (Der.), Ülkücüler 12 Eylül'ü Anlatıyor içinde (s. 52-56). Babıali Yayınları.
- Karakurt, G. (2016). Siyasi Partilerin Doğuş Teorileri, Parti Tipolojileri ve Kurumsallaşmaları Bağlamında Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Uluslararası Politik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 2(1), 41-50.
- Kaynak, M. (2006). Darbeli demokrasi, olaylar ve çözümlemeler. Timaş Yayınları.
- Kaynar, K., M.; Özsel, D.; Çavdar, O.; Altaylı, E.; Mutluay, B.; Ateş, S., & Sadioğlu, U. (2007). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Siyasi Partileri*, (Der.) Mete Kaan Kaynar. İmge Yayınları.
- Kongar, E. (1999). Toplumsal değişme kurumları ve Türkiye gerçeği. Remzi Kitabevi.
- MGK. (1981). 12 Eylül öncesi ve sonrası. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Nihat M., & Cemiloğlu, E. (1995). *Türk siyasi hayatında milliyetçi hareket*. Turkuaz Ajans.
- Öğün, S., S. (2000). Mukayeseli sosyal teori ve tarih bağlamında milliyetçilik. Alfa Yayınları.
- Poulton, H. (1997). Top hat, Grey wolf and crescent Turkish nationalism and the Turkish Republic. New York University Press.

Resmi Gazete, (1980). Sayı: 17103

Turgut, H. (1995). Şahinlerin dansı, Turkes'in anıları. Abc Yayınları.

Turkes, A. (1975). *Temel görüşler*. Dergah Yayınları.

Turkes, A. (1977). 27 Mayıs, 13 Kasım, 21 Mayıs ve gerçekler. Dokuz Işık Yayınevi.

Turkes, A. (1978). *Milli doktrin dokuz ışık*, (Genişletilmiş Birinci Baskı). Özlem Kardeşler Matbaası.

Turkes, A. (1979). Dokuz ışık ve Türkiye. Emel Matbaacılık.

Turkes, A. (1994). Dokuz ışık ve Türkiye. Hamle Yayın/Dağıtım, S. 132.

Turkes, A. (1996). Gönül seferberliğine. Hamle Yayıncılık, S. 47-50.

Turkes, A. (1998). Türkiye'nin meseleleri. Hamle Yayıncılık, S. 29.

Uzun, T. (2005). Türk milliyetçiliği ve Mhp. Ebabil Yayınları.

Yalçıner, R. (2014). Etnisite ve Milliyetçilik: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme. *Ankara Üniversitesi Sbf Dergisi*, 69(1), 189-215.

Yalçınkaya, A. (2011). İlahi Siyaset. Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları (Der.), Sokrates'ten Jakobenlere Batı'da Siyasal Düşünceler (2. Baskı) içinde (s. 197-234). İletişim Yayınları.

Yayman, H. (2009). *Değişim ve süreklilik ekseninde Mhp*. Seta Analiz. http://file.setav. org/Files/Pdf/20140311162801_degisim-ve-sureklilik-ekseninde-mhp-pdf.pdf

Yıldırım, Y. (1991). Balkondan seyretmek. Kayı Yayınları.

Zürcher, J., E. (2012). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi*, (Çev.) Yasemin Saner. 27. Baskı. İletişim Yayınları.