
EPISODE 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD TURKISH NATIONALISM AND MUHSİN YAZICIOĞLU IN THE IDEALIST MOVEMENT

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Nationalism which is an intellectual current and political movement and can be considered to be the most influential throughout the history, followed a different course in Ottoman Empire comparing to France, which is accepted the country where it emerged. Turkish Nationalism in which cultural codes have been more important than genetics maintained far away and against to Racism during Republic of Turkey which has been considered as the follower of Ottoman Empire after her collapse. Alparslan Türkeş who undertook the leadership of Turkish Nationalism during 1960s, when it turned to be ideational and an actual movement, adopted it to be unified with Islam as the pioneering intellectualists and he gave a new name as Idealism. During 1970s when the global politics was dominant on Turkey Türkeş and Idealists, who fought against to the enforcement of East Block; Communism, were subjected the same treatments as their opponents who were against the state by the 1980 military coup and stayed at prisons and even some of them were executed. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, who was the leader of Ülkü Ocakları during 1970s, the youth organization of the movement stayed at prisons like Türkeş. Via a plebiscite to turn back the democracy Türkeş and Yazıcıoğlu who started policy again fell into conflicts during the new emerged world order after the collapse of communism and afterwards Yazıcıoğlu established Great Union Party to be open to larger communities by leaving Nationalist Work Party. Although the newly established GUP was not very weak, it was never very strong. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, besides being loved and adopted by the public, has become an example that being loved, respected and reliable is not enough to achieve successful results in politics. In this work, the ideological and political development of the Turkish Nationalism, the political affairs of Alparslan Türkeş in 1960s and 1970s and the Nationalist Movement between 1980-2000, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and his party are analysed, events taking place after 2000 are not tackled.

Introduction

The effects of the French Revolution, one of the events that influenced the political history of the world most, are still shaping domestic and foreign politics of the countries. With the aim of solving the accumulated sociological problems, this revolution which took place more effective and painful than it was planned became also the source of the long chaos and nationality winds which pioneered the collapse of the rooted empires

completing their evolution in hundreds of years yet integrated with certain diseases. The sociological problems that feudalism produced in the European societies started to be tackled in the work of thinkers such as Rousseau, Hume, Locke, Voltaire, Kant, Diderot, Rene, and Descartes within the Enlightenment Philosophy and the change and transformation ideas were put into act at the end of the century with the French Revolution. We observed that the historical roots of the French Revolution started with The Renaissance and continued with the Reform Movement, because people were under oppression, economic conditions became unbearable, free thinking could not disperse and the sociological structure was worn out because of long wars that people did not believe in and these caused the Revolution which paved the way of modernity in Europe. Here, Europe became equipped and a rival to the Ottoman Empire.¹

Nationalism that turned into the core of racism, developing a discriminatory and marginalizing identity in many European societies fed the concept of nation holding together different races, turning into a uniting identity in some societies. Turkish nationalism, without depending on an enmity towards another nation and putting forward the understanding of sustaining its own existence followed a different path from other nationalism flows, shaping its identity a hundred years after the Revolution.²

Another important event observed when the historical development of societies are analysed is the Industrial Revolution marking the XIX century. With the use of steam power in industry and help of ships reaching distant places, companies which started to manage the resources of these lands received regulations from their states and in this way colonialism was based on legal foundations.

As these forced laws would be achieved through military methods, colonialism which also earned a political identity earned its intellectual foundation through Social Darwinism which legalizes the theory *the strong is right*.³The Ottoman Empire which found it difficult to adapt to the developments in the world, could not embrace the Enlightenment Philosophy, could not realize the Industrial Revolution, and lost the Mediterranean income because of the Geographical Discoveries could not prevent its society from getting restless in this period when it deteriorated in economic, political and military areas.

Nationalism in Ottoman Empire

The reflections of the idea of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire the French Revolution put forward are first seen with the rebellions of the non-muslim societies in the Balkans. Cultural pluralism named as *Pax Ottomana* in western sources and *Millet Sistemi (Nation System)* in the Ottoman sources ensured the freedom of speech of the Balkan societies in

¹ Acun Fatma, Atatürk ve Türk İnkılap Tarihi, Siyasal Kitabevi, 12.Baskı, Ankara,2013, s.32

² Kösoğlu Nevzat, Türk Milliyetçiliği ve Osmanlı, Ötüken Neşriyat, 3. Basım, İstanbul,2013,s.43

³ Acun, Fatma, age.,s.34

the sense that it withheld an idea opposing the torture of the Ottoman individual and an Ottoman society.⁴ However, it functioned in the opposite direction of its aim by leading up to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Serbians first obtained concessions in the rebellions in the Balkans, and then Greek seceded from the Ottoman Empire with the contribution and guidance of the imperialist countries.

Before nationalism became the official ideology of the state in the Ottoman Empire first Ottomanism and then panislamism policies were tried to hold the existing elements in the society together. The failure of the Ottomanism theory which claimed protecting the political unity of the state by creating an Ottoman nation where there were no religious and ethnic differences was first seen by the rebellions and seceding of the nonmuslim elements in the Balkans and then the uncompromising and separatist acts of the nonmuslims⁵ in the Turkish Parliament I (Meclis-i Mebusan) formed after the Constitutional Monarchy I (I. Meşrutiyet). Following, the failure of the Panislamism theory, named then as *İttihad-I İslam (the Unity of Islam)*, was revealed thanks to the unexpected Albanian events in the Balkans⁶ and the revolt of the Muslim Arab societies in the Hedjaz region against the state during the World War I in the line of the promises of the imperialist Britain and France. Turkism which was an alternative perspective for so long became the official policy of the state in the last period of the Empire after the re-conquer of Edirne in the Balkan War II. Ottomanism, Panislamism and Turkism were analysed in the article *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* which the Republic's activist nationalist intellectual Yusuf Akçura wrote in 1912.⁷ In 1913, in Ziya Gökalp's article *Üç Cereyan*, it is stated that Turkism, Panislamism and Westernism are not conflicting areas, yet they complete each other.⁸ In Akçura's article, Tanzimat was the Ottomanist understanding period where the Ottoman elements found the ground to be represented. The other period was the Panislamist period⁹ where Abdulhamid II who noticed the failure of this theory, moved from the title of the Islam Khalif and the developed an understanding the unity of the continuation of the state by the unity of Muslim people. Turkism was put into act to maintain the state with the land remaining as the only alternative as Panislamism, the next target, did not work after Ottomanism, the most comprehensive concept, failed.¹⁰

The lines "*Ben bir Türk'üm denim cinsim uludur/ Sinem, özüm ateşle doludur./ İnsan olan vatanının kuludur./ Türk evladı evde durmaz, giderim*" (*I am Turk, my religion and origin is noble/ my heart my core is full of fire / A human being is the servant of his state/ Turkish son does not stay at home, I go.*) which Mehmet Emin Yurdakul wrote during

⁴ Fahri Yetim, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Dağılıma Döneminde Balkan Milliyetçiliği ve Büyük Güçler", Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Yıl 2011, Sayı 25 (Mart 2011), s.289

⁵ Özçelik M. Hakan, Yusuf Akçura'nın Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset Makalesi Üzerine Düşünceler, Anadolu Bil Meslek Yüksekokulu Dergisi, 2015, C.38, s.59

⁶ Taştan Yahya Kemal, Kanonik Topraklardan Ulusal Vataana Balkan Savaşları ve Türk Ulusçuluğunun Doğuşu, Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi *Journal of Turkish World Studies*, X1/2, Kış 2012, s.9

⁷ TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, Müellif: Azmi Özcan, 2001, C.23, s.62-65

⁸ Hamarat Ercenk, Türk Milli Eğitim Düşüncesinde Ziya Gökalp, Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi Necatibey Eğitim Fakültesi Yüzüncü Yıl Özel Sayısı, 2010, C.12, S.22, s.56

⁹ Aydın Suavi, Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik, Gündoğan Yayınevi, Ankara, 1993, s.138

¹⁰ Özçelik, agm., s.62

the 1897 Ottoman – Greek War are important in the sense that they reveal how deeply Turkism and patriotism were placed in state system.¹¹ Turkism appearing just before the World War I reached the peak following the failure of the other policies and this stemmed from the reflex of regaining the 400-year state lands lost in the Balkan Wars. Big loses that were seen in political, economic and military areas made it impossible for the 600-year Empire to be saved; however, the idea of liberty and nationalism dominating the last period of the state paved the way of the foundation of a new republic. Turkish nationalism, the liberation method of the Turk, became the legal action of the people to defend the land where people owned as homeland for a thousand years against the possibility of being sent away from this land, which was a plan since the 1815 Vienna Union named as Eastern Question and aimed at sending Turks away first from Europe and then from Anatolia. The Sevres Treaty was signed for this.

New Republic and Process of Turkish Nationalism

With the foundation of Turkish Republic after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it is observed that Turks displayed a new beginning. Turkish nationalism formed the intellectual basis of this new state.¹² Turkish nationality that Ziya Gökalp, one of the sociologists of the period, drew is not based on ethnicity, yet it embraces a cultural identity. Gökalp rejecting Islam as an opposing movement to Turkism embraced a method valuing westernization and nationalism together as they withhold a progressive identity, together with Islam as one of the core values of Turkish nation.¹³ Nationalism, one of the six principles the state is based on, is a uniting notion where whoever sees himself as a part of this state within the lands of the state, grows up within the culture of this geography, and desires unity and prosperity of the state under any circumstances is accepted as Turk regardless of his religion, sect and race.¹⁴

While the perspective of the Turkish nationalists growing as a citizen of the Ottoman Empire was mostly to save the state with the help of the Turks within the body of the Ottoman Empire, the perspective of the other nationalists whose sources was Russia and the Soviet Union was getting together the Turks all around the world.¹⁵ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who saw Ziya Gökalp as his teacher and Yusuf Akçura as his comrade preferred a more realistic nationalist perspective covering the land declared in the National Pact while founding the Turkish Republic and accepted this area as the state.

The new state which relatively fewer races formed came into life at a time when empires ended and nation states were founded. However, not every society could found a state nation. Some existed as dependent states within the lines drawn for them where colonial

¹¹ Yesevi Çağla Gül, Türk Milliyetçiliği, Kripto Yayınları, Ankara, 2018, s.141

¹² Özçelik, agm., s.62

¹³ Yesevi, age., 151, 152

¹⁴ Akandere Osman, Semiz Yaşar; Milli Mücadele ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi, Eğitim Yayınevi, Konya, 2018, s.260

¹⁵ Bayraktar Özgür, Ülkücü Harekette Bölünme, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi ve Büyük Birlik Partisi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi SBE Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara 2016, s.3

western state governors were assigned. The Republic of Turkey on the other hand, maintained its progression by valuing other ethnicities equal to Turks, the founding elements, and preserved its unity despite some problematic riots seen in the early years of the republic by embracing Turkish nationalism which it saw the representation of its core values, like a challenge to imperialism.

Even if the Republican People's Party tried to move into the multi-party democracy twice in the period of passing the reforms, leaving some old implementations and maintaining the progress of the public via some new implementations they postponed this because of some cyclic reasons. The reasons and results of the mentioned period will not be analysed in this article.

*Türk Ocakları*¹⁶ which stated to work in 1912 and which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the state, was also the member of, set the course of the Turkish nationalism. Although the state sometimes highlighted nationalism as a result of international developments which also indirectly affected Turkish Republic and some developments in the domestic policies, it sometimes preferred keeping this idea in the background. The closing of *Türk Ocakları* can be an example for this.¹⁷ The changes in political discourse of Turkish Republic's principle of nationalism appears in relations with the Soviet Union and especially in the periods of Germany – Italy Ally progress in the first part of the World War II and of Russian, British and French ally progress in the second part of the World War II.

It was observed that The Soviet Union which took possession of some fronts in the war threatened Turkish Republic and claimed right on some cities in the Eastern Anatolian Region claiming that Turkish nationalists put forward a *Turanic* approach on the Turkish people on its lands. Upon these developments, Turkish Republic approached the West Block, the rival of the Soviet Union, in order not to be alienated in the international area. The government which turned a blind eye to *Turanic* movement to keep straight the support for Germany while the war was going bad for the Soviet Union, changed the policy according to the course of the war by opening a case against *Turanic* defendants among whom was also Alparslan Türkeş in 1944 May in order not to offend the Soviet Union. In the same period, it closed leftist magazines named *Yürüyüş*, *Barış Dünyası*, *Yurt ve Dünya*, *Adımlar* to avoid disturbing the balance. The government which faced open threats became withdrawn and displayed a hesitant attitude.¹⁸

The fact that the state's ideology, Turkish nationalism, deteriorated within these developments and nationalists were oppressed via courts decisions caused disturbance in nationalists, who later embraced the idea of setting up political parties which would

¹⁶ Şapolyo, Enver Behnan, Milli Mücadelede Hamdullah Suphi *Türk Kültürü IV* (45), Ankara, 1966, s.800

¹⁷ Mustafa Arıkan, Ahmet Deniz; *Türk Ocaklarının Kapatılışı, Borçları ve Emlakının Tasfiyesi*, Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2004, S.15, s.407-410

¹⁸ Akın Rıdvan, *Türk Siyasal Tarihi 1908-2000*, 3.Baskı, XII Levha yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, s.335

help them speak up in the political environment to reset the state to its original identity and to eliminate these problems.

He was characterized as the follower's completing factor in Fevzi Çakmak and Osman Bölükbaşı's statements, who were the pioneers of the multi-party democratic period which was formed via the disengagements from the Republican People's Party. A group of politicians resigned from the Democratic Party in 1948 stating that it could not be an alternative in its current shape differently from the Republican People's Party and Democratic Party to set up the *Nation Party* as a *Third Way*. In its foundation, the Nation Party started its political life on a conservative line in democrat, nationalist and social senses. With the death of Fevzi Çakmak in 1950, the Nation Party whose development came to a halt could not find an opportunity to rule and evolved into the Republican Nation Party in time. On the path of gaining new energy, the structure uniting with Turkish Villagers' Party to take the name Republican Villagers' Nation Party (RVNP) always appeared on the stage changing its name as the Nationalist Movement Party in 1969 Congress, the Republican Conservative Party after the 1980 coup and then the Conservative Party; however, despite the names and politicians constantly changing it has always been at the center of the nationalist ideology in the Turkish political life.¹⁹

Alparslan Türkeş and Idealism

This political movement which found an area through populist statements under Osman Bölükbaşı's leadership settled on a sociological foundation centered around conservative rural middle class and tradespeople. In 1960s, with the departure of Osman Bölükbaşı, it lost power, yet with Alparslan Türkeş's being the chairman, it managed a new breakthrough in the eye of the society with a corporatist, developmentalist and modernist perspective. After Alparslan Türkeş was elected the chairman, the Republican Villagers' Nation Party which acted on Turkic and anti-communist statements increased its city organisation which were 25 in 1965 to 61 until 1967. In the Adana Congress gathered on 8 February 1969, the name the Republican Villagers' Nation Party was changed as the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP). Alparslan Türkeş elected the chairman in the congress in 1965 started to be called as *Basbug* and owned a dominant role over the organization with supreme authority.²⁰ The emblem of the party became *Three Crescents*. The youth organization became the *Grey Wolf with Crescent*.²¹ In the same congress, Huseyin Nihal Atsız who put forward ethnic notion via his Turkic discourse and his friends called *Bozkurtçular* were defeated to Alparslan Türkeş who defended both being Turk and being Muslim and his friends referred to as *Üç Hilalciler*. Thanks to the collective signatures or the Three Crescents group, the Three Crescents were chosen as

¹⁹ Limoncuoğlu, Alihan. (2015). "The Evolution of Turkish Nationalism between 1904 and 1980", Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Akt: Limoncuoğlu Alihan, Türkiye'de Üçüncü Yolun Başı: Millet Partisi 1948, Akademik Hassasiyetler, 2018, C.5, S.10, s.146-149

²⁰ TDK Sözlüğü, 2009 baskısı, s.215

²¹ Baydur Mithat, Siyasi Tarihimizden Kesitler, İrfan Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1999, s. 223-224

the party emblem; however, the Grey Wolf symbol which the opposing group wanted to be the party emblem was not ignored and was accepted as the emblem of the Ülkü Ocakları, the youth organization of the movement, with the addition of a crescent, which symbolizes Islam, in the emblem. For Alparslan Türkeş, using the Grey Wolf as the party emblem would leave the party face to face with fascism accusations. The Three Crescents on the other hand would melt being Turk and being Muslim in the same pot. In the first half of 1970s, people highlighting Turkic ideas alone were sent away.²²

Alparslan Türkeş who appeared as the Republican Villagers' Nation Party chairman in politics in 1965 Congress had a say in the Turkish politics by being a 1944 Turan case defendant, being one of the implementers of the 1960 coup, taking an active role in National Unity Committee which was found after the coup, being expelled as a member of 14s group as a result of the dispute with the committee in time. Along with using the title *Basbuğ* which means unquestionable leader in Turkish history, Türkeş took his leadership to the supreme level with the principle "*The leader, Organization and Doctrine are unquestionable*"²³ as a reflection of his military character.

Many years later in his interview with Hulusi Turgut from the Sabah Newspaper, referring to Atsız's statements in Ötüken Newspaper claiming that: "Islam is the religion of the Arabs, Turks' religion is Shamanism, Türkeş aspired to sharia-religious laws, and Racism, Turkism and Turan idea are inseparable facts", he said that it was not possible for him to tolerate and accept those.²⁴

In the light of data, it can be deduced that Alparslan Türkeş embraced being Turk and Islam as two inseparable values and the movement which he represented was there to glorify these concepts and did not leave space for nationalists with the opposing notions. Also, this approach is in line with the ideas of Ziya Gökalp, the mastermind of the Turkish Nationalism, in his book *Türklesmek, İslamlasmak, Muasırlasmak*.

Communist movements which Türkeş thought the Russian used against Turkey with the idea that they served for gaining access to the warm waters disturbed Türkeş quite a lot. Türkeş who prepared ideological background for it even when he was the chairman of the Republican Villagers' Nation Party with the idea that Turkish nationalist youth could prevent this paved the way for the youth close to his party to act with an anti-communist understanding.²⁵ At the stage of this idea to become reality, organizing the Turkish youth through the party was problematic. The ideological basis of this organization which would be managed by the young should not have been different from that of the party; however, this youth organization should not have been in politics in this struggle which

²² Baran Dural, *Pratikten Teoriye Milliyetçi Hareket*, Bilge Karaca Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, C.1-2, s.409

²³ Yanardağ Merdan, *Mhp Değişti mi? Ülkücü Hareketin Analitik Tarihi*, Gendaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, s. 33

²⁴ Hulusi Turgut, *Türkeş'in Anıları Şahinlerin Dansı*, ABC Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, s.409-411

²⁵ Akpınar Hakan, *Kurtların Kardeşliği CKMP'den MHP'ye Ülkücü Hareketin Kısa Tarihi*, Kamer Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, s.44-45

would be carried out by the young.

In his Republican Villagers' Nation Party years, Türkeş published a nine-principle program which he named as *the 9 Lights* which stated the doctrinarian understanding of the party and directed the movement. This program was followed after the name of the party changed as NMP. The 9 Lights which Türkeş published in his book are as follows:

- 1- Moralism
- 2- Nationalism
- 3- Idealism
- 4- Communitarianism
- 5- Scientism
- 6- Liberty
- 7- Support for Villages
- 8- Development and Populism
- 9- Support for Industry and Technique ²⁶

It will be seen when the principles are analysed that this program that Türkeş put forward for Turkish people as recommendations is not a political party program, yet it is a struggle to give direction to progress of the state in political sense and the society in sociological sense on a national line. With a reference to Idealism target and as Türkeş said "*We are idealist...*" ²⁷ the movement was called the Idealists. The definition idealists has become the name of the sociological group which is separated from other groups defending Turkish nationalism with Turkish-Islam statement and does not embrace other sharp Turkic points and statements.

The Idealist movement which followed a characteristic Turk – Islam path in Turkish politics in 1970s became the center of the war against communism which was a big threat before people with the use of the slogans such as "*Islam is like our soul, being Turk is like our body.*", "*the consciousness and pride of being a Turk, the moral and virtue of Islam*", "*A Muslim as high as Mount Hira, a Turk as high as Mount Tanrı*", "*the guide the Holly Kuran, the aim Turan*".²⁸ This sociological/political movement which would be recognized as the *Idealists* in the Turkish Political history to come from then on would gather their young people in the youth organizations which they would call the

²⁶ Türkeş Alparslan, CKMP Eminönü İlçesi, Sulhi Garan Matbaası, 4. Baskı, İstanbul, 1967, s.5-24

²⁷ Türkeş, age., s.8

²⁸ Bayraktar Özgür, age., s.68

Ülkü Ocakları for the ideological and active struggle against threatening and assailing action of the period, communism.

As one of the thinkers of the movement Mümtaz Turhan indicates the party was based on a uniting nationalism, not a discriminative or racist nationalism.²⁹ However, the reason why the young people in idealist organizations such as Ülkü Ocakları most members of which were especially from tertiary education (1966) and the Young Idealists Organization (1968)³⁰ members of which were from high schools were considered as extreme nationalists was the militarist attitude they displayed in their de facto struggle against communism.³¹

Ülkü Ocakları was born in 1966 when Turkish Nationalist young people carried out cultural activities such as setting up student clubs and getting boards against the leftist acts. Ülkü Ocakları which were founded first in Ankara University Faculty of Law, and then Ankara University Faculty of Language, History and Geography and Faculty of Agriculture multiplied in the time to come and continued their acts as the *Ülkü Ocakları Federation* against the *Idea Clubs Federation* that young people supporting communism founded.³² Ülkü Ocakları was officially recognized as an association in the same year by preparing Ankara University Ülkü Ocağı Regulations in universities via student clubs.³² No matter how close they would be thought to the NMP it is stressed that the Ocak had nothing to do with politics in the Regulations mentioned.³³

While Ülkü Ocakları in different universities moved as associations via the relationships they formed in their own cities such as Ankara Ülkü Ocakları Association, Istanbul Ülkü Ocakları Association and were engaged with agendas in the shape of social and communal warning such as “*No to Common Market*”, *Memorandum for Iraqi Turkmen’s Autonomy*”, “*Week for Warning to TRT*”, “*March for the 9 Lights*”, “*March for Malazgirt*”, and “*Meeting for Mehmet Akif*” they became the target of armed assault of the opposing leftist groups. The killings of idealist university students in armed assaults such as Ruhi Kılıçkiran on 4 January 1968, Süleyman Özmen on 21 March 1970, Yusuf İmamoglu on 8 June 1970, Dursun Önkuzu on 23 November 1970 caused serious indignation among idealists.³⁴ Idealists do not accept classical “heroism” teachings which mean self-sacrifice shown when necessary and define heroism as loving the ideal as much as to sacrifice all stages of life³⁵ that displayed itself with the sacrifice of their lives, which was impossible to be seen in any other political movement.³⁵ In the following years, the outbreak of mutual shoot outs dragged the state into a serious anarchy and chaos.

²⁹ Alparslan Türkeş, age., s.27

³⁰ Öznur Hakkı, *Ülkücü Hareket*, C.2, Alternatif Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, s.235

³¹ Tamer Balci, *The Rise and Fall of Nine Lights Ideology*, Politics, religion & Ideology 12, Routhlodge, no 2, s.153

³² Akpınar Hakan, age., s.45-46

³³ TURHAN Metin, *Ülkü Ocakları 1966-1980*, Ankara: Panama Yayınları, 2016, s.1-2, Akt: Acar Hasan, *Türkiye’de Milliyetçi Hareket Düşüncesinin Gençlik Teşkilatlarına Etkisi: Ülkü Ocakları Örneği*, Uludağ Üniversitesi SBE, Siyaset Bilimi Kamu Yönetimi Bilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Bursa, 2018, s.85

³⁴ Küçükizsiz Recep, *Bu Davaya Can Verenler Ülkücü Şehitler Antolojisi*, Yenisey Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1990, s.16-24

³⁵ Salman Tuğrul, *Türk İslam Ülküsünün Temel Meseleleri*, Kripto Yayınları, Ankara, 2016, s.20; Akt: Acar Hasan, age., s.102

1980 Military Coup

Thousands of loses in both sides between 1975-1980 overwhelmed the society and the 12 September 1980 coup was seen as a *necessary and appropriate intervention*. However, another issue that arises in the research that still continues today, the army despite the state of siege that lasted more than 20 months during the event escalating each day did not prevent young people from killing each other as they did not put the necessary effort on to the stage in order to justify a probable coup to take place in the future. General Kenan Evren who was the Chief of General Staff of the period and was seemingly planner and implementer of the coup stated that the events did not come to a halt as mentioned and went on a few months more. He then added “*A military intervention without events being unbearable any more would bring harm rather than being beneficial*”, which was put forward as proof in Süleyman Demirel’s *Anı deęi İltiraf* written in 1990 and criticized harshly.³⁶

The deterioration of the economies of the countries is a factor in the deterioration of domestic policies and social security, which cannot be ignored. 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation was realized with success despite the imperialist United States of America’s rejection and threats, then an answer by closing the İncirlik Air Base against arms embargo implemented by the USA was given and an upright stance was displayed in the foreign policy. Thanks to this operation, together with lives of the Cyprus Turks Turkey’s strategic targets in the Mediterranean Sea were secured. However, Turkey went through 5 years when there was an economic recession observed as a cost of this success and there were public order problems coming with heavy burdens. Paul Henze who was the counsellor for members of the National Security Council at the time, as a sort of confession, shows America’s role in the political unrest in Turkey by saying “*...actually Washington let the events progress in this manner, because our benefit required this*”³⁷ The treaties which left the state’s economy to the IMF were signed during the junta authority lasting between 1980 and 1983.³⁸ Also, the imperialist powers gained a lot of benefits in the expense of lives of Turkish youth and it is interesting to notice who the coup made wealthier.

Muhsin Yazıcıođlu and His Effects Upon the Idealist Movement

When the stages of the Idealist Movement before the 1980 coup are analysed it is noticed that although the chairmen of the Ülkü Ocakları were selected among young people they were influential on the ideological line of the movement. Muhsin Yazıcıođlu was one of the most famous and loved chairmen in the movement thanks to his mark in the political events and anarchy atmosphere during his duty.

³⁶ Demirel Taner, 12 Eylül’le Doğru Ordu ve Demokrasi”, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara,2001, 56-4,s.45-46

³⁷ Birand Mehmet Ali, Bila Hikmet, Akar Rıdvan, 12 Eylül Türkiye’nin Miladı, Doğan Yayınları, İstanbul,1999, s.194

³⁸ Özçelik Pınar Kaya, 12 Eylül’ü Anlamak, Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi, Ankara,2011,66-1,s.78

When Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu who was born in Sivas Şarkışla in 1954, came to Ankara University School of Veterinary for his education in 1972 he had already been in the movement in the Young Idealists Organization since 1968. Yazıcıoğlu, who continued his acts in the General Center of Ülkü Ocakları after he came to Ankara, executed the Chairmanship of Ülkü Ocakları between 1977 and 1978. Yazıcıoğlu was the General President Consultant of the Nationalist Movement Party before the 12 September 1980 coup and he was the Chairman of the Idealist Youth Association in 1978. He was sent to prison in Mamak Military Prison for 7.5 years 5.5 of which were in a hole because of the anti-democratic verdicts of the 12 September military courts which was the biggest interruption of the Turkish democracy. He was released with no penalty in the NMP and Idealist Organizations case in 1987. Yazıcıoğlu who started to execute the Chairmanship of Social Security and Education Foundation which was set up to help suffered idealists and their families right after he was out of the prison where he had to stay guilt free stepped into the politics in the Nationalist Work Party in 1987 and became the Secretary General.³⁹

When its history is analysed National Turkish Students Association (NTSA) which was founded in the early years of the Republic and remained on the Turkic line until 1960s became the core for Ülkü Ocakları like it was an example for other nationalist organizations.⁴⁰

Idealists who tended to look for a beauty in the work of the state for long years because of the idea “*Devlet-i Ebed Müddet*” (*State till Forever*) felt betrayed by the state when 49 idealists including Türkeş were convicted to death and 212 idealists were sentenced to long imprisonment⁴¹ and went through a long questioning period. The loss of confidence and frustration towards Türkeş who based his defence on “*individual criminal responsibility*” in the NMP and Idealist Organizations case started in this period.⁴²

The political organization of the Idealist Movement based on an ideological foundation was formed under the roof of the Conservative Party after the 80 coup. The party which appeared on the political stage on 8 September 1983 could not attend the elections on 30 November 1985 and changed its name to the Nationalist Work Party. Within the party, clashes, participations and departures took place at a normal level as a result of the politics in the years to come. The first general president of the Conservative Party left not only membership of the party but also the political path of the Nationalist Movement. The natural leader of the movement Alparslan Türkeş became the General President of

³⁹ www.bbp.org.tr ---son izleme: 17.08.2020

⁴⁰ Acar Hasan, Türkiye’de Milliyetçi Hareket Düşüncesinin Gençlik Teşkilatlarına Etkisi: Ülkü Ocakları Örneği, Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Bursa, 2018, s.63

⁴¹ ETE Hatem, TAŞDELEN Hamza, ERSAY Sami Orçun, “Ülkücülükten Tepkisel Milliyetçiliğe: MHP’nin İdeolojisi ve Seçmen Eğilimleri”, Ankara: SETA Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 2014..Akt: Acar Hasan, *age*, s.67

⁴² BAYRAKTAR Özgür, Ülkücü Harekette Bölünme: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi ve Büyük Birlik Partisi, (Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2016..Akt: Acar Hasan, *age*, s.68

the Nationalist Work Party in 1987 with the removal of the prohibitions.⁴³

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu who stayed in prison for more than 7 years with no guilt was released in 1987. The youth leader of the Idealist movement who was welcomed out of the prison with a great crowd started his civil life with the love and trust of the most people in the party foundation differently from the party leaders. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu who founded “the Social Security and Education Foundation” to help “suffered” idealists and their families of the 12 September Coup helped the idealists in prison and their families. Then, he founded an association in the name of “the Youth Culture and Art Ocakları” which continued the traditions of the Ülkü Ocakları. He continued to gain love and reputation of the nationalist society.⁴⁴

The Nationalist Work Party got 2.93 % in 1987 general elections and 4.14 % in the local elections. It won the Elazığ, Erzincan and Yozgat municipalities in 1989 elections.⁴⁵With this result, it stayed alive with a growth trend, regaining the votes the Motherland Party got from it.

The Conflicts Between Türkeş and Yazıcıoğlu

Even if the party got strength with the joining of Yazıcıoğlu and his fellow friends he worked with in Ülkü Ocakları in the congress in 1988, the independent idealists profile that they created with their stories shared and statements made in the YCAO caused certain problems within the party. On the other hand, Yazıcıoğlu and his fellows who tried to have active role in the party in the congress to come started to publish “Bizim Dergah” magazine as an alternative to “Bizim Ocağ” magazine. Bizim Dergah magazine especially focused on telling about the torture made in prison and sorrow and was of a more Islamic and anti-capitalist perspective.⁴⁶Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and his fellows’ work was limited by Alparslan Türkeş by stopping the event named “the Tear Drop Nights” carried out in the body of the YCAO. The lists which Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu supported were abolished by the Headquarter with no reason although they won the elections in 22 city congresses.⁴⁷

Even if the tension was not desired to be noticed by the bottom community of the movement events which made it impossible to hide took place. Apart from the results taken in the congresses, the Nationalist Work Party (NWP) which was to be represented by 19 MPs in the parliament had the biggest problem about the MP distribution in the parliament. The True Path Party (TPP) which could not found the government alone wanted to found the government with the Social Democratic People’s Party (SDPP). The TPP leader Süleyman Demirel wanted Alparslan Türkeş’s support for this government

⁴³ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milliyetçi_Calıřma_Partisi son izleme: 15.10.2020

⁴⁴ Bayraktar Ö., *agt.*, .Akt: Acar Hasan, *age.* s.37

⁴⁵ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milliyetçi_Calıřma_Partisi son izleme: 15.10.2020

⁴⁶ Yanardağ, M. *age.*, s.408, Akt: Bayraktar Ö., *agt.* ,s.38

⁴⁷ Yanardağ, M. *age.*, s.408, Akt: Bayraktar Ö., *agt.* ,s.38

to be founded. However, some MPs of the separatist People's Labor Party (PLP) entered the parliament with the SDPP's support and got reaction because of their attempt to make the national oath in Kurdish. The idea of supporting the government where there was also the party supporting this other party scared the nationalist society. When Trkeř insisted on supporting them, Muhsin Yazıcıođlu publicized his reaction by not attending the voting with his friends Esat Btn, kkeř řendiller, and Saffet Topaktař. ⁴⁸

Yazıcıođlu and his friends entered the headquarter management by preparing a different list apart from the one which Trkeř wanted in the congress held in 1991. Following this, the fights between the Bizim Ocak and Bizim Dergah magazines made the tension de facto seen. Although Yazıcıođlu wanted to meet Trkeř upon the escalating tension his demand was rejected and he with all his friends was purged as he was released from all his tasks.⁴⁹

Because of the problems and ideological separations within the party, Muhsin Yazıcıođlu and five MPs resigned with a press meeting in Ankara. Yazıcıođlu said *"I have been in the nationalist movement for as long as I have known myself. I want to declare with pride in the moment that I resigned from the NWP that I am a nationalist. My resignation has nothing to do with another political party or organization. We hereby left the party as we cannot continue our honest and our faithful stance."*⁵⁰

After he left the NWP Yazıcıođlu did not jump into a process of founding a party. He carried out meetings with the name *"the New Formation"* in many areas of Turkey to explain the resignation period, causes and got ideas for their aims. Yazıcıođlu and his friends published a newspaper named the *Yeni Hafta* *"New Week"* and a magazine named *Nizam-ı Alem* *"the World Order"* for the new movement as they thought media did not convey their messages enough. They formed Nizam-ı Alem Ocakları for the young people who acted with the Turkish-Islam perspective. ⁵¹

"The National Agreement Text" was presented to public where the universal problems that the Islam world was having were explained as an invitation to all humanity in the period of resignation from the NWP. In it, consultation and consultancy concepts in place of decisions made by one person were tackled. Also, unity in the crowd instead of authoritarian leadership was praised. Therefore, the formation of a bigger unity where there were people with similar national and moral values was aimed instead of a formation which only Turkish nationalists could see as an alternative. ⁵²

In an interview done with him, Erdem Karakoç who was the chairman of the Istanbul lk Ocakları about the resignation took place stated that *"Yazıcıođlu's resignation was*

⁴⁸ Selvi, A., ve Seven, E. (2010), *iřkence Kođuřlarından Siyaset Meydanına*, Nesil Yayınları, İstanbul,s.99

⁴⁹ Yanardađ, M. age., s.408, Akt: Bayraktar .,agt. ,s.38

⁵⁰ Umurmer, Trk Siyasi Tarihinde Byk Birlik Partisi, Maarif Mektepleri Yayınları, Ankara,2017,s.98

⁵¹ Umur .,age,s.103

52 Umur .,age,s.106-107

completely political and he took this path to take a shortcut to a political success”. The period’s MWP MP Osman Sevimli on the other hand, claimed that “Resignation was wrong and harmful while there was an opportunity to form a group in the parliament by making the PM number to 20 which was 19 then”.⁵³

Yazıcıoğlu and Great Union Party

The New Formation movement Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and his friends started became the Great Union Party officially on 29 January 1993. As the symbol of the party, the “*Crescent*” which symbolized Allah in the Turkish history and “*Rose*” which symbolized Prophet Muhammed (were chosen. The party was founded on Friday and there were 99 founding members.⁵⁴ When the methods and symbols in the process of being a party are analysed, Yazıcıoğlu acted putting Islam in the center in his party’s perspective as he embraced in the 1970s.

It is seen that the GUP never achieved a serious political success in the years following the party’s foundation. The GUP acted on a certain discourse and program which the political environment was not used to. The party said that it would not meet many demands of the voters with the idea that actions it would take to realize individual requests of the people to vote would be morally and ethically problematic. Also, because of the election threshold concept used in the politics, the party founded without the support of the big capitals was considered not to “*win an election*” as it would face economic problems in the eye of the voters. Yazıcıoğlu however, did not produce policies to overcome the prejudices. With the stance he took in critical periods, he held the idea that being a politician who was beside his nation was indispensable for himself and his party.⁵⁵

When the attitude of Yazıcıoğlu and the GUP are analysed the most striking thing is the period of forming the government gone through thanks to the election alliance with the Motherland Party (MLP) on 24 December 1995. Yazıcıoğlu won eight representations in the parliament with this alliance. However, none of the parties including its ally MLP could reach the majority to found the government in the parliament. Yazıcıoğlu first worked to help Mesut Yılmaz’s Motherland Party (MLP) and Necmettin Erbakan’s Welfare Party (WP) to found the coalition government. When Mesut Yılmaz made statements about acting with the True Path Party (TPP) after his meeting with the WP, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu left the election alliance on 28 October 1996. The government the MLP and the TPP founded could not reach the minimum MP support number for the vote of confidence. The vote of confidence was cancelled when Erbakan lodged an appeal with the constitutional court. Then, the WP and TPP coalition government under the leadership of Erbakan was founded thanks to 8 votes of the GUP.⁵⁶ The WP which was

⁵³ Umur Ö., *age*, s.100-101

⁵⁴ Umur Ö., *age*, s.127

⁵⁵ Umur Ö., *age*, s. 192-195

⁵⁶ Umur Ö., *age*, s. 154-157

elected with the favour of the public as the first party was exposed to military oppression and forced to resign on 28 February 1997 in a period called the Postmodern Coup. Erbakan resigned before the coup took place that the passing of the tanks in Sincan county of Ankara pointed at. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, the sufferer of the 1980 coup stated that he would not surrender a coup and a coup could not easily take place in Turkey again, saying “*I do not salute the tank which turns its barrel to the nation*”.

It is seen that he adopted a different path in the Turkish politics with his attitude towards the issue of joining the European Union which was the biggest agenda of the Foreign Affairs in the 1990s. Differently from the other center-right and center-left parties, the GUP claimed that the process had to be ended immediately as it damaged the state’s unity. It stated that Turkey should take place in a union with the name the *Khazar Joint Project* producing energy which Asian states would found and be the planner of this union instead of joining in a Christian Club which would harm Turkey like the European Union. One of the other most discussed topics of the period was about the *Poised Hammer*. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu stated that the Poised Hammer which was based on the region in the expense of the damage to the state had to be removed immediately as it fed the PKK terrorist organization living in the Northern Iraq.⁵⁷

In the process of founding his party, Yazıcıoğlu held meetings with the Turkish citizens in Europa sending his founding friends via the Europa Turkish Union Federation to act in coordination with them and founded the *Europa Nizam-ı Alem Federation*.⁵⁸ The phrase “Nizam-ı Alem” which he referred to especially in the youth organization is the name of the idea which Turks used at the Ottoman and Seljuks period meaning bringing order to the universe/world. Yazıcıoğlu who seems to have identified his long term goals as bringing order to humanity struggled to make Turkey active in the areas such as Caucasia and the Central Asia where their ethnic kins lived intensely after the GUP was founded. He often verbalized that the unity of alphabet, language and work areas were necessary and a vision needed to be put forward in the 21st century.⁵⁹ With his statements, it is observed that Yazıcıoğlu wanted to make real the famous Turkish thinker İsmail Gaspıralı’s theory *unity in the language, work and idea* and with Khazar Joint Project, he wanted the Turkish states producing energy to be an energy market for western countries consuming energy.

Conclusion

Nationalism which has been one of the most effective and valid concepts in the history of the world developed and progressed differently in the Turkish society from the ideas and feelings of the other states’ people. Turkish Nationalism is shaped around the idea that people who live with the same culture and feelings rather than factors like blood and

⁵⁷ Umur Ö.,*age*,s. 242-248

⁵⁸ Umur Ö.,*age*,s.103

⁵⁹ Umur Ö.,*age*,s.254

gene developing out of the individual's will build a future together and has never been away from the reality of religion. Turkish Nationalism whose route the thinkers who are considered the founders of the modern Turkish Nationalism such as Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura shaped blended Islam most of Turks believe in with Turkic consciousness. A cultural blend arose with other cultures thanks to the long empire tradition; however, the effective factor and pioneer of the unity was the Turkish community. The empire tradition which carried Islam remaining limited to the Eastern world into the center of Europa followed a similar pattern in the new republic founded in place of the collapse of the big empire and never had a racist perspective looking down upon and oppressing other nations. Turkish nationalism sprouting in the Republic of Turkey founded in 1923 went through a long path with ups and downs and reached today under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş in the 1960s with the name Turkish-Islam Idealism turning into an ideology. The Idealism ideology which tried to move on legitimate and legal ground has existed in an institutionalising manner.

In the 1970s, Idealists started to defend the Turkish state and the values of the Turkish Nation in the right-left fights the world politics brought into Turkey, which put Idealists in the target of communism. No matter how much they tried to be the topic in the society via cultural events they could not stay away from being a side in shoot outs. Alparslan Türkeş, the leader of the movement and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, the chairman of the Ülkü Ocakları which is the youth organization continued to be beside the Turkish nation in this environment. Idealists lost many lives in the escalating terror events in the years to come. When the state reached 1980, a coup took place and the coup plotters accused Idealists of the same issues as those of terror organizations. Although they were released guilt free many years later, Alparslan Türkeş and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu stayed in prison for long years.

In the transition to democracy the political prohibitions of Alparslan Türkeş were removed with a public voting and he overtook the leadership of his movement again. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu also overtook responsibilities in similar political organizations after he got out of prison. The new political positions, the changing conditions of the world brought caused certain problems between these two Idealist leaders and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu founded a new party with the name the Great Union Party in 1993, resigning from Türkeş's Nationalist Work Party. The GUP criticized the NWP stating that they digressed from the ideological origin. The protagonists of the NWP claimed on the other hand that the GUP and Yazıcıoğlu disrupted the unity although they used the noun "unity". Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and the GUP which supported the idea that not only Turks and people with nationalist ideas but also all people with national and moral values must form a unity could not perform a high success in the political sense; however, they left actions, statements and organizations in the domestic and foreign politics which left a mark.

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