Idealist Movement in the East: An Overview of the Activities of the Idealist Movement Regarding Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Between 1965 and 1980

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Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this thesis, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

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Abstract

Idealist Movement in the East: An Overview of the Activities of the Idealist Movement Regarding Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Between 1965 and 1980

Mevlüt Can Yıldırım, Master's Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2024

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This thesis examines the activities of the idealist movement regarding Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and its strengthening in these two regions between 1965, when Alparslan Türkeş became the head of CKMP, and 1980 by focusing on the participation in the idealist movement from these two regions and the movement's success in the 1977 local elections in Eastern Anatolia. The research traces the organizational efforts of the movement in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia since the late 1960s and focuses on the questions of to what extent the party was able to find a response in these two regions as a result of these efforts and for which reasons this response emerged. In addition to these two questions, it was also aimed to examine the perspectives of the people from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia who participated in the movement during this period on the uprisings that broke out in these two regions during the Early Republican Period and their perceptions of ethnicity. In addition to primary sources such as various memoirs, Hergün newspaper, local newspapers of the period, and books published by publishing houses close to the movement, semi-structured interviews with people from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia who participated in the movement were also used as sources. As a result of this study, three main conclusions were reached. First, the MHP and the idealist movement as a whole generally achieved results above their national average in these two regions in the elections from 1965 to 1977, especially in the 1977 local elections, due to the "understanding of Turkishness without ethnic

discrimination" adopted by the movement during these years and the perception of the idealist movement as the most influential political movement against communism at a time when communism was perceived as anti-religious by the public. Secondly, it was observed that teachers with nationalist political views and the organization of these teachers under Ülkü-Bir in the following years significantly impacted the participation in the movement from these two regions during these fifteen years. Finally, when it came to the 1977 local elections, it was observed that while the movement had made significant progress in Eastern Anatolia, in Southeastern Anatolia, it had fallen behind its performance in previous years.

36.000 words

Özet

Doğu'da Ülkücü Hareket: Ülkücü Hareketin Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'ya İlişkin Faaliyetlerine Genel Bakış, 1965-1980

Mevlüt Can Yıldırım, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2024
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, Alparslan Türkeş'in CKMP'nin başına geçtiği 1965 yılından 12 Eylül 1980 askeri darbesine kadar ülkücü harekete Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'dan gerçekleşen katılımlara ve hareketin 1977 yerel seçimlerinde Doğu Anadolu'da elde ettiği başarıya odaklanarak hareketin bu on beş yıl boyunca Doğu Anadolu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'ya ilişkin faaliyetlerini ve güç kazanmasını incelemiştir. Araştırma, 1960'lı yılların sonlarından itibaren ülkücü hareketin Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da yapmış olduğu teşkilatlanma faaliyetlerinin izini sürmüş ve bu faaliyetler sonucunda partinin bu iki bölgede hangi oranda karşılık bulabildiği ve bu karşılığın hangi sebeplerle ortaya çıktığı sorularına odaklanmıştır. Bu iki soruya ek olarak Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'dan bu dönemde harekete katılmış olan kişilerin Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde bu iki bölgede çıkan ayaklanmalara bakış açıları ve etnisite algılarının nasıl olduğunun da incelenmesi hedeflenmiştir. Çeşitli hatıratlar, dönemin yerel gazeteleri, Hergün gazetesi ve harekete yakın yayınevlerinin çıkarmış olduğu kitaplar gibi birincil kaynakların yanı sıra Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'dan harekete katılan kişiler ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar da kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma neticesinde üç temel sonuca ulaşılmıştır. Birinci olarak, MHP ve bir bütün olarak ülkücü hareketin 1965'ten 1977'ye kadarki seçimlerde, özellikle de 1977 yerel seçimlerinde, bu iki bölgede yer yer ulusal averajının üzerinde sonuçlar elde etmesinde hareketin bu yıllar boyunca benimsemiş olduğu "etnik ayrımcılık hissettirmeyen bir Türklük anlayışı"nın ve komünizmin halk arasında din karşıtlığı olarak gözüktüğü bir dönemde komünizme

karşı en etkili siyasi akımın ülkücü hareket olarak algılanmasının etkili olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci olarak, bu on beş sene boyunca bu iki bölgeden harekete katılımlarda milliyetçi siyasi düşüncelere sahip olan öğretmenlerin ve bu öğretmenlerin sonraki yıllarda Ülkü-Bir altında teşkilatlanmasının önemli bir etkisinin olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Son olarak da 1977 yerel seçimlerine gelindiğinde hareketin, Doğu Anadolu bölgesinde önemli bir gelişme göstermişken, Güneydoğu Anadolu'da önceki yıllarda gösterdiği performansının gerisine düştüğü görülmüştür.

36.000 kelime



To my family,

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AP	Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
CKMP	Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi (Republican Peasant Nation Party)
MHP	Miliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Action Party)
MİSK	Milliyetçi İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions)
MSP	Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party)
POL-DER	Polis Derneği (Police Association)
TÖB-DER	Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (All Teachers Unification and Solidarity Association)
ÜLKÜ-BİR	Ülkücü Öğretmenler ve Öğretim Üyeleri Birliği Derneği (Union of Idealist Teachers and Fellows Association)

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This thesis can be seen as the product of two-dimensional research. The first dimension is an archival scanning of Hergün newspaper, the flagship of the idealist press before the military coup of September 12, 1980, and the local newspapers of the Eastern provinces that were researched. The second dimension is semi-structured interviews, most of which were conducted face-to-face. I have people to thank for both dimensions. For the first dimension, the archival scanning, I am grateful to the staff at the Beyazıt State Library and IBB Atatürk Library. Thanks to the helpful and competent attitudes of almost all the staff I dealt with, I was able to carry out the archive searches in a comfortable manner. For

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[1] Dogan Gürpınar, May 28, 2022, accessed https://x.com/dogangurpinar/status/1530571628526067713.

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1

Introduction

Our biggest shortcoming is that we still haven't learned to love each other enough.

– Galip Erdem

Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, one of the prominent ideologues of Turkish nationalism in the 1970s, discusses various factors that led to the "Eastern Question in Turkey" (Türkiye'de Şark Meselesi) in his book *Doğu Anadolu Gerçeği*, published in 1986. According to Arvasi, one factor that led to this question is spiritual factors (ruhi amiller). In the chapter about spiritual factors, Arvasi narrates one of his memoirs he underwent in Ağrı in 1968. In this memoir, Arvasi encounters two of his friends in Karaköse, a district in the center of Ağrı, during a bus stop from Van to Doğubayazıt with whom he had studied in Erzurum Teachers School. After this encounter, Arvasi and his friends delve into a deep conversation over tea. At one point in the conversation, Arvasi talks about "the anarchy and separatist activities that surrounded our homeland"[1] and mentions the "Turkishness of the East." After these words, what Arvasi saw on the faces of his friends was "the lines of

1 "…vatanımızı saran anarşi olayları ve bölücülük faaliyetleri…" Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, *Doğu Anadolu Gerçeği* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1986), 50.

people who are not satisfied with his words."[2] However, these friends of Arvasi were ardent Turkish nationalists until recently. After a brief stop, one of Arvasi's friends says, "We are not Turkish anymore!". Upon hearing and seeing these reactions from his friends, Arvasi was surprised. "Why and what are you?" he asks his friends and tries to understand the reasons for this transformation in them. "We are Kurdish!" his friends answer in unison. Arvasi responds to his friends, "How can that be? Until yesterday, we were Turks, Turkish nationalists. We were Muslims, and we loved each other. Now, what is the reason for this separation?..."[3] Upon these words, Arvasi sees that his friends laugh obscenely at him and hears the answer, "Indeed, it was like that. We said we were Turks for years, but we could not get them to accept us. Now you tell us, are you still Turkish?"[4] from his friends. Arvasi's answer to these words was quite clear: "Of course, I am Turkish." However, this time, what Arvasi encounters is laughter instead of mocking faces of his friends. After the laughter, his friends say to Arvasi, "That is your wishful thinking! You can accept yourself as a Turk as much as you want; they don't accept you as a Turk!..."[5]

In his book, Arvasi states that "a dagger of flame" traveled through him after hearing these words from his friends.[6] Arvasi's reaction to his friends' answer was to get up immediately and walk away from the table they sat at without saying goodbye to his friends.[7] This conversation leads Arvasi to deep thoughts. On the rest of his way to Doğubayazıt, he thinks about "his many memories about the subject" and "many events that happened to him."[8] "What a strange game this is; why does 'Kurdishness' immediately come to mind when Eastern Anatolia is

2 "…bu arkadaşlarımın yüzlerinde, hiç de sözlerimden memnun olmamış insanların çizgileri beliriyordu." Arvasi, 50.

3 "… Nasıl olur? Daha düne kadar Türk'tük, Türk milliyetçisi idik. Müslümandık ve birbirimizi seviyorduk. Şimdi bu ayrılığın sebebi ne?" Arvasi, 50.

4 "… Gerçekten de öyle idi. Biz, senelerce Türk olduğumuzu söyledik. Fakat kendimizi kabul ettiremedik. Şimdi sen söyle bakalım, sen hala Türk müsün?" Arvasi, 50.

5 "… O, senin hüsn-ü kıuruntun! Sen, kendini istediğin kadar Türk kabul et; onlar seni Türk kabul etmezler ki!" Arvasi, 49–51.

6 Arvasi, 51.

7 Arvasi, 51.

8 "konu ile ilgili nice hatırasını" ve "başına gelen nice olayları" Arvasi, 51.

mentioned? Who played this game on us? Or how can we not make this right? Had we fallen into a vicious circle?"[9] he thinks inwardly. After narrating this memory, Arvasi shares another memory related to this one:

When Arvasi was a child, his father worked at Van Customs. The villagers brought butter, eggs, and yogurt to where they lived and sold them. Arvasi says that at that time, they called these "poor villagers" "Kurds," and when they saw them, they would ask their mother, "Mom, the Kurds have brought butter, yogurt, and eggs… Shall we buy from them?"[10]

Arvasi states that, after this experience in his childhood, he went to Erzurum as a student, and this time, he was astonished to hear that they were called "Kurds" there.[11] In the following years, Arvasi graduated from teacher school and education institute, became a teacher, and went to Bursa. During his years of teaching, he experienced one more incident in which a person was seen as problematic because of his "Eastern" roots. In this incident, Arvasi heard the words, "If you make a Kurd from Erzurum a teacher, this is what he will do,"[12] from a student's parents who thought that his child had been victimized by his teacher. However, Arvasi knew this teacher, whom the parents of the student were complaining about, did not know Kurdish, nor did he have a "separatist consciousness."[13]

Based on these memories, Arvasi states that the word "Kurdish" is sometimes used as "an expression of accusation with no clear boundaries" and that many Easterners are unfairly stigmatized in this way.[14] According to Arvasi, "the enemies of the Turk" had been trying to portray being "Easterner" as something ambiguous, and unfortunately,

9 "… Bu ne garip oyundur ki, Doğu Anadolu denince, neden akla hemen 'kürtlük' gelir? Bu oyunu, bize kimler oynadı? Yahut, bu yanlışı, nasıl olur da bir türlü düzeltemeyiz? Biz, bir fasit dairenin içine mi düşmüştük?" Arvasi, 51.

10 "… Anne, kürtler, yağ, yoğurt ve yumurta getirmişler… Alacak mıyız?" Arvasi, 51.

11 Arvasi, 51.

12 "… Erzurum'lu bir kürdü, öğretmen yaparsan, işte böyle yapar." Arvasi, 51.

13 Arvasi, 51.

14 Arvasi, 51.

they had succeeded to some extent.[15] Therefore, according to Arvasi, using the terms "Kurdish" and "Easterner" as terms of accusation should not be tolerated.[16]

However, fifteen interviewees with whom semi-structured interviews were conducted within the scope of this thesis stated that they were not seen as the "other" in the idealist movement before 1980 because they were "Easterners," "Kurdish," or "Zaza." The participants stated that the attitude of the idealist movement during those years was inclusive, and they did not face any discrimination within the movement. The situation of "using the word 'Kurdish' as an expression of accusation" mentioned by Arvasi seems to be a foreign situation for the interviewees. Is the situation Arvasi observed in his memoirs not valid for the idealist movement before 1980?

This thesis examines the activities of the idealist movement regarding Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980, the participation processes of the people who joined the movement from the East in these years, their activities within the movement, their perceptions of ethnicity and their perceptions of the Early Republican Period uprisings in the East by evaluating the literature focusing on the perspective of the idealist movement on the Kurds and the participation in the movement from the East, and by examining how the movement approached the events in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia before 1980 through primary sources and enriching the information obtained from primary sources through personal interviews.

§ 1.1 Literature Review

1.1.1 *Participation in the Idealist Movement from the East and the Movement's View of the Kurds*

In his master's thesis, *The Islamization of Turkish Nationalism in Cold War Turkey, 1965-1980,* published in 2022, Muhammed Baykal, quoting İlker

15 Arvasi, 52.

16 Arvasi, 52.

Aytürk, states that the studies on Turkish nationalism between 1945 and 1980 are pretty limited compared to studies on the Early Republican Period due to "researchers' lack of theoretical attention to nationalism, and more specifically, Turkish nationalism" and "their seeing of nationalism as pure rhetoric."[17] This limitation seems to be valid for studies on the activities of Turkish nationalism in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia as well. The vast majority of studies on the subject are far from academic qualifications and consist of memoirs, short newspaper articles, and some journalistic books.

Bayram Koca, the author of one of the latest academic studies on the view of the idealist movement towards the Kurds, divides Turkish nationalists into two groups: Secular Turkist-Turanists and Mainstream Nationalists.[18] According to Koca, Secular Turkist Turanists, whom Koca symbolizes with the writings of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and his brother Nejdet Sançar, do not view the Kurds as ethnically Turkish and consider them outside the scope of Turkishness.[19] On the other hand, the dominant perception within the mainstream nationalist tradition, which can be symbolized by the line of MP (Nation Party) -CKMP (Republican Peasant Nation Party) -MHP (Nationalist Action Party) in Koca's evaluation, considers the Kurds as ethnically Turkish and within the scope of Turkishness.[20] The author also analyzes why the leading figures of mainstream nationalists such as Mehmet Eröz, Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, and Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti consider the Kurds as ethnically Turkish. According to him, Mehmet Eröz, the symbolic name of mainstream

17 İlker Aytürk, "Nationalism and Islam in Cold War Turkey, 1944–69," Middle Eastern Studies 50, no. 5 (September 3, 2014): 695, https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2014.911177, quoted in Muhammed Baykal, "The Islamization of Turkish Nationalism in Cold War Turkey, 1965-1980" (İstanbul, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Modern Türk Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, 2022), 3.

18 Bayram Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma" (Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı Siyaset Bilimi Bilim Dalı, 2019), 3.

19 Bayram Koca, "Kürtler Aslında...": Uç Sağın Kürtlere Bakışı, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021), 95–103.

20 Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 133.

nationalists on this subject, bases his view on the writings of Şeref Han from Bitlis and Ziya Gökalp's pieces.[21] The author also evaluates the Kon magazine in his thesis and argues that the authors of Kon magazine differentiate themselves from the mainstream nationalist tradition because of their acceptance of the Kurdish identity as an identity separate from Turkishness.[22] This interpretation of Kon magazine by Koca will be discussed in the section of this thesis dedicated to the magazine; however, at the end of this thesis, it has been concluded that the general perception of the authors of the Kon magazine does not differentiate much from the mainstream nationalist tradition.

In addition to discussing the mainstream nationalists' perception of Kurdish identity, Koca also explores their views on the development of the East. He summarizes the mainstream nationalist stance with Alparslan Türkeş's statement, "The East should also receive its share of national wealth."[23] On October 19, 1970, Türkeş criticized the then-prime minister, Süleyman Demirel, for doing nothing for the East and stated that the Five-Year Development Plan should include special provisions for the East. Citing this statement, Koca states that Türkeş argued that in this way, "the East would also receive its share of the national wealth and thus the efforts of the 'desperate traitors' who tried to incite rebellion in the East would be frustrated."[24]

The author's thesis also reveals several findings regarding the reasons behind participation from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the idealist movement. In an interview Sadi Somuncuoğlu gave to the author, Somuncuoğlu stated that the recruitment of children from tribes in Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia through the activities of the Idealist Hearths in the region strengthened the basis of the movement

21 Koca, 135.

22 Koca, 143.

23 "Milli Servetten Doğu da Nasibini Almalı." Koca, 144.

24 "milli servetten Doğu'nun da nasibini alacağı ve böylece Doğu'da isyan çıkarmaya çalışan gözü dönmüş hainlerin çabalarının akim kalacağı…" Alparslan Türkeş, *Temel Görüşler* (Dergah Yayınları, 1975), 190–91, quoted in Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 145.

in the area and increased the participation in the movement.[25] Beyond that, Koca suggests that the reaching of the activities of the "communist Kurdist" groups to an intolerable level for Turkish nationalists also played an essential role in the increasing activity of the Turkish nationalists in the region.[26] These claims of Bayram Koca contributed to the formulation of questions I sought to answer through the semi-structured interviews. To what extent Koca's claims are effective in the participation in the idealist movement became an influential contributor in the formulation of questions that I prepared.

Ahmet Dinç, the author of a journalistic study on the subject, *Bozkürtler: Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları*, explains that his motivation for this study goes back to his journalism years as a correspondent. Dinç emphasizes that the existence of many Kurdish and Zaza politicians in MHP and BBP (Great Unity Party) increased his curiosity. Beyond that, Dinç also talks about the existence of many Kurdish and Zaza members of parliaments in 2007 when he was the parliamentary correspondent in Ankara. In a personal interview with me, Dinç stated that, as a result of these encounters, he decided to write this book. Apart from many subjects he talked about, Dinç noted that approximately half of the people he interviewed during the preparation of this book believed either that Kurds and Zazas are ethnically Turkish or that there was a belief regarding common ancestry in the earlier ages of history. Although Dinç thinks that some individuals who were part of the idealist movement in the 1970s might change their thoughts on this topic, he believes that many of those he interviewed still maintain these views today.[27]

Dinç's book also includes rich information regarding the organizational efforts of the idealist movement in the East since the late 1960s. In the regarding chapter of his book, Dinç notes that Alparslan Türkeş, during his four-month tenure as party inspector of CKMP from March 31, 1965, to July 30, 1965, traveled extensively throughout Anatolia, including many cities in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. According to

25 Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 131.

26 Koca, 133.

27 Personal Interview with Ahmet Dinç on March 9, 2024, in Istanbul.

Dinç, these visits of Türkeş as the inspector of CKMP in 1965 created a favorable environment for establishing idealist organizations in many Eastern cities in the subsequent years.[28] Thus, shortly after its establishment in 1968, the Young Idealists Organization (Genç Ülkücüler Teşkilatı), one of the first organizations with the name "idealist," opened branches not only in Samsun, Yozgat, Adana, and Trabzon but also in Kars, Erzurum and Elazığ in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia.[29] Following these developments, the Diyarbakır branch of the organization was opened within the same year and began its activities.[30] The activities of the branches included weekly seminars, discussion meetings, village visits, and larger events such as the 900th-anniversary celebration of the Malazgirt Battle in Muş in 1971.[31] According to Dinç, the Diyarbakır branch of the organization was quite active in the 1970s; during the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974, they displayed a thirty-square-meter Turkish flag on the historic Diyarbakır walls and organized a Mevlit gathering at the Diyarbakır Ulu Mosque.[32]

In addition to the organizational efforts of the idealist movement in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, Dinç's study also provides considerable information about the reasons for participation from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the idealist movement. Dinç argues that one of the most influential reasons for the involvement in the idealist movement among the Kurds was religion.[33] According to Dinç, the left's opposition and its disrespect for religion in the 1970s led some of the Kurds, who respect religious values, into the idealist/nationalist camp.[34] Nevertheless, the only reason was not the left's disrespect for religious values and its creation of reaction. One of the interviewees of Dinç, Faik

28 Ahmet Dinç, *Bozkürt - Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları* (İstanbul: Karakutu Yayınları, 2011), 146.

29 Dinç, 161.

30 Dinç, 161.

31 Dinç, 167.

32 Dinç, 162.

33 Dinç, 34.

34 Dinç, 34.

İçmeli, who served as the head of MHP's Istanbul Youth Branch at the end of the 1970s and is of Kurdish origin, also talks about the inclusive stance of idealism and explains the idealist movement's stance towards the Kurds and the left's position on religion with the following words:

> Idealism was not against the Kurds. An idealist, a Turkish nationalist, was the person who kept the Turkish nation in mind and loved the homeland, nation, flag, and religion. At that time, there was the danger of communism; they were going to bring communism, and communism was against religion. At that time, idealism was a structure in the form of anti-communism. It meant being loyal to your flag and religion.[35]

Portraying the period when he was the head of the MHP's Istanbul Youth Branch in 1977 as a period when armed fights increased and many deaths began to occur from both the right and the left, İçmeli states that he had many friends of Kurdish origin among the friends he lost.[36] İçmeli also emphasizes that participation in the idealist movement was much higher than participation in the AP (Justice Party) or MSP (National Salvation Party) from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the 1970s.[37] According to İçmeli, one of the facilitative reasons for this situation was the idealist movement's nondiscriminatory stance against the Kurds and Zazas in the movement in the 1970s.[38]

Beyond Dinç's study, based on personal interviews and some memoirs related to the period, some smaller-scale memoirs about the period can also be found. One such memoir is by Cevat Saraç, a close

35 "Ülkücülük Kürt karşıtı değildi. Ülkücü, Türk milliyetçisi, Türk milletini nazarda tutan, vatan, millet, bayrak, din sevgisini taşıyan kişiydi. O zaman komünizm tehlikesi vardı, onlar komünizmi getireceklerdi, komünizm ise dine karşıydı. O zaman komünizm karşıtlığı şeklinde bir yapı idi ülkücülük. Bayrağına, dinine bağlı olmak demekti." Faik İçmeli, *Kırık Kurşun* (İstanbul: Yakın Plan Yayınları, 2015), 25, quoted in Dinç, *Bozkürt - Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları*, 195.

36 Dinç, *Bozkürt - Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları*, 196.

37 Dinç, 196.

38 Dinç, 196.

associate of Hikmet Tekin, who won the mayoral election in Bingöl as an MHP candidate in 1977. According to Saraç, in the 1970s, the idealists were acting with a strong spirit of unity without questioning their idealist friends' ethnic origin.[39] According to him, what idealists prioritized in those years was the unity of ideals, and this attitude in the idealist movement played a considerable role in the increasing participation.[40] In addition to Saraç, Recep Alyamaç, who was involved in the idealist movement both in Diyarbakır and later as the regional head of Nationalist Workers' Unions (Milliyetçi İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu) in Elazığ, also emphasizes in his son's book, *Komando Recep: 24 Haziran 1975 İsyanı (Diyarbakır Olayları) ve 1978 Bingöl Olayları* the idealist movement's inclusive stance in the 1970s and its effect on the increasing participation in the movement.[41]

Mehmet Şirin Çetin, who examines the relationship between ethnicity and political behavior and the phenomenon of idealist Kurds through the first Kurdish-origin idealists of Muş, states that idealism in Turkey is known as a political stance reserved for those who are "ethnically Turkish," but after further investigation, it has been revealed that people of different ethnic origins can also adopt this political stance.[42] In Çetin's research, a total of five individuals—including three retired teachers, one microbiologist, and one currently serving as a teacher—were asked how they define themselves in terms of ethnic origin and religious affiliation, how they came into contact with the idealist thought, what they think about idealist ideology, and what factors influenced their choice of the idealist movement.[43] Four participants identified themselves as Kurdish, while all participants shared the belief that Turks and Kurds came from

39 Cevat Saraç, *Reis Bey: Bingöl'ün Şehit Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin'in Hikâyesi ve Bir Devrin Analizi* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2011), 195.

40 Saraç, 195.

41 Kürşat Esat Alyamaç, *Komando Recep: 24 Haziran 1975 İsyanı (Diyarbakır Olayları) ve 1978 Bingöl Olayları* (İstanbul: Cinius Yayınları, 2019), 27.

42 Mehmet Şirin Çetin, "Etnik Mensubiyet ve Siyasal Davranış İlişkisi: Muş'un Kürt Kökenli İlk Ülkücüleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme" (II. Uluslararası Muş Sempozyumu: Tarih-Siyaset-Ekonomi-Kültür-Edebiyat, Muş Alparslan Üniversitesi, 2020), 70.

43 Çetin, 70.

the same descent.[44] In terms of religion, it was observed that all participants were quite sensitive, and it is noted that they were drawn to the idealist movement during a period when they felt the country, and Islam were in danger.[45] In the case of these five participants, participants' initial contact with the movement happened through teachers, idealist organizations, and anti-communist associations during their middle and high school years.[46] When asked how they define idealism and idealist thought, participants gave different responses varying from "patriotism", "protecting religion and loving the home country", "a person who considers the country's interests and works for everyone's welfare", to "a movement whose whole purpose is to protect the country's interests and serve Islam."[47] In his study, Çetin also evaluated the origins of the idealist movement in Muş. According to him, the development of the idealist movement in Muş began when Sav-Genç, an Islamic association aiming to combat communism, dissolved itself due to financial difficulties and ideological proximity with idealism and thus joined the idealist movement.[48] Çetin also notes that the establishment of the idealist teachers' union a year later, Ülkü Bir Sen, and its reachability in the city also played a role in the spread of idealism in Muş.[49]

In the additional section of their study focusing on the idealist movement after September 12, 1980, Tanıl Bora and Kemal Can argue that the idealist movement's perspective on the Kurds was based on their " absence," and this situation of "absence" was best expressed by the movement's leader, Türkeş's statement, "We are as Kurdish as they are Kurdish. They are as Turkish as we are Turkish."[50] In his other study, Bora states that this approach of Türkeş both ensures the "denial of

44 Çetin, 71.

45 Çetin, 71.

46 Çetin, 71.

47 Çetin, 71.

48 Çetin, 72.

49 Çetin, 72.

50 "Onlar ne kadar Kürt'se biz de o kadar Kürt'üz. Biz ne kadar Türk isek onlar da o kadar Türk." Tanıl Bora and Kemal Can, *Devlet, Ocak, Dergah: 12 Eylül'den 1990'lara Ülkücü Hareket*, Altıncı Baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 580.

Kurdishness as a distinct identity" and contains a "productive ambiguity" by objectifying it and linking it to Turkishness.[51] Bora also claims that this "long-standing ambiguity" allowed the movement to accuse the PKK of "ethnic nationalism" in the 2000s.[52] According to Bora and Can, although there are differing views among the members of the movement on the "issue," the most moderate position the movement reached was to advocate for an indoctrination and assimilation policy to remind the people in Southeastern Anatolia of their Turkish identity, as suggested by Turkish-Islamic idealists within the movement.[53] Putting aside Bora and Can's interpretations of the movement's view on the Kurds, their studies do not include a concrete approach regarding the reasons for the relatively high participation in the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the 1970s.

In his PhD thesis on the MHP, Ali Erken also notes that Turkish nationalists tried to maintain a moderate profile towards the Kurdish population in Turkey, asserting that they had no issues with the Kurds as long as they did not contradict the integrity of the state.[54] Erken also points out that, in the idealists' perception of threats, socialists, who are believed to receive financial and technological aid from abroad, rank first, and loyalty is seen as much more important than ethnicity within the movement.[55] Referring to one of Türkeş's statements in 1979, "Slaves of foreign ideologies claim that if Türkeş comes to power, he will massacre the Kurds. These traitors will lead our state to disaster. I emphasize once again that those who live in these lands, no matter which region they live in, are our brothers and sisters. They will be in our protection,"[56] Erken

51 Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, İkinci Baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 323.

52 Bora, 323.

53 Bora and Can, *Devlet, Ocak, Dergah*, 582.

54 Ali Erken, "The Construction of Nationalist Politics in Turkey: The MHP, 1965-1980" (Oxford, University of Oxford St. Antony's College Tarih, 2013), 86.

55 Erken, 86.

56 "Yabancı ideolojilerin köleleri, 'Türkeş iktidara gelirse Kürtleri katledeceğini' iddia ediyor. Bu hainler devletimizi felakete sürükler. Hangi bölgede yaşarsa yaşasın bu

interprets these words as expressing the policy of the party that it has no problems with the Kurds as long as they do not violate the integrity of the state.[57] According to Erken, the main targets of the party and the movement are separatist socialist groups that are actively campaigning in universities and the southeast of the country.[58]

In his article titled *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kürtlükle İmtihanı* published in *Türkiye Günlüğü* magazine, Mustafa Akyol also points out that the MHP leader Alparslan Türkeş's view of the Kurds was positive in terms of asserting that there should be no discrimination against the Kurds.[59] However, according to Akyol, Türkeş's rejection of discrimination was based on the assumption that the Kurds are "unadulterated Turks"[60] rather than on the concept of "citizenship."[61] According to Akyol, today, there are "millions of our citizens who identified themselves as Kurdish, express this, and demand respect for it,"[62] and the era of telling them they are "actually Turks" has passed.[63] Akyol argues that in the face of this "new situation," Turkish nationalists are in a situation with a significant lack of resources and states that Turkish nationalists can only get out of this "intellectual impasse"[64] by developing new perspectives on this issue.[65]

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topraklarda yaşayanların bizim kardeşimiz olduğunu ve korumamız altında olacağını bir kez daha vurguluyorum." Hakkı Öznur, *Ülkücü Hareket*, vol. 1, (Sıhhiye, Ankara: Alternatif Yayınları, 1999), 548–49, quoted in Erken, "The Construction of Nationalist Politics in Turkey: The MHP, 1965-1980," 86.

57 Erken, "The Construction of Nationalist Politics in Turkey: The MHP, 1965-1980," 86.

58 Metin Turhan, *Ülkü Ocakları* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2010), 72–75, quoted in Erken, "The Construction of Nationalist Politics in Turkey: The MHP, 1965-1980," 86.

59 Mustafa Akyol, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kürtlükle İmtihanı," accessed May 16, 2024, http://www.mustafaakyol.org/index.php/blog/turkce-yazilar/471-trk-milliyetiliinin-krtlkle-mtihan-76.

60 "su katılmamış Türkler" Akyol.

61 Akyol.

62 "etnik olarak kendilerini Kürt kabul eden, bunu ifade eden, buna saygı gösterilmesini isteyen milyonlarca vatandaşımız" Akyol.

63 Akyol.

64 "fikri çıkmaz" Akyol.

65 Akyol.

In an article that Akyol quoted in the article mentioned in the previous paragraph, Mustafa Çalık also talks about how Turkish nationalists should view ethnic issues. In his article titled *Hangi Milliyetçilikle Nereye Kadar?* published in *Türkiye Günlüğü* in 2005, Çalık discusses Hüseyin Nihal Atsız's interpretation regarding this subject. According to Çalık, when considered outside of his political ideas and nationalist approaches, Atsız is "a figure who should always be remembered with gratitude and respect for his unforgettable services as one of the most valuable figures in Turkish historical research and Turkology."[66] However, Atsız's interpretation of Turkish nationalism, which is based on "ethnic Turkishness" in Çalık's view, benefits those who work for the destruction of Türkiye and Turkishness more than it benefits the Turks themselves.[67] Therefore, according to Çalık, Atsız[68] should continue to be a source of inspiration for Turkish nationalists; however, his position on ethnic issues should not be embraced by them.[69]

In his article on Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi and the role of the Turkish-Islamic ideal (Türk-İslam ülküsü) in the Islamization of the idealist movement before the September 12, 1980, military coup, Fatih Yaşlı suggests that Arvasi, like most Turkish nationalists of the time, claimed that the Kurds were ethnically Turkish, but he was aware of the existence of a "Kurdish issue."[70] According to Yaşlı, the solution Arvasi proposed for this "issue" involves what Yaşlı describes as assimilationist policies: the establishment of kindergartens, libraries, and universities, effective broadcasting by radios and televisions, and the creation of solid

66 "siyasi fikirleri ve milliyetçilik yaklaşımlarının dışında ele alındığı vakit, öncelikle Türk tarih araştırmacılığı ve Türkolojinin en değerli simalarından biri olarak ununtulmaz hizmetleriyle, daima şükran ve saygı ile yadedilecek bir şahsiyet" Mustafa Çalık, "Hangi Milliyetçilikle Nereye Kadar?," *Türkiye Günlüğü*, sayı 80, Bahar 2005, 129.

67 Çalık, 128, quoted in Akyol, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kürtlükle İmtihanı."

68 For the ongoing discussions on Atsız's view of Turkish nationalism and his position in this thought tradition, see https://birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/11818/atsiz-ve-irkcilik Accessed August 10, 2024.

69 Çalık, "Hangi Milliyetçilikle Nereye Kadar?," 129.

70 Fatih Yaşlı, "1980 Öncesi Ülkücü Hareketin İslamileşmesinde Seyit Ahmet Arvasi ve 'Türk-İslam Ülküsü,'" *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim* 9, no. 22 (July 31, 2014): 389.

communication and transportation networks.[71] Like Bora, Yaşlı also speaks of an ambiguity in the movement's view of the Kurds, arguing that Arvasi's perspective reveals this ambiguity in whether those to be "assimilated" are a "different ethnic group" or "the Turks to be reintegrated into Turkishness."[72] Yaşlı also suggests that a separation might be observed between Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi and another leading Turkish nationalist ideologue of the time, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, arguing that Arvasi rejected the concept of "superior race," unlike Atsız.[73] According to Yaşlı, Arvasi believed that biological characteristics did not make races superior and that superiority should be measured only by the services rendered in the path of Allah.[74]

§ 1.2 Methodology

This thesis is based on primary and secondary sources, including memoirs from the period, books published by publishing houses close to the idealist movement, newspapers associated with the movement, and local newspapers from the time. Newspaper searches were conducted between March 2024 and June 2024, mostly at the Beyazıt State Library and the IBB Atatürk Library. In addition to these primary and secondary sources, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen individuals who joined the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980. The interviews lasted between one and two hours. In addition to these fifteen people, six people who had witnessed specific events before 1980, three of whom had joined the movement from the East, were interviewed about the period through face-to-face semi-structured interviews, with two of these interviews conducted via video call. The total number of individuals interviewed is twenty-one. Seventeen of these interviews were recorded by using a

71 Yaşlı, 390.

72 "…asimile edilecek olanın farklı bir etnik grup mu yoksa yeniden Türklüğe kazandırılacak Türkler mi olduğuna dair müphemlik…" Yaşlı, 389.

73 Yaşlı, 389.

74 Yaşlı, 389.

voice recording application on the phone, while recordings could not be made in three interviews due to unsuitable conditions; notes taken during these interviews were used instead. In addition to these interviews, one of the authors of Kon magazine was also contacted and written information about the magazine was obtained from him. All twenty-two participants who were interviewed and from whom written information was obtained were male.

The second chapter of the thesis began with a general assessment of the electoral performance of the CKMP and MHP between 1965 and 1980. This section continued by evaluating MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş's visit to Diyarbakır in 1975 and the subsequent events and examined the movement's activities in the East leading up to the 1977 local elections. The chapter concluded by analyzing how the mayoral terms of Hikmet Tekin and Hamit Fendoğlu, who were elected mayors in these elections and later killed, are evaluated in various sources.

The third chapter focused on how issues related to Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia were addressed in the columns and news reports prepared by Hergün newspaper correspondents, the idealist press's flagship from 1977 to 1980. In addition to Hergün, the examination included a separate section on Kon magazine, which idealist activists from the East published during this period.

The fourth chapter investigated the perspectives of individuals who joined the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia on uprisings during the Early Republican Period and their perceptions of ethnicity.

The fifth chapter focused on the life stories of individuals who joined the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia; it evaluated how they came to know the movement and why they decided to join. The content of the semi-structured interviews conducted is mostly presented in the fourth and fifth chapters of the thesis.

The final section of the thesis is the conclusion chapter. Following the bibliography, the appendix at the end of the thesis includes visuals related to the idealist movement's activities in the East, primarily sourced from the Hergün newspaper and various other sour

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CKMP, MHP, and Local Elections

In this section, firstly, the general electoral performance of the CKMP and, following the name change in the 1969 Adana Congress, the MHP, from 1965 to 1980, will be briefly analyzed with a particular focus on the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions. Subsequently, the performance of the movement in local elections in these two regions from 1965 to 1980 will be analyzed. The mayorships of Hikmet Tekin and Hamit Fendoğlu, who were elected in the 1977 local elections, as well as the events that happened during and after Türkeş's visit to Diyarbakır in 1975, will be examined in separate sections.

§ 2.1 An Overview of the Idealist Movement's Election Performance in the East (1965-1980)

2.1.1 *An Overview of the Performance of the Idealist Movement in General Elections (1965-1980)*

During his four-month tenure as CKMP inspector in 1965, Alparslan Türkeş visited numerous cities in Anatolia. On October 10, 1965, just two months and ten days after being officially confirmed as CKMP's chairman on August 1, 1965, Türkeş experienced his first general election as the

party leader. The CKMP campaign during this election period used posters with slogans such as "We oppose fascism, Nazism, and communism" (Faşizm, Nazizm ve komünizmin karşısındayız.) "Priority will be given to the development of underdeveloped regions," (Geri Kalmış Bölgelerin Kalkımasına Öncelik Verilecektir.) and "Anyone who says they are Turkish is Turkish." (Türk'üm diyen herkes Türk'tür.)[1] Candidates for parliament were also nominated from the cities in the East, including Ağrı, Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Mardin, and Muş.[2] Even though the party's vote nationwide remained at 2.2% due to the influence of Osman Bölükbaşı, who left CKMP and carried a significant portion of his base to the Millet Party, the party managed to send eleven members to parliament in this election.[3]

When election results are analyzed, it is seen that the party's votes in most of the cities in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia were above the party's national average of 2.2%.[4] For instance, CKMP became the fourth party in Ağrı with 11.8% of the votes and sent Abdülbari Akdoğan[5] to parliament thanks to the national remnant system, which gave small parties an advantage in terms of their representation in the parliament.[6] With its feature of evaluating the residual votes of the parties on the national scale, the national remnant system was quite contributive to the minor parties in the 1965 general elections.[7] In these elections, CKMP received 18% of the votes in Muş and 3.4% in Diyarbakır, 1.2% above its national average.[8] With these results, CKMP also managed to send Kemal

1 Dinç, *Bozkürt - Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları*, 152.

2 Dinç, 153.

3 Jacob M. Landau, *Radical Politics in Modern Turkey*, Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East, v. 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 254.

4 "YSK Web Portal," accessed February 15, 2024, https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/1950-1977-yillari-arasi-milletvekili-genel-secimleri/3007.

5 "YSK Web Portal."

6 Ebru Gençalp, "Türk Siyasal Yaşamında Ana-Akım Dışı Bir Siyasal Parti ve Propaganda Örneği: TİP ve 1965 Seçimleri," *Political Communication in Theory and Practice: Non-Western Approaches*, October 12, 2018, 222.

7 Gençalp, 212.

8 "YSK Web Portal."

Aytaç to parliament from Muş. In addition to these results in Muş, Diyarbakır, and Ağrı, the party also achieved results above its national average in Malatya, Elazığ, and Erzurum.[9]

By the time of the 1969 elections, although the party was only able to send Alparslan Türkeş to the parliament as a deputy from Adana due to the abolition of the national remnant system, it continued to receive votes above its national average in some cities in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. The party's national vote rate increased slightly to 3% in these elections, and it managed to achieve votes exceeding the national average in four cities in these two regions: Van with 9.4%, Elazığ with 5.4%, Kars with 5.8%, and Gaziantep with 3.5%.[10] According to Jacob M. Landau, a prominent scholar of Turkey's political life between the military coups of 1960 and 1980, the party took a more pro-Islamic stance during the propaganda period of these elections, which took place approximately eight months after the Adana Congress in February 1969 that symbolizes the party's closer alignment with religion.[11] Landau notes that the party adopted a more aggressive stance against the "godless lies of communism, Zionism, and Freemasonry" in these elections, expressed by a CKMP parliamentary candidate in his election manifesto, compared to other parties' candidates.[12]

In the 1973 general elections, MHP's nationwide vote rate increased slightly to 3.38% compared to the previous general election. The party also continued to achieve results near or slightly above its national average in these cities in these two regions: Diyarbakır with 3%, Ağrı with 6.2%, Gaziantep with 4.65%, Erzurum with 3.3%, Erzincan with 4.6%, and Elazığ with 4.2%.[13]

In the 1977 general elections, MHP's vote share increased to 6.4%, reaching its highest level before the September 12, 1980 military coup. Although the party achieved results above the national average in many

9 "YSK Web Portal."

10 "YSK Web Portal."

11 Landau, *Radical Politics in Modern Turkey*, 277.

12 Landau, 277.

13 "YSK Web Portal."

cities in Eastern Anatolia, the party's votes in Southeastern Anatolia either approached or fell below its national average in these elections.[14] The party's failure in Diyarbakır in these elections is associated with the Diyarbakır incidents that took place during and after Alparslan Türkeş's visit to the city on June 23, 1975, and the process that followed.[15] It was stated that after the Diyarbakır incidents, the MHP weakened in Diyarbakır and mostly ceased to carry out the activities it had been carrying out in previous years.[16] The Diyarbakır incidents and the process after them will be further evaluated in the following sections of this thesis with the information obtained from personal interviews and a review of local newspapers from the period. However, in these elections, the party continued to achieve results close to or above its national average in many cities in both regions, including Şanlıurfa with 6%, Adıyaman with 5.1%, Ağrı with 6.5%, Tunceli with 4.7%, Erzurum with 12.8%, Erzincan with 18.8%, Gaziantep with 11.12%, Kars with 8.3%, Elazığ with 18.7%, and Malatya with 9.17%.[17] With these vote shares, MHP managed to send one deputy each from Elazığ, Erzurum, and Gaziantep to the parliament.[18]

2.1.2 *An Overview of the Performance of the Idealist Movement in Local Elections (1965-1980)*

In the 1968 local elections, the first local elections held during these fifteen years, the CKMP, despite receiving only 1.01% in municipal elections and 1% in provincial council elections nationwide, achieved results above its national average in many provinces and districts in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia.[19] In the Çermik district of Diyarbakır, the CKMP candidate received 26.17%, while İhsan Güzel, the CKMP

14 "YSK Web Portal."

15 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç, via Phone Call, on July 4, 2024.

16 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

17 "YSK Web Portal."

18 "YSK Web Portal."

19 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları" (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1969).

candidate in Ergani district, reached 24%.[20] In the Ağrı city center, CKMP candidate Halis Gökalp received 13.56%, and in the Taşlıçay district of Ağrı, the party's candidate secured 21%.[21] The party's candidate, Necati Arıkan, in the Batman district of Siirt, achieved 19.43%, while the party's candidate, Ahmet Mühürdaroğlu in Hakkari city center, received 6%.[22] The party also reached 22.14% in the Gercüş district of Mardin and 10.27% in the Malazgirt district of Muş.[23]

In the 1973 local elections, MHP's national vote share declined to 0.74% for municipal elections but increased to 1.33% for provincial council elections.[24] Similar to the 1968 local elections, the party did not field candidates in some provinces and districts for these elections. The party supported the independent candidate and the former head of Diyarbakırspor, Çelebi Eser, in Diyarbakır in these elections. Çelebi Eser stated during his campaign that he would work with MHP members in the city administration if elected.[25] The independent candidate, Çelebi Eser, achieved a vote share of over 10% in Diyarbakır.[26] MHP also fielded Yusuf Zeyrek as a candidate in Erzurum and achieved a vote share of 21.17%, above its national average.[27] In the Digor district of Kars, the party also received 20.48% of the votes.[28]

In the 1977 local elections, MHP won many municipalities in Eastern Anatolia. In these elections held on December 11, 1977, six months after the general elections on June 5, 1977, the party achieved a vote share of 3.94% in municipal elections and 6.62% in provincial council elections

20 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."
21 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."
22 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."
23 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."
24 "9 Aralık 1973 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları" (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1974).
25 Personal Interview with Participant 10 from Diyarbakır.
26 Personal Interview with Participant 10 from Diyarbakır.
27 "9 Aralık 1973 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."
28 "9 Aralık 1973 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."

nationwide.[29] In Eastern Anatolia, the party won in several cities and districts, achieving notable vote shares: Erzincan with 48.64%, Bingöl with 33.63%, Elazığ with 42.2%, Taşlıçay district of Ağrı with 32.99%, Iğdır district of Kars with 53.51%, Tortum district of Erzurum with 42.87%, Adilcevaz district of Bitlis with 36.32%, and Doğanşehir district of Malatya with 50.74%.[30] Hamit Fendoğlu, running as an independent candidate under the joint support of AP, MSP, and MHP in Malatya, also won with 60.35% of the votes.[31] In the Erciş district of Van, MHP candidate Gültekin Çavuşoğlu received 17.15%, which was above the party's national average, while the party's vote share in Van city center was 4.35%.[32] Although the party did not have much of a presence in Southeastern Anatolia in these elections, Şehmus Demir, who ran as an MHP candidate in the Batman district of Siirt, received 5.25% of the votes, while in Gaziantep, the MHP exceeded 30% of the votes in two districts; however, the party could not win the elections in any district in the region in these elections.[33] Overall, in the 1977 local elections, MHP was able to achieve high vote shares in many cities and districts in Eastern Anatolia, while its influence in Southeastern Anatolia weakened compared to previous years, and the party significantly retreated from the region.

§ 2.2 June 23-24, 1975 Diyarbakır Incidents and the Idealist Movement

Although the MHP's most successful election in the East prior to September 12, 1980, was the 1977 local elections, as mentioned in the previous section, the party also managed to have a significant presence in the 1968 and 1973 local elections, achieving results above its national averages in some provinces and districts. The 13.56% vote share in the

29 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları" (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1979).

30 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

31 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

32 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

33 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

provincial center of Ağrı in the 1968 local elections and the 19.43% vote share in Batman, part of Siirt in 1968, were important indicators of the party's presence in the East.[34] In addition to this, although Çelebi Eser, the former head of Diyarbakırspor, ran as an independent candidate on the electoral ballot, he ran by placing MHP members on the lists of candidates for the municipal council[35], and the MHP managed to get six municipal council members elected in Diyarbakır in 1973.[36]

As for the most prominent event regarding the activities of the idealist movement in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia during the four years from the 1973 local elections to the 1977 local elections was the visit of MHP leader Alparslan Türkeş to Diyarbakır on June 23, 1975, in his capacity as Deputy Prime Minister. In my personal interview with him, Recep Alyamaç, the regional chairman of the Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions (MİSK) from 1976 to 1980, stated that with the influence of the success in the 1973 elections, the MHP had gained a significant base in Diyarbakır prior to the Diyarbakır incidents in 1975 and that the weight of the MHP was felt in social life after this election. According to Alyamaç, the events in Diyarbakır on June 23-24, 1975, constitute a turning point for this strengthening process of the idealist movement in the city.[37]

Established on March 31, 1975, the first Nationalist Front government prioritized land reform, which was planned to be carried out by prioritizing the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian provinces. In a news article titled "Twenty-six thousand Families Will Grasp the Land," published on June 23, 1975, in Milli Hakimiyet, one of the local newspapers of Şanlıurfa, the statements of the then State Minister Mustafa Kemal Erkovan on the planned land reform were included, and it was reported that Erkovan and Deputy Prime Minister Alparslan Türkeş would visit Şanlıurfa to explain the land reform and to start the pilot implementation.[38] Erkovan emphasized in his statements that they

34 "2 Haziran 1968 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."

35 Personal Interview with Participant 10 from Diyarbakır.

36 "9 Aralık 1973 Mahalli Seçimler Sonuçları."

37 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

38 "26 Bin Aile Toprağa Kavuşuyor," *Milli Hakimiyet*, June 23, 1975.

wanted to complete the land reform in Urfa and the surrounding provinces by the end of November 1976 and then move on to implementing land reform in other regions.[39] According to the information provided by the newspaper, the land reform initiative was met with great interest by the public, and approximately seventy-six thousand families in Şanlıurfa alone applied to the undersecretariat.[40]

Another city planned for a visit to explain and start the implementation of the land reform was Diyarbakır. In my personal interview with him, Recep Alyamaç noted that this visit by MHP leader Alparslan Türkeş, in his role as Deputy Prime Minister, disturbed separatist leftist groups organized in Diyarbakır and surrounding provinces.[41] He also stated that this visit caused serious discomfort among landowners and tribal leaders who controlled large land areas in the region, prompting them to take precautions.[42] He comments on the attitude of the landowners towards the visit and the rapprochement he observed between landowners and separatist leftist organizations before Türkeş's visit with the following words:

> There were very large families and tribes in Diyarbakır and other Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian cities. Among these families, there were those with hundreds of villages and thousands of acres of land. Almost all of them did not want land reform so that their lands would not be lost and they would not lose power. The common interest brought together landlords and organizations that were pawns of foreign powers under one roof. However, the dishonest mentality that said, "Land should belong to those who work for it and water to those who use it," did not want the land to be taken from the landlords by the state and distributed to the poor and the peasants. Because one of the most important materials they exploited would be taken away from them, the task

39 "26 Bin Aile Toprağa Kavuşuyor."

40 "26 Bin Aile Toprağa Kavuşuyor."

41 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

42 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

> of the PKK terrorist organization today to prevent services such as roads, electricity, and dams was undertaken by other organizations that day.[43]

Narrating that he had personally witnessed the process before and during the incidents as the head of the Diyarbakır Youth Branch of the MHP, Alyamaç also talks about an attempt to create an ethnic-based uprising in the city.[44] According to Alyamaç, the separatist leftist groups organized in Diyarbakır and surrounding cities started propaganda in Diyarbakır with the words, "Türkeş will come and slaughter the Kurds." about a week before Türkeş's visit to the city.[45] Stating that the date of Türkeş's visit to the city was also the day of the university entrance exams, Alyamaç observed that members of leftist organizations coming from the surrounding provinces and men of the landowners started to cause serious congestion in the city center from the three days before Türkeş's arrival.[46] This congestion made him and his friends uneasy, Alyamaç said.[47]

In his son's book, Alyamaç also narrates the day Türkeş arrives in the city in detail. According to him, from the earlier hours of the day, groupings started to appear in the square where the rally was to be held. Inıtially, they had numerical superiority, but the situation changed when

43 "Diyarbakır'da, Doğu ve Güneydoğu Bölgesi'nin diğer illerinde çok geniş aileler ve aşiretler vardı. Bunların içerisinde yüzlerce köyü, binlerce dönüm arazisi olanlar vardı. Bunların neredeyse tamamı ellerindeki topraklar gitmesin ve güç kaybetmesinler diye toprak reformunu istemiyorlardı. Ortak menfaat, toprak ağalarını ve dış güçlerin maşası olan örgütleri bir çatı altında toplamıştı. Fakat "Toprak işleyenin, su kullananın olmalı." diyen sahtekar zihniyet, toprağın ağalardan, devlet tarafından alınıp fakir fukaraya, köylüye dağıtılmasını istemiyorlardı. Çünkü istismar ettikleri malzemelerden en önemlisi ellerinden gidecekti. Bugün PKK terör örgütünün yol, elektrik, baraj gibi hizmetleri engelleme görevini o gün diğer örgütler üstlenmişti." Alyamaç, *Komando Recep*, 71–72.

44 Alyamaç, 72.

45 Alyamaç, 72.

46 Alyamaç, 73.

47 Alyamaç, 73.

the men of landowners collaborated with leftist organizations and came to the area, Alyamaç says.[48] Alyamaç also claims that among the gathered group, numerous armed militants fired at them; although the police attempted to intervene, they were insufficient, and military units were brought to the rally area.[49] By the evening, Türkeş arrived at the rally site, only to find that the area prepared for his speech had been wholly destroyed.[50] Türkeş gave a shorter speech than planned and left the area. Alyamaç recounts that Türkeş addressed the crowd with the words, "Brave people of Diyarbakır, do not fall for provocations. What is happening is not correct; this is an uprising. The state has come here for the peace of its citizens, and I will come back for you again."[51] After that speech, Türkeş leaves the rally site.

Stating that a repressive environment against MHP members started to emerge in Diyarbakır after the incidents, Alyamaç claims that university students with idealist views were forced to change their universities and leave Diyarbakır in the aftermath of the events.[52] In the interview he gave me, he also talked about their activities in Bozkurt Bookstore, which they had opened at the beginning of the 1970s at a very near point to Dağkapı Square in Diyarbakır. Indicating that they had organized seminars and gatherings in the bookstore, Alyamaç also states that they had many friends of Kurdish and Zaza origins in Diyarbakır and acted with them together.[53] Upon these developments, Hasan Değer, the then-member of parliament of CHP from Diyarbakır, called in Alyamaç and said to him, "You are not Turkish; leave aside Turkism and MHP." according to Alyamaç.[54] In his view, the MHP and the Idealist Hearths were quite active in Diyarbakır before these incidents, and the influence

48 Alyamaç, 74.

49 Alyamaç, 74.

50 Alyamaç, 75.

51 "Diyarbakır'ın yiğit insanları, tahriklere kapılmayın. Bu yapılanlar doğru değil. Bu bir isyandır. Devlet buraya vatandaşlarının huzuru için gelmiştir ve buraya tekrar sizler için geleceğim." Alyamaç, 75.

52 Alyamaç, 76.

53 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

54 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

of the idealist movement in the city could only be broken with the oppressive environment that emerged in the city after Türkeş's visit.[55]

§ 2.3 1977 Local Elections and the Prominent Candidates

On December 13, 1977, following the local elections held on December 11, 1977, an unsigned article titled *The Meaning of Victory* (Zaferin Anlamı) published on the front page of the Hergün newspaper with the headline "Zafer MHP'nin" seems to be enlightening about the meaning that the idealist movement attributed to the municipalities it won in Eastern Anatolia:

> Nationalist Action Party candidates won mayorships in three provinces in Eastern Anatolia, two provinces in Central Anatolia and many districts and towns. The mayoral victories in Erzincan, Elazığ and Bingöl are a heavy blow that the citizens of these provinces have dealt not only to the CHP and the extreme left but also to separatism. The noble sons of the East embraced Alparslan Türkeş, the leader of the Nationalist Movement, with love and enthusiasm before the local elections, as they did in the June 5 parliamentary elections. The enemies of the state and the nation exploit regional characteristics and the misery of our people, especially in Eastern Anatolia. Destructive activities are concentrated in this region. By preferring the Nationalist Action Party, the people of this region have given the perfect answer to the separatists and enemies of the state.[56]

55 Personal Interview with Recep Alyamaç.

56 "Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi adayları Doğu Anadolu'nun üç vilayetinde, Orta Anadolu'nun iki vilayetinde, birçok ilçe ve kasabalarda belediye başkanlıklarını kazanmışlardır. Erzincan, Elazığ ve Bingöl'de kazanılan belediye başkanlıkları buralarda yaşayan vatandaşlarımızın yalnızca CHP'ye ve aşırı sola değil, aynı zamanda bölücülüğe indirdikleri ağır bir darbedir. Doğu'nun asil evlatları, 5 Haziran milletvekili seçimlerinde olduğu gibi, mahalli seçimlerden önce de Milliyetçi Hareketin Lideri Alparslan Türkeş'i

As can be seen in the quote, the municipalities won by the MHP in Eastern Anatolia were seen by the idealist movement as "a blow to separatism" by the citizens who voted in these provinces. Some separatist leftist organizations in Europe also presented the fact that the MHP won the municipal elections in these three provinces as "a development that revolutionaries could not ignore."[57] One of the following sections will discuss this article on the 1977 elections in more detail.

As can be seen in the results of the local elections held on December 11, 1977, although the Diyarbakır incidents seem to have marked a turning point for the MHP and the idealist movement's activities in the East, the movement continued to strengthen and expand its organizations in many provinces in Eastern Anatolia even after the Diyarbakır incidents. This part of the thesis aims to analyze the movement's activities in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the run-up to and after the 1977 local elections by focusing on the stories of the mayors of the provincial municipalities won by the MHP and by using various written sources, particularly the Hergün newspaper. Thus, it will be possible to explain better the "Idealist Kurds" phenomenon and the movement's activities in the East.

Prior to the December 11, 1977, local elections, Hergün newspaper interviewed mayoral candidates in Eastern Anatolia and asked their opinions on various issues, especially election promises. One of these candidates, MHP Elazığ mayoral candidate Behçet Susmaz, in his election campaign speech, targeted his predecessors in Elazığ by stating, "Our people have not forgotten those who parcelled out municipality plots

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sevgi ve coşkunlukla bağırlarına basmışlardı. Devlet ve millet düşmanları bölgesel özellikleri ve halkımızın sefaletini özellikle Doğu Anadolu'da istismar etmektedirler. Yıkıcı çalışmalar bu bölge üzerine yoğunlaşmış bulunmaktadır. Bu bölge halkı Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi'ni tercih etmekle, bölücülere ve devlet düşmanlarına en mükemmel cevabı vermiş bulunmaktadır." "Zaferin Anlamı," *Hergün*, December 13, 1977.

57 Enver Altaylı, "Kürtler Özbeöz Türktürler," *Hergün*, March 26, 1980.

with showy cooperatives."[58] He also noted that establishing "small industrial-agricultural-university towns with infrastructural facilities"[59] around the city should be one of the essential duties of the municipalities by implementing the "peripheral-city" practice to overcome the various difficulties caused by migration from villages to the city.[60]

In addition to Behçet Susmaz, Adnan Ercan, the mayoral candidate of the MHP in Erzincan, stated that he would make sure that the investments to be made were not for entertainment but for public service and that he aimed to increase the number of factories in Erzincan by pioneering the establishment of public joint stock companies.[61] People from Erzincan interviewed by Hergün about Ercan, who also served as the deputy mayor in Erzincan before the elections, used the words about him, "a person who is honest, never tolerates bribery and favoritism, does everything for the sake of God, and has won the appreciation of people of all opinions with his years of service in the municipality."[62] They also said that voters who had voted for other parties would likely prefer the MHP in this election because of Ercan's candidacy.[63]

In an evaluation of MHP Erzurum mayoral candidate Yusuf Seyrek in Hergün, it was stated that Seyrek's chance in the elections is high since the AP candidate was not approved by public, the MSP candidate had been tried because he had previously served as mayor, and the CHP (Republican People's Party) candidate, the current mayor, had collaborated with TÖB-DER (All Teachers Unification and Solidarity

58 Bedrettin Keleştimur, "MHP Elazığ Belediye Başkan Adayı Susmaz: 'Halkımız Göstermelik Kooperatiflerle Belediye Arsalarını Parselleyenleri Unutmamıştır.,'" *Hergün*, November 28, 1977.

59 "altyapı tesislerine kavuşmuş küçük sanayi-tarım-üniversite kentleri"

60 Keleştimur, "MHP Elazığ Belediye Başkan Adayı Susmaz: 'Halkımız Göstermelik Kooperatiflerle Belediye Arsalarını Parselleyenleri Unutmamıştır.'"

61 Erdoğan Demiröz, "Erzincan Belediye Başkan Adayı Adnan Ercan: 'Yatırımlar Eğlenceye Dönük Değil Halk Hizmetine Dönük Olacak.,'" *Hergün*, December 1, 1977.

62 "dürüst, mert, rüşvete ve iltimasa asla müsamaha etmeyen, her şeyi Allah rızası için yapan, belediyede yıllardır verdiği hizmetle her fikirden insanın takdirini kazanan bir şahıs" Demiröz.

63 Demiröz.

Association) and DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey) and hired leftist organization militants, and that there was significant public opposition to the CHP mayor in the city.[64] However, on the December 11, 1977, elections in Erzurum, AP candidate Nihat Kitapçı won with 38.67% of the vote, CHP candidate Orhan Şerifsoy received 34.01%, and the MHP candidate Yusuf Seyrek came third with 15.4%.[65]

On December 4, 1977, Hergün newspaper published an article titled "Adilcevaz'ın En Şanslı Belediye Başkan Adayı Cemal Uluğ," stating that Uluğ had served as the president of the Adilcevaz Agricultural Credit Cooperative (Adilcevaz Tarım Kredi Kooperatifi) for a short period and then was appointed as the president of the Association for the Protection of Farmers' Property (Çiftçi Mallarını Koruma Derneği Başkanlığı) and that Uluğ was considered the strongest candidate in Adilcevaz because of the public's high trust in him.[66] On the same day, the newspaper reported that Türkeş was in Erzurum and would make election visits to many provinces in Eastern Anatolia until December 11.[67] In the following days, the newspaper came out with the headlines titled, "The Root of Those Who Broken the Turkish Nation Against Each Other Will Be Eradicated"[68], "Türkeş: Bottlenecks Can Be Overcome With Brave Idealist Cadres"[69], "Türkeş: We Will Establish National Social Insurance"[70], "Türkeş: Nationalists Are Not Afraid Of Anyone, But Allah"[71] and the newspaper featured Türkeş's election campaign speeches in Erzurum, Erzincan, Elazığ and Malatya.

64 Zeki Timur, "Bütün Erzurumlular Seyrek'e Oy Verecek," *Hergün*, December 1, 1977.

65 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

66 İdris Yüzer, "Adilcevaz'ın En Şanslı Belediye Başkan Adayı Cemal Uluğ," *Hergün*, December 4, 1977.

67 "MHP Genel Başkanı Konuşma Yapacak: Türkeş Bugün Erzurum'da," *Hergün*, December 4, 1977.

68 "Türk Milletini Birbirine Kırdıranların Kökü Silinecektir," *Hergün*, December 6, 1977.

69 "Türkeş: Darboğazlar Cesur Ülkücü Kadrolarla Aşılır," *Hergün*, December 7, 1977.

70 "Türkeş: Milli Sosyal Sigortayı Kuracağız," *Hergün*, December 8, 1977.

71 "Türkeş: Milliyetçiler Allah'tan Başka Hiç Kimseden Korkmaz," *Hergün*, December 9, 1977.

During this propaganda period, MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş's messages included discourses not only about national unity but also social security and economic promises for the middle classes, such as "national social insurance" (milli sosyal sigorta). Mayoral candidates also emphasized increasing employment in their promises. Tanıl Bora and Kemal Can attribute this development to the fact that the traditional property-owning classes in Central and Eastern Anatolian provinces began to lose their economic and social stability with the capitalization process that deepened in the 1970s.[72] According to them, in the 1977 elections, the MHP, taking this development into account, put forward a program targeting "the Anatolian middle classes, small industrial and commercial workers, partly the middle peasants and the elements of the traditional structure that panicked in the face of developing capitalism,"[73] but failed to make the leap it expected.[74] Bora and Can argue that the MHP's vote share in the 1977 elections was low compared to the party's potential of "anti-communist reaction that the party was able to mobilize from time to time"[75] and that for this reason, the party embraced the policy of "redefining its power strategy in a way that it could make use of its 'existing mass support and the dynamics that provided this mass' with an 'accelerated' momentum"[76] by the beginning of 1978.[77]

In addition to Bora and Can, Mustafa Çalık's evaluation of the 1977 elections is also worth mentioning. According to Çalık, by 1977, the MHP, which until that year had been seen as "a political entity composed of

72 Bora and Can, *Devlet, Ocak, Dergah*, 85.

73 "Anadolu orta sınıflarına, küçük sanayi ve ticaret erbabına, kısmen orta köylülere ve geleneksel yapının gelişen kapitalizm karşısında paniğe kapılan unsurlarına" Bora and Can, 87.

74 Bora and Can, 87.

75 "zaman zaman seferber edebildiği anti-komünist tepki" Bora and Can, 87.

76 "Mevcut kitle desteğini ve bu desteği sağlayan dinamiği, 'hızlandırılmış' bir ivmeyle değerlendirebileceği şekilde iktidar stratejisini yeniden tanımlamaya" Bora and Can, 88.

77 Bora and Can, 88.

youth power"[78], had succeeded in integrating with specific segments of society.[79] According to Çalık, the partial success of the MHP in the 1977 elections was due to the uneasiness caused by the escalation of leftist violence, and this uneasiness had the effect of bringing people from different segments of society closer to the MHP.[80] Although Çalık made this assessment for the general elections in 1977, it can be said that this assessment is also valid for the local elections, considering that the cities where the party succeeded in the local elections were cities with intense right-left polarization.

Beyond these evaluations about the 1977 local elections, in an interview he gave me, Adnan Ercan, who was elected as the mayor of Erzincan in these elections, also stated that all three provincial mayors elected from the MHP in Eastern Anatolia in these elections received death threats and that he himself was on the Apoists'[81] death list.[82] Ercan also emphasized that Hamit Fendoğlu, elected mayor as an independent candidate in Malatya, also encountered the same threats and that Fendoğlu's name was also on the aforementioned lists. According to Ercan, what bothered the leftist organizations most in Erzincan in these elections was his success in gaining the votes of citizens of Alevi and Kurdish origins.[83]

78 "gençlik gücünden müteşekkil bir siyasi varlık" Mustafa Çalık, "Siyasi Kültür ve Sosyolojinin Bazı Kavramları Açısından MHP Hareketi'nin Kaynakları ve Gelişimi" (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi Anabilim Dalı, 1991), 165.

79 Çalık, 165.

80 Çalık, 165.

81 At that time, the organization was not yet "institutionalized" under the name PKK. The name "PKK" was first used in April 1979. It became known to the public with the attack on the Bucak tribe in July 1979. For detailed information, see İlkut Taha Taslı, "Tarih, İdeoloji, Terör: PKK'nın Tarihi Araçsallaştırması" (Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Anabilim Dalı Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Programı, 2023), 47

82 Personal Interview with Adnan Ercan, via Phone Call, on July 19, 2024.

83 Personal Interview with Adnan Ercan.

In the following two sub-sections, the mayoral terms of Hikmet Tekin and Hamit Fendoğlu, who were both murdered during their mayoral terms, will be analyzed with specific emphasis on how different groups perceived their mayoralty by examining the information in primary sources, especially Hergün newspaper, and using the interviews.

2.3.1 *Hikmet Tekin: "The Leading Fascist in Bingöl"*

Sakine Cansız, one of the founders of the terrorist organization PKK, in her autobiography titled *Hep Kavgaydı Yaşamım*, refers to Bingöl Mayor Hikmet Tekin as "The leading fascist in Bingöl" and "the favorite of Türkeş."[84] The passages in Cansız's book seem enlightening to understand how the Apoists perceived Hikmet Tekin's mayoralty. One of these passages is as follows:

> The leading fascist in Bingöl was the mayor, Hikmet Tekin, a favorite of Türkeş. His co-workers in the city administration were mostly young fascists. Tekin traveled often to Germany and to Ankara, where he secured the ideological and material support to hold his local cadres in line. Our actions against the fascists had impeded the work of the MHP, and revolutionary violence had dealt them a blow. Bingöl was no longer as it had once been, and the fascists could no longer move about so freely.[85]

84 Sakine Cansız, *Sara: My Whole Life Was A Struggle*, trans. Janet Biehl, First English language edition (London: Pluto Press, 2018), 237.

85 "Bingöl'de faşist örgütlenmeyi yürütenlerin başında Hikmet Tekin geliyordu. O zaman belediye başkanıydı. Türkeş'in gözdesiydi. Belediyedeki diğer kadrolar da genç, özel, faşist kadrolardı. Kendisi sık sık Almanya'ya da gider gelirdi. Gerek Almanya'ya, gerekse Ankara'ya gidiş gelişleri onlar için ideolojik, moral ve maddi destek kaynağıydı. Yerel kadroları böyle ayakta tutarlardı. Ringo gibi adlarla ün yapan faşist kadrolarına yönelik eylemlerimiz MHP'nin çalışmalarını frenlemişti. Devrimci şiddet bu odakları darbelemişti. Bingöl artık eski Bingöl değildi. Ringolar istedikleri gibi dolaşamıyorlardı. Saldırıların önüne geçilmişti." Cansız, 237.

Hikmet Tekin frequently answered questions from the reporter of Bingöl, the local newspaper of Bingöl, regarding his visits to Ankara and Germany, which Cansız mentioned in the passage above as a "source of ideological, moral and financial support." After one of his visits to Ankara, Hikmet Tekin stated that he contacted ministries in the capital for the municipality to function more healthily and provide complete services to the public.[86] After his one-month trip to Germany, Tekin stated that he was in Germany searching for resources for the municipality and that the Büyük Ülkü Association in Berlin donated a bucket truck to the city.[87] Tekin also emphasized that he met with the mayors of two provinces in Germany during his visit and that these mayors also made promises for Bingöl Municipality.[88] However, in Sakine Cansız's autobiography, Hikmet Tekin is not only mentioned for his visits to Ankara and Germany and for being a "favorite of Türkeş." In her autobiography, Cansız also explains why they targeted Hikmet Tekin and how they followed him:

> Various actions were planned in those days. Mayor Hikmet Tekin was an important target since he propelled the fascistic organizing. To disrupt it, some influential cadres had to be attacked. An attack on Hikmet Tekin himself would surely have positive consequences, but the action would have to be well prepared, as the man was cautious and protected himself. We looked for an apartment across from his house in Bahçelievler, from which we could observe him. We found one and rented it. I pretended to be a newlywed, explaining to the landlord that my husband would arrive later.[89]

86 "Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin Ankara'dan Döndü," *Bingöl*, January 3, 1978.

87 "Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin Almanya'dan Döndü: Tekin, Bu Gezi Belediyemiz İçin Faydalı Olacak Kanaatindeyim Dedi," *Bingöl*, June 13, 1978.

88 "Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin Almanya'dan Döndü: Tekin, Bu Gezi Belediyemiz İçin Faydalı Olacak Kanaatindeyim Dedi."

89 "O günlerde çeşitli eylemlilikler düşünülüyordu. Belediye başkanı Hikmet Tekin önemli bir hedefti. Faşist örgütlenmeyi bizzat o geliştiriyordu çünkü. O odağı dağıtmak için bunların bazı özel etkin kadrolarına yönelmek gerekiyordu. Hikmet Tekin'in vurulması

Describing Tekin as "the person who personally developed the fascist organization," Cansız also describes the assassination attempt against Hikmet Tekin in Bingöl and the attempt to kill Tekin again in Elazığ by injecting poison into his blood after this attempt failed with these sentences:

> Hikmet Tekin, the mayor of Bingöl, was shot, but he survived. He was to be taken by helicopter to the state hospital in Elazığ, and if possible, we were to try again there. Everything happened quickly. Chaos reigned in Fevzi Çakmak and near the hospital, as ever more people converged there, and police vans careened with wailing sirens through the streets. Shots were heard. As the helicopter bearing the wounded Hikmet Tekin landed atop the hospital, the friends carried out a further action. The attack in Bingöl had caused joy and excitement, and it was to be completed here in Elazığ. The purpose was to make clear the groups' revolutionary commitment. If an action was to be carried out, it must be absolutely successful.[90]

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kesin etkilerdi. Fakat eylemi iyi yapmak, sonuç almak şarttı. Adam kendisini koruyor, dikkat ediyordu. Bahçelievler'deki evlerinin tam karşısında, evi iyi gözetleyebilecek bir yer arıyorduk. Sonunda bulduk da. Yeni evli bir çift olarak evi tuttuk. "Eşim henüz gelmedi, tayin işleriyle uğraşıyor," dedim ev sahibine… Bu evde yaptığım işlerin başında Hikmet Tekin'in evini gözetlemek geliyordu. Ne zaman evden çıkıyor, hangi saatte eve geliyor. Kaç kişiyle gidip geliyor. Hangi kapıdan içeriye giriyor vb. bunları öğrenmeye çalışıyordum. Evin çift kapısı, çift bahçesi vardı. Bazen Zeki de gelip izliyordu." Cansız, *Sara*, 244.

90 "Bingöl Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin vurulmuş ama ölmemişti. Bu haberin yayılmasından sonra, yaralı olarak helikopterle Elazığ Devlet Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldığı, Elazığ'da yeni bir eylem imkanı varsa burada yeniden denememiz gerektiği söyleniyordu. Bunların hepsi bir anda oldu. Ortalık karışmıştı. Fevzi Çakmak, hastane civarı hareketlenmişti. Kalabalık giderek artıyordu. Polis dolmuşları sokaklarda dolaşmaya, siren sesleri yayılmaya başlamıştı. Koşuşturmalar, silah sesleri birbirine karışmıştı. Hikmet Tekin'in bindirildiği helikopter hastanenin üst tarafındaki düzlük alana inerken arkadaşlar tekrar eylem düzenlemişti. Eylem haberi sevinç, heyecan yaratmıştı. Bu ikinci eylem Bingöl'de tamamlanamayan eylemi Elazığ' da başarma,

This attack attempt against Hikmet Tekin was also unsuccessful. Still, the separatist leftist organizations, particularly the Apoists, continued to harass Tekin after this attempt, and Hikmet Tekin was targeted and killed on August 12, 1979, along with his mother and brother in the car he was riding in on his way back to Bingöl city center from Bingöl's Genç district. Following Tekin's murder, MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş and an MHP delegation came to Bingöl and paid a condolence visit to Tekin's village. MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş, who made statements during his visit to Bingöl, criticized the burial of Tekin, his mother, and his brother at night on the grounds of security, saying, "Only in communist countries funerals are buried in secret! Those who have brought Turkey to the brink of a horrible abyss are slowly trying to establish the procedures in communist countries,"[91] and "The murderous government, which had our friend buried at 4:00 a.m. in the middle of the night with a tyranny unseen in any country in the world to prevent us from performing the funeral prayer of our valiant case friend, has succeeded in its aim and we have not been able to fulfill our last religious duty to our friend."[92] After Bingöl, Alparslan Türkeş went to Elazığ, where he made another statement, criticizing the government with heavy words and holding it responsible for the assassination:

> However, the mayor of Bingöl is a peasant boy who grew up in a village in Bingöl. He was elected mayor at the age of twenty-seven with the votes of thousands of people. In October last year, he was assassinated and seriously wounded in Bingöl, and his life was barely saved. Those who carried out this assassination against

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sonuçlandırmaydı ve önemliydi. Bu aynı zamanda kararlılığın, grubun devrimci özelliğinin bir ifadesiydi: Bir eylemde mutlaka başarılı olmalı!" Cansız, 266.

91 "Sadece komünist ülkelerde cenazeler gizlice defnedilir! Türkiye'yi korkunç bir uçurumun ağzına getirenler, komünist ülkelerdeki usulleri de yavaş yavaş yerleştirmeye uğraşıyor." "Ecevit'in Şefliğinde Soykırım Başlatıldı," *Hergün*, August 15, 1979.

92 "Yiğit dava arkadaşımızın cenaze namazını kılmamızı engellemek için dünyanın hiçbir ülkesinde görülmemiş bir zorbalıkla arkadaşımızı gece yarısı sabaha karşı 04:00'te gömdürten katil iktidar emeline muvaffak olmuş ve bizler arkadaşımıza karşı son dini vazifemizi yerine getirememişizdir." "Ecevit'in Şefliğinde Soykırım Başlatıldı."

> Hikmet Tekin have not been found until today. Ecevit's government is either incapable of catching the bloody killers or is patronizing them. We believe that the state forces may have the means to catch the killers. But why have they not been caught? Why have these attackers not been brought to justice? Why didn't the government protect the mayor of Bingöl after the attack?[93]

Researcher writer Taha Akyol, a columnist for Hergün between 1977 and 1980, also wrote an article after Tekin's death titled *The Mayor of Bingöl* in which he accused Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and his government of collaborating with the extreme left and failing to ensure Tekin's safety:

> As long as Ecevit encourages the communists for attacks in Turkey, as long as he establishes a dialogue with the murderous communist factions in the squares, as long as he causes them to become emboldened, and as long as he shakes those bloody hands with the slogan of 'one fist against fascism,' the murders of the communists will not be stopped.
>
> Ecevit sent a condolence message. I really wanted to believe that he was sincere. When he learned that our mayor of Bingöl had been martyred, Ecevit did not probably feel sorry for the death of a human being, a member of the MHP; he probably even rejoiced in the hope that the attacks against the opposition would turn into "intimidation" as the elections approached. If he was saddened, he was saddened by the possibility that the leftist monstrosity would

93 "Halbuki Bingöl Belediye Başkanı gidip yakından gördüğümüz gibi Bingöl'ün bir köyünden yetişmiş bir köylü çocuğudur. Yirmi yedi yaşında binlerce kişinin oyunu alarak Belediye Başkanı seçilmiştir. Geçen yıl Ekim ayında Bingöl'ün içinde bir suikaste uğrayarak ağır yaralanmıştı ve hayatı güçlükle kurtarılmıştı. Hikmet Tekin'e karşı bu suikasti yapanlar bugüne kadar bulunamadı. Ecevit hükümeti ya kanlı katilleri yakalamaktan aciz veya himaye ediyor. Devlet güçlerinin katilleri yakalayabilecek imkanlara sahip olabileceğine inanıyoruz. Fakat neden yakalanmadı, niçin adalete teslim edilmedi bu saldırganlar? Saldırıdan sonra hükümet Bingöl Belediye Başkanı'nı niçin korumadı?" "Ecevit Ya Aciz Ya Kaatilleri Koruyor," *Hergün*, August 16, 1979.

once again rear its ugly head in the public opinion and influence voters against the left.[94]

In the same article, Akyol argued that while CHP and other party mayors were allocated a large number of bodyguards, Hikmet Tekin was deliberately left unprotected and that right-wing citizens, who he stated constituted the vast majority of the Turkish nation, were deprived of state protection against communist and separatist bullets by Ecevit himself.[95] According to Akyol, the institution of martial law declared in the aftermath of the Kahramanmaraş incidents was being eroded by Ecevit's "policy of collusion with the extreme left."[96]

During his mayoralty, the local newspaper of Bingöl also closely followed Tekin's visits to Ankara and Germany and interviewed him after his visits. Tekin sometimes gave lengthy statements on local issues in the newspaper. In one of these statements, which was published in the newspaper for five days starting from August 5, 1978, Tekin criticized the Ecevit government by saying, "We are waiting for help from the officials who declared on television and in the press that they would start development from the East when they came to power and that they would first help the municipalities in the Eastern and Southeastern

94 "Türkiye'de Ecevit komünistlere saldırı cüretini verdikçe, katil komünist fraksiyonlarla meydanlarda diyalog kurdukça, onların cesaretlenmelerine sebep oldukça ve "faşizme karşı tek yumruk" sloganıyla o kanlı elleri sıktıkça komünist cinayetlerin önü alınmayacak.
Ecevit başsağlığı mesajı göndermiş. Samimi olduğuna gerçekten inanmak isterdim. Bingöl Belediye Başkanımızın şehit düştüğünü öğrenince Ecevit bir insan, MHP'li bir insan öldüğü için üzülmemiştir, hatta seçimler yaklaşırken muhalefete yönelen saldırıların "yıldırı" haline geleceğini umarak sevinmiştir. Eğer üzüldüyse sol canavarlığın kamu oyunda bir kere daha çirkin suratıyla zuhur ederek seçmeni sola karşı etkileme ihtimaline karşı üzülmüştür." Taha Akyol, "Bingöl Belediye Başkanı," *Hergün*, August 17, 1979.

95 Akyol.

96 "aşırı solla olan hesap beraberliği politikası" Akyol.

Anatolian regions when they became ministers."[97] In the same statement, Tekin says, "We ask the Ministry of Local Government, who said in the press that they provided 1 million 350 thousand liras to Bingöl Municipality. Where is this money? Has or will this money be sent to Bingöl Municipality, which cannot pay the wages of its workers and civil servants? We are waiting for an explanation."[98] Tekin stated that along with the problem of rough roads, there is also a serious water supply problem in Bingöl, and despite all the efforts of the municipality, they had not been able to start receiving water at total capacity.[99] Saying, "Our attempts before the Bank of Provinces and the ministries have yielded no results. We want our populist politicians and officials to deal with this issue. The authorities trying to humiliate us in front of the public will be frustrated. We will not leave Bingöl without water even at the cost of selling the municipality building."[100] Tekin criticized the Ecevit government for not providing the necessary support to MHP municipalities and Bingöl Municipality in particular.[101]

Following the death of Hikmet Tekin in Bingöl, the elections were repeated on October 21, 1979. Two days before the repeated elections, Alparslan Türkeş visited Bingöl and made the following statements at a rally:

97 "İktidar oldukları zaman kalkınmaya Doğu'dan başlayacaklarını ve bakan olduğu zaman televizyonda ve basında öncelikle Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesindeki belediyelere yardımcı olacaklarını beyan eden yetkililerden yardım bekliyoruz." "Belediye Başkanının Basına Açıklaması," *Bingöl*, August 9, 1978.

98 "Basında Bingöl Belediyesi'ne 1 milyon 350 bin lira yardım ettiklerini söyleyen Yerel Yönetim Bakanlığı'na soruyoruz. Nerede bu para? İşçi ve memur ücretini ödeyemeyecek durumda olan Bingöl Belediyesi'ne bu para gönderildi mi, gönderilecek mi? Açıklama bekliyoruz." "Belediye Başkanının Basına Açıklaması."

99 "Belediye Başkanının Basına Açıklaması," *Bingöl*, August 7, 1978.

100 "İller Bankası ve Bakanlıklar nezdinde yaptığımız girişimler hiçbir netice vermemektedir. Bu konuyla halkçı geçinen devlet adamlarımızın ve yetkililerin ilgilenmesini istiyoruz. Bizi halkın huzurunda küçük düşürmek için çırpınan yetkililerin hevesleri kursağında kalacaktır. Belediye binasını satma pahasına olsa dahi Bingöl'ü susuz bırakmayacağız." "Belediye Başkanının Basına Açıklaması."

101 "Belediye Başkanının Basına Açıklaması."

> Communist and separatist murder gangs martyred Hikmet Tekin because he opposed communism and separatism; because he opposed the disintegration of our homeland. In the person of Hikmet Tekin, they shot at the people of Bingöl and the Turkish Nation as a whole. Now, you will not let down the flag of unity, brotherhood, and patriotism that this precious son of yours has handed over. On Sunday, I believe you will vote for our new mayoral candidate from the MHP to become mayor. Only in this way will the spilled blood not be left on the ground, and you will take revenge for Martyr Hikmet Tekin with your sacred votes.[102]

Following Türkeş's visit, MHP candidate Hilmi Elçi was elected mayor with 52.3% of the votes in the repeated elections; unlike the previous elections, AP and CHP did not nominate a candidate in these elections, and MHP candidate Hilmi Elçi won the elections by competing against MSP candidate Rıza Bazancir.

After his death, Hikmet Tekin became one of the symbolic names of the idealist community. It was reported that Tekin's election victory in 1977 was interpreted within the movement with the sentence, "We won our municipality in the easternmost part of our country."[103] After 1980, when the PKK began to increase its influence, Hikmet Tekin's mayoralty was also used as an example in speeches within the idealist movement to suggest the non-discriminatory stance of the MHP among the ethnic groups.[104] The symbolic importance of Hikmet Tekin continued in the

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102 "Hikmet Tekin'i komünist ve bölücü cinayet çeteleri, komünizme ve bölücülüğe karşı olduğu için vatan topraklarının parçalanmasına karşı çıktığı için şehit ettiler. Hikmet Tekin'in şahsında bütünüyle Bingöl halkına ve Türk Milleti'ne kurşun sıktılar. Şimdi sizler, sizin içinizden çıkmış olan bu değerli evladınızın devrettiği birlik, kardeşlik ve vatanseverlik bayrağını yere düşürmeyeceksiniz ve Pazar günü oylarınızla, inanıyorum ki, MHP'li yeni belediye başkan adayımızı belediye başkanlığına getireceksiniz. Dökülen kanlar ancak böylelikle yerde kalmayacak ve sizler kutsal oylarınızla Şehit Hikmet Tekin'in intikamını almış olacaksınız." "Türkeş: Millet İradesinden Kaçılmaz," *Hergün*, October 20, 1979.

103 Personal Interview with Participant 11 from Bingöl.

104 Personal Interview with Participant 12 from Bingöl.

2000s, and Ümit Özdağ, one of the MHP's general president candidates, announced his candidacy for the general presidency after visiting Hikmet Tekin's graveyard in Bingöl before the MHP congress in 2006.[105] Ümit Özdağ also mentioned Hikmet Tekin in a discussion program broadcasted on Habertürk TV in 2013, during the resolution process with the PKK, and defended his thesis that "There is no Kurdish enmity within Turkish nationalism" with the following sentences:

> There has never been any Kurdish hostility within the Turkish nationalism movement, and we have many friends of Kurdish and Zaza origin within the structure that forms the backbone of the movement. Their numbers are also proportionally significant. Again, at the height of the struggle, before 1980, the Nationalist Action Party, the Turkish nationalists won mayorships in the Southeast. Look, I was once a candidate for the general presidency of the Nationalist Action Party, and do you know where I announced my candidacy, do you remember? I announced it in Bingöl, after I went and prayed at the graveyard of our late mayor, Hikmet Tekin, in Bingöl, and there were thousands of people from both inside and outside Bingöl there. Now, if the Turkish nationalism movement looks at the issue in this way, or if the late Türkeş recognizes this unity by saying, 'I am as Kurdish as they are Kurdish, and they are as Turkish as I am Turkish,' a Milosevic[106]

105 Bingol Online, "Bingöl'de açıklayacak," Accessed February 14, 2024, https://www.bingolonline.com/haber/bingolde-aciklayacak-5731.html (Bingol Online, November 6, 2006), https://www.bingolonline.com/haber/bingolde-aciklayacak-5731.html.

106 "In his speech, Özdağ mentioned Slobodan Milosevic in the context of the 1974 constitution of Yugoslavia, which regulated the autonomous powers of the federated states that made up the country. According to Özdağ, Milosevic's ethnically discriminatory and 'majority nationalist' (çoğunluk milliyetçisi) attitude, which excluded ethnic groups other than Serbs, accelerated the disintegration of the country; however, since Turkish nationalists in Turkey do not pursue ethnically discriminatory policies, there is no danger of 'majority separatism' (çoğunluk bölücülüğü) in Turkey in

cannot emerge from the Turkish nationalism movement and Turkish nationalism cannot create majority separatism.[107]

2.3.2 *Hamit Fendoğlu: The Alliance of the Right and a Barrier to Separatism*

In the 1977 local elections, another Eastern Anatolian city where the MHP achieved significant success was Malatya. Hamit Fendoğlu, who participated in the elections as a joint candidate of the AP-MHP and MSP, received over 60% of the votes and won the elections by a margin of approximately 20% over the CHP candidate Mehmet Kırçuvaloğlu.[108] Fendoğlu, who was nicknamed "Hamido," was reported to have very warm relations with the idealists and the MHP.[109] One of the interviewees, who worked as the director of the police department in Malatya Municipality during Fendoğlu's mayoralty and who was also an idealist, stated that Fendoğlu had excellent relations with the idealist organizations in Malatya and that he, as an idealist, felt very comfortable

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Özdağ's perspective." "*Prof. Dr. Ümit Özdağ: "Türk Milliyetçiliği Içinde Kürt Düşmanlığı Yoktur,"* 2013, Accessed September 10, 2023 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RQ36uSi_sbg.

107 "Türk milliyetçiliği hareketinin içerisinde hiçbir zaman Kürt düşmanlığı olmadığı gibi hareketin bel kemiğini oluşturan yapının içerisinde birçok Kürt kökenli ve Zaza kökenli arkadaşımız olmuştur. Bunların sayıları da oransal olarak ciddi bir orandır. Yine, mücadelenin en keskin olduğu dönemde, 1980 öncesinde, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Türk milliyetçileri Güneydoğu'da belediye başkanlıkları kazanmışlardır. Bakın ben bir ara Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi genel başkanlığına aday oldum ve adaylığımı nerede ilan ettim biliyor musunuz, hatırlıyor musunuz? Bingöl'de ilan ettim. Bingöl'de rahmetli belediye başkanımızın mezarının başında gidip dua ettikten sonra, rahmetli Hikmet Tekin'in mezarının başında gidip dua ettikten sonra ilan ettim. Ve orada da hem içerden hem dışardan Bingöl'den gelmiş binlerce insan vardı. Şimdi eğer Türk milliyetçiliği hareketi meseleye böyle bakıyorsa veya rahmetli Türkeş "ben ne kadar Türksem onlar da o kadar Türk, onlar ne kadar Kürtse ben de o kadar Kürdüm." diyerek bir birlikteliği tanıyorsa Türk milliyetçiliği hareketinden bir Miloseviç çıkmaz ve Türk milliyetçiliği çoğunluk bölücülüğünü de oluşturmaz." *Prof. Dr. Ümit Özdağ*.

108 "11 Aralık 1977 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları."

109 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.; Personal Interview with Participant 3 from Malatya.

working in the municipality.[110] The same participant stated that Fendoğlu was a sincere Turkish nationalist of Kurdish origin and that his grandsons were named Mehmet Kürşad and Selim Bozkurt.[111] According to the participant, Fendoğlu also had a significant influence on the Kurdish tribes living in Malatya and many other provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia.[112] Ahmet Dinç, author of the book, *Hamido: Doğu'nun Son Efsanesi*, describes Fendoğlu's influence on the tribes and how he kept the Kurds away from separatism with the following sentences:

> Hamido, besides being Kurdish, minimized the possibility of the two big tribes he belonged to, Izol and Rışvan, turning towards/joining the Kurdist movements, and together with his cousin Şerif Dursun, he turned the Kurdish villages towards Turkish nationalism and even used them in this direction. The living area of these two tribes was not limited to Malatya but also included the surrounding provinces. Therefore, Hamido's sphere of influence expanded in proportion, and this demographic reality elevated him to the position of a regional leader and gave him a serious influence over the Kurds.[113]

In an interview with Ahmet Dinç, Kemal Deniz, one of the former heads of Malatya's Idealist Hearths, made the following remarks about Fendoğlu's role as a mediator between the tribes:

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110 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.

111 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.

112 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.

113 "Hamido, Kürt olmasının yanında, mensubu bulunduğu iki büyük aşiretin, İzol ve Rışvan'ın Kürtçü hareketlere yönelme/katılma olasılığını en aza indirmiş, Kürt köylerini kuzeni Şerif Dursun'la birlikte Türk milliyetçiliğine yöneltmiş, hatta bu yönde kullanmıştı. Söz konusu iki aşiretin yayıldığı alan sadece Malatya ile sınırlı kalmayıp, civar illeri kapsıyordu. Dolayısıyla Hamido'nun etkinlik alanı da o oranda genişliyor, bu demografik gerçek, onu bölgesel bir lider konumuna yükseltiyor, Kürtler üzerinde ciddi anlamda söz sahibi kılıyordu." Ahmet Dinç, *Hamido-Meclisin Son Kabadayısı İlk Faili Meçhulü!* (İstanbul: Hayykitap, 2015), 229–30.

> He was highly respected and listened to not only in Malatya but also in Adıyaman, Urfa, Elazığ and Diyarbakır. If there were blood feuds or other conflicts in these provinces, Hamido would resolve them and reconcile the parties. In both his political speeches and private conversations, he would attack the Ala Rizgari organization, telling them that the biggest problem that could befall this country would be Kurdism and telling the Kurds he influenced that they should not fall prey to such movements.[114]

Sociologist Orhan Türkdoğan, a prominent figure in the idealist community, states that Fendoğlu was not against Kurdishness but against Kurdism and that he was influential on many Kurdish tribes, mainly the Kurds around Beydağı.[115] According to Türkdoğan, Fendoğlu's "political and ideological upbringing given to the Kurds of Malatya"[116] had a significant impact on the PKK and other Kurdish movements' inability to catch the wind they wanted in Malatya in the following years.[117] Türkdoğan states that the Kurdists never liked Fendoğlu for this reason, and for this reason, he attributes Fendoğlu's death to the Kurdists.[118]

In the interview he gave me, Ahmet Dinç stated that Fendoğlu's most crucial mark on Turkish politics was his attitude towards Kurdism. Dinç stated that Fendoğlu had a very respectable position among the Drejan, Rışvan, İzol, and some other tribes in Malatya, Elazığ, Adıyaman, and Şanlıurfa and that he acted as a mediator to solve the problems between these tribes. Dinç said that Fendoğlu ensured these tribes stayed away

114 "Sadece Malatya'da değil, Adıyaman, Urfa, Elazığ, Diyarbakır gibi bölgelerde de çok saygı görür, sözü dinlenirdi. Bu illerde kan davaları veya başka anlaşmazlık olursa Hamido gidip çözer, tarafları barıştırır gelirdi. Gerek siyasi konuşmalarında gerekse özel sohbetlerinde Ala Rızgari örgütüne yüklenir, bu ülkenin başına gelebilecek en büyük sıkıntının Kürtçülük olacağını anlatır, etkili olduğu Kürtlere bu tür akımlara kapılmamaları gerektiğini anlatırdı." Dinç, 230.

115 Dinç, 230.

116 "Malatya Kürtlerine verdiği siyasi ve ideolojik terbiye" Dinç, 230.

117 Dinç, 230.

118 Dinç, 230.

from Kurdist organizations such as Kawa and Rızgari, both while he was a politician in AP and during his mayoralty.[119] Researcher Canan Katılmış also reports that Fendoğlu's nephew and MHP Malatya member of parliament Mehmet Fendoğlu, whom she interviewed for her master's thesis on Fendoğlu, emphasized his uncle's influence on the tribes and said, "If my uncle had been alive, there would never have been a problem called the 'Kurdish question' today, I know that."[120]

Fendoğlu died on April 17, 1978, along with his daughter-in-law and two grandchildren, after opening a packaged bomb sent to him. The news reports and articles published in the Hergün newspaper after Fendoğlu's death contain essential information about the events in Malatya and the idealist movement's view of Fendoğlu. On April 19, 1978, with the headline *The Disastrous Massacre of Hamido and His Family Caused Outrage*, the newspaper reported on the violent incidents that broke out in Malatya after Fendoğlu's death and stated that the people, who were in an uproar after Fendoğlu's murder, destroyed hundreds of shops and set fire to the buildings of some leftist organizations.[121] On April 20, 1978, with the headline *Turkish Nationalists and Malatya Weeping Blood*, the newspaper strongly condemned Interior Minister İrfan Özaydınlı's statement regarding the packaged bomb sent to Fendoğlu: "I have found documents showing that these bombs were made at the Nuclear Research Center in Ankara, where MHP commandos were in control."[122] In an unsigned article titled *Ugly Slander* (Çirkin İftira), published on the front page of the newspaper, the following lines were included:

119 Personal Interview with Ahmet Dinç on March 9, 2024, in Istanbul.

120 "Eğer amcam yaşasaydı bugün 'Kürt sorunu' diye bir sorun asla yaşanmayacaktı, ben bunu biliyorum." Canan Katılmış, "Yerel ve Genel Siyaset Üzerindeki Etkileri Açısından Hamit Fendoğlu" (Malatya, İnönü Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2018), 79.

121 "Hamido ve Ailesine Yapılan Feci Katliam İnfial Yarattı," *Hergün*, April 19, 1978.

122 "Bu bombaların Ankara'da MHP'li komandoların hakim bulunduğu Nükleer Araştırma Merkezi'nde yapıldığına ilişkin belgeler saptadım." "Türk Milliyetçileri ve Malatya Kan Ağlıyor," *Hergün*, April 20, 1978.

> Stalin, one of the bloodiest dictators in the history of humankind, used to kill his rivals and political opponents with the most murderous methods, and he used to make mourning speeches at the funerals of the people he had murdered. He used to say that the filthy fascists and capitalists had killed the great hero of the socialist revolution by their agents. Stalin himself assassinated the writer Maksim Gorky, and Stalin wanted the whole country to mourn for Gorky. Such outrageous plots and slanders were crimes that only Stalin and similar enemies of humanity could pursue.[123]

In another article published on the same day, the newspaper likened Özaydınlı's and the government's attitude towards Fendoğlu's murder to Stalin's attitude towards his political opponents and included a statement made by Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, the President of the Idealist Hearths Association (Ülkü Ocakları Derneği), against İrfan Özaydınlı's claim. In these statements, Yazıcıoğlu accused Özaydınlı of "attacking the Idealist Hearths with a biased attitude without taking into account leftist anarchists and state subversives"[124] and said, "It is our right to ask the Minister of Interior to correct this mistake and to announce to the Turkish nation that the accusations against our association are false."[125]

In his article titled *Hamido*, published on the same day, Taha Akyol stated that Fendoğlu drew the enmity of leftist associations because he saved the Malatya Municipality from "being the headquarters of leftist

123 "İnsanlık tarihinin gördüğü en kanlı diktatörlerden biri olan Stalin, rakiplerini, siyasi muarızlarını en caniyane metotlarla öldürür ve katlettiği bu insanların cenaze merasimlerinde matem nutukları atardı. Pis faşistlerin, kapitalistlerin, sosyalist devrimin büyük kahramanını ajanları eliyle öldürttüğünü söylerdi. Yazar Maksim Gorki bizzat Stalin tarafından öldürtülmüş ve Stalin bütün ülkenin Gorki için yas tutmasını istemişti. Bu kadar çirkin tertip ve iftiralar ancak Stalin ve benzeri insanlık düşmanlarının izleyebilecekleri suçlardı." "Çirkin İftira," *Hergün*, April 20, 1978.

124 "solcu anarşistleri ve devlet yıkıcılarını hesaba katmadan tarafgir bir tutumla Ülkü Ocakları'na çatmakla" "Özaydınlı Çirkin İftirasını Geri Almalı," *Hergün*, April 20, 1978.

125 "Sayın İçişleri Bakanı'nın da bu yanlışını düzeltmesini istemek ve derneğimize yapılan suçlamaların yalan olduğunu Türk milletine duyurmak hakkımızdır." "Özaydınlı Çirkin İftirasını Geri Almalı."

and separatist militants."[126] In the same article, Akyol accused Necdet Uğur, the Minister of National Education in the Ecevit government, of handing over national education to TÖB-DER, İrfan Özaydınlı of handing over the police force to POL-DER (Police Association), and Şerafettin Elçi of separatism for talking about the "oppression of the Turkish gendarmerie in the East."[127]

Two days after this column, Akyol writes another piece demanding Özaydınlı's resignation. In this piece, Akyol added the statement of Professor Namık Aras, then Director of the Ankara Nuclear Research and Training Center, who stated that the nuclear research center couldn't manufacture a bomb of the type sent to Fendoğlu.[128] In the same article, Akyol also included Abdi İpekçi's statement in his article published in Milliyet newspaper:

> It is not appropriate for the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior to accept an unproven allegation as true and say that the bombs used in various protests were produced at the Nuclear Energy Center, which they imply was under the control of MHP militants, and to establish a connection between this allegation and the Malatya disaster.[129]

These sentences of İpekçi in Milliyet indicated the invalidity of the government's explanations regarding the packaged bomb sent to Fendoğlu, Taha Akyol implied. According to Akyol, Özaydınlı had become

126 "solcu ve bölücü militanların karargahı olmaktan kurtardığı" Taha Akyol, "Hamido," *Hergün*, April 20, 1978.

127 "Doğu'da Türk jandarmasının zulmü ve baskısından" Akyol.

128 Taha Akyol, "Özaydınlı Çekilmelidir," *Hergün*, April 22, 1978.

129 "Başbakanın ve İçişleri Bakanının henüz kanıtlanmamış bir iddiayı doğru sayıp çeşitli eylemlerde kullanılan bombaların, MHP militanlarının denetiminde bulunduğunu ima ettikleri Nükleer Enerji Merkezi'nde üretildiğini söylemeleri ve bu iddia ile Malatya faciası arasında ilişki kurmaları yerinde bir davranış değildir." Abdi İpekçi, "Ecevit'in Yanlışlığı, Demirel'in Haksızlığı," *Milliyet*, April 20, 1978, quoted in Akyol, "Özaydınlı Çekilmelidir."

"a symbol of distrust and partiality"[130] and should have stepped down from the Ministry of Interior as soon as possible.[131]

The statement of the MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş six days after the incident is worth mentioning too:

> I would like to point out again that even the editor-in-chief of a newspaper known for its close relations with Ecevit, a newspaper known for being affiliated with the CHP, took up this issue on April 20 and 21 and wrote that this accusation was 'unfair.' If Ecevit and Özaydınlı did not accuse the MHP, then why didn't they send a statement to these newspapers on two consecutive days when the newspapers published articles on the subject, stating that what they wrote was untrue and demanding correction from these newspapers for their false news?[132]

With these remarks, Türkeş brought up Abdi İpekçi's criticisms of Ecevit and Özaydınlı and harshly criticized the association of the MHP with Fendoğlu's death.

Nearly two weeks later, on May 5, 1978, following the arrest of a left-wing citizen named Mehmet Özdoğan, who was held responsible for the bomb package sent to Fendoğlu, Hergün newspaper came out with the headline *The Government Cannot Stay In Place In The Face Of This Scandal* (Bu Skandal Karşısında İktidar Yerinde Kalamaz) and in an unsigned article titled *The Seriousness of the Government* (İktidarın Ciddiyeti) published on the same day, the newspaper wrote:

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130 "güvensizlik ve tarafgirlik sembolü" Akyol, "Özaydınlı Çekilmelidir."

131 Akyol.

132 "Yine belirtmek istiyorum ki CHP'ye angaje olmakla tanınan bir gazetenin Ecevit ile olan samimi ilişkileriyle tanınan bir başyazarı bile bu meseleyi 20 ve 21 Nisan tarihlerinde ele almış ve bu suçlamanın 'haksızlık' olduğunu yazmıştır. Madem ki Ecevit ve Özaydınlı MHP'yi suçlamamıştır, o halde neden iki gün üst üste gazetelerde konu ile ilgili yayınlar yer aldığı halde bu gazetelere birer açıklama göndererek yazılanların gerçek dışı olduğunu belirtip bu gazetelerden yanlış haberlerden dolayı düzeltme talebinde bulunmamışlardır?" "Türkeş Tükürdüğünü Yalayanlara Cevap Verdi: Sözlerinizi İnkar Etmenizi Kınıyorum," *Hergün*, April 23, 1978.

> The government's attitude towards the Malatya tragedy proved that the government was prejudiced and subject to various influences. The subsequent arrest of the accused has revealed the government's lack of seriousness in its initial claims and even its malicious intentions. Nowhere in the world, in any democratic country, in the face of such a scandal, no government, especially the Minister of the Interior, can face anyone and immediately resign.[133]

The newspaper also closely followed the events that took place in Malatya after this date, and between May 7-11, 1978, the newspaper published a series of articles titled *The Powder Keg of the East: Malatya* (Doğu'nun Barut Fıçısı: Malatya). The newspaper continued to publish articles about Hamit Fendoğlu on the following dates and included opinions and commemorative articles by people who knew him. The results of the repeated elections held on February 12, 1980, in the city were also greeted with great joy in the newspaper, with the headline *İbrahim Fendoğlu Won A Landslide Victory*.[134]

As two murdered politicians, Hamit Fendoğlu and Hikmet Tekin have been part of political debates during their time and in the years that followed. Moreover, the political activities of these two names and participant interviews about them offer a factual position in terms of stretching the categorical link established between political affiliation and ethnic identity. This factual position seems functional in questioning prejudices against the idealist movement, especially in the ethnic context.

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133 "Malatya faciası konusundaki tutumu, iktidarın peşin hükümlülüğünü ve değişik etkilere maruz bulunduğunu ispat etmiştir. Sonradan sanığın yakalanması iktidarın ilk iddialarındaki ciddiyetsizliğini, hatta kötü niyetini ortaya koymuştur. Dünyanın hiçbir yerinde, hiçbir demokratik ülkede, böyle bir skandal karşısında hiçbir iktidar, hele İçişleri Bakanı kimsenin yüzüne bakamaz derhal istifa eder." "İktidarın Ciddiyeti," *Hergün*, May 5, 1978.

134 "İbrahim Fendoğlu Ezici Bir Zafer Kazandı," *Hergün*, February 13, 1980.

The statements of the participants interviewed about Hamit Fendoğlu and Hikmet Tekin are briefly mentioned in these two sections on the mayors, and the rest of the participants' statements will be noted in the fifth section, which focuses on the participation process in the idealist movement.

3

Hergün Newspaper, Kon Magazine, and the East

§ 3.1 Hergün Newspaper and the East

In addition to the news and columns published in Hergün following the deaths of Hikmet Tekin and Hamit Fendoğlu, the newspaper also published a series of articles on the separatist leftist organizations developing in Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia, the perception of the idealist movement in the East and the Eastern policy of the Ecevit government. The article series titled *Doğu da Türk Doğu da Bizim* (East Is Also Turkish East Is Also Ours) published by Maksut Türkmenoğlu, one of the reporters of the newspaper, the articles in which Burhan Özbilici, another reporter of the newspaper, conveyed his impressions of his trip to the East before the October 14, 1979 senate and parliamentary renewal elections, the series of articles titled *Avrupa'daki Komünist ve Bölücü Çeteler* (Communist and Separatist Gangs in Europe) published by Enver Altaylı, the Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper, and the unsigned series of articles titled *Bu Kişiyi Tanıyor Musunuz?* (Do You Know This Person?) published in the newspaper about Şerafettin Elçi, who served as the Minister of Public Works in the Bülent Ecevit government, show that the movement closely followed the developments in Eastern Turkey. In addition to this series of articles, it is also possible

to see articles by Taha Akyol, one of the newspaper's writers, on the developments and separatist activities in the East.

Among these series of articles, the series titled *Doğu da Türk Doğu da Bizim*, prepared by Maksut Türkmenoğlu, the newspaper's Eastern Anatolia correspondent, after a one-month trip to the East, seems to be enlightening for understanding the activities of the movement in the East due to both direct interviews with the people in the provinces visited and conversations with people from the idealist organizations in the East.[1] In this series of articles, Maksut Türkmenoğlu shared his impressions from his trip to Erzurum, Ağrı, Muş, Van, Bitlis and Bingöl in April and May 1979. The members and heads of Ülkü-Bir (Union of Idealist Teachers and Fellows Association) and Idealist Youth Association (Ülkücü Gençlik Derneği) whom Türkmenoğlu interviewed in Muş said that they were under constant attack and their buildings were bombed after the Ecevit government came to power, the director of national education in the city was changed, and the new director of national education suspended idealist teachers in cooperation with the leftist factions in Muş, especially the members of the leftist organization in Varto district.[2] The head of the Idealist Youth Association in Muş, Rahmi Koç, said Türkmenoğlu, "The more we run away from trouble, the more trouble comes upon us."[3] Rahmi Koç also noted that he was a member of a large tribe and that he was worried about the possibility of the issue turning into a blood feud if something happened to him.[4] According to Türkmenoğlu, Muş was more distant from communism compared to other Eastern Anatolian cities because it was a city where tribes and tribal affiliations were alive.[5]

1 This series of articles was published in Hergün between May 27, 1979, and June 15, 1979. It was learned that the real name of the reporter, Maksut Türkmenoğlu, the author of the series, was Maksut Yurttaş and that he had passed away. It was planned to talk to him about the trip he had made to the East before preparing this series of articles, but this interview could not be realized due to his death.

2 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Muş ÜGD Başkanı Koç: Biz Beladan Kaçtıkça Bela Üstümüze Geliyor," *Hergün*, June 10, 1979.

3 Türkmenoğlu.

4 Türkmenoğlu.

5 Türkmenoğlu.

According to Türkmenoğlu, "the ability of tribal leaders to control their children and provide them with the necessary education"[6] ensured that Muş remained closed to communism.[7]

In his observations in Van, Ağrı, Erzurum, Bitlis, and Bingöl, Türkmenoğlu claimed that the governors, directors of national education, and local administrators appointed by the Ecevit government caused various problems for idealists in public institutions and organizations and that they condoned and sometimes even supported separatism and smuggling activities. Reporting an incident, he came across in Ağrı, Türkmenoğlu stated that a teacher was exiled from the province by the provincial directorate of national education, and his promotion was suspended for twelve months just because he was carrying Hasret magazine and a leaflet of the Ağrı branch of the Idealist Youth Association.[8] Türkmenoğlu also stated that the governor of Ağrı was investigated for separatism and claimed that with the change of government, the Education Institute in the city changed hands and the institute became an institute where only students from the left wing could study.[9] Türkmenoğlu also claimed that separatist activities were widespread in the region and that he came across a leaflet titled *Sixteen of the nineteen provinces where martial law was declared are in Kurdistan* (Sıkıyönetim İlan Edilen 19 İlin 16'sı Kürdistandadır.) in schools and on the streets in the Patnos district of Ağrı[10], and in the Erciş district of Van, a person who answered the phone at the Erciş Coal Quarry told him, "This is the Kurdistan Coal Enterprise... I am the superintendent of Kurdistan, who are you…"[11] According to Türkmenoğlu, like many other state-

6 "Aşiret liderlerinin çocuklarını kontrol altına alabilmeleri ve onlara gerekli eğitimi verebilmeleri…" Türkmenoğlu.

7 Türkmenoğlu.

8 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Ağrı'da Bölücülük Ile Devlet ve MHP Düşmanlığı İttifak Halinde," *Hergün*, May 29, 1979.

9 Türkmenoğlu.

10 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Patnos'ta Dağıtılan Bir Bildiride 'Sıkıyönetim İlan Edilen 19 İlin 16'sı Kürdistandadır' Deniyor," *Hergün*, May 31, 1979.

11 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Erciş Kömür Ocağında Telefona Çıkan Adam 'Burası Kürdistan Kömür İşletmesi... Ben Kürdistan Başkomiseri Sen Kimsin' Diyor," *Hergün*, June 2, 1979.

owned enterprises in the region, the coal mine in Erciş had hired a large number of "communist militants," the militants received large salaries for doing almost nothing, and they disrupted the operation of the mine by destroying most of the equipment in the coal mine, especially the generators.[12] Turkmenoglu also stated that he saw many such enterprises during his trip and that "communist militants" were causing losses to the state by rendering them inoperable.[13] Towards the end of his journey, after he visited the provincial center of Muş, Türkmenoğlu went to the Varto district of Muş disguised as a merchant, despite all the warnings made to him due to security concerns. Turkmenoğlu observed that in Varto, where the Rızgari organization had been more active in the past, other separatist groups increased their activity after the organization split into Rızgari and Ala-Rızgari and claimed that separatist leftist organizations sometimes carried out propaganda in Varto under the guise of religion.[14] A butcher Türkmenoğlu spoke to in the district expressed his discomfort with the activities of "regionalist separatists" (bölgeci bölücüler) with the following words:

> I am well-educated; I can read and write. I even have a religious education. These separatist rascals claim to be so-called Islamists by talking to me about Islam, Islam's social justice, and Islam's freedom. There is social justice in Islam, freedom in Islam, and protection of labor in Islam, but the regionalists say these things not because they believe in Islam but because they know that they cannot achieve their ambitions without Islam.[15]

12 Türkmenoğlu.

13 Türkmenoğlu.

14 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Bir Komünist Halka 'Dediklerimi Yapmazsanız Horoz Olur Sizi Darı Gibi Toplarım' Demiş," *Hergün*, June 13, 1979.

15 "Benim okumuşluğum var, yazmışlığım var. Hatta dini tahsilim bile var. Bölücü namussuzlar kalkıp bana İslamiyetten, İslamın sosyal adaletinden ve İslamiyetin hürriyetinden bahsederek sözde İslamcı olduğunu iddia ediyor. İslamiyette sosyal adalet, İslamiyette hürriyet ve İslamiyette emeğin korunması vardır ama bölgeciler bunları İslamiyete inandıkları için değil de İslamiyet olmadan emellerine ulaşamayacaklarını bildikleri için söylüyorlar." Türkmenoğlu.

After Muş, Türkmenoğlu went to Bingöl and stated that the first thing that greeted him in the city was poverty and lack of infrastructural services.[16] Hikmet Tekin, the mayor of Bingöl from MHP, whom Türkmenoğlu asked to speak to about the issue, complained to him about the discriminatory attitude of the government and its failure to allocate resources to Bingöl.[17] Another issue Türkmenoğlu observed was the polarization that developed in the city after the MHP won the municipal elections in 1977.[18] Türkmenoğlu argued that after the elections in Bingöl, the left could not digest the defeat and began to work intensively to mobilize the masses who did not vote for Hikmet Tekin completely in its line.[19] Türkmenoğlu questions how a mayor who faces the danger of being shot and killed every day can work in a healthy manner and states that this danger applies not only to the mayor but also to almost everyone working in Bingöl Municipality.[20]

Correspondent Türkmenoğlu concluded his series of articles with the following assessment of the situation regarding the East:

> People in the East are definitely not in favor of separatism. Unfortunately, in the East, the people are uncared for. The problems of the East must be addressed as a whole, and the problems of the East must be solved with the approval and help of the people of the East. The protection and dissemination of our national culture in the East must not be neglected. The problems of the East should sincerely be the problems of the Turkish intellectuals.[21]

16 Maksut Türkmenoğlu, "Bingöl Hemen Hemen İkiye Bölünmüş Durumda," *Hergün*, June 15, 1979.

17 Türkmenoğlu.

18 Türkmenoğlu.

19 Türkmenoğlu.

20 Türkmenoğlu.

21 "Doğu'da halk kesinlikle bölücülüğe taraftar değildir. Yalnız Doğu'da halk maalesef sahipsizdir. Doğu'nun meseleleri bir bütün olarak ele alınmalı ve Doğu'nun meseleleri Doğu insanının tasdiki ve yardımı ile halledilmelidir. Doğu'da milli kültürümüzün

The news made by Burhan Özbilici, one of the Eastern correspondents of the Hergün newspaper in 1979, also included impressions about the public's view of separatist activities in the East, their perception of the idealists and their attitude towards the Ecevit government. In the interview he gave me, Özbilici,[22] who is currently working as a photojournalist for the US-based news agency Associated Press, stated that in Ağrı and Iğdır, where he traveled before the October 14, 1979 senate and parliamentary renewal elections, encountered prejudice against the idealists in some places, but in some others, he observed the perception of idealists as "people who protect and defend religious values"[23] against the communists by the people.[24] Özbilici also stated that the prejudice against the idealists that he sometimes observed among the people in the places he visited could be overcome by people getting to know each other better.[25] The headlines of the news articles prepared by Özbilici were *Doğu'da Yurttaş Bir Avuç Bölücünün Eline Terkedildi* (Citizens in the East Left in the Hands of a Handful of Separatists), *Muhabirimiz Ağrılılarla Konuştu* (Our Reporter Talked with the People of Ağrı) and *CHP'nin Doğu'daki Oyunu Tutmadı* (CHP's Game in the East Failed). In the September 24, 1979 news article titled *Doğu'da Yurttaş Bir Avuç Bölücünün Eline Terkedildi*, citizens from the Doğubayazıt district of Ağrı told Özbilici about their discomfort with the separatist activities that were gaining strength in the region:

> We complain that the state has forgotten the people in the East. No services have been provided here. We were treated like

korunması ve yaygınlaştırılması kesin olarak ihmal edilmemelidir. Doğu'nun derdi samimi olarak Türk aydınının derdi olmalıdır." Türkmenoğlu.

22 Burhan Özbilici currently works as a journalist for the US-based news agency Associated Press. Özbilici won the "World Press Photo of the Year" award for his photograph taken during the assassination of Russian Ambassador Andrei Karlov on December 19, 2016.

23 "dini değerleri koruyan ve savunan kişiler" Personal Interview with Burhan Özbilici, on July 10, 2024, in Ankara.

24 Personal Interview with Burhan Özbilici.

25 Personal Interview with Burhan Özbilici.

stepchildren. Moreover, we have had a new problem for the last two years. These are the activities to destroy the state, to divide the homeland and citizens and to make enemies and enemies of each other. Everything is being done openly, and some state officials are just watching. For example, those who come here from Erzurum or Iğdır are beaten and insulted, and their money and stamps are taken away. However, when we go there, no one says anything to us. The reason is that those who oppose subversive activities here have not yet been intimidated. They beat people from Erzurum because they are right-wing and people from Iğdır because they are right-wing and Azeri. But they do not do such things in return; that is the right thing to do. Rightist, leftist, Azeri, we are all brothers. There has never been any separation between us until now, and there will be no separation in the future. Our religion, flag, state, homeland, everything is one. But those who foment this separation, especially those who deceive young people and use them as pawns, used to be afraid and could not find the opportunity to carry out such activities. Now, they have every opportunity. While citizens loyal to their state cannot even keep a hunting rifle in their homes, these separatist thugs have automatic Russian weapons. Unfortunately, some members of the security forces prefer to get rich by cooperating with smugglers instead of fighting them.[26]

26 "Devletin Doğu'daki insanları unutmasından çok şikayetçiyiz. Buralara hizmet getirilmedi. Adeta üvey evlat muamelesi gördük. Üstelik başımıza iki senedir yeni bir dert çıktı. Bu da devleti yıkma, vatanı ve yurttaşları bölme ve birbirine düşman ederek kırdırma faaliyetleridir. Her şey açıkça yapılıyor, devletin bazı yetkilileri de sadece seyrediyor. Buraya mesela, Erzurum'dan, Iğdır'dan gelenler dövülüyor, hakaret ediliyor, parası pulu nesi varsa alınıyor. Halbuki biz oralara gittiğimizde hiç kimse bize bir şey demiyor. Sebebi buralarda yıkıcı faaliyetlere karşı çıkanların henüz sindirilmemiş olmaları. Erzurum'dan gelenleri sağcı, Iğdır'dan gelenleri de sağcı ve Azeri oldukları için dövüyorlar. Fakat onlar buna karşılık böyle şeyler yapmıyor; doğrusu da bu. Sağcı, solcu, Azeri hepimiz kardeşiz. Aramızda şimdiye kadar hiçbir ayrılık olmadı ki bundan sonra olsun. Dinimiz, bayrağımız, devletimiz, vatanımız her şeyimiz birdir. Fakat bu ayrılığı

Speaking to Özbilici, the citizen asked the state to take immediate action, "We have given up on roads, water and electricity. We want state and law, rule of order, security of life... Any further loss of time, God forbid, could lead to irreparable consequences."[27]

In another news article titled *CHP'nin Doğu'daki Oyunu Tutmadı*, Özbilici reported his impressions from İspir, the hometown of then MHP Erzurum Deputy Nevzat Kösoğlu. Reporting on the reflections in Erzurum on the Villager Transportation Project (Köylüye Ulaşım Projesi), which Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit had announced in his speech in Hakkari on June 18, 1978, by stating that they had launched this project for the villagers of the region to have access to "not only roads but also to all the blessings of development and civilization,"[28] Özbilici stated that the project had been called as the "Project of Putting the Villager to Sleep"[29] among the citizens he spoke to.[30] The citizens Özbilici spoke to stated that the situation in many villages where roads have claimed to have been constructed is nothing more than an eyewash.[31] According to citizens, transportation between the district center and the villages was still provided by donkeys, and the officials were making leftist

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körükleyenler, bilhassa gençleri kandırarak maşa gibi kullananlar, eskiden korkar ve bu çeşit çalışmalar yapmaya fırsat bulamazlardı. Şimdi her türlü imkanları var. Devletine bağlı yurttaş evinde bir av tüfeği bile bulunduramazken, bu bölücü eşkıyaların elinde otomatik Rus silahları var. Bir kısım emniyet mensupları ise maalesef bunlarla mücadele edeceğine kaçakçılarla işbirliği yaparak zengin olmayı tercih etmektedir." Burhanettin Özbilici, "Doğu'da Yurttaş Bir Avuç Bölücünün Eline Terkedildi," *Hergün*, September 24, 1979.

27 "Yol, su, elektrikten vazgeçtik. Devlet ve kanun, nizam hakimiyeti, can güvenliği istiyoruz… Daha fazla zaman kaybı, Allah saklasın, telafisi mümkün olmayacak sonuçlara yol açabilir." Özbilici.

28 "Ecevit: Geri Bıraktırılmış Doğu'ya Hizmet Akını Başlayacak," *Milliyet*, June 19, 1978, quoted in Evren Haspolat and Deniz Yıldırım, "Ecevit Döneminde CHP Halkçılığı ve Yol Siyaseti: Köylüye Ulaşım Projesi (KUP) Örneği," *Fiscaoeconomia* 5, no. 1 (January 10, 2021): 75–76, https://doi.org/10.25295/fsecon.848865.

29 "…köylüyü uyutma projesi" Burhanettin Özbilici, "CHP'nin Doğu'daki Oyunu Tutmadı," *Hergün*, October 3, 1979.

30 Özbilici.

31 Özbilici.

propaganda ahead of the October 14, 1979, senate and parliamentary renewal elections.[32]

Özbilici's last news report on his impressions from the East before the elections on October 14, 1979, was titled *Muhabirimiz Ağrılılarla Konuştu: Bu Seçimlerde CHP'ye Tek Bir Oyumuz Yoktur*. Özbilici's conversations with citizens in Ağrı, which he visited shortly before the elections, contain remarkable impressions about the perception of idealists among the public and the public's perception of "Turkishness." Özbilici stated that a citizen he talked to in a coffee house in the Doğubayazıt district of Ağrı criticized the term "Kurdism" (Kürtçülük) and used the term "separatism" (Bölücülük) instead:

> The Kurd is, first and foremost, a Muslim, a Turk. But they have nothing to do with Islam, religion, and faith. That is why we do not accept them as Kurds. They are Russian seeds...![33]

The words of a citizen Özbilici spoke to during his visit to Eleşkirt district also contain the following sentences about the perception of "Turkishness" and the view of the idealists:

> We belong to a Kurdish tribe, but our origin is Turkish; we are all Turks. What is 'Kurdism?' These are the works of traitors and heathens... Look, we work here in our fields as we wish; we are free in everything, and no one says anything to us. So what else can we ask for?... However, the state has been a bystander to this issue in recent years. Some people come to the village and provoke us. They put pressure on us, threatening that "you will join us." But we are never in favor of such things. We just don't understand where this mischief takes courage from.

32 Özbilici.

33 "Kürt her şeyden önce Müslümandır, Türk'tür. Ama bunların Müslümanlıkla, din ve imanla bir alakaları yoktur. Onun için bunları Kürt kabul etmiyoruz. Bunlar Rus tohumlarıdır." Burhanettin Özbilici, "Muhabirimiz Ağrılılarla Konuştu: Bu Seçimlerde CHP'ye Tek Bir Oyumuz Yoktur," *Hergün*, October 10, 1979.

> We know the truth of these things. Those who do these things are irreligious. Those who have no religion are worth nothing to us. Russia feeds them and provokes us by releasing them among us while the government watches. Against this, young idealist youth enlighten and help us. May Allah be pleased with them. If it weren't for them, I swear they wouldn't even let us go to the mosque; no one can say 'La Ilahe Illallah' in the part of Ağrı they call the 'liberated region' out of fear…[34]

Özbilici claimed that the public complained about the activities of the separatist leftist organizations during his visits and supported his claim with direct interviews with the public. Özbilici also claimed that the projects that the Ecevit government had implemented shortly before the elections, such as the Villager Transportation Project, had a poor reception among the public. When it comes to the perception of Turkishness, while some of the citizens Özbilici spoke to identified Turkishness with Islam, others stated that they perceived the idealists operating in the region as protectors of religious values.[35]

Another series of articles on the East published in Hergün was about Şerafettin Elçi, the Minister of Public Works of the Ecevit government. On April 14, 1979, with the headline *Bakan Elçi Londra'da Ne Yaptı?* (*What did*

34 "Biz bir Kurmanç aşiretine mensubuz ama aslımız Türk, hepimiz Türk oğlu Türküz. 'Kürtçülük' de neymiş?" Bunlar hainlerin, dinsizlerin işi… Bakın biz burada tarlamızda dilediğimiz gibi çalışıyoruz, her şeyimizde serbestiz, kimse bize bir şey demiyor.. Eee daha başka ne isteyeceğiz?...Fakat son senelerde bu mevzuya devlet seyirci kaldı. Köye gelip bizi kışkırtanlar oluyor. Bize baskı yapıyorlar, 'siz de bize katılacaksınız' diye tehdit ediyorlar. Fakat biz asla böyle şeylere taraftar değiliz. Yalnız bu fesat nereden cesaret alıyor, ona aklımız ermiyor.
Biz bu işlerin aslını biliyoruz. Bu işleri yapanlar dinsizdir. Dini olmayanın bizim yanımızda beş paralık kıymeti yoktur. Bunları Rusya besliyor ve içimize salıp bizi kışkırtıyor, hükümet ise seyrediyor. Buna karşı bizi ülkücü gençler aydınlatıp yardımcı oluyor. Allah onlardan razı olsun. Onlar olmasa vallahi camiye bile bırakmayacaklar, Ağrı'nın 'kurtarılmış bölge' dedikleri kısmında kimse korkudan 'La İlahe İllallah' diyemiyor…" Özbilici.

35 Özbilici.

Minister Elçi do in London?), the newspaper claimed that Elçi had gone to London on the pretext of his illness to meet with Jalal Talabani and his inner circle.[36] The article emphasized that Elçi had been sentenced to prison by the Martial Law Courts during the March 12 period because he was one of the leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Turkey (T-KDP), and the fact that Elçi made this visit at a time when Talabani and his close team were in London can be interpreted as Elçi continuing his separatist activities as a minister.[37] In the series of articles titled *Bu Kişiyi Tanıyor Musunuz?* (Do You Know This Person?), which started to be published about a week after this news article, Elçi was accused of being the director of the illegal organization Kurdistan Democratic Party of Turkey in Turkey and having close relations with Sait Kırmızıtoprak,[38] a Kurdish separatist figure, based on the indictment prepared against him during the March 12 period.[39] In the last article of the series, it was stated that although Elçi had been sentenced to prison, he could hold a public office like any other citizen of the Republic of Turkey since he had not been sentenced to deprivation of public office, but it was wrong to appoint him to the Ministry of Public Works, a key position in the state because he had been convicted of separatism.[40] Şerafettin Elçi was accused of opposing the application of martial law, narrowing its scope, and working to prevent martial law from being declared in regions in Eastern Anatolia that were declared "liberated zones" (kurtarılmış bölgeler) by separatist leftist organizations; he was also requested to be

36 "Bakan Elçi Londra'da Ne Yaptı?," *Hergün*, April 14, 1979.

37 "Bakan Elçi Londra'da Ne Yaptı?"

38 According to a 2023 study, Sait Kırmızıtoprak is one of Abdullah Öcalan's "sources of inspiration." Operating under the code name Dr. Şivan, Kırmızıtoprak established a base in northern Iraq and conducted ideological and armed training with the aim of starting a "guerrilla war" in Turkey. For detailed information, see İlkut Taha Taslı, "Tarih, İdeoloji, Terör: PKK'nın Tarihi Araçsallaştırması" (Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Anabilim Dalı Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Programı, 2023), 173–75.

39 "Bu Kişiyi Tanıyor Musunuz?," *Hergün*, April 24, 1979.

40 "Bu Kişiyi Tanıyor Musunuz?"

referred to the Supreme Court due to claims that he met with Talabani and his close team in London, where he went on the pretext of illness.[41]

The series of articles titled *Avrupa'da Komünist ve Bölücü Çeteler* (Communist and Separatist Gangs in Europe), prepared by Enver Altaylı, the Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper, also contains impressions on how separatist leftist organizations perceived the activities of the idealist movement in the East. In the sixth article of this eighteen-article series titled *Kürtler özbeöz Türktürler*, Enver Altaylı mentions the magazine *Brusk*, which he claims was published in Belgium with the support of the USSR.[42] Altaylı quotes and interprets the following sentences from an article titled *Local Elections and the Kurds* (Yerel Seçimler ve Kürdler), published in this magazine that is related to the municipalities won by the MHP in Eastern Anatolia in 1977:

> As is known, on Sunday, December 11, 1977, elections for mayors, provincial councilors, and village headmen were held. Positive developments, which can be considered very important for Kurds, make us proud, while negative developments can lead to short and temporary sadness. Revolutionaries cannot ignore the success of the fascist MHP in Turkey in general, but especially in its enemy country, Kurdistan. The fascist MHP, which won the mayorships of the Kurdistan provinces of Elazığ, Erzincan, and Bingöl, has obviously made treacherous use of regional rather than class contradictions.[43]

41 "Bu Kişiyi Tanıyor Musunuz," *Hergün*, April 25, 1979.

42 Altaylı, "Kürtler Özbeöz Türktürler," Hergün, March 26, 1980.

43 "Bilindiği gibi 11 Aralık 1977 Pazar günü belediye başkanları, il encümenleri ile köy muhtarları seçimi yapıldı. Kürdler açısından çok önemli sayılabilecek pozitif gelişmelerin oluşumu göğsümüzü kabartırken, negatif gelişmelerin olması ise, kısa ve geçici üzüntülere yol açabilir. Faşist MHP'nin genellikle Türkiye'de, özellikle düşmanı olduğu ülkede, yani Kürdistan'da başarı sağlamasını devrimciler göz ardı edemezler. Kürdistan'ın Elazığ, Erzincan, Bingöl illerinin belediye başkanlıklarını alan faşist MHP besbelli ki sınıfsal çelişkilerden ziyade önemli bir ölçüde yöresel çelişkilerden kalleşçe faydalanmıştır." Altaylı.

Altaylı, who claims that the magazine *Brusk* from which he quoted these lines was published by a "gang of three to five Russian agents"[44] called "Organization of Marxist-Leninists from Northern Kurdistan,"[45] interprets the above-quoted evaluation of the magazine regarding the 1977 local elections as follows:

> We see that the MHP's tremendous success in the Eastern provinces has disturbed Moscow and their dogs. Why did the MHP gain success in these Eastern provinces? The reasons are obvious. The dignified idealists who struggle in those regions know this better. The most important reason for the MHP's success in the East is that the ugly plots of Moscow and the pro-Moscow against the people of this region were foiled. Yes, the MHP was able to explain to the masses that the Kurdish-Turkish divide and the Alevi-Sunni divide in this region was a game of the Moscow and that the dignified sons of the East, the valiant Kurds, are the heroic sons of the Turkish nation, inseparable parts of Turkishness. They also tried to spread these lies in Turkey. What did these scuzzes say? "Türkeş will cut the Kurds in the East and bring Turks from Central Asia instead." The MHP exposed this Moscow lie in the East and tore the mask from the faces of the liars. Turkistan Turks are today reduced to a minority in their homeland. Why should we uproot them from their homeland? Who will benefit from uprooting them from those lands? Of course, none other than the Russians. None other than the Russians who want to Russify Turkistan. Why should we exile the people of Eastern Anatolia? The people of Eastern Anatolia have been living on these lands for nearly a thousand years. They broke away from Central Asia and Turkistan together with other Turks and settled on the Anatolian plateau. This was a Moscow lie. The liar's candle has been

44 "üç beş Rus ajanından meydana gelen bir çete" Altaylı.

45 "Kuzey Kürdistanlı Marksist-Leninistlerin Örgütü" Altaylı.

extinguished, and the MHP has won the love and preference of the people of Eastern Anatolia.[46]

In the other articles of the series, Altaylı touched upon the activities of separatist leftist organizations operating in Europe and claimed that these organizations were also supported by TKP's organization in Germany.[47] According to Altaylı, TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) supported the activities of a separatist federation called KOMKAR (Federation of Kurdistan Workers' Associations) in Germany and carried out activities to expand its audience by taking Turkish citizens to the activities of this federation.[48] In the seventh article of the series, *Rus Parasıyla Çıkan Dergiler Vatandaşlarımızı Yavaş Yavaş Zehirliyor* (Magazines Published with Russian Money Are Slowly Poisoning Our Citizens), Altaylı stated that separatist activities were supported by the USSR and demanded that the relevant authorities take action to revoke

46 "Görüyoruz ki MHP'nin Doğu illerinde gösterdiği muazzam başarı Moskofu ve Moskof köpeklerini fazlasıyla rahatsız etmiştir. Acaba MHP bu Doğu illerinde neden başarı kazandı? Sebepler ortadadır. Bunu o bölgelerde mücadele veren haysiyetli ülkücüler daha iyi bilirler. Doğu'da MHP'nin başarılı olmasının en önemli sebebi Moskof'un ve Moskofçuların bu bölge halkına karşı giriştikleri çirkin oyunların bozulmasıdır. Evet MHP, bu bölgede Kürt-Türk ayrımının, Alevi-Sünni ayrımının Moskof oyunu olduğunu geniş kitlelere anlatabilmiş ve Doğu'nun haysiyetli evlatlarının, yiğit Kürtlerinin, Türk milletinin kahraman evlatları, Türklüğün ayrılmaz parçaları olduğunu anlatmıştır. Türkiye'de de bu yalanlarını yaymaya çalıştılar. Ne dediler bu şerefsizler? 'Türkeş Doğu'da Kürtleri kesecek, yerine Orta Asya'dan Türk getirecek.' MHP Doğu'da bu Moskof yalanını açığa çıkarmış ve yalancıların yüzündeki maskeyi yırtmıştır. Türkistan Türkleri kendi vatanlarında bugün azınlık durumuna düşürülmüşlerdir. Neden sökelim onları ana yurtlarından? Onların o topraklardan sökülmesi kimin işine yarayacaktır? Elbette Ruslardan başkasının değil. Türkistan'ı Ruslaştırmak isteyen Moskoftan başkasının değil. Neden Doğu Anadolu halkını sürgün edelim? Doğu Anadolu halkı bin yıla yakın bir zamandan beri bu topraklar üzerinde yaşamaktadır. Orta Asya'dan Türkistan'dan diğer Türklerle birlikte kopmuş ve gelmiş Anadolu yaylasına yerleşmiştir. Bu bir Moskof yalanı idi. Yalancının mumu söndü ve MHP, Doğu Anadolu halkının sevgisini kazandı ve tercihine mazhar oldu." Altaylı.

47 Enver Altaylı, "TKP'nin Tertip Ettiği Toplantı," *Hergün*, March 22, 1980.

48 Altaylı.

the citizenship of members of leftist organizations operating in Europe who have Turkish citizenship.[49]

In addition to his articles on Hamit Fendoğlu and Hikmet Tekin, Taha Akyol, one of the newspaper's columnists, also wrote articles criticizing the Ecevit government's Eastern policy. In his September 26, 1978 article titled *Doğu Bölgemiz, İktidar ve TRT* (Our Eastern Region, the Government and TRT), Akyol accused TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) of "not hesitating to mediate the propaganda that our brothers and sisters of religion, nationality and homeland in the East" were of Persian descent"[50] and criticized the Ecevit government for accusing the previous governments of not doing any service to the East.[51] Akyol, in his article titled *Türkiye'yi Bölen İktidardır* (It is the Government That Divides Turkey), published two days after his previous article, also claimed that the government was alienating its citizens from the country by claiming that the Turkish state did not look after to the East, that it was giving credence to the "alienation" (yabancılaştırma) propaganda carried out by the enemy, and that it was prioritizing party interests over the integrity of the country.[52]

In general, from 1977 to 1980, Hergün newspaper published many news articles, columns, and a series of articles on Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia. Remarkable content such as article series and news files have an important place among these contents. In the content, themes such as the people in the East being disturbed by the activities of separatist leftist organizations, having a positive view of the idealists, and identifying Turkishness with Islam were included; the necessity of the activities of the idealist movement in the East for the integrity of the country was emphasized. In addition, columnists, particularly Taha Akyol

49 Enver Altaylı, "Rus Parasıyla Çıkan Dergiler Vatandaşlarımızı Yavaş Yavaş Zehirliyor," *Hergün*, March 27, 1980.

50 "Doğu'daki din, milliyet ve vatan kardeşlerimizin Pers ırkından geldikleri propagandasına aracılık etmekten çekinmeme" Taha Akyol, "Doğu Bölgemiz, İktidar ve TRT," *Hergün*, September 26, 1978.

51 Akyol.

52 Taha Akyol, "Türkiye'yi Bölen İktidardır," *Hergün*, September 28, 1978.

and Enver Altaylı, frequently wrote articles criticizing the Ecevit government's Eastern policy, accusing the government of "fueling separatism" (bölücülüğü körüklemek) and claiming that foreign powers, notably the USSR, supported separatist activities. The newspaper also adopted a harsh editorial policy in the aftermath of the murders of the mayors of Bingöl and Malatya and published numerous articles on these murders.

§ 3.2 Kon Magazine: "Bütün Canlar Bir Olsun" (Let All Souls be One)

Kon magazine, which researcher Bayram Koca referred to in his PhD thesis as "an exception among Mainstream Nationalists,"[53] also deserves a separate discussion.[54] Koca considers Kon magazine "a step towards recognizing the identity of the Kurds as a separate identity from Turkishness,"[55] in contrast to the "mainstream nationalists" who identify the Kurds as ethnically Turkish, too.[56] According to Koca, Kon, unlike the group he defines as "mainstream nationalists," recognized the Kurdish identity and proposed Islam as a solution to the problem.[57] However, considering both the general content of the articles in the magazine and the written statement received from one of the magazine's authors, it is seen that the magazine while attaching importance to Islam and spirituality in general, did not deviate from the attitude of the "mainstream nationalists" of the period and continued to see Kurdishness within the boundaries of ethnic Turkishness. For instance, Vedat Güldoğan, whose nickname is Şadillili Vedat, wrote in the magazine under the title *Oyunlarını Bozacağız* (We Will Spoil Their Games):

53 "Anaakım Milliyetçiler içerisinde bir istisna" Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 141.

54 Koca, 141.

55 Koca, 141.

56 "Anaakım Milliyetçilerin 'Kürtler Türktür' tezinden farklı olarak Kürtlerin kimliğini tanımaya yönelik bir adım" Koca, 141.

57 Koca, 141.

> We do not recognize ourselves as a nation separate from the Turks, and we do not deny our Kurdishness. Because Kurds and Turks are of the same race, i.e., Turanian. The Turkish nation, with its Easterners-Westerners, Sunnis-Alevis, Kurds-Turkmens, is a whole; it cannot be divided.[58]

In a five-page written response, one of the magazine's authors, who wished to remain anonymous, also stated that the first and last issue of Kon magazine was published in January 1979 in Ankara by a group of Eastern youth belonging to the idealist movement. In the written reply, the aforementioned author of the magazine explained how the idea of publishing the magazine came about with the following words:

> In a foggy and tense environment, a group of young people from the East, members of the Idealist Movement, decided to publish a monthly newspaper in 1978 in order to disrupt the dirty game planned by imperialism and its subcontractors, especially in the East, to neutralize the sedition spread by elements aiming to use the people of the East for their own nefarious ambitions, to reinforce the feelings of unity and brotherhood throughout the region, and to be in solidarity with all local people regardless of ethnic and sectarian discrimination. This idea was first voiced by Vedat Güldoğan, the founding president of the Diyarbakır branch of the Idealist Hearths, who was from the Şadilli tribe.
>
> Many meetings were held to put this idea into practice. Suggestions regarding the newspaper's editorial policy were scrutinized, discussed, and evaluated. The matter was then submitted for approval by Alparslan Türkeş, the Chairman of the MHP and the Leader of the Idealist Movement. Türkeş, who is

58 "Bizler kendimizi Türk'ten ayrı bir millet olarak kabul etmiyoruz ve Kürt olduğumuzu da inkar etmiyoruz. Çünkü Kürt ile Türk aynı ırktandır, yani Turanlıdır. Doğulusuyla-Batılısıyla, Sünnisiyle-Alevisiyle, Kürdüyle-Türkmeniyle Türk milleti bir bütündür, parçalanamaz." Vedat Güldoğan, "Oyunlarını Bozacağız," *Kon*, 1979, 13.

known to be very interested and sensitive to the Eastern issue, found such a study helpful and approved it, and the decision taken in the previous meetings was put into practice.[59]

In the written reply, the author also blamed the leftist organizations TIKKO (Liberation Army of the Workers and Peasants of Turkey), TKP-ML (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist), and *Devrimci Halkın Birliği* (Revolutionary People's Union) for the rising Alevi-Sunni tension in the country and the Maraş incidents in 1978 and stated that they had added an article on this issue of the magazine because they were disturbed by the rising Alevi-Sunni tension in the country and the Maraş incidents that took place in December 1978.[60] In the aforementioned article, Mehmet Eröz argued that the communists had taken over Alevi villages in a planned effort and deceived many Alevi youth and instrumental poets into believing that Sunnis treated them as second-class citizens.[61] According to Eröz, the communists first tried to win the hearts of Alevis by pretending that they were upset that Sunnis treated Alevis as stepchildren, and then they told Alevis, "The Sunnis slander us the way they do. Because we are progressive and defend social justice.

59 "Sisli ve gergin bir ortamda; emperyalizm ve onun taşeronu mihrakların bilhassa Doğu'da tezgâhlamayı plânladıkları kirli oyunu bozmak, Doğu halkını kendi menfur emellerine alet etmeyi amaçlayan unsurların yaydığı fitneyi etkisiz kılmak, bölge genelinde birlik ve kardeşlik duygularını pekiştirmek, etnik ve mezhep ayrımı yapmaksızın tüm yöre halkıyla dayanışma içinde bulunmak maksadıyla, Ülkücü Hareket mensubu Doğulu bir grup genç, 1978'de aylık bir gazete çıkarma kararı aldı. Bu düşünceyi ilk kez, Şadilli aşiretinden olan Ülkü Ocakları Diyarbakır Şubesi Kurucu Başkanı Vedat Güldoğan dillendirdi.
Bu düşüncenin uygulamaya geçirilmesi için birçok kez bir araya gelindi. Gazetenin yayın politikasına ilişkin hususlara dair gündeme getirilen öneriler, enine boyuna irdelendi, tartışıldı ve değerlendirildi. Bilahare konu MHP Genel Başkanı ve Ülkücü Hareket'in Lideri Alparslan Türkeş'in onayına sunuldu. Öteden beri Doğu meselesi konusuna ziyadesiyle alâkadar ve duyarlı olduğu bilinen Türkeş'in böyle bir çalışmayı faydalı bulup onaylaması üzerine, daha önce gerçekleştirilen toplantılarda alınan karar uygulamaya konuldu." "Written Reply by E-Mail from a Kon author," May 30, 2024.

60 "Written Reply by E-Mail."

61 Mehmet Eröz, "Alevisiyle Sünnisiyle Bütün Canlar Bir Olsun," *Kon*, 1979, 6.

They, on the other hand, are reactionaries, bigots, and collaborators of imperialism."[62] Eröz argues that the communists also targeted the institution of "dedelik" while trying to win over Alevis to their side and attributes this to the fact that the institution of dedelik keeps "Alevism alive as a belief system, a set of Turkish and Islamic beliefs."[63] Eröz argues that with the weakening of the authority of the "dedes" in many Alevi villages, the left began to operate much more easily in these places.[64]

In the unsigned article titled *Rus Yazar Vladimir Minorsky'nin İslam Ansiklopedisi'ndeki Kürtler Maddesinin Tenkidi ve Bazı Gerçekler* (Criticism of Russian Author Vladimir Minorsky's Article on Kurds in the Encyclopedia of Islam and Some Facts), published in the magazine on Russian Orientalist Vladimir Minorsky, Minorsky's assessment of Kurds as an Iranian tribe is criticized and the claim that the Kurds are essentially a Turanian tribe is defended.[65] In the article, Minorsky is quoted as stating that the Kurds are Iranian not in terms of race but in terms of language and history, and it is argued that this may have a grain of truth, but the Kurds are not Iranian in terms of lineage.[66]

The content of the other articles in the magazine is similar to Eröz's article and this article about Minorksy. In the magazine, the view that Kurds are also Turanian and belong to the Turkish nation is defended, and examples of Turkish-Kurdish unity in history, especially during the period of the War of Independence, are given. In the article titled *Ey Ehl-i İslam Uyan* (O People of Islam Wake Up) in the magazine, Abdurrahman Öncel cites the following telegram, signed by many tribesmen from the East and addressed to the presidency of the Grand National Assembly as an example of this unity:

62 "Sünniler yaptıkları iftiraları bize yapıyorlar. Çünkü biz ilerici ve sosyal adaletçiyiz. Onlar ise gerici, yobaz ve emperyalizmin işbirlikçisidirler." Eröz.

63 "bir inanç sistemi, bir Türk ve Müslüman inançları manzumesi olarak Aleviliği" Eröz.

64 Eröz.

65 "Rus Yazarı Minorsky'nin İslam Ansiklopedisindeki 'Kürtler' Maddesinin Tenkidi ve Bazı Gerçekler," *Kon*, 1979, 8-9.

66 "Rus Yazarı Minorsky'nin İslam Ansiklopedisindeki 'Kürtler' Maddesinin Tenkidi ve Bazı Gerçekler."

> Kurds have realized long before the day that a small morsel will be swallowed very easily. Kurds do not consider those who think of separating from Turkish unity as their own. The fate of the Kurd is one with the fate of the Turk. We Kurds do not expect any savior other than the government of the General National Assembly of Ankara, nor do we accept the insolence of begging for help from the Entente states. We will help our government with all our being to ensure peace, according to the Misak-ı Milli. We declare that we never want to hear that Kurdishness is considered a separate element in the General National Assembly government, but we wish success and present our respects.[67]

The process of the magazine's closure was described in the written response as follows:

> In the second week of February 1979, while preparations were being made to deliver the articles of the second issue of the newspaper to the printing house, the official statement of the Ankara Martial Law Command, which was broadcast on TRT's 13:00 news bulletin on February 14, 1979 (and in the newspapers the next day), announced that "the printing and distribution of the publications named Roja Welat, Özgürlük Yolu, Rızgari, Ala Rızgari, Kawa, Halkın Kurtuluşu, Halkın Sesi and Kon, which were engaged in separatist and subversive publications, were banned". What was interesting and regrettable in the Martial Law Command's statement was that Kon newspaper, which published

67 "Kürtler küçük lokmanın çok kolay yutulacağını gününden çok önce anlamışlardır. Türk birliğinden ayrılmak düşüncesinde bulunanları Kürtler kendilerinden saymazlar. Kürt'ün kaderi Türk'ün kaderi ile birdir. Biz Kürtler, BMM hükümetinden başka kurtarıcı beklemediğimiz gibi, İtilaf devletlerinden yardım dilenmek alçaklığını da kabul etmiyoruz. Misak-ı Milli'ye göre barış yapılmasını sağlamak için bütün varlığımızla hükümetimize yardımcı olacağız. BMM hükümeti içinde Kürtlüğün ayrı bir unsur olarak görüldüğünü hiçbir zaman işitmek istemediğimizi bildirir, başarılar diler, saygılarımızı sunarız." Abdurrahman Öncel, "Ey Ehl-i İslam Uyan!," *Kon*, 1979, 3.

along the lines of national unity and solidarity against separatist and subversive activities, was lumped in with Marxist-Leninist and Kurdish-separatist publications and closed down. This grave contradiction could not be understood.

Then, at around 01:00 am on February 17, 1979, the Kon Office on Ziya Gökalp Street in Ankara was raided by a police squad from the Ankara Security Directorate. Approximately three thousand copies of the newspaper and its archive were confiscated. Six people in the office were detained. They were taken to the Ankara Security Directorate, where they were arrested and interrogated for a few days before being transferred to the Mamak Military Prison instead of the courthouse/prosecutor's office. They were released after about two months.

After the banning of Kon newspaper, the work that had been interrupted was resumed a few months later under the name of "Kon Publishing House." The first book published was Mehmet Şükrü Sekban's "Kürt Meselesi" (1979). The second was "Şadillili Vedat" [Vedat Güldoğan]'s "Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar" (1980). The publishing house's activity ended with the September 12, 1980 military coup. Approximately 6,000 copies of the two books were confiscated on September 17, 1980, by an army team that operated in the publishing house's office. After this incident, Kon Publishing House closed down.[68]

68 "1979 Şubatının ikinci haftasında, gazetenin 2. sayısının yazılarının matbaaya teslim edilmesi için hazırlık yapılırken, TRT'nin 14 Şubat 1979 günü saat 13:00 haber bülteninde (ve ertesi gün gazetelerde) yayınlanan Ankara Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın resmî açıklamasında, "Bölücü ve yıkıcı yayınlar yapan Roja Welat, Özgürlük Yolu, Rızgari, Ala Rızgari, Kawa, Halkın Kurtuluşu, Halkın Sesi, Kon isimli yayın organlarının basım ve dağıtımının yasaklandığı" duyuruldu. Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın açıklamasında ilginç ve üzücü olan husus, bölücü ve yıkıcı faaliyetlere karşı millî birlik ve beraberlik çizgisinde yayın yapan Kon gazetesinin, Marksist-Leninist ve Kürtçü-bölücü yayınlarla aynı kefeye konulup kapatılmasıydı. Bu vahim çelişkiye bir türlü anlam verilemiyordu.
Ardından, 16 Şubat'ı 17 Şubat 1979'a bağlayan gece yarısı saat 01:00 sıralarında, Ankara'nın Ziya Gökalp Caddesi üzerindeki Kon Bürosu, Ankara Emniyet Müdürlüğü'ne

bağlı bir polis timi tarafından basıldı. Gazetenin yaklaşık üç bin adet nüshası ile arşivine el konuldu. Büroda bulunan 6 kişi gözaltına alındı. Ankara Emniyet Müdürlüğü'ne götürülerek birkaç gün gözaltında tutulan ve sorgulanan bu kişiler, anlaşılmaz bir şekilde, oradan adliye/savcılık yerine Mamak Askeri Cezaevi'ne sevk edilip, yaklaşık iki ay sonra serbest bırakıldılar.

Kon gazetesinin yasaklanmasıyla birlikte akamete uğrayan çalışmalar, birkaç ay sonra kurulan "Kon Yayınevi" adı altında sürdürüldü. Neşredilen ilk kitap, Mehmet Şükrü Sekban'ın "Kürt Meselesi" (1979) adlı eseriydi. İkincisi ise, "Şadillili Vedat" [Vedat Güldoğan]'ın "Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar" (1980) adlı kitabıydı. Yayınevi faaliyeti de 12 Eylül 1980 askeri darbesiyle birlikte sona erdi. Zira neşredilen iki kitabın yaklaşık 6 bin adedine, 17 Eylül 1980 günü yayınevinin bürosuna operasyon düzenleyen bir askeri tim tarafından el konuldu. Bu olaydan sonra Kon Yayınevi de kapandı." "Written Reply by E-Mail," May 30, 2024.

4

Perception of the Early Republican Period Uprisings and the Perception of Ethnicity

§ 4.1 Perception of the Early Republican Period Uprisings

This chapter aims to examine the perceptions of the Early Republican Period uprisings and ethnicity of the people who joined the idealist movement between 1965 and 1980 from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the light of existing primary sources and semi-structured interviews.

4.1.1 *The Sheikh Said Uprising in the Literature*

There is a vast literature on the uprisings that broke out in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia during the Early Republican Period. This vast literature consists of not only the studies conducted in Turkey but also many studies prepared outside of the country. The introductory part of this chapter aims to examine how the literature on the subject approaches the character of the Sheikh Said uprising. Whether the uprising had a religious character or was a separatist/nationalist uprising is an essential topic of debate in the literature. Since this is one of the issues discussed by those who participated in the idealist

movement between 1965 and 1980 as well, it is necessary to examine the literature on the character of the uprising.

Iraqi professor Wadie Jwaideh, whose PhD. thesis on the subject was published in 1960 and is one of the leading figures in the literature on the uprisings, states that both religious and separatist/nationalist aspirations were influential in the Sheikh Said uprising.[1] According to Jwaideh, both the abolition of the office of the caliphate in 1924 and the gradual restriction of the use of the Kurdish language throughout 1924 were some of the reasons that led to the rebellion.[2] Jwaideh comments on the atmosphere that the reforms led in Turkey prior to the uprising, especially the abolition of the office of the caliphate, as follows:

> The Turkish governments' secularizing and westernizing policies, though not objectionable to Kurdish intellectuals, were without any doubt very odious to the mass of the Kurdish people. The religious and tribal chieftains, in particular, were bitterly opposed to these policies, which ran counter to their most cherished beliefs and threatened their hereditary privileges. In the eyes of devout Kurds, the suppression of the caliphate and the Shari'a law by the leaders of the new Turkey severed the ancient and deeply cherished bond of Islamic brotherhood between themselves and the Turks. They felt that they no longer had anything in common with the authors of these impious innovations, who, by their own actions, had cut themselves off from the rest of the faithful. What was incomprehensible to them was that this alien and renegade government was now telling them that henceforth they were going to be Turks, not Kurds, which was like telling them to renounce their nationality, adjure their faith, and join the

1 Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development*, Contemporary Issues in the Middle East (Syracuse (N. Y.): Syracuse University Press, 2006), 209.

2 Jwaideh, 209.

company of the impious and the iniquitous. They were not going to submit to such dictation.[3]

The Dutch anthropologist Martin van Bruinessen, another prominent figure in the literature on the subject, argues that the Sheikh Said uprising was neither purely religious nor purely separatist/nationalist in nature.[4] According to Bruinessen, there is no doubt about the separatist/nationalist motivations of the uprising's organizers, but it is also possible to find many people who were uncomfortable with the abolition of the caliphate among the rebels.[5] Bruinessen emphasizes the separatist/nationalist nature of the uprising by arguing that Sheikh Said made Fehmi Bilal, "a blasphemer who publicly mocked religion,"[6] his right-hand man only because he was a "convinced nationalist."[7] According to Bruinessen, the sheikh's first goal was to establish an independent Kurdistan.[8] British historian David McDowall, on the other hand, emphasizes the separatist/nationalist aspect of the uprising but

3 "Türk Hükümetinin uyguladığı, halkı dinin tesirinden uzaklaştırıcı ve batılılaştırıcı politikalar Kürt aydınlarının itirazına yol açmasa da hiç şüphesiz Kürt halkının büyük bir çoğunluğuna göre nefret vericiydi. Özellikle dinî liderler ve aşiret reisleri bu politikalara karşı çıkıyordu; çünkü bunlar en aziz tuttukları inançlarıyla çelişiyor ve kendilerine atalarından miras kalan ayrıcalıklarını tehdit ediyordu. Dindar Kürtlerin gözünde, Halifeliğin ve Şeriat yasalarının yeni Türkiye'nin liderleri tarafından kaldırılması Türklerle aralarındaki köklü ve büyük önem verilen din kardeşliği bağını kopardı. Bu kafir yenilikleri yaratan ve inançlı insanlarla bağlarını kendi kendilerine koparan Türklerle artık hiçbir ortak yönlerinin kalmadığını hissettiler. Anlayamadıkları şey, bu yabancı ve dininden dönmüş hükümetin kendilerine bu andan itibaren Kürt değil Türk olacaklarım söylemesiydi. Hiç şüphesiz bu onlara milliyetlerini inkar etmelerini, dinlerinden dönmelerini ve kafirlere, Şeriat kanunlarını hiçe sayanlara katılmalarını söylemek gibiydi. Boyun eğmeyecekleri bir şey varsa o da buydu." Jwaideh, 210.

4 Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh, and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London ; Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Zed Books, 1992), 298.

5 Bruinessen, 298.

6 "dinle alenen alay eden bir kafir" Bruinessen, 298.

7 Bruinessen, 298.

8 Bruinessen, 298.

argues that the main priority of the rebels was the restoration of the caliphate.[9]

In his book titled *Kürt-İslam Ayaklanması*, which was published as a book after being serialized in Cumhuriyet newspaper, researcher-journalist Uğur Mumcu presents the views of İsmail Beşikçi, Mete Tunçay, Yalçın Küçük, Abdullah Öcalan and Cemalettin Kaplan on the nature of the Sheikh Said uprising and then offers his own interpretation. Mumcu states that all of the names listed in the previous sentence, except Cemalettin Kaplan, share the same understanding of the character of the uprising and that the uprising had both religious and separatist/nationalist roots.[10] Cemalettin Kaplan, on the other hand, argues that the uprising was an Islamic uprising and that the Kurds and the Turks participated in the uprising together.[11] Uğur Mumcu, in line with the title of his book, comments on the character of the uprising by saying: "It is certain that the uprising was a Kurdish-Islamic uprising." According to Mumcu, the uprising has both religious and separatist/nationalist roots.[12]

In his assessment of the uprising, a retired ambassador who had passed away recently, Bilal N. Şimşir, states that the uprising was a reactionary uprising (irticai ayaklanma).[13] Şimşir states that both Atatürk and İsmet İnönü noted at various times that the uprising was a "reactionary incident."[14] Şimşir explains his opinion on why the uprising was deliberately presented as a separatist/nationalist uprising by some foreign researchers with the following words:

9 David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 3., rev.updated ed., reprint (London: Tauris, 2013), 197.

10 Uğur Mumcu, *Kürt-İslam Ayaklanması, 1919-1925*, 25. Baskı (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1999), 208–9.

11 Mumcu, 209.

12 Mumcu, 209.

13 Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Kürtçülük II* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2007), 30.

14 Şimşir, 30.

> However, some foreign researchers are trying to portray the tribal revolts of the past as 'Kurdish national movements' to break up Turkey. They try to present even Naqshbandi sheikhs as "Kurdish nationalists" by turning historical and sociological facts upside down. In this context, they try to present the Sheikh Sait uprising as a national movement. These are false and futile efforts.[15]

4.1.2 *Views on Uprisings from Within the Idealist Movement*

The book *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar* (Kurdist Movements and Uprisings in Turkey), written by Vedat Güldoğan, a writer for Kon magazine and one of the chairmen of the Diyarbakır branch of Idealist Hearths, is one of the publications that can best summarize the perspectives of those who participated in the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980 on the uprisings that broke out in these two regions during the Early Republican Period. The book, which is said to have been used as a source by a group of thirty people called *Educators* (Eğitimciler) within the idealist movement in the 1970s during trainings in 1980,[16] presents a chronological narrative of the uprisings in the East from the early 1800s to the Dersim incidents of 1937-38 and enriches this narrative by analyzing the activities of separatist groups operating inside and outside Turkey in the 1940s and beyond. In addition to Güldoğan's book, there is also another book titled *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler* (*1925 Sheikh Said Movement: Lies and Truths*) written by Hayri Başbuğ, another author of Kon magazine.

Although the perspectives of those who participated in the movement in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia from 1965 to 1980 regarding

15 "Ancak bazı yabancı araştırmacılar, Türkiye'yi parçalamak amacıyla geçmişteki aşiret isyanlarını 'Kürt milli hareketleri' olarak gösterme çabası içindedirler. Bunlar tarihsel ve sosyolojik gerçekleri ters yüz ederek Nakşibendi şeyhlerini bile 'Kürt milliyetçileri' imiş gibi takdim etmeye, bu bağlamda Şeyh Sait ayaklanmasını da bir milli hareket gibi göstermeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bunlar yanlış ve boşuna çabalardır." Şimşir, 30.

16 Personal Interview with Participant 6 from Elazığ.

uprisings in this period differed from time to time, there were some common reactions and interpretations. Firstly, excluding the evaluations of those who left the movement in later years, the uprisings that took place in the Early Republican Period were seen as treason and denounced. Secondly, the social structure in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia was criticized and seen as one of the causes of the uprisings in the region. For example, Vedat Güldoğan stated that people who had previously exploited the labor of the people of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia under the titles of sheikhs and aghas began to show dissatisfaction because they knew that they would lose these opportunities of exploitation with the strengthening of the republic.[17] Thirdly, the uprisings were often associated with the international powers of the period, from Britain and France to the USSR, and these countries were accused of supporting the uprisings and trying to divide the Turkish nation. In addition to these common interpretations, it is also possible to find some ambiguities in the view of the uprisings. One of these ambiguities emerged in interpreting the Sheikh Said uprising, and different opinions emerged on whether Sheikh Said acted with separatist/nationalist or religious motives.

Before moving on to Güldoğan's approach to the uprisings in the Early Republican Period, it would be useful to mention how he approached the Koçgiri uprising of 1921 for a better understanding of the uprisings in the following years. Güldoğan's approach to this uprising is based on revealing its "treacherous" nature by emphasizing its time and place. Since the uprising reached its peak in the last months of 1920 and the first half of 1921, when the armies of the Ankara government had to face the Greek offensive from the west, Güldoğan links it to the Istanbul government and the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan (Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti), which had started its activities in 1918 and worked for "Kurdish autonomy."[18] According to Güldoğan, some of the leading figures of the uprising, such as Alişan, were directly linked to the Istanbul

17 Vedat Güldoğan, *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar* (Ankara: Kon Yayınevi, 1980), 70–71.

18 Güldoğan, 35–50.

government.[19] Güldoğan states that Alişir, another prominent figure of the uprising, was also directly related to the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan.[20] Emphasizing that in the first half of 1921, when the uprising reached its peak, the armies of the Ankara government faced a Greek offensive from Western Anatolia, Güldoğan makes the following comment on the uprising:

> It should not be difficult to guess where the roots of this rebellion, which was launched in our Eastern region on the same date when the Greeks were advancing on our lands for the invasion of Anatolia from the Western front.[21]

In a letter to the Ankara government dated November 1920, the Koçgiri rebels demanded the recognition of a Kurdish autonomous region in accordance with the Treaty of Sèvres, the release of Kurdish prisoners held in prisons in Elazığ, Malatya, Sivas, and Erzincan, and the withdrawal of Turkish civil servants from Kurdish-majority areas.[22] According to Güldoğan, although the rebels continued to make these and similar demands through telegrams to Ankara from November 1920 to March 1921, the differences of opinion between the rebels and some tribal leaders in the region who had never participated in the uprising continued to increase during this period.[23] These differences of opinion were exacerbated when some rebels, such as a tribal leader, Meço Ağa, stopped supporting the rebellion and accepted an offer from Ankara to become a member of parliament.[24] He then traveled to Ankara with Diyap Ağa, who would later become close friends with Atatürk.[25] While Güldoğan appreciates the behavior of Diyap Aga and some of the tribal

19 Güldoğan, 38.

20 Güldoğan, 38.

21 "Yunanlıların; Batı cephesinden, Anadolu'nun istilası için topraklarımızda ilerlerken, aynı tarihte Doğu bölgemizde başlatılan bu isyanın kökünün nerelere dayandığını tahmin etmek zor olmasa gerek." Güldoğan, 50.

22 Güldoğan, 38–39.

23 Güldoğan, 39.

24 Güldoğan, 39.

25 Güldoğan, 39.

leaders who broke away from the uprising, he accuses other prominent insurrectionist figures, such as Alişir, who took refuge in Seyit Rıza after the uprising, of betraying their nation at a difficult time when the Greek offensive was developing.

Güldoğan's approach to the Sheikh Said uprising is that it was an uprising movement supported from outside Turkey. Güldoğan mentions the attack on Diyarbakır by Sheikh Said and the rebels under his command about a month after the start of the uprising and cites the presence of catalogs of some British arms factories in Diyarbakır, which Uğur Mumcu also mentioned in his 1991 book *Kurdish-Islamic Uprising*, as evidence for his claim that the uprising was supported from outside Turkey.[26] According to Güldoğan, the Sheikh Said uprising was initially based on the aim of re-establishing Sharia law, but during the development of the rebellion, with the support of some names and connections, it was directed towards separatism and the establishment of an imperialism-backed Kurdish state.[27] Güldoğan also mentions Sheikh Said's son Ali Rıza's meeting in Istanbul with Sayyid Abdülkadir, the head of the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan, as an attempt to prepare for an uprising and states that Sheikh Said's aim at the beginning of the rebellion was not to establish a Kurdish state but to re-establish Sharia law.[28]

In his book *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler,* published in 2020, Hayri Başbuğ, the author of the editorial in Kon magazine, argues that the character of the uprising was religious rather than separatist/nationalist.[29] In his book, Başbuğ argues that Sheikh Said's aim was not to establish a separate Kurdish state but to re-establish the caliphate and sharia.[30] Başbuğ also quotes from the memoirs of Ahmet Süreyya Örgeevren, the prosecutor of the Eastern Independence Tribunal

26 Güldoğan, 100.

27 Güldoğan, 75.

28 Güldoğan, 75.

29 Hayri Başbuğ, *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler* (Ankara: Varan Kitapevi, 2020), 329–30.

30 Başbuğ, 329–30.

(Şark İstiklal Mahkemesi), a speech made by Sheikh Said in the Genç district of Bingöl shortly after the beginning of the uprising. Başbuğ argues that the sheikh's pro-Sharia statements in this speech indicate that the uprising did not have a separatist aim.[31] According to Başbuğ, Sheikh Said wanted the emergence of an objection to the re-establishment of sharia and the caliphate both in the regions where Kurds lived in large numbers and throughout the country.[32] For this reason, according to Başbuğ, Sheikh Said compared the pre-republican and post-republican periods in a speech he delivered in Bingöl's Genç district about a week after the start of the uprising, stating that after the proclamation of the republic, the hijab was abolished and dancing was practiced, the offices of the caliphate and the shaykh al-Islam were destroyed, the sharia was not respected, and the prohibition of liquor was abolished.[33] The Sheikh continued his speech by saying that it was not permissible to remain a bystander to these situations, that he was going to "qiyam" against the secular government, and that there were those who supported and joined his "cause" in Diyarbakır, Konya, and other cities and even "in Ankara."[34] According to Başbuğ, this speech of Sheikh Said was important proof that the primary purpose of the uprising was to re-establish the caliphate and sharia and that the uprising was not motivated by separatist/nationalist reasons.[35]

It can be said that both Güldoğan and Başbuğ had negative views on the uprising, with their comments that the uprising had a religious character in general. As mentioned above, Güldoğan claimed that there were many elements with foreign support in the uprising and condemned them by stating that these elements were trying to break up

31 Başbuğ, 115.

32 Başbuğ, 114.

33 Ahmet Süreyya Örgeevren, *Şeyh Sait İsyanı ve Şark İstiklal Mahkemesi-Vesikalar, Olaylar, Hatıralar* (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 2002), 268–69, quoted in Başbuğ, *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler*, 113–14.

34 Örgeevren, *Şeyh Sait İsyanı ve Şark İstiklal Mahkemesi-Vesikalar, Olaylar, Hatıralar*, 268–69, quoted in Başbuğ, *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler*, 114.

35 Başbuğ, *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler*, 115.

the Turkish nation. According to Güldoğan, one of these elements was Sayyid Abdülkadir, president of the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan in Istanbul during the War of Independence and continued his activities in Istanbul after the end of the war. According to Güldoğan, Sayyid Abdülkadir held meetings in Istanbul with the Turkish intelligence officer Nizamettin Bey, whom he thought was a British Foreign Office official, and in these meetings, thinking that he was talking to a British official, he asked Britain to support the establishment of a Kurdish emirate.[36] Sayyid Abdülkadir continued his demands and asked Britain to protect the emirate he wanted to establish from attacks by neighboring states, to appoint him as the head of the emirate, and not to interfere with the cabinet being formed.[37] According to Güldoğan, Nizamettin Bey's meetings with Sayyid Abdülkadir show that there was a widespread search for foreign support among the rebels. Güldoğan concretizes his claim of foreign support by including this narrative of intelligence element.

In the discussion on the character of the uprising, contrary to Güldoğan's approach, Başbuğ separates the sheikh's personality from the separatist/nationalist attitude. According to Başbuğ, the sheikh did not adopt the separatist or pro-autonomy ideas of Sayyid Abdülkadir and his close circle during the uprising.[38] Başbuğ claims that since Sayyid Abdülkadir and his close circle were arrested in Istanbul shortly after the uprising began, it was not possible for the sheikh to have any contact with them during the uprising.[39] Against Güldoğan's approach, which includes Sayyid Abdülkadir and his close circle in the uprising, Başbuğ argues that Sayyid Abdülkadir and the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan were never in the main backbone of the uprising.[40] In conclusion, it can be said that both of these figures, who wrote in Kon magazine, have negative opinions

36 Güldoğan, *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar*, 73.

37 Güldoğan, 73.

38 Başbuğ, *1925 Şeyh Said Hareketi: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler*, 327.

39 Başbuğ, 321.

40 Başbuğ, 327.

about the uprising, but they have partially different views about its nature.

In the section of his book on the Dersim incidents (Dersim olayları) and the Tunceli campaign (Tunceli Harekatı), Güldoğan criticizes Seyit Rıza's efforts to hide the leading figures of the Koçgiri uprising from 1921 onwards and notes that there were unintended casualties, especially in the second phase of the campaign in 1938.[41] According to Güldoğan, the rebellious tribal leaders, especially Seyit Rıza, posed a significant threat to the republic's authority in the region before the campaign.[42] Güldoğan argues that the rebellious Dersim tribes and their leaders disrupted public order in the area and hindered the process of state services in the region.[43] Güldoğan also emphasizes that the uprising began at a time when the Hatay issue was on the agenda and suggested that a French intervention may have been influential in the Dersim incidents.[44]

The Ağrı uprisings that took place between 1926 and 1930 also find a place in Güldoğan's book. While interpreting these uprisings, Vedat Güldoğan gives examples of the cooperation between the separatist Armenian and Kurdish groups of the time. According to Güldoğan, the Khoyboun Society (Hoybun Cemiyeti), founded in 1927 by separatist Armenian and Kurdish groups, aimed at the establishment of an independent Kurdish state and the expansion of Armenia's borders.[45] Sheikh Said's brother Sheikh Mehdi was also present at the Beirut Congress of the organization, and Vahan Papazyan, one of the Armenian separatists, was elected president in this congress.[46] According to Güldoğan, this development angered Sheikh Mehdi, who stood up and threw the map discussed at the meeting on the table and said the following:

41 Güldoğan, *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar*, 148–50.

42 Güldoğan, 150.

43 Güldoğan, 150.

44 Güldoğan, 149.

45 Güldoğan, 167.

46 Güldoğan, 167.

> The nature of the game played so far is now understood. Look at this map; two Armenias and a Kurdistan are caught between two fists in the middle. Who would accept this? This shows that you secretly want to drag us into the abyss to eliminate us. We do not accept this decision.[47]

According to Güldoğan, these words of Sheikh Mehdi at the meeting of the Khoyboun Society indicate the intention of the Armenian separatist groups in the society to create an Armenian region in and around Adana and to expand the existing borders of Armenia to include Ağrı and Van. These intentions of the Armenian separatists in the organization disturbed the Kurdish separatists in the society, and the organization experienced a process of disintegration in the following years. Dr. Şükrü Mehmet Sekban, one of the senior members of the society, became one of the most striking examples of this split, and after leaving the society, he published his book *Kürt Meselesi* (Kurdish Question) in Paris in 1933, arguing that Kurds and Turks were of the same race.[48]

As mentioned above, Güldoğan's interpretations of the uprisings are generally based on revealing their treacherous nature and criticizing their leading figures, but in the case of the Khoyboun Society and the Ağrı uprisings, another dimension is added to his interpretations. Güldoğan tries to show that cooperating with other separatist groups in the region and with international powers would not benefit the Kurds by conveying

47 "Buraya kadar oynanan oyunun mahiyeti artık anlaşılmıştır. Şu şekle bakınız, iki Ermenistan ve ortada iki yumruk arasında kalmış bir Kürdistan, bunu kim kabul eder… Bu da gösteriyor ki, siz bizi ortadan kaldırmak için gizlice uçuruma sürüklemek istiyorsunuz. Biz bu kararı kabul etmiyoruz." Güldoğan, 168–69.

48 Republican historian Zafer Toprak states that the concept of "the Turanian race encompassing the various elements of Anatolia" found adherents among some Kurdish intellectuals in the early years of the republic and that these intellectuals argued that the homeland of the Kurds was Central Asia. According to Toprak, Sekban, after his ten years in Iraq, observed that living in the mountains made Kurds more hardened in character but that it was difficult to make an anthropological distinction between Kurds and Turks. For detailed information, see Zafer Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e: Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, Tarih (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012), 580–82.

the view of the separatist Armenian members in the Khoyboun Society towards the Kurds. Güldoğan also gives examples from some newspapers of the period while showing from his own perspective the unreliability of the Khoyboun and the international powers that allowed Khoyboun to operate in their countries. A newspaper published in Iran, Sehend, quoted by Güldoğan, commented on the situation of the Kurds during the Ağrı uprisings with the following words:

> Arabs say that a wise man does not put his finger in the scorpion's hole twice. However, the Kurds have poisoned themselves in the same hole many times. The Kurds were encouraged to revolt. And those who worked for this result achieved their goal.[49]

Another newspaper cited by Güldoğan, Feth el-Arab, commented on the uprising with the following words:

> The Kurds were crushed; it does not matter whether the Turks or the Kurds were crushed by those who drove them into the fire. Turks do not boast of this success because it is their brothers who died. The Kurds have learned a good lesson. They have realized that foreign promises only work for so long, and when disaster strikes, they are nowhere to be seen.[50]

Suggesting that Britain and France supported the Ağrı uprisings through the Khoyboun Society, Güldoğan interpreted these uprisings in a similar way to the other uprisings and evaluated them as an externally

49 "Araplar derler ki akıllı bir adam akrebin deliğine iki defa parmağını sokmaz. Halbuki Kürtler aynı delikte kendilerini kaç defa zehirlettiler. Kürtler isyana teşvik edildiler. Bu netice için çalışanlar da muratlarına erdiler." *Sehend*, December 7, 1930, quoted in Güldoğan, *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar*, 135.

50 "Kürtler ezildiler, onları ateşe sürenler için Türkler veya Kürtler ezilsin mühim değildir. Türkler bu başarı ile övünmezler, çünkü ölen kardeşleridir. Kürtler iyi ders aldı. Gördüler ki, yabancı vaatleri ile bir yere kadar gelir, felaket baş gösterince ortada görünmezler." *Feth El-Arab*, October 21, 1930, quoted in Güldoğan, *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar*, 134.

supported separatist movement's attempt to provoke the Kurds, whom he considered as a part of the Turkish nation.

Güldoğan's perspective on the uprisings is also shared by the fifteen participants with whom semi-structured interviews were conducted. The participants, numbered in the table at the beginning of the subsection *Participants' Perception of Ethnicity*, think that most of the uprisings in the early years of the republic were scenarios designed by the imperialists to divide the Turkish nation. However, some participants stated that the republic sometimes overdid during the operations that suppressed some uprisings, such as the Tunceli campaign in 1938.[51] As for the view of the Sheikh Said uprising, the difference of opinion among the participants is about the nature of it. While some participants said that the religious dimension of the uprising was more dominant, others said that the separatist/nationalist character of the uprising was more eminent.

Some participants also stated that the conditions that increased participation in the uprisings should be analyzed well. Participant No. 3 from Malatya, one of the participants numbered in the table at the beginning of the *Participants' Perception of Ethnicity* subsection, argued that some of the reforms made in the early years of the republic were perceived as "anti-religious" by the public and that Sheikh Said was able to find supporters for the uprising more easily because of this.[52] Participant No. 13 from Bingöl said that when he visited his village as a child, people used to talk about Sheikh Said as the "protector of our religion" and "hero" and that he was disturbed by this attitude.[53] Participant No. 6 from Elazığ stated that among the descendants of the people who participated in the Sheikh Said uprising and were sentenced to death by the Independence Tribunals, some joined the idealist movement in the later years and said that this is a situation that should be thought about well. The participant also stated that he believed that the young republic sometimes overdid it while suppressing the uprisings,

51 Personal Interview with Participant 6 from Elazığ.

52 Personal Interview with Participant 3 from Malatya.

53 Personal Interview with Participant 12 from Bingöl.

especially the Tunceli operation in 1938, but that he could understand the psychology of the republic's founding fathers during this period and why they adopted a more hardliner attitude.[54]

Researcher writer Mahmut Akyürekli, who states that he was involved in the idealist movement in the 1970s but distanced himself from it after 1983 by discarding his political engagements,[55] also has some studies on the uprisings in the East in the Early Republican Period. In the interview he gave me, Akyürekli stated that while studying at the Tunceli Teachers' School in 1969-1970, as a child of a conservative family, he found himself in the right-left polarization and joined first the right in general and then the idealist movement.[56] Akyürekli stated that the actionary identity of the idealist movement was effective in his joining the movement and that he was disturbed by the leftists' attitude towards religion; he also emphasized that he saw the idealist movement as the movement that fought most effectively against the anti-religious attitude of the left in those years.[57] Akyürekli indicated that his estrangement from the movement began in 1978 when he read the article "Kurds" in the Encyclopedia of Islam.[58] Akyürekli stated that after reading this article, he asked himself the question, "If Kurds are not Turkish, then who are the Kurds?"[59] and that after 1980, when he concluded that the Kurds are not Turkish, his interest in the idealist movement weakened.[60] While Akyürekli conveys his views on the uprisings in the Early Republican Era in the books he wrote to examine the relations between the nation-state and the Kurds, in his three-part interview series with Rudaw, he also makes evaluations about the uprisings as well as assessments about the period in which he was involved in the idealist movement in the 1970s.

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54 Personal Interview with Participant 6 from Elazığ.

55 "Akyürekli: Milliyetçilik Mensubiyetini Sevmek Irkçılık Ise Onu Kutsamaktır," Accessed March 20, 2023 rudaw.net, January 15, 2023, https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/interview/15012023.

56 Personal Interview with Mahmut Akyürekli, on June 5, 2024, in Tuzla, Istanbul.

57 Personal Interview with Mahmut Akyürekli.

58 "Akyürekli," January 15, 2023.

59 "Madem Kürtler Türk değil, o halde Kürtler kim?" "Akyürekli."

60 "Akyürekli."

According to Akyürekli, the Koçgiri uprising of 1920 and 1921 should be seen as an uprising by the Kurdish tribes in the region due to their loyalty to the caliphate in Istanbul.[61] Akyürekli argues that there was a "massacre" during the suppression of the uprising and claims that after the uprising, groups led by Topal Osman Agha oppressed and plundered the people regardless of whether they participated in the uprising or not.[62]

Describing the 1925 Sheikh Said uprising as a "Kurdish movement centered on Sharia,"[63] Akyürekli states that there was no British support for the uprising, but Sayyid Abdülkadir and his close circle in Istanbul were seeking support from the British authorities.[64] According to Akyürekli, the main backbone of the uprising was based on a religious objection, and its relationship with Sayyid Abdülkadir and his circle remained ambiguous throughout the uprising.[65] Although Akyürekli claims that the role of religion was more dominant in the Sheikh Said uprising, he states that a separatist ground was formed in the Ağrı uprisings that continued from 1926 to 1930.[66] According to Akyürekli, with the arrival of former Ottoman pasha, İhsan Nuri, a member of the Khoyboun Society, to the region in 1929, the uprising in Ağrı took on a separatist character, but it did not succeed due to the strengthening of the Turkish government in the last six years and the fact that Russia and Iran did not take an anti-Turkish position during the uprising.[67]

61 "Akyürekli: Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Emperyalistlere Karşı İlk Başkaldıranlar Kürtlerdi," Accessed March 20, 2023 rudaw.net, December 31, 2022, https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/interview/27122022.

62 "Akyürekli"; Mahmut Akyürekli, *Koçkıri Kırımı: 1920-1921* (İstanbul: Tarih Kulübü Yayınları, 2017), 198.

63 "Şeriat eksenli Kürdi bir hareket" "Tarihçi Akyürekli: Şeyh Said İki Ay Daha Dirense Muhtemelen Dersim de Katılacaktı," Accessed March 20, 2023 rudaw.net, January 3, 2023, https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/interview/03012023.

64 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."

65 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."

66 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."

67 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."

As for the Tunceli campaign of 1937-38, Akyürekli describes it as a "massacre." In an interview with Rudaw, he states that the Dersimites had formed tribal branches and attacked each other for years, that plunder had become a kind of "economic institution" in the region, so the state carried out this operation citing these reasons.[68] According to Akyürekli, since Turkey was built on the understanding of a "nation-state" and "one nation," this understanding necessitated the assimilation of the Kurds in those years and the intimidation or dispersal of those who could not be assimilated.[69] Emphasizing that Ankara reacted to Seyit Rıza's hosting and hiding some Koçgiri tribal chiefs in Tunceli after the Koçgiri uprising, Akyürekli believes the tension between the state and Seyit Rıza goes back to these years.[70] According to Akyürekli, the operation in Tunceli resulted in a massacre and was intended to intimidate the Kurds.[71]

Although Akyürekli sometimes treats the uprisings in the Early Republican Period as a "quest for rights" and criticizes the republican policy towards uprisings, he also states in an interview that he can make sense of Atatürk's preference for a nation-state approach during the foundation of the republic:

> For him, it didn't matter whether his name was Turkish or Kurdish; his only aim was to build a state from the rubble. He was a pragmatist leader; he didn't care much about Turkishness initially. Later, in order to create a state, he had to create a nation. While creating a state, he started to create a nation based on Turkishness. And he was right. Because if he created a nation based on Turkishness, no one would object. In the last hundred years of the Ottoman Empire, Europeans also referred to the Ottomans and Turkish Islam as Turks. No one would have rebelled. If there had been such an attempt through Kurdishness, every one of the Kurdish tribal leaders would have wanted to

68 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."
69 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."
70 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."
71 "Tarihçi Akyürekli."

become a leader. The Kurds would have taken care of each other first.[72]

In an interview he gave me, Mahmut Akyürekli also stated that although he found the approach to the uprisings in the Early Republican Era harsh, there should not be any enmity towards Atatürk because of this "harsh approach" and that everyone living in this country owed Atatürk a debt of gratitude.[73]

This chapter presented an analysis of how people who came out of the idealist movement approached the uprisings at various times, based on the views of Hayri Başbuğ, Vedat Güldoğan, and Mahmut Akyürekli, three people who participated in the movement between 1965 and 1980. This analysis is enriched by the inclusion of the views of fifteen semi-structured interviewees in the chapter.

§ 4.2 Perception of Ethnicity

4.2.1 *Concepts of Ethnicity and Nation*

International relations professor Şener Aktürk cites Max Weber's definition of ethnicity as "a social category based on the subjective belief

72 "Onun için adının Türk veya Kürt olması önemli değildi, tek amacı enkazdan bir devlet kurmaktı. Pragmatist bir liderdi, çok da Türklük derdi yoktu başlangıçta. Daha sonra bir devlet oluşturmak için bir ulus yaratması gerekti. Bir devlet yaratırken, Türklük üzerinden bir ulus yaratmaya başladı. Haklıydı da. Çünkü Türklük üzerinden bir ulus yaratırsa kimse itiraz etmezdi. Osmanlı'nın son yüz senesinde, Avrupalı da Osmanlı'dan, Türk İslam'dan Türk diye söz ediyordu. Kimse isyan etmezdi. Kürtlük üzerinden böyle bir girişimi olsaydı Kürt aşiret liderlerinin her biri lider olmak isterdi. Önce Kürtler biri birinin icabına bakardı." "Tarihçi Mahmut Akyürekli: Devlet Dersim Üzerinden Kürtlere Bir Ders Vermek İstedi - II," Accessed March 22, 2023, December 20, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20210127071346/https://www.basnews.com/tr/babat/656453.

73 Personal Interview with Mahmut Akyürekli.

in a common ancestry."[74] In Weber's definition of ethnic group, the factors that provide this subjective belief in common ancestry are "similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or memories of colonization and migration."[75] According to Weber, if such a belief is not common in the society in question, it is impossible to categorize that society under the heading of a common ethnic group.[76]

Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, one of the leading ideologues of the idealist movement in the 1970s, also mentions the concept of *içtimai ırk* (social race). In his articles titled *İçtimai Irk Gerçeği* (The Reality of Social Race), *Türk İçtimai Irkı Geliştirilmelidir* (Turkish Social Race Should Be Developed) and *İçtimai Irk Kavramı Birleştiricidir* (The Concept of Social Race Is Unifying) Arvasi, similar to Weber's definition of "ethnicity," defined his concept as "the consciousness of the unity of lineage of the individuals, families, classes, and strata that constitute a nation"[77] and "the feeling of sense of belonging that appears in the form of a common consciousness as well as in the form of the consciousness of the unity of lineage and blood."[78] Weber's "subjective belief in a common ancestry" for the formation of ethnicity seems similar to Arvasi's "consciousness of the unity of descent" for the formation of *içtimai ırk*. According to Arvasi, since Islam accepts the reality of "biological race" but rejects claims of "racial superiority" and determines the most honorable of human beings before God by being advanced in taqwa, Turkish nationalists should develop policies not based on "biological race" but on the concept of *içtimai ırk* which can be achieved through "state of consciousness."[79]

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74 Max Weber, "The Origins of Ethnic Groups," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 35–40, quoted in Şener Aktürk, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), 8.

75 Weber, "The Origins of Ethnic Groups," 35.

76 Weber, 35.

77 "bir milleti teşkil eden fertlerin, ailelerin, sınıf ve tabakaların soy birliği şuuru" Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, "İçtimai Irk Gerçeği," *Hergün*, April 29, 1978.

78 "ortak bir şuur tarzında beliren mensubiyet duygusunun soy ve kan birliği şuuru biçiminde de duyulması" Arvasi.

79 Arvasi.

In another article of this series of three articles, Arvasi makes the following statements:

> (...) We are in favor of strengthening the social race through marriages that will lead to the fusion of regions, tribes, strata, and ethnic groups within a nation. Undoubtedly, everyone who melts into the Turkish social race, who joins the Turkish social race by wiving for centuries, who adopts Turkish history, culture, and ideals, who does not long for another nation in their heart, and who unites with the Turkish state and nation is a Turk. For this reason, the concept of "social race" is the subject of sociology, not biology. Social race prevents cosmopolitanization and adds the consciousness of "unity of lineage and blood" to the ties of history, culture, religion, and ideals.[80]

According to Arvasi, the concept of "nation" can also be defined as "the human element living in the same geography, connected by ties of common history, common culture, common ideal and organized with their free will."[81]

80 "Bir millet içinde bulunan bölge, aşiret, tabaka ve etnik grupların kendi aralarında kaynaşmasına yol açacak evlenmelerle içtimai ırkın güçlendirilmesinden yanayız. Hiç şüphesiz Türk içtimai ırkı içinde eriyen, asırlarca kız alıp vererek Türk içtimai ırkına katılan, Türk tarih, kültür ve ülküsünü benimseyen, gönlünde başka bir milletin özlemini taşımayan, Türk Devlet ve milleti ile kader birliği eden herkes Türk'tür. Bu sebepten 'içtimai ırk' kavramı, biyolojinin değil sosyolojinin konusudur. İçtimai ırk, kozmopolitleşmeyi önler, tarih, kültür, din ve ülkü bağlarına bir de 'soy ve kan birliği' şuurunu katar." Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, "İçtimai Irk Kavramı Birleştiricidir," *Hergün*, May 1, 1978.

81 "ortak tarih, ortak kültür, ortak ülkü bağları ile birbirlerine bağlanan ve hür iradeleri ile teşkilatlanan aynı coğrafyada yaşayan insan unsuru" Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, "Halk ve Millet," *Hergün*, June 24, 1978.

4.2.2 *Perception of Ethnicity within the Idealist Movement in the 1970s*

In an interview with journalist Hulusi Turgut in 1994, MHP Leader Alparslan Türkeş stated that he disagrees with Nihal Atsız, one of the leading ideologues of Turkish nationalism, on his view of the Kurds:

> In the conferences I gave, I talked about the Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood. Atsız, on the other hand, was saying the following against my ideas: "No, the Kurds are not Turks, Kurds are Persians. They are an uncivilized, mountainous, and savage part of the Persians."
> In the meantime, Atsız published an article insulting the Kurds in Ötüken magazine. They took Atsız to court for these articles. He was convicted and went to prison. Our friends started a petition campaign for his release.
> It is not possible for me to agree with Atsız's view because his view is contrary to my thoughts. I believe that the vast majority of the Kurds are of Turkish descent. My research and the documents I have identified have led me to this conclusion.
> Oh, there are some people who do not have Turkish roots, but it is a tiny part. They are our own people. So there is no way to see them as separate. Then, I am against a racist view. I mean, I find it wrong to say that these people are from this ethnic group; let's exclude them.
> There is no good in this for the country. I have always opposed racism and imperialism. For these reasons, Atsız and I fell out.
> Of course, I am the captain of the ship; I run the party. I don't allow any outsider to intervene in our job. There have been differences between me and many others from time to time. But it is not possible for me to compromise.[82]

82 Alparslan Türkeş and Hulûsi Turgut, *Şahinlerin Dansı: Türkeş'in Anıları*, 1. baskı, no. 2 (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: ABC Basın Ajansı Yayınları, 1995), 412, quoted in Öznur, *Ülkücü Hareket*, 1:28.

These words of Alparslan Türkeş are notable in terms of reflecting the differences of opinions within the idealist movement that became evident with the Adana Congress of the MHP in 1969. According to Akyürekli, whose views were presented in the previous subsection, the MHP moved towards a more Islamic line after the Adana Congress, and the "ethnic nationalist vein" (etnik milliyetçi damar) within the party was liquidated.[83] Although Akyürekli claims that the Adana Congress symbolizes a considerable "divergence" within the movement, the academic Alihan Limoncuoğlu suggests "there had never been any real tensions" between the groups he called Turkists and Turko-Islamists.[84] According to Limoncuoğlu, the differences of opinion between these groups that formed the party still exist today; however, it has never turned into a fundamental "divergence."[85] When it comes to Türkeş's sentences in the passage above, it can be seen that the sentences are in parallel with the sentence summarized by Bayram Koca as the view of mainstream nationalists: *Kürtler özbeöz Türktürler* (Kurds are Genuine Turks).[86] In these sentences, what can be seen is that Türkeş considers the Kurds to be a part of the Turkish nation both in terms of historical and cultural unity and in terms of lineage.

Akyürekli's interview with Rudaw, mentioned in the subsection related to uprisings, also includes notable information about the perception of ethnicity within the idealist movement in the 1970s. Akyürekli states that in the 1970s, the discourse that "Kurds came from Central Asia before the Turks; therefore, their language was mixed with Persian, and that is how Kurdish was formed"[87] was quite widespread and that they themselves adopted this discourse to a great extent.[88]

83 "Akyürekli," January 15, 2023.

84 Alihan Limoncuoğlu, "The Evolution of Turkish Nationalism Between 1904 and 1980" (Exeter, University of Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies, 2015), 139.

85 Limoncuoğlu, 139.

86 Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 133.

87 "Kürtlerin Türklerden önce Orta Asya'dan geldiği, bu nedenle dillerinin Farsça ile karıştığı ve Kürtçenin böyle oluştuğu" "Akyürekli," January 15, 2023.

88 "Akyürekli."

According to Akyürekli, throughout the 1970s, the discourse that "Kurds are the most peculiar, oldest Turks"[89] was also a common discourse among the branches of the idealist movement in the East.[90] Akyürekli also makes the following assessment about the impact of the policy that the movement adopted in these years on participation in the movement:

> I have said before that during this period (after 1969), the Nihal Atsız line was deactivated. Nationalist Ideology was defined as the Turkish-Islamic Ideal(ideal). Ethnic nationalism and Turkism were not seen as an accepted line. And when the thesis that Kurds are Turks came into play, there was no longer any obstacle for Kurdish youth to become idealists. Because they all belonged to religious families, it was almost a necessity to be with whoever was fighting communism.
>
> There was no apparent distinction within the movement. There were dozens of Kurds serving as provincial district presidents. Türkeş's words, *"I am as Kurdish as they are Kurdish. They are as Turkish as I am Turkish,"* were like a confirmation of the belief that there was no discrimination against them. Apart from these words meaning "there is no difference between us," hundreds of books were written on the Turkishness of Kurds. An institute called *the Institute for Research on Turkish Culture* (Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü) was handling the publication part of this work. When I was studying in the history department, all of my professors were people who were in contact with the institute that processed this idea. As a matter of fact, I also knew Kurds as Turks until 1978. As a result, when you know your own nationality as Turkish, it does not seem absurd to be a Turkish nationalist.[91]

89 "Kürtler en has, en eski Türklerdir." "Akyürekli."

90 "Akyürekli."

91 "Daha önce söylemiştim, bu dönemlerde Nihal Atsız çizgisi (1969'dan sonra) devre dışı bırakılmıştı. Ülkücü İdeoloji Türk-İslam Ülküsü (ideali) olarak tanımlanıyordu. Etnik

In the interview he gave me, Akyürekli[92] also stated that the movement had a tolerant attitude towards the use of Kurdish in daily life in those years. To exemplify that, he narrated that in 1975, a group of Kurdish idealists at Fırat University in Elazığ hung a sign in Kurdish on their rooms saying "Men's Room" and that this did not disturb anyone.[93]

4.2.3 *Participants' Perception of Ethnicity*

In this section, the participants were asked the questions "How do you define yourself ethnically?" and "Do you think the Kurds are ethnically Turkish?" and the answers to these questions were categorized under the headings "Perception of Ethnicity in the 1970s" and "Perception of Ethnicity Today." It was also observed that all participants agreed on the issue of national belonging. Since there are some nuances, memories, and ambiguities in the answers, the narratives of each participant will be analyzed in writing in addition to the categorization in the table.

Milliyetçilik, Türkçülük kabul edilen bir çizgi olarak görülmüyordu. Bir de Kürtlerin Türk oldukları tezi işin içine girince, Kürt gençlerinin Ülkücü olması için artık bir engel kalmamış oluyordu. Çünkü tamamı dindar ailelere mensuplardı o yüzden komünizmle kim savaşıyorsa orda olmak adeta bir zorunluluktu.

Hareket içinde görünürde bir ayrım yapılmıyordu. İl ilçe başkanlığı yapan onlarca Kürt vardı. Türkeş'in *"Onlar ne kadar Kürtse ben de o kadar Kürdüm. Ben ne kadar Türksem onlar da o kadar Türktür."* sözleri Ülkücü Kürtlerin kendilerine karşı ayrım yapılmadığı inancına dair icazet gibiydi. 'Aramızda hiçbir fark' yok anlamındaki bu sözlerin dışında Kürtlerin Türklüğü üzerine yüzlerce kitap yazılmıştı. *Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü* adında bir enstitü bu işin yayın kısmını götürüyordu. Tarih bölümünde okurken hocalarımın tamamı bu düşünceyi işleyen enstitü ile ilişkisi olan insanlardı. Nitekim 1978'e kadar bende Kürtleri Türk olarak biliyordum. Sonuç olarak kendi milliyetini Türk olarak bilince, insana Türk Milliyetçisi olmak absürt gelmiyor." "Akyürekli."

92 After the interview with Mahmut Akyürekli, he was told that other people who had been in the idealist movement in the 1970s but had distanced themselves from the movement in the following years, like him, also wanted to be interviewed, and his mediation was requested. Akyürekli stated that the people he interviewed did not want to give interviews. Akyürekli stated that this situation was not specific to this study and that he had to cancel the book he wanted to write under the title "Idealist Kurds" due to the fact that a significant number of the people he interviewed withdrew their interviews.

93 Personal Interview with Mahmut Akyürekli.

Table 1.1 Participant's Perception of Ethnicity

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Perception of Ethnicity in the 1970s	Perception of Ethnicity Today	Perception of National Belonging
1	Malatya	1950/74	Psychologist	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
2	Malatya	1951/73	Retired Teacher	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
3	Malatya	1952/72	Civil Engineer/Business Person	I am Kurdish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Kurdish. Kurds are not ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
4	Elazığ	1950/74	Retired Teacher	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
5	Elazığ	1955/69	Retired Teacher	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
6	Elazığ	1951/73	Operator/Business Person	I am Kurdish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Kurdish. Kurds are not ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Perception of Ethnicity in the 1970s	Perception of Ethnicity Today	Perception of National Belonging
7	Muş	1954/70	Operator/Business Person	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
8	Muş	1957/67	Retired Teacher	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
9	Muş	1956/68	Operator	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
10	Diyarbakır	1955/69	Retired Accountant	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
11	Bingöl	1952/72	Retired Teacher/Business Person	I am Turkish. Zazas and Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Zazas and Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Zazas and Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
12	Bingöl	1953/71	Retired Civil Servant	I am Zaza. Zazas and Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Zaza. Zazas and Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Zazas and Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Perception of Ethnicity in the 1970s	Perception of Ethnicity Today	Perception of National Belonging
13	Mardin	1953/71	Retired Medical Doctor	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
14	Mardin	1949/75	Retired Education Counselor	I am Arab and Turkmen. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I am Arab and Turkmen. Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.
15	Van	1950/74	Civil Engineer	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I am Turkish. Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.	I belong to the Turkish nation. Kurds also belong to the Turkish nation.

Participant number 1 from Malatya said that he is ethnically Turkish and that he did not have a clear opinion on whether Kurds are ethnically Turkish, both in the 1970s and today. Stating that the dominant perception in his close circle in the 1970s was that Kurds are ethnically Turkish, the participant emphasized that he defined Turkishness as an identity that cannot be reduced to ethnic origin. Although the participant does not have a clear view of the ethnic origin of the Kurds, he stated that he thinks that the Kurdish ethnic identity can exist without being in opposition to the Turkish national identity and that belonging to the Turkish nation is inclusive.[94]

Participant number 2 from Malatya said that he is ethnically Turkish and thinks that Kurds are also ethnically Turkish. Stating his perception in Malatya throughout the 1970s was the same, the participant emphasized that he still believes that the ethnic roots of Kurds are linked to Turkishness today. The participant also mentioned the Kurdified

94 Personal Interview with Participant 1 from Malatya.

Turkmen tribes mentioned by another participant from Elazığ and claimed that there have been many such tribes in Malatya both in the 1970s and today. According to the participant, even if Kurds are not ethnically Turkish, there should be no change in the perception regarding the Turkishness of the Kurds because the participant, similar to many other participants, defines Turkishness as an identity beyond ethnic identity.[95]

Participant number 3 from Malatya stated that he is ethnically Kurdish and that his perception in the 1970s was that Kurds were also ethnically Turkish, but that he does not think this way today. When the participant was asked whether this change in his opinion was related to a change in his political views, the participant stated that there had been no change in his political views over the years and that he defined himself as a Turkish nationalist and an idealist both in the 1970s and today and that he wanted to share a related memory. In this memory, the participant and one of his close friends went on a political propaganda campaign in the city center in the late 1970s, where they first asked the Kurdish-speaking citizens, "Are you Kurdish?" in Kurdish, and after receiving the answer "Yes, of course, we are Kurdish," they asked another question, again in Kurdish, "Well, are you Turkish?", to which they received the answer "We are not giaour, sir, of course, we are Turkish." Although the participant does not think that Kurds are ethnically Turkish today, he defines himself as a Turk and considers Turkish identity as an identity that has broader meanings than ethnic identity. According to the participant, the Turkish identity cannot be evaluated as an identity that carries only the meaning of ethnic origin, and such an evaluation would be contrary to the historical heritage of Turkishness. The participant also stated that his understanding of nationalism is in line with the "cultural nationalism" expressed by Ziya Gökalp and that this understanding is based on the consciousness of belonging to the Turkish nation.[96]

95 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.

96 Personal Interview with Participant 3 from Malatya.

Participant number 4 from Elazığ stated that although he did not know Turkish until he was eight years old, he is ethnically Turkish. The participant indicated that he learned Turkish at school and had no difficulty while learning Turkish because the Kurdish spoken in the Malatya-Elazığ region was intertwined with Turkish. The participant also emphasized that his family roots are based on a Turkmen tribe and that they started to speak Kurdish because the tribe they belonged to had become Kurdified over time; he claimed that there were many other tribes like their tribe in many provinces in the East, especially in Malatya and Elazığ. The participant also stated that although he imagines the Kurds as a separate ethnic group from the Turks today, he has not had a clear opinion on the issue both today and in the 1970s. Summarizing the relationship between ethnicity and Turkishness with the sentence, "Kurds are an inseparable part of the Turkish nation, no matter from which root they came from," the participant similarly interpreted Turkish identity with participant number 2 from Malatya and stated that Turkishness cannot be reduced to only ethnic origin due to its historical legacy.[97]

Participant number 5 from Elazığ stated that he is ethnically Turkish. The participant emphasized that his maternal grandfather and his grandfather's family did not know Turkish but that this part of his family also considered themselves ethnically Turkish. According to the participant, the majority of the Kurds and Zazas are also ethnically Turkish. The participant stated that he traveled to Eastern Anatolia with sociologist Mehmet Eröz in the 1970s, and during this trip, he came across many Turkmen tribes who had forgotten Turkish and Kurdified. Referring to the quote attributed to Ahmad Yasawi, "Turkishness is a destiny, Islam is a choice," the participant stated he agreed with Yasawi on the issue.[98]

Participant number 6 from Elazığ stated that he is ethnically Kurdish. The participant said that in the 1970s, it was believed that Kurds were

97 Personal Interview with Participant 4 from Elazığ.

98 Personal Interview with Participant 5 from Elazığ.

ethnically Turkish and that he also thought this way in those years, but he does not think this way today. The participant stated that his ethnicity did not prevent him from defining himself as "Turkish" and said, "A person is what he feels himself to be." The participant also claimed that a significant number of the founders of the PKK were also ethnically Turkish and that what he prioritizes is "national belonging." According to the participant, Turkish national identity is inclusive and can not be reduced to ethnic origin.[99]

Participant number 7 from Muş stated that he is ethnically Turkish. The participant emphasized that the writings of Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi significantly impacted the formation of this perception and his identification of himself as ethnically Turkish. The participant stated that in one of Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi's articles on the Turkish-Islamic ideal published in the Hergün newspaper, he read that his tribal origin was Turkmen and reached the same conclusion through his research. The participant also stated that Kurds as a whole should not be considered an ethnic group separate from the Turks. According to the participant, Kurds may also be ethnically Turkish, but even if they are not, they are a part of the Turkish nation. The participant stated that many people asked him the question, "You are Kurdish; how did you become a Turkish nationalist?" and that he answered this question by quoting Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi: "If I were a black man born in the middle of Africa and I had this mind, I would still be a Turkish nationalist. Because I believe, as I believe in the creed, that the salvation of the Turkish nation, the Islamic world, and the oppressed nations lies in Turkish nationalists, Turkish-Islamic idealists."[100]

Participant number 8 from Muş stated that he is ethnically Turkish, and when asked why he thought so, he mentioned the Elegest Inscription.

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99 Personal Interview with Participant 6 from Elazığ.

100 "Ben Afrika'nın ortasında doğmuş bir zenci olsaydım ve bu aklım da bende olsaydı yine Türk milliyetçisi olurdum. Çünkü ben Amentüye iman ettiğim gibi iman ediyorum ki, Türk milletinin de İslam aleminin de mazlum milletlerin de kurtuluşu Türk milliyetçilerindedir, Türk-İslam ülkücülerindedir." Personal Interview with Participant 7 from Muş.

According to the participant, the phrase in these inscriptions, which can allegedly be read as "Kurdish Khagan Alp Urungu" (Kürt Hakanı Alp Urungu), indicated that the Kurds are a Turanian ethnic group. The participant also stated that departments researching the Turkishness of the Kurds should be revived, and he evaluated the Kon magazine published in 1979 as one of the studies carried out in this direction. According to him, even if it turns out that Kurds are not ethnically Turkish, they should be seen within the Turkish identity; like many other participants, he justified this view by saying that Turkishness carries a historical heritage that cannot be reduced to an ethnic origin.[101]

Participant number 9 from Muş stated that he is ethnically Turkish. Like participant number 8, this participant also mentioned the Elegest Inscription and emphasized the expression in this inscription, which is claimed to be read as "Kurdish Khagan Alp Urungu." The participant stated that his mother tongue is Kurdish, but he thinks that Kurdish does not have the characteristics that can be accepted as an independent language. The participant also emphasized that the name "Oğuz" is widespread in the village where he was born and raised and in nearby villages. For this reason, he thinks that the inhabitants of his village and the villages in its vicinity may be originally of Turkmen origin. The participant stated that issues of ethnicity and language became a serious topic of discussion among Kurdish idealists from the mid-1970s onwards and that Kon magazine emerged as a result of this process.[102]

Participant 10 from Diyarbakır stated that he is ethnically Turkish. He said that he believes that Zazas are a Turkish tribe that initially came from the Khorasan region and settled in Anatolia. He considers both Kurds and Zazas to be ethnically Turkish.[103]

Participant number 11 from Bingöl stated that he is ethnically Turkish. The participant said that there was an idea among the idealists in Bingöl in the 1970s that Zazas came from Khorasan, and based on this idea, a significant number of the people from Bingöl who joined the idealist

101 Personal Interview with Participant 8 from Muş.

102 Personal Interview with Participant 9 from Muş.

103 Personal Interview with Participant 10 from Diyarbakır.

movement considered themselves ethnically Turkish. The participant also stated that there was no consensus on this issue among the people who joined the movement from Bingöl in the 1970s. However, they did not attach much importance to this issue because the meaning of Turkishness for them cannot be reduced to a matter of ethnic origin. During the interview, mentioning the slogan of the Turkish Hearths(Türk Ocakları), "We are the Turkish nation all together," he stated that this phrase summarizes his perspective on the issue.[104]

Participant number 12 from Bingöl stated that he is ethnically Zaza. The participant said that in the 1970s and today, he defines himself as a Turk regardless of ethnic origin. The participant indicated that in the 1970s, there were people among his idealist friends who thought that they were ethnically Turkish in Bingöl, but they did not attach much importance to the issue of ethnicity and that this was not the main factor that influenced them to join the idealist movement.[105]

Participant number 13 from Mardin stated that he is ethnically Turkish. Stating that his mother tongue is Arabic, the participant indicated that he thinks Arabic became widespread among his family later. The participant also emphasized that both today and in the 1970s, he believed that Kurds are also ethnically Turkish.[106]

Participant number 14 from Mardin stated that he is ethnically Arab and Turkmen. When asked, "How do you define yourself ethnically?" the participant indicated that Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi's view of the issue coincided with his own. The participant also stated that he is a sayyid from his father's side but that he defined himself primarily as Turkish because of the services of the Turkish nation to Islam and its characteristic historical features. According to the participant Alparslan Türkeş, in his conversations with his close circle, explained that the Kurds and Turks are united in lineage in Yafes, the son of the prophet Noah, and emphasized their close kinship ties. According to the participant, even if the Kurds are not ethnically Turkish, they should be accepted as an

104 Personal Interview with Participant 11 from Bingöl.

105 Personal Interview with Participant 12 from Bingöl.

106 Personal Interview with Participant 13 from Mardin.

integral part of the Turkish nation due to their close kinship ties, common history, and common cultural characteristics. The participant stated that during his father's conversations with the Kurds in Mardin, the Kurds emphasized their common ancestry and kinship ties by saying, "We are united in one hundred fathers."[107]

Participant number 15 from Van stated that he is ethnically Turkish. The participant said that he considers the Kurds ethnically Turkish and that his opinion on this issue was not different from his opinion in the 1970s. According to the participant, his perception was also dominant among those who joined the idealist movement in their close circle in Van in the 1970s.[108]

Participants were also asked about the use of Kurdish and Zazaki in the branches of the Idealist Hearths in the East before 1980 and whether there was any prejudice against using these languages. All participants stated that they never encountered any obstacles to speaking Kurdish or Zazaki in the branches of the Idealist Hearths in the East in the 1970s and that speaking Kurdish or Zazaki was a very normal situation in the branches in the East in those years. Even participant number 4 from Elazığ said that they sometimes discussed the issues of the MHP in Kurdish.[109] The participants also emphasized that speaking Kurdish or Zazaki did not cause any prejudice against them in the western provinces of Turkey during the 1970s. The participants were known to be "Easterners" within the idealist organizations, and in many western provinces, they and their "Easterner" fellow countrymen assumed the positions of provincial and district presidents and vice presidents in the branches of the Hearths or MHP. All participants agreed that they did not experience any ethnic discrimination while assuming these positions.

In this subsection, the participants' perceptions of ethnicity were analyzed. At the end of this analysis, it is observed that all fifteen participants thought that Kurds and Zazas could be ethnically Turkish or that they were ethnically Turkish in the 1970s. However, today, while

107 "Biz yüz babada birleşiriz." Personal Interview with Participant 14 from Mardin.

108 Personal Interview with Participant 15 from Van.

109 Personal Interview with Participant 4 from Elazığ.

thirteen of the participants still have the same opinion, two participants said that Kurds and Zazas are not ethnically Turkish. All participants embrace the expression "Turkish nation" and define themselves as members. It is also observed that all participants considered Kurds and Zazas as a part of the Turkish nation.

The following section will focus on why and how the interviewed participants joined the idealist movement and examine why and how participation in the idealist movement from the East took place between 1965 and 1980.

5

Participation in the Idealist Movement: Why and How?

§ 5.1 Participation in the Movement: Why and How?

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Through whom Did He Encounter the Movement?	The Main Factor Affecting Participation	Before September 12, 1980, Which Role Did He Play within the Movement?
1	Malatya	1950/74	Psychologist	Family	Idealist movement's defending national unity in an actionary way	Affiliation/Membership
2	Malatya	1951/73	Retired Teacher	Friends/idealist, nationalist teachers	The environment in which he grew up and the historical awareness he received from his teachers	Vice Presidency of the Idealist Hearths in the City
3	Malatya	1952/72	Civil Engineer/Business Person	Friends/idealist, nationalist teachers	Leftist violence and anticommunism	Vice Presidency of the Idealist Hearths in the City

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Through whom Did He Encounter the Movement?	The Main Factor Affecting Participation	Before September 12, 1980, Which Role Did He Play within the Movement?
4	Elazığ	1950/74	Retired Teacher	Nationalist/idealist teachers	Leftist violence and anticommunism	"Educator"/ President of the Idealist Hearths in a City
5	Elazığ	1955/69	Retired Teacher	Association Against Communism (Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği)	The idealist movement's actionary defense of national unity and anticommunism	"Educator"/Ülkü-Bir Presidency in the City
6	Elazığ	1951/73	Operator/Business Person	Friends	Anticommunism and interest in Turkish history	"Educator" within the Movement
7	Muş	1954/70	Operator/Business Person	Provincial president of the Idealist Hearths	Anticommunism and the actionary character of the idealist movement	Affiliation/Membership
8	Muş	1957/67	Retired Teacher	Idealist teachers	Anticommunism and the actionary character of the idealist movement	President of the Idealist Hearths in the City
9	Muş	1956/68	Operator	Idealist teachers	Anticommunism and the actionary character of the idealist movement	Affiliation/Membership
10	Diyarbakır	1955/69	Retired Civil Servant	Family/idealist, nationalist teacher	National feelings given by the family and historical awareness given by the teacher	Board Member of the Idealist Hearths in the City

	Place of Birth/Hometown	Date of Birth/Age	Profession	Through whom Did He Encounter the Movement?	The Main Factor Affecting Participation	Before September 12, 1980, Which Role Did He Play within the Movement?
11	Bingöl	1952/72	Retired Teacher/Business Person	Nationalist/idealist teachers	Awareness of history taken from their teachers	Ülkü-Bir Vice Presidency in a City
12	Bingöl	1953/71	Retired Civil Servant	Family/nationalist, idealist teachers	Awareness of history taken from their teachers	Affiliation/Membership
13	Mardin	1953/71	Retired Medical Doctor	Family/nationalist, idealist teachers	Awareness of history from their teachers	Vice Presidency of the Idealist Hearths in the City
14	Mardin	1949/75	Retired Education Counselor	Friends	Actionary character of the idealist movement	Ülkü-Bir Presidency in the City
15	Van	1950/74	Civil Engineer	Family	Anticommunism and interest in Turkish history	County Presidency of the MHP

This chapter examines how people from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia who joined the idealist movement between 1965 and 1980 met the movement, for which reasons they joined the movement, and their activities within the movement from 1965 to 1980 through semi-structured interviews. In addition to the fifteen participants who were interviewed anonymously, the chapter also includes the opinions of Taha Akyol, who was a columnist for Hergün newspaper at the end of the 1970s, and Burhan Özbilici, who was a correspondent for Hergün newspaper in Eastern Anatolia. Together with these two names, Ahmet Dinç's comments are also included.

In the interview he gave me, the author of the book *Bozkürt: Ülkücü Camianın Kürt Evlatları*, Ahmet Dinç, stated that there are three prominent reasons for joining the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia during the 1970s. According to Dinç, because the

dominant character of the leftist separatist organizations that developed in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia from the early 1960s onwards was anti-religious in general, their development caused a reaction among the people in these two regions who attached importance to religious values. This situation enabled the idealists, who upheld religious values, to reach religious groups more easily. Secondly, Dinç mentioned the Turkmen tribes that had become Kurdified and said that the organizational efforts of the idealist movement in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia revived the feeling of "Actually, we are Turks." among these tribes. Thirdly, Dinç stated that inter-tribal conflicts in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia can be reflected in the political arena, and as a result of this reflection, while one branch of the tribe can act closely with separatist groups, the other group can stay close to the idealist movement due to intra-tribal conflicts rather than political affinity.[1]

In the interview he gave me, researcher writer Taha Akyol stated that Alparslan Türkeş knew the Seljuk history very well and that he witnessed him giving in-depth speeches on the history of the Seljuks from time to time. Akyol also emphasized that in these speeches, Türkeş gave examples of the alliances of the Kurds and the Turks in history and used expressions that could mean "They are also Turks." According to Akyol, during the right-left polarization of the 1970s, a considerable part of the Kurds, who were a "religious population group," sympathized with the MHP due to its policy of anti-communism. In the interview, Akyol put the anticommunism policy of the party at the top of the reasons list for participation in the movement from the East. Akyol also narrated one of his memoirs from his lawyer years. Indicating the Kurdish population in Yozgat's Yerköy district, where he worked as a lawyer before 1980, Akyol talked about Mustafa Oğuz, one of the two leading figures of the party in this district where the MHP was strong, who was ethnically Kurdish. According to Akyol, Oğuz believed that Kurds are of Turkish ancestry, just like Tatars and Uzbeks, and that the image of the grey wolf gives him a deep excitement. Akyol also stated that Oğuz spoke Kurdish with his close

1 Personal Interview with Ahmet Dinç.

circle, the idealists did not feel any discomfort from this in those years, and that this should be how the Turkish nationalists view Kurdish today.[2]

Burhan Özbilici, who worked as the Eastern Anatolian correspondent of Hergün newspaper in 1979 and 1980, stated in the interview he gave me that Türkeş had warm relations with the Kurds since his youth. Özbilici, like Akyol, emphasized Türkeş's knowledge of the history of the Seljuks and said that Türkeş often mentioned the unity of Turks and Kurds before and after the Battle of Malazgirt in his speeches. Özbilici also stated that Türkeş had prepared some projects specifically for the East while he was a member of the National Union Committee. According to Özbilici, before he was exiled to New Delhi, Türkeş submitted a project titled *Socialization of Health Services* (Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Sosyalizasyonu) to the committee, in which he emphasized the low number of doctors per capita in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and made suggestions to increase this number. Özbilici also said that in 1979, when he went to many Eastern Anatolian cities, especially Ağrı and Iğdır, as a reporter, he observed that many people were sympathetic to the idealists due to idealists' respective stance on religious values and non-discriminatory stance for the participation in the movement. Like Akyol, Özbilici also put anticommunism policy as an influential factor, but he also added these stances of the idealists to the list.[3]

Participant number 1 from Malatya stated that he met the idealist movement through his family. Stating that his family is one of the well-known families in the Doğanşehir district of Malatya, the participant said that although he belongs to a family from a nationalist tradition, he joined the idealist movement after the leftist organizations in Doğanşehir intensified their activities by intertwining with separatist leftist groups since the late 1960s. The participant stated that the main reason that encouraged him to become more active in the movement was the danger of the disintegration of the unity of the nation and homeland and that the idealist movement defended national unity in an actionary manner. The

2 Personal Interview with Taha Akyol on July 2, 2024, in Istanbul.

3 Personal Interview with Burhan Özbilici.

participant's father was a teacher and carried out organizational activities under Ülkü-Bir in the 1970s; he had many colleagues of Kurdish and Zaza origin in Ülkü-Bir, and he worked in harmony with them throughout the 1970s, according to the participant.[4]

Participant number 2 from Malatya stated that he was introduced to the idealist movement when his friend from high school took him to the Malatya Turkish Hearths. The participant noted that a few years after he went to the Turkish Hearths branch, the Ülkü-Bir opened its branch in Malatya and intensified its activities in the city. In the following years, the participant became close to the idealist movement through the teachers in Ülkü-Bir. The participant also indicated that the environment he had been in since childhood and the historical awareness he received from his nationalist teachers were influential in his participation in the movement.[5]

Participant number 3 from Malatya stated that he had been going to the Malatya Turkish Hearths with the guidance of his friends since high school years and that when he went to Elazığ during his university years, he became closer to the movement and joined the movement as he saw the hostile attitudes of leftists towards idealist students in student dormitories. The participant argued that the fact that Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, and Arif Nihat Asya had taught at Malatya High School for many years played an influential role in the development of Turkish nationalism in Malatya. The participant also stated that Hamit Fendoğlu, the mayor of Malatya, and his father were close friends, that Fendoğlu had closer relations with the MHP and the Idealist Hearths than he had with the AP and MSP both during his short mayoral term and before that. According to the participant, Fendoğlu opened a safe space for the idealist movement to grow in Malatya.[6]

Participant number 4 from Elazığ stated that he went to high school in Malatya, and his Literature and French teachers, whom he met in the last year of high school, played an influential role in his introduction to

4 Personal Interview with Participant 1 from Malatya.

5 Personal Interview with Participant 2 from Malatya.

6 Personal Interview with Participant 3 from Malatya.

and participation in the idealist movement. When asked what the main reasons that led him to become an idealist, the participant mentioned the incidents he had experienced with some leftist groups in addition to the guidance of his teachers in this direction; he said that his discomfort with the calls of leftist students for armed violence also led him to idealism. The participant also stated that he had many Kurdish-origin friends in the movement during the 1970s, when he often went to the branch of the Idealist Hearths in Malatya. After many years in Malatya, the participant went to Bursa to study at a university and became the head of the city branch of the Idealist Hearths. The participant stated that almost everyone in Bursa knew that he was of Kurdish origin but that he was not subjected to any discrimination within the movement because of this. Stating that he was included in the group of "Educators" in Elazığ, where he returned after his years at the Institute of Education in Bursa, the participant said that they traveled to the Eastern provinces and formed groups of twenty people each and that they gave training to these groups on various subjects, especially Turkish history, organization, and Islam.[7]

Participant number 5 from Elazığ stated that he first met with the idealist movement through the Association Against Communism (Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği) during his youth. The participant indicated that he joined the movement in the following years after realizing that the Idealist Hearths were more effective in combating the anti-religious discourse of communism and the political aims of the USSR on Turkey. When asked why he became close to the movement, the participant stated that he regularly followed Alparslan Türkeş's speeches and was impressed by "the defense of national unity in an activist way" (milli birliğin aksiyoner bir şekilde savunulması) in these speeches. The participant attributes the partial success of the MHP and the Idealist Hearths in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the 1970s to the party's more Islamic policy line, which was put into practice after the Adana Congress in 1969. The participant also mentioned Alparslan Türkeş's high

7 Personal Interview with Participant 4 from Elazığ.

persuasiveness and said that thanks to this ability, Türkeş was able to establish good relations with some tribes during his visits to the East.[8]

Participant number 6 from Elazığ stated that he came to Istanbul with his family due to financial impossibilities when he was five years old. The participant indicated that he had been interested in Turkish history since his childhood years, that he had read a lot of historical novels, and that he had joined the nationalist movement through his friends who had been close to the movement since his high school years. Stating that he worked as an "educator" within the movement in Muş in the late 1970s, the participant emphasized that a significant part of the people in Muş sympathized with the idealists in those years. The participant also stated that he thinks there is a "separatism question" (bölücülük sorunu) in Turkey rather than a "Kurdish question" (Kürt sorunu) and that political parties from the idealist tradition should be able to explain themselves better to the public on this issue. According to the participant, "Idealist Kurds" like him have an essential duty for the continuation of the unity of Turkey.[9]

Participant number 7 from Muş stated that in the 1970s, he observed the exhibition of anti-Islamic attitudes by separatist leftist organizations in the city and encountered various right-wing groups in Muş that combatted with them. Among these right-wing groups, the "Yeniden Milli Mücadeleciler" (National Strugglers Again) and "Nurcus" headed, and the participant found them ineffective and passive against the leftists. By continuing his search, the participant found the idealists and was attracted by their effectiveness against the left and their actionary character. The participant stated that there were many participants in the idealist movement among the tribes in Muş, that there was no discrimination against the Kurds within the movement, and that the movement's approach in those years was based on "nationalism of culture." The participant also stated that Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi's impact on him and said, "I believe that a Muslim who is not a nationalist of the

8 Personal Interview with Participant 5 from Elazığ.

9 Personal Interview with Participant 6 from Elazığ.

Turkish nation cannot be a Muslim in the proper sense."[10] He also stated that the meaning of Turkishness for him goes beyond being a member of an ethnic group.[11]

Participant number 8 from Muş stated that his first encounter with the idealist movement happened through the idealist teachers at Muş Teachers School. The participant said that he was conscientiously disturbed when a mullah/seyda used insulting expressions such as "Turkish is the language of hell" about Turkish and the Turks in a madrasa he attended as a child and that when he met the idealists in the following years, he was impressed by the character and actionary identity of them and saw that they did not speak "the language of hell." Stating that an anti-Turkish vein existed among the Islamic section in Muş both today and in the 1970s, the participant emphasized that this section sometimes cooperated with separatist leftist organizations and acted jointly against the idealists. Stating that they saw the most concrete form of this cooperation in 1980 in the Varto district, the participant indicated the alliance of the leftist fractions and the Islamic separatist group in the district and their decision to fight against the idealists together. The participant also stated that today, he and his close circle are labeled as "Kurds who betrayed Kurdistan"[12] by circles close to the PKK in Muş.[13]

Participant number 9 from Muş stated that he first encountered the idealist movement through the idealist teachers he met while studying at the teacher's school. The participant indicated that after the memorandum of March 12, 1971, the government exiled some of the leftist teachers to the East, and some of these teachers came to his school, but he did not like their worldview, view of religion, and lifestyle. The participant said, "The sympathy we felt for idealist teachers and the

10 "Türk milletinin milliyetçisi olmayan bir Müslümanın kamil manada Müslüman olamayacağına inanıyorum." Personal Interview with Participant 7 from Muş.

11 Personal Interview with Participant 7 from Muş.

12 "Kürdistan'a ihanet eden Kürtler" Personal Interview with Participant 8 from Muş.

13 Personal Interview with Participant 8 from Muş.

antipathy we felt for leftist teachers led us to idealism."[14] The participant also stated that after the Varto earthquake in 1966, many Alevi students came to the provincial center of Muş. According to the participant, because most of these students adopted leftism, many Sunni students found themselves in the idealist movement in this polarization. The participant also stated that the book *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkuresi* by historian Osman Turan, which he read in those years, had a significant influence on him.[15]

Participant number 10 from Diyarbakır said that he was introduced to the movement through a teacher in high school. The participant stated that the national feelings he received from his family and the awareness of history given by the teacher he met in high school influenced his joining the movement. The participant stated that after he came to Istanbul for university, he stayed in Edirnekapı Student Dormitory, where the majority of the idealists were located, and that he continued his activities in the movement there. The participant, who stated that he frequently traveled to Diyarbakır during the 1970s, mentioned Bozkurt Bookstore and said that they were reading and discussing the books by Ziya Gökalp, Dündar Taşer, and Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu in there.[16]

Participant number 11 from Bingöl stated that he was introduced to the movement through two of his teachers while studying at Bingöl Teachers' High School. The participant noted that the historical awareness he received from his teachers awakened him to the USSR's aims for Turkey. According to the participant, during the Cold War years, the USSR saw the university youth in Turkey as a tool to realize its political aims for Turkey. The participant said that the combination of the Islamic sensitivity of his family and the historical awareness he gained from his teachers made it easier for him to join the idealist movement. The participant also stated that throughout the 1970s, the idealist movement rejected racism and the understanding that "This movement

14 "Ülkücü öğretmenlere duyduğumuz sempati ve solcu öğretmenlere duyduğumuz antipati bizi ülkücülüğe yöneltti." Personal Interview with Participant 9 from Muş.

15 Personal Interview with Participant 9 from Muş.

16 Personal Interview with Participant 10 from Diyarbakır.

is the movement of ethnically Turks."[17] According to the participant, this rejection, combined with embracing Islamic values, enabled the movement to find a significant ground in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. According to the participant, a considerable part of the people in Eastern Anatolia saw the idealists embracing Islamic values as embracing the people's own values. The participant also stated that Hamit Fendoğlu and Hikmet Tekin were killed by separatists who were afraid of national unity in Turkey. According to the participant, separatists killed these two names because they were worried that the idealist movement would spread to other provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia thanks to the municipalism put forward by Hamit Fendoğlu and Hikmet Tekin. The participant also stated that separatists were more disturbed by the MHP's victory in Bingöl than in Malatya because they were afraid that the election of an idealist mayor from a province with a high concentration of Zazas might set an example for other provinces in the East.[18]

Participant number 12 from Bingöl said that he met the movement through his family. The participant said that his brother, who went to Ankara to study at university, developed a relationship with the movement there and that he joined the movement through his brother. The participant also said that the CHP mayor of Bingöl before Hikmet Tekin had Kurdist tendencies, so the election of Hikmet Tekin interrupted the activities of separatist leftist organizations. According to the participant, political parties from the DEP tradition in Bingöl could not become the first party in the elections in the following years due to the legacy Hikmet Tekin left to Bingöl.[19]

Participant number 13 from Mardin stated that his family introduced him to the movement. The participant noted that his brother met the movement while studying at the Faculty of Political Sciences at Istanbul University and that he joined the movement through his brother. The

17 "Bu hareket etnik Türklerin hareketidir." Personal Interview with Participant 11 from Bingöl.

18 Personal Interview with Participant 11 from Bingöl.

19 Personal Interview with Participant 12 from Bingöl.

participant stated that he had an idealist teacher in the high school he attended in Mardin and that this teacher significantly influenced his warming up to nationalist thought. The participant also stated that many of his idealist friends of Kurdish origin participated in the opening event of the branch of the Turkish Idealists Organization (Türk Ülkücüler Teşkilatı) in Mardin in 1973 and that they organized a march on the main street of the city. The participant also stated that the movement continued its activities in Mardin in the following years but that they were constantly under threat and pressure and that the head of the MHP organization in Mardin, Ata Pehlivanoğlu, was murdered at the end of this process.[20]

Participant number 14 from Mardin said that he met the movement through friends he met in Diyarbakır, where he attended a teachers' school. The participant stated that the actionary character of the idealist movement was effective in his joining the movement. The participant also said that since he was an educator, he took office in Ülkü-Bir in Mardin and that they found significant support among teachers in Mardin during this duty. According to the participant, the MHP found ground in Batman along with Mardin in those years, and its mayoral candidate in Batman, Şehmus Demir, also received a significant number of votes in the 1977 local elections.[21]

Participant number 15 from Van said that he met the movement through his family. The participant stated that he joined the movement because his father was involved, and he had been interested in Turkish history since childhood. The participant noted that the movement had a significant presence in Van in the 1970s, but due to the intense activities of separatist groups, they could not explain themselves to the public as much as they wanted. The participant claimed that separatist groups circulated many slanders about Alparslan Türkeş in Van. According to the participant, one of these claims that the separatist groups circulated was the slaughtering of the Kurds during the Ağrı uprising in 1930 by Türkeş's

20 Personal Interview with Participant 13 from Mardin.

21 Personal Interview with Participant 14 from Mardin.

grandfather and added, "Unfortunately, we could not sufficiently prevent the spread of these slanders. A baseless anti-idealist sentiment has emerged among the public."[22]

This section focused on why and how the participants joined the movement. The interviews revealed that anti-communism was one of the main drivers of participation in the movement from the East during these fifteen years. Eight out of fifteen participants mentioned the communists' disrespect for religious values and their anti-religious attitude in general as one of the main reasons for joining the movement. Taha Akyol, Mahmut Akyürekli, and Ahmet Dinç also stated in personal interviews that they saw anticommunism as the main reason for joining the movement from the East.

In addition to anticommunism, it was determined that the actionary character of the idealist movement and the activities of teachers working in the East with nationalist/idealist political thought were the two most important reasons for participation in the movement, following anticommunism. Six of the fifteen participants stated that the actionary character of the idealist movement and the historical awareness they received from their teachers were influential in their participation in the movement. Thus, it has been observed that anti-communism, the actionary character of the idealist movement, and the activities of teachers with nationalist/idealist ideas in the East are the top three reasons for participation in the movement from the East.

While nine of the participants answered "nationalist/idealist teachers" when asked through whom/whom they met the movement, five participants answered "family," and four participants answered "friends." As in the previous question, some participants gave two answers to this question. Nationalist/idealist teachers come to the fore in answering this question, and it is also understood that teachers have an essential influence on the first encounters with the movement.

22 Personal Interview with Participant 15 from Van.

Conclusion

In this thesis, the activities of the idealist movement in and regarding Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980, the processes by which people from the East joined the movement, the activities of those who joined the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980 within the movement, their perceptions of ethnicity, and their perception of the uprisings in the Early Republican Period have been investigated. The results of this research are as follows:

Firstly, as a result of the interviews with the participants, it was determined that the anticommunism policy of the movement, the actionary character of the movement, and the activities of teachers who have nationalist/idealist political thought in the East were the main reasons for the participation in the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia between 1965 and 1980. It has been observed that the influence of nationalist/idealist teachers on participation in the movement can be observed both individually and through teacher organizations that started their activities with the establishment of idealist organizations in the late 1960s. Although all of the interviewed participants stated that Ülkü-Bir was not effective in their participation in the movement because it started its activities after they participated in the movement, the organizations under the name Ülkü-Bir were significantly effective in subsequent participation in the movement in the following years according to the participants.

Secondly, along with the three main reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph, it has been concluded that an understanding of Turkishness that does not create any sense of ethnic discrimination adopted by the idealist movement throughout the 1970s also played a critical role in increasing participation in the movement from the East. Throughout the 1970s, as researcher Bayram Koca has shown, the movement's view of the Kurds was dominated by the approach of seeing

them too in the ethnic scope of Turkishness,[23] and the participants interviewed for this thesis stated that they did not experience any discrimination within the movement due to being "Easterners." In the interviews, it was determined that the movement had an inclusive policy towards the Kurds and the East in general throughout these years and that the approach of Türkeş, the leader of the movement, in his words, "I am as Kurdish as they are Kurdish, and they are as Turkish as I am Turkish" had found a positive response.

Thirdly, it was observed that people who joined the idealist movement from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia thought that Kurds and Zazas could be ethnically Turkish or that they were ethnically Turkish in the 1970s. Most interviewees (13/15) stated they still hold the same view today. Although it is unknown to what extent the interviews reflect the general situation in the movement, it is thought to provide an essential insight into the general opinion within the movement both in the 1970s and today.

Fourthly, although there were some nuances mentioned in the thesis text, it was determined that there was a negative opinion about the uprisings in the Early Republican Era among the people who participated in the idealist movement from the East in the 1970s and that the uprisings were seen as treason against the homeland. It has also been concluded that the book *Türkiye'de Kürtçülük Hareketleri ve İsyanlar* written by Vedat Güldoğan, who wrote with the nickname Şadillili Vedat, summarizes the attitudes of those who participated in the movement from the East regarding the uprisings to a great extent.

Fifthly, the primary source analysis revealed that Hergün newspaper, the flagship of the idealist press at the end of the 1970s, closely followed the developments in the east of the country by regularly reporting on the public's view of the idealists and the activities of idealist organizations in the region through its correspondents sent to the East. The series of articles prepared by the correspondents sent to the East and the harsh editorial policy of the newspaper after the murders of Hikmet Tekin and

23 Koca, "Türkiye'de Uç Sağ ve Kürtler, 1945-1980: Güvenlik, Kimlik ve Kalkınma," 133.

Hamit Fendoğlu can be interpreted as a part of the efforts of the idealist movement to gain strength in the region. It was also concluded that the Kon magazine, which was examined within the scope of this thesis and contacted with one of its authors, published by the idealists who joined the movement from the East, did not deviate from the general line of the idealist movement in those years.

Sixthly, it was reached that the idealist movement's victory in the Eastern municipalities in the 1977 local elections, especially in Erzincan, Bingöl, Elazığ, and Malatya, caused serious discomfort among separatist leftist organizations. Because Adnan Ercan, the mayor of Erzincan at the time, stated in a personal interview that four mayors, including himself, were on the Apoists' death list and that they constantly received death threats during their term as mayor, it is concluded that the separatist leftist organizations were particularly disturbed by the results of the 1977 local elections.[24] As the journals of these groups in Europe in the 1970s interpreted the MHP's success in the East as "a development that revolutionaries could not ignore", too, and Bingöl Mayor Hikmet Tekin was referred to as "Bingöl's leading fascist and Türkeş's favorite" in the autobiography of one of the founders of the PKK, Sakine Cansız, it is reached that the MHP's success in the 1977 local elections was interpreted as a serious threat by the separatist leftist groups.[25]

This thesis aims to make a significant contribution to the literature on the activities of the idealist movement in the East and the relationship between the movement and the Kurds by better understanding the life stories of those who joined the movement from the East through interviews. However, the author of this thesis also believes that further studies can be conducted on other related topics. A study on people who joined the movement from the East in the 1970s but later distanced themselves from the movement could make an important contribution to the field when considered in conjunction with this thesis. Beyond that, participation in the idealist movement from other ethnic groups in the

24 Personal Interview with Adnan Ercan.

25 Altaylı, "Kürtler Özbeöz Türktürler"; Cansız, *Sara*, 237.

country, such as Armenians, can contribute to the field. Because the idealists have a name like Levon Panas Dabağyan in their history, who also wrote side by side with Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi in Hergün newspaper, delving more into the subject would contribute to the area that is in the phase of developing regarding the idealist movement.

Appendix A 08.12.1977, “Türkeş: We Will Establish National Social Insurance,” Hergün Newspaper



8 ARALIK PERŞEMBE 1977

250 KURUŞ

Hergün

DAHA GÜZEL - DAHA GÜÇLÜ TÜRKİYE

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD.36 - SULTANAHMET-İSTANBUL TEL: SANTRAL: 28 75 95 (5 HAT)

Türkeş: Millî sosyal sigortayı kuracağız

Hedefimiz Türk milletini sosyal güvenceye kavuşturmaktır

Elâzığ — (Taner Kıdır Bildiriyor)

Zor hava şartları altında Erzurum ve Erzincan'daki seçim gezisini tamamlayan MHP Genel Başkanı Alparslan Türkeş, dün Elâzığ'a gelmiştir.

MHP Genel Başkanı Alparslan Türkeş'i Elazığ halk bağrına basmış, kalabalıkça arabadan meydana gelen bir konvoyla şehir merkezine getirmiştir. Türkeş'in Elazığ'da konuşanışı da muhteşem olmuştur.

Alparslan Türkeş Elazığ il partisinin düzenlediği mitingde bir konuşma yaptı. «Cumhurbaşkanımız, Anadolu'nun en ücra, en yöresindeki bir çoban vatandaşımıza kadar toptan Türk Milletini sosyal güvenlik kapsamına almak ve «Millî Sosyal Sigorta» organizasyonuna süratle gitmek, bizim Milliyetçi Hareket olarak üzerinde ısrarla durduğumuz bir konudur» demiştir.

Elazığ MHP Belediye Başkan adayı H. Behçet Susmaz'ın da bir konuşma yaptığı mitingde Türkeş Elazığlılara şöyle hitap etmiştir:

«Ülkemizde sosyal güvenceye kavuşmuş olan vantadaşlarımızın sayısı genel nüfusla mukayese edildiğinde son derece az olduğu ve halkımızın büyük bir çoğunluğunun sosyal güvenlikten mahrum bulunduğu görülmektedir.

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 3'de)

"Eurokommunisme,,
Avrupa Komünizmi
Enver Altaylı yazıyor
Yakında Hergün'de

Zor hava şartları altında Erzurum ve Erzincan'da konuşan Türkeş, dün Elazığ'lılara hitap etti.

Tekirdağ Belediye Başkanı Alyanak ve

Appendix B 13.12.1977, Hergün Newspaper



13 ARALIK SALI 1977

250 KURUŞ

Hergün

DAHA GÜZEL - DAHA GÜÇLÜ TÜRKİYE

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD.36 – SULTANAHMET–İSTANBUL TEL. SANTRAL: 28 75 95 (6 HAT)

MHP'nin 5 il ve 50 ilçe ile bucakta Belediye Başkanlığı kesinlik kazandı

ZAFER MHP'NİN

■ CHP 43, AP 14 ilde Belediye Başkanlığını kazanırken, MSP 3, bağımsızlar 1 ilin Başkanlığını kazandı

Hergün Haber Merkezi

Kesin sonuçları belli olan Bucaklarda AP 401, CHP 306, MSP 32, MHP 31, CGP 5, DP 1, TBP 1, bağımsızlar 99 belediye başkanlığını kazanmışlardır.

KATILMA ORANI

Seçime katılma oranı ha

HAMİT FENDOĞLU MALATYA BELEDİYE BAŞKANI OLDU

ANKARA (A.A.) — Anadolu Ajansı muhabirinin tesbitlerine ve resmi olmayan sonuçlara göre, Malatya ilinde Belediye Başkanlığını bağımsız aday Hamit Fendoğlu kazanmıştır.

YOLSUZLUK YAPAN CHP ADAYININ BAŞKANLIĞININ İPTAL EDİLMESİ İSTENDİ

HAVZA (A.A.) — Havza'da AP Belediye Başkan adayı Ilyas Saçan, seçimi kazanan CHP adayı Sain-

(Devamı Sa. 7. Sü. 6'da)

FERİN ANLAMI

İyetçi Hareket Partisi Mahalli seçimlerde

ları kazanmışlardır.

Kesin sonuçların da etkileyiş düşük olmuştur. İlk tahminlere göre katılma oranının yüzde 35 ile 45 arasında olduğu belirtilmektedir. Ankara ve İzmirde yüzde 29 ile 25'e kadar düştüğü açıklanmıştır.

İlk defa kullanılan bile tik oy pusulası ise büyük problem olmuştur. Her seçmenin üç defa oy kullanma mecburiyeti de oy verme işleminin çok ağır yürümesine sebep olmuştur. Öte yandan oy verme işlemi oldukça karışık olması verilen oyların büyük bir bölümünün iptal edilmesine yol açmıştır.

MHP'nin durumu

CHP'nin illerde önde olmasına rağmen AP'nin ilçe ve bucaklarda önde olduğu görülmektedir.

Öte yandan MHP'nin bü yük bir atak yaptığı ve 3. parti durumuna geçtiği belirtilmektedir. MHP'nin adığı olarak mahalli seçimler olmasına rağmen büyük bir artış ⁄ması bir oy patlaması olarak kabul edilmektedir. MHP'nin 1973 mahalli seçimlerinde

bigör ilde belediye başkanlığı 1973 seçimlerinde yüzden beri CHP'li sayın Yozgat ve Bingöl'le birlikte beş belediye başkanlığını alman bak sırasında memnuniyet yaratmıştır.

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 7'de)

ADNAN ERCAN

(ERZİNCAN)

MHP'li Erzincan Belediye Başkanı Adnan Ercan'ın hayat hikâyesi şöyledir:

1941 yılında Erzincan'da doğan Adnan Ercan, ilkokuldan sonra, askeri ortaokul ve liseyi bitirmiştir. Harp Okulundan sonra İktisadi Ticari İlimler Akademisinden mezun olan Ercan, M.E.B. Eğitim bölümü matematik öğretmenliği belgesini almıştır.

Ankara İmar Ltd. Şirketi'nde bir süre çalışan Er-

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 5'de)

BEHÇET SUSMAZ

(ELAZIĞ)

MHP'li Elazığ Belediye Başkanı İnşaat Mühendisi Mehçet Susmaz, Belediye Başkanlığını kazandıktan sonra gazetemize şu demeci vermiştir;

Halkımız, göstermelik kooperatifler kurarak Belediye arsalarını parselleyenleri unutmuş, imar planını aykırı sustimalleri duyma mış olsaydı, belki aldanabilirdi.

İçtimai, fikri ve sınai bir gelişmenin odak noktasında bulunan Elazığ'ı zor ve

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 4'de)

YAŞAR ERBAZ

(YOZGAT)

MHP'li Yozgat Belediye Başkanı Yaşar Erbaz, 1938 yılında Yozgat'ın Tuzkaya mahallesinde doğdu. Merhum Terzi Hacı Erbaz'ın oğludur. İlk, orta ve lise tahsilini Yozgat'ta yaptı. 1957 yılında liseden pek - iyi derece ile mezun olarak Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Fakültesi'ne girdi ve bu Fa külte'den Fizik Yüksek Mü hendisi olarak mezun oldu.

1963 yılında hesabına burslu okuduğu Meteoroloji Genel Müdürlüğü'nde

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 5'de)

HİKMET TEKİN

(BİNGÖL)

Hikmet Tekin, 1950 yılında Bingöl'de doğmuş; ilk, orta ve lise tahsilini Bingöl'de tamamlamıştır. Yüksek Tahsilini ise Ankara Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal ve İdare Bölümünde yapmıştır. Yüksek tahsilini tamamladıktan sonra vatani görevini 1974' te Kayseri Hava İndirme Tugayında yedek subay olarak yapan Tekin daha sonra iş hayatına atılmıştır. Bingöl Belediye Başkanı Hikmet Tekin, İstan-

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 5'de)

NEJDET İPEK,

(ÇANKIRI)

Nejdet İpek, 1929 yılında Çankırı'da doğmuştur. MHP Belediye Başkan adayı Necdet İpek, Çankırı'da Nafia Müdürlüğü, Yapı İşleri Kontrolörlüğü ve YSE Müdürlüğü görevlerinde bulunmuştur.

Görevleri sırasında Çankırı'ya bir çok hizmetlerde bulunan İpek, halen YSE Genel Müdürlüğü Teknik Müşavirliği ve Murakabe Kurulu üyeliği görevlerini yürütmekte idi.

İLLERDE SEÇİM SONUÇLARI

ADANA	SELAHATTİN ÇOLAK (CHP)
ADIYAMAN	KESİNLEŞMEDİ
AFYON	NURİ DEMİRAYAK (AP)
AĞRI	ZÜBEYD SARI (AP)
AMASYA	GÜNDÜZ TÜREN (CHP)
ANKARA	ALİ DİNÇER (CHP)
	SELAHATİN
ANTALYA	TONGUÇ (CHP)
ARTVİN	KAYA KELEŞ (CHP)
	MUHARREM
AYDIN	AĞABABAOĞLU
BALIKESİR	KAYA AVNİ SAĞLIKÇ
BİLECİK	İSMAİL ATA
BİNGÖL	HİKMET TEKİN
BİTLİS	MÜZAFFER GEYLA
BOLU	MÜZAFFER IŞIN
BURDUR	ÇETİN BULCU
BURSA	MUSTAFA ERO
ÇANAKKALE	REŞAT TABAK
ÇANKIRI	NECDET İPEK
ÇORUM	TURHAN KU
DENİZLİ	HASAN GÜ
DİYARBAKIR	MEHDİ ZA
EDİRNE	GÜNGÖR
ELAZIĞ	BEHÇET
ERZİNCAN	ADNAN
ERZURUM	NİHAT
ESKİŞEHİR	HİCRİ

Okuyan:

Appendix C 20.04.1978, "Turkish Nationalists and Malatya Weeping Blood," Hergün Newspaper



20 NİSAN PERŞEMBE 1978

250 KURUŞ

Hergün

DAHA GÜZEL – DAHA GÜÇLÜ TÜRKİYE

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD. 36 – SULTANAHMET – İSTANBUL TEL. SANTRAL: 28 75 95 (5 HAT)

TÜRK MİLLİYETÇİLERİ VE MALATYA KAN AĞLIYOR

Çirkin iftira

Bu çirkin iftirayı ancak onlar yapabilirdi... Bu çirkin iftirayı ancak hayasız şerefsiz faziletsiz kimseler yapabilirdi... Küçük, basit, siyasi çıkarlarını, memleketin yüksek menfaatlerine tercih eden siyaset çıkarları bu kadar kirli ve adi iftiralar ileri sürebilirlerdi ancak...

Onlarında devletin güvenlik kuruluşlarının, temel istihbarat teşkilatlarının hazırladıkları raporlar dururken, bunları görmezlikten gelerek, partizan, taraflı, kasıtlı, kirli yandaşlarının getirdikleri dedikoduları millete gerçekmiş gibi takdim şerefsizliğinde ancak onlar bulunabilirdi.

İnsanlık tarihinin gördüğü en kanlı diktatörlerden biri olan Stalin, rakiplerini, siyasi muarızlarını en caniyane metodlarla öldürtür ve katlettiği bu insanların cenaze merasimlerinde matem nutukları atardı. «Pis faşistlerin, kapitalistlerin, sosyalist devrimin büyük kahramanlarını ajanları eliyle öldürttüğünü» söylerdi. Yazar

(Devamı Sa. 7. Sü. 5'de)

Hergün

Türk barış teklifleri reddedildi; görüşmeler ıkmazda

...KOŞE — Kıbrıs Türk ...cine hazırlanan, ...meselesinin çözümü... «Somut» ve «Öz... barış teklifleri ...CI:

Rumlar tarafından reddedilmiştir.

KTFD Başkanı Rauf Denktaş ile bugün KTFD Başkanlık ikametgahında görüşen Genel Sekreter, tekliflerin Rumlar tarafından reddedildiğini Denktaş'a bildirmiştir.

T. C.
İNÖNÜ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MALATYA
1977 – 1978
ÖĞRENİM YILI
ÖĞRENCİ KİMLİK KARTI
ADI TÜRK
SOYADI KOÇU
BABA ADI MEHMET
D. YERİ-YILI
FAKÜLTESİ
BÖLÜMÜ

● MALATYA'DA HAMİDO VE YAKINLARININ ÖLÜMÜNDEN SONRA MEYDANA GELEN OLAYLARDA, ÖLÜ SAYISI 8'E ÇIKTI; ELAZIĞ'DA BİR GENÇ ÖLDÜRÜLDÜ, ANARŞİK OLAYLAR BÜTÜN HIZIYLA DEVAM ETTİ.

MALATYA
Kemal ÖNDER
bildiriyor

Malatya Belediye Başkanı Hamit Fendoğlu'nun genç ve iki torunuyla birlikte menfur bir suikaste kurban gitmelerinden sonra meydana gelen olaylarda 4 kişi ölmüş, 60 kadar kişi yaralanmış, bazı işyerleri tahrip edilmiştir.

3 CESET BULUNDU

Malatya'nın Yeşiltepe ilçesinden bulunan 3 ceset, dün Malatya'ya getirilmiştir.

(Devamı Sa. 7. Sü. 5'te)

Malatya'nın Bağımsız Belediye Başkanı Hamit Fendoğlu (Hamidonun önceki gün bir suikaste kurbanı gitmelerinden sonra galeyana gelen halk Malatya'nın altını üstüne getirdi. Yüzlerce dükkân ve ev ateşe verildi ve bazı sol kuruluşla binaları da yakıldı. Yüzlerce dükkân ve ev ateşe verilen Malatyalılar bu arada bir çok arabayı da ateşe verdiler ve bazı sol kuruluşla binaları da yakıldı. toğrafta, Beyrut'a dönen Malatya Caddeleri'nden ikisinin hali görülüyor. (Kemal

«Özaydınlı çirkin iftirasını geri alma

● ÜLKÜ OCAKLARI DERNEĞİ GENEL BAŞKANI YAZICIOĞLU DÜN YAPTIĞI AÇIKLAMADA «İÇİŞLERİ BAKANININ ÜLKÜ OCAKLARINA MESNETSİZ İHBARLARI

● ANKARA NÜKLEER ...
EĞİTİM MERKEZİ MÜDÜ...
MİK ARAŞ (ANEM)'...
EDİLMESİNİN İMKÂNS...
VE BÖYLE BİR İDDİANI...

Appendix D 21.04.1978, "The Bloody Bill of Election Defeat: Malatya," Hergün Newspaper



Hain ellerin postaladığı bomba, kayısı cennetini cehenneme çevirdi

Seçim yenilgisinin kanlı faturası

MALATYA

«Hamidon ... atya'da yıllık CHP efsanesini sona erdirdi

Yetim bırakılan yöreden geliyorum...
Yazı ve fotoğraflar: KEMAL ÖNDER

5 AY SONRAKI INTIKAM...

CHP İKTİDARI MALATYA'DA DA AÇ İÇİNDE

BÜYÜK İNSAN HAMİDO SON YOLCUĞUNDA ELLER CEBİNDE VE HAMİDO'NUN BİLGİ HAZİNESİ İLE ÖĞÜNÜNÜ BOZAMADIĞI YEMEK MASASI

TÜRKEŞ - MİLLİYETÇİ HAMİDO'NUN CENAZE TÖRENİNE GİDİYOR

HEM BABASINI - HEM EŞİ VE ÇOCUKLARINI KAYBEDEN ASKER

POL-DER'Lİ POLİSLERİN YAPAMADIĞINI ASKERİ KUVVETLER

Appendix E 27.05.1978, Hergün Newspaper



İP ÜSTÜNDE

27 MAYIS CUMARTESİ 1978

250 KURUŞ

Hergün

DAHA GÜZEL - DAHA GÜÇLÜ TÜRKİYE

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD.36 - SULTANAHMET-İSTANBUL TEL. SANTRAL: 28 75 95 (5 HAT)

MİLLİYETÇİ GENÇLİĞİN KNASLARI

Türk milletinin kalbi Erzurum'da çarptı

"Ecevit iktidarı, yeminine ve kendi vaadlerine ihanet etmiştir,,

"Bütün bu ihanetlerin hesabı sorulacaktır,,

"Milletçe bu zulûm iktidarının karşısına dikileceğiz,

Türkeş: Parçalatmayacağız

Resim: EKŞİ ve Aydın CANDABAKOĞLU Erzurum'dan bildiriyor

TÜRKEŞ YÜZBİNLERLE: MHP. Genel Başkanı dün Erzurum'da yüzbinlerce Türk Milliyetçisine baskı, zulüm, bölücülük ve her türlü kanunsuzlukMHP iktidarı ile son bulacak dedi...

MİTİNG'DEN NOTLAR

"Kanımız aksa da Zafer İslâm'ın,,

SAKİN ÖNER (Erzurum'dan Bildiriyor)

Yıl 1877... Moskof kâfiri Adriye Tahyası üzerinde... Artık Erzurum Türk'ünün hayat-memat sözü konusu... Gün, namus günüdür. Gün, vardıma vokolma günü... İşte hayattan ölüme bir köprü. Erzurumlu tereddüt yapıyor. Ya olmak, ya ölmek... Bu karar veren Erzurumlu dudaş, Erzurumlu baca artık durur mu? Ocak, tıpırtı, nadak, yuba, tırmık ve dirgenlerle Moskof kâfirinin üzerine bir bulut gibi çöker. Bir sel gibi akar. Bir borkurt gibi vürür... Önlerinde Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa ve Nene Hatun vürür...

Yıl 1978 : Aklardan Mayıs... Gün 26, Cuma... Saat 7.00... Erzurum İstasyon meydanı... Her taraftan sokaklar, meydan... Her tarafta kırmızı bayraklar ve komünist liderlerin tabloları, boğrunlan «TKP

(Dev. Sa. 7. Sü. 1'de)

BAYRAĞA SAYGI MİTİNGİ MUHTEŞEMOLDU

Hergün Haber Merkezi «Bayrağa Saygı Mitingi» dün Taksim'de kalabalık bir vatandaş topluluğunun iştirakiyle yapılmıştır. Mitinge AP Genel Başkanı Süleyman Demirel, AP ve MHP milletvekilleri, milliyetçi ve ülkücü kuruluşların yöneticileri ve mensupları da katılmıştır.

1 Mayıs Bahar Bayramı'nda Taksim Meydanı'nın aşırı solcular tarafından, tasının kırmızı bayraklar ve komünist liderlerin tabloları, boğrunlan «TKP

(Dev. Sa. 7. Sü. 5'de)

SENTEZ

TRT VE HÜKÛMET

Taha Akyol

Bir hükümetin demokrasi anlayışı, haber organları konusundaki tutumuyla ortaya çıkar. Çünkü haber organları tarafından yönlendirilmiştir. Bundan önceki hükümetlerin hangisine TRT bu imkânı tanımıştır?

Bir dernağın, bütünüyle politikaya doğrultusundaki bunu toplantının sonu ve görünüşü olarak ekranına geçti ve ekranda MHP Rüzel ba

Polis

Taksim

Appendix F 26.10.1978, Hergün Newspaper



26 EKİM PERŞEMBE 1978

250 KURUŞ

Hergün

DAHA GÜZEL - DAHA GÜÇLÜ TÜRKİYE

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD.36 - SULTANAHMET - İSTANBUL TEL. SANTRAL: 28 75 95 (5 HAT)

KÜŞEYRİ RİSALESİ

Devlet Kars'a giremiyor

Duvarlar Kürtçe «Yaşasın Kürdistan'ın Özgürlüğü» afişleri ile doldu

HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ

Hükümet ve polis, Ülkücüleri suçlama yarışını sürdürürken aşırı sol örgüt fraksiyonlar İstanbul'un duvarlarını Kürtçe «Bi li Rizgariya Kürdistan» ve «Kürdistan'daki sömürge ciliğin zincirleri kırılacaktır» sözleriyle doldurmuşlardır.

Gözleri Ülkücülerden başka birşey görmeyen öğrencilik kuvvetleri, soluçları tamamen fakiesiz ve bahbos bırakmışlardır. Bundan ede alan ve meydanı boş bulan solcular ise pervasızca İstanbul sokaklarını Kürtçe sloganlarla doldurmuşlardır. Doğrudan doğruya devletin varlığını tehdit eden ve ülkenin bir bölümü «Kürdistan» adı altında komünist cektiya'ya ka-

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 4'te)

...alarından biri: Doğu'da Milli Zulme Soğuk Acaba Doğu'...ar? Doğu'da zulmedn millet kim? Bu sorulara kim

Bu vesikanın sorumlusu kim?

Vakıflar Erzurum Bölge Müdürlüğü, Genel Müdürüne gönderdiği resmi bir yazıda, «Kars sınırlarına giremediklerini» bildirmektedir.

Bölücülük tohumları Kars'ta birden yeşerdi...

(HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ)

Komünist çetelerin işgali altında bulunan Kars ilinde ihaneti devletin de yıkmadığı bugünkü manzarasını fotoğrafını vandığımız tekrâ bir yazıdır acele çıkmıştır. Devletin resmî bir dairesi, bağlı bulunduğu genel müdürlüğün talimatına verdiği cevapta «Kars sınırlarına girmeğen sosyal çalkantılar nedeniyle eğe girmediğini ifâde eden mahiret aldığı dans kente giremiyeceklerini bildirmiştir.

Komünist militanlarına bir ülke değil kalıştır kâbil bayrak yoktur Kars'ta milliyetçi ve vatansever partililer elebirliğe hâzırlık güçsüzlüğünü, ardından da komşu illerin plânlarına tâbiyen ateşkes kontrolünün ilerî noktalarına yayılmaya başlanmıştır.

CHP hükümetinin zafiyet ve ihmallerinden ötü yararlanan Marksist eğitim, Kars'ı işgâl altına almış, sınırlarının bir çehre halini getirdik-

(Dev. Sa. 7, Sü. 1'de)

İTÜ ülkücü öğrencileri: "Gerçek caniler yakalansın,,

(HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ)

İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Ülkücü öğrencileri dün bir casın bildirisi ya yayınlayarak hocaları Oca... forumlar yaparak suçu Ülkücülere atmak isteyen kâtiller.

2 — 1976 yılında rektör

Appendix G 30.10.1978, "The Republic Cannot Be Protected With Words," Hergün Newspaper



ORDU'YU BULACAKLAR,,

PARTİLER TAVIR ALMALI

KOMÜNİZM DE GİREMEZ,,

kuvvetlerimiz kendisini savunma durumuna gelebilir

Lâfla Cumhuriyet korunmaz

Liderlerin Bayram demeçleri

(HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ)

Cumhuriyetin 55. yıldönümü münasebetiyle başbakanlık Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı ve siyasi liderleri birer mesaj yayınlayarak günün mesaj ve ehemmiyetini belirtmiştir. Cumhurbaşkanı Korutürk uzun demecinde Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Ortadoğu'daki en güçlü ve en büyük devleti olduğunu belirtmiş ve siyasi kadroların yaptığı bir yıkımla bozulmak istenen iç barışı tesis ve korumada birleş- (Dev. Sa. 7, Sü. 7'de)

omuncuoğlu: evit açıkça lücülük yaptı

u Doğu Türkiye sınırlarının dışında. Sanki u. Türkiye ile mukayese edilecek ayrı bir a.

: «Bir yandan sene başında faşizmin iktian düşürüldüğünü iddia ederken öbür yanfaşizm ve komünizm sınırlarımızdan girediyor.

ANKARA (HERGÜN BÜROSU)

enel Başkan Yardımcısı Somuncuoğlu da yanlış bir ereği Ecevit'in Bülüç yaptığını

URİYET AMİ NLERİ NDEN

belirtmiş ve «Muradiye ve Özalp'te çelişkilerle dolu konuşmalar yapan Ecevit alenen bölücülük yapmıştır. Karmakarışık ve tutarsızlıklarla dolu sözlerinin arasında «Önce Türkiye kalkınsın, sonra Doğu» gö rüşünün yanlış olduğunu, «Önce Doğu, sonra da Türkiye kalkınsın» görüşünü ileri süren cümleler yer almıştır. Herşeyden önce Ecevit'in iddia ettiği gibi «Önce Türkiye sonra Doğu kalkınsın» diyen kimse yoktur. Böyle diyenler, olsaydı onlar bölücü olurdu» demiştir. Somuncuoğlu 'An tara'da yazdığı yazılı deme

Komünist militanlar tarafından vapur iskelelerinden tren istasyonlarına kadar halka zorla dağıtılan komünizm ve bölücülük propagandası yapan bir bildiri

Onbinlerce ev sular altında Şiddetli yağmur İstanbul'da

Cumhuriyet'in 55. yılında komünist kürtçüler:

- YÜZLERCE MİLLİYETÇİ VE CUMHURİYETÇİYİ ŞEHİT ETTİLER.
- T.C. SINIRLARI İÇİNDE «KURTARILMIŞ BÖLGELER» İLÂN ETTİLER.
- T.C. ORDUSUNUN KOMUTANLARINA KURŞUN SIKTILAR.
- BÜYÜK ŞEHİRLERİN SOKAKLARINI KÜRTÇE «YAŞASIN KÜRDİSTAN'IN ÖZGÜRLÜĞÜ» SLOGANLARIYLA DOLDURDULAR.
- BAZI BÖLGELERDE «HALK MECLİSLERİ» VE «HALK KOMİTELERİ» KURUP DEVLETİN YERİNE GEÇTİLER.
- DİYARBAKIR VE KARS'TA GİRİŞ - ÇIKIŞINDA PASAPORT SORMAYA BAŞLADILAR

İki polis şehit edildi

ZONGULDAK (ÖZEL)

Zonguldak'ta dün bir solcu derneğin lokalinde arama yapan polislere açılan ateş sonucu, iki polis memuru şehit olmuş, bir kişi de başından ağır şekil de yaralanmıştır.

Zonguldak Valisi Nevzat Ayaz, ateş açan 'şüphelilerin aşırı sol görüşlü olduklarını belirterek, bunlardan birisinin kimliğinin belirlendiğini söylemiştir.

İki polis memurunun şehit edilmesiyle ilgili olarak bir açıklama yapan Vali Ayaz sözle demiştir:

«26 Ekim gecesi Çatalağzı kasabasında devriye gezen iki polis memuruna (Dev. Sa. 7, Sü. 7'de)

Kars'a girilmiyor

HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ

- Kars'ta Komünist fraksiyonlara mensup militanlar birbirleri ile vuruşuyor,
- Bir çok cadde ve sokağa «Lenin», «Stalin» isimleri veriliyor. Vatandaş sokak tabelalarının bile değiştiğini görerek, mahalli yöneticilerin tedbir almasını bekliyor.
- DEV - GENÇ'in yönetimine hakim olan DEVRİMCİ YOL militanları, okullarda birbirlerine silah göstererek hava atıyor. Okul idarecileri Komünist militanları koru-

Cumhuriyetimizin 55. yıldönümünü idrak ettiğimiz bu günlerde, ülke yönetimini elinde bulunduran CHP iktidarının müsamahasından yararlanan komünist mihraklar, cüretlerini arttırarak, ülke ve millet bütünlüğüne yönelmiş hareketlerini açığa vurmuşlardır. Komünist militanlar, vapur iskelelerinden tren istasyonlarına kadar halka zorla dağıttıkları bildirilerde, komünizmi ülkeye yerleştirme yolunda yaptıkları çalışmaları anlatmaktadırlar. En son dağıttıkları bir bildiriyle THKO olarak bilinen Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu adındaki kanun dışı komünist şebekenin feminin TDKP-İÖ şeklinde de değiştirildiği belirtilmiştir.

Söz konusu kimi bildiride, THKO-nun 12 Mart'tan sonra yanlış bir çizgi izlediğinden isminin değiştirilerek daha etkin bir mücadele vermesi için ça-

MİLLİYETÇİ YAZAR İsmet Tümtürk

Appendix H 09.12.1978, "MHP Mardin Provincial Chairman Martyred," Hergün Newspaper



9 ARALIK CUMARTESİ 1978

250 KURUŞ

Her

DAHA GÜZEL – DAHA

ADRES: MİMAR MEHMETAĞA CAD.36 – SULTANAHM

MHP Mardin İl Başkanı şehit edildi

MHP GENEL SEKRETER YARDIMCILARI OKUYAN VE ÇARSANCAKLI PAZAR İLÇESİ'NDE SALDIRIYA UĞRADI

MUT MHP İLÇE BAŞKANI'NIN EVİ VE OTOMOBİLİ BOMBALANDI

GÜLTEKİN "MHP'YE YAPILAN SİLAHLI SALDIRILARIN TAHRİKÇİSİ ECEVİT'TİR,,

(HERGÜN HABER MERKEZİ)

Komünist ihanet çetele rinin MHP'yi ve ülkücü kuruluşları hedefleyen saldırıları bütün yurtta sürmektedir. MHP Mardin İl Başkanı Ata Pehlivanoğlu Kızıltepe'de kızıllar tarafından şehit edilmiş, MHP Genel Sekreter Yardımcıla rı Okuyan ve Çarsancaklı Pazar ilçesinde komünist militanlarına saldırılarına hedef olmuşlardır. Adana'da komünistler bir liseyi işgal etmişler. İstanbul'da ise yurttan çıkan ülkücü öğrencilere silâhlı saldırıda bulunan kızıllar, 3 kişiyi yaralamışlardır.

MARDİN — MHP Mardin İl Başkanı Ata Pehlivanoğlu önceki gece komünistlerce yaylım ateşe tutularak şehit edilmiştir.

MHP Mardin İl Başkanı Ata Fehlivanoğlu Kızıltepe ilçesinde otomobiline binerken komünistlerce otomatik tüfeklerle yaylım ateşe tutulmuştur. Ağır yaralanan MHP İl Başkanı Pehlivanoğlu, Diyarbakır Devlet Hastanesi'ne kaldırılırken yolda şehit olmuştur.

Mardin ve çevresinde MHP İl Başkanı Ata Pehlivanoğlu'nun şehit edilmesi olayı bomba tesiri yapmış ve halkın tepkisine yol açmıştır.

MHP Genel Başkanı (Dev. Sa. 7. Sü. 4'de)

SİLAHLA YAKALANAN SOLCU "EYLEM YAPACAKTIM,,

Seçimle gelen muhtarı kaymakam görevden aldı

Appendix I 14.04.1979, "What Did Minister Elçi Do in London?", Hergün Newspaper



GAZETENİZ HERGÜN YARIN 12 SAYFADIR

14 NİSAN CUMARTESİ 1979 350 KURUŞ

HERGÜN

Daha Güzel-Daha Güçlü Türkiye

YENİ FAİZ ORANLARI

1 Mayıs'tan itibaren yürü... rara göre, orta vadeli kredi... yüzde 16'dan yüzde 19'a, önce... oranı yüzde 14'ten yüzde 16'... faiz oranı da yüzde 15'den yü...

TÜRKİYE KÜRDİSTAN DEMOKRAT PARTİSİ GİZLİ ÖRGÜTÜ LİDER VE MİLİTANLARI

12 Mart dönemi... Sıkıyönetim mahkemeleri Türkiye Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi isimli gizli örgütün liderlerini de yargılıyor... Bunlar arasında Serafettin Elçi de var... Mahkûm oluyor Elçi... MSP-CHP ağlı yetkiliyor imdadına... AP'den milletvekili oluyor... Ve sonra bağımsızlığını ilân ederek Ecevit'in Bayındırlık Bakanı oluyor. Yukarıda Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı'nın gizli bir kitabında diğer Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi liderleri ile birlikte görülüyor.

Bayındırlık Bakanı aniden hastalandı (!)

Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi gizli toplandı

Bakan Elçi Londrada ne yaptı

Adı bölücülük haberlerinden eksilmeyen Ecevitin Bayındırlık Bakanı Elçi.

AYNI GÜN TALABANİ'NİN ADAMLARI DA LONDRA'DAYDI

[ANKARA BÜROSU]

12 Mart döneminde Sıkıyönetim Mahkemeleri tarafından Türkiye Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi liderlerinden olduğu, komünizm ve kürtçülük cereyanlarının propagandasını yaptığı için hapse mahkûm edilen CHP ağırlıklı hükümetin Bayındırlık Bakanı Serafettin Elçi'nin aniden rahatsızlığını bahane ederek Londra'ya gitmesi ve aynı günlerde Moskova yanlısı Kürtçü Lider Talabani'nin adamlarının da burada bulunması, Başkent siyaset kulislerinde «Elçi'nin bölücülük faaliyetlerinin gözden geçirileceği ve önemli kararların alınacağı gizli bir toplantıya katılmak üzere İngiltere'ye gittiği» yolunda söylentilere yol açmıştır.

Öğrenildiğine göre, Serafettin Elçi, 15 gün kadar önce Ankara Nümune Hastahanesi'ne başvurarak muayene olmuştur. «Tıbbi rapor tedavisi konulan Elçi Hastahane'den Türkiye'de tedavisi mümkün değildir» kaydını havi bir rapor talep etmiştir. Doktorların «Bu rahatsızlık Türkiye'de tedavi edilebilir. Basit bir rahatsızlıktır.» şeklindeki itirazlarına rağmen. Elçi'nin, Türkiye dışında tedavi ihtiyacının raporu konusundaki ısrarı devam etmiştir.

Bildirildiğine göre, hastahaneden bu raporu alan Serafettin Elçi, derhal havayollarından yer ayırtarak Londra'ya gitmiştir. Serafettin Elçi'nin bu derece kaygılanmasına rağmen İngiltere'de herhangi bir hastahaneye uğradığı tespit edilememiştir. Bakanın «Türkiye'de tedavisi mümkün olmayan» rahatsızlığına rağmen İngiltere'de de birkaç gün kaldığı ve daha

(Dev. Sa. 7. sü. 1'de)

BAĞIMSIZLAR DEKLARASYONA HAZIRLANIYOR

HABER MERKEZİ

Hükümetin gidişinin son derece kötü olduğunu söyleyen bağımsız bakanların yarınına, önümüzdeki günlerde, önemli bir toplantı yaparak kabine içindeki duruma ve tutumlarına ilişkin bir deklarasyon yayınlayacakları öğrenilmiştir.

Siyasi çevrelerden öğrenildiğine göre, «Huzursuzlar Ekibi»ni meydana getirdikleri öğrenilmiştir.

(Dev. Sa. 7. Sü. 7'de)

BU DA ON NİSAN BALIĞ

Appendix J 21.04.1979, Hergün Newspaper



GAZETENİZ HERGÜN YARIN 12 SAYFA

İSTANBUL: Mimar Mehmet Ağa Caddesi No:36 B. Ahmet Telefon: 287595 (Santral) Dizgi Baskı: HERGÜN Matbaası

21 NİSAN 1979 CUMARTESİ - 350 KURUŞ

HERGÜN

Daha Güzel - Daha Güçlü Türkiye

ANKARA: G. Mustafa Kemal Bulvarı No: 30/13 Kızılay Telefon: 29 55 33 29 55 34 ADANA: Borsa Çıkmazı 3/29 Telefon: 21186

Ecevit'e cevap veriyoruz!

"Türkiye'de (halklar) yok Millet vardır,,

Sorumsuzca konuşan CHP Genel Başkanı Ecevit..

Siyasî Partiler Kanunu

Madde 98 :

«SİYASİ PARTİLER, TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ÜLKESİ ÜZERİNDE MİLLİ VE DİNİ KÜLTÜR FARKLILIKLARINI YAHUT DİL FARKLILIĞINA DAYANAN AZINLIKLAR BULUNDUĞUNU İLERİ SÜREMEZLER, SİYASİ PARTİLER, TÜRK DİLİNDEN VE KÜLTÜRÜNDEN GAYRI DİL VE KÜLTÜRLERİ KORUMAK VEYA GELİŞTİRMEK YOLU İLE TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ÜLKESİ ÜZERİNDE AZINLIKLAR YARATARAK MİLLET BÜTÜNLÜĞÜNÜN BOZULMASI AMACINI GÜDEMEZLER.»

HABER MERKEZİ

«Bölücülük olayı» Türkiye'nin gündemindeki önemini bütün canlılığı ile korur, Bayındırlık Bakanı Şerafettin Elçi «Ben Kürt'üm, Türkiye'de Kürtler vardır» ve Başbakan Bülent Ecevit «Türkiye'de değişik etnik gruplar vardır ve olabilir» derken, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası ve yürürlükteki kanunlarımız ise «Türkiye'de halklar yoktur, Türk Milleti vardır» demektedir.

Son aylarda Ortadoğu'da meydana gelen önemli siyasî gelişmeler ülkemizde ki «Bölücülük olayı»nı yeniden Türkiye gündeminin başına getirmiştir. Bu arada Doğu Anadolu bölgemizdeki özellik Türk ve Müslüman kardeşlerimizi istismar ederek Türkiye'nin bütünlüğünü ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlayan ve özellikle dışarıdan desteklenen bölücü akımların faaliyetlerini hızlandırması ve Doğu vilayetlerimizde külliyetli miktarda silâh ve mühimmat ele geçirilmesi, meselenin önemini arttırmıştır. Ayrıca Almanya'nın ünlü Stern Dergisi'nin «Türkiye'nin iç savaşın eşiğinde» olduğunu belirtmesi ve «Ağrı Dağı'nın karının erimesi üzerine bu savaşın başlayacağını» yazması, meseleye ayrı bir boyut kazandırmıştır.

Öte yandan aylı konunun aylarca muhalefet tarafından belirtilmesine ses

(Dev. Sa. 7. Sü. 4'de)

Appendix K 15.08.1979, "Funerals Are Secretly Buried Only In Communist Countries," Hergun Newspaper



HERGÜN

15 AĞUSTOS 1979 ÇARŞAMBA 350 KURUŞ

Daha Güzel - Daha Güçlü Türkiye

Gazeteniz bugün "2. Bölüm,, le 12 sayfa

ŞEHİD HİKMET TEKİN

Sadece komünist ülkelerde cenazeler gizlice defnedilir!

■ TÜRKİYE'Yİ KORKUNÇ BİR UÇURUMUN AĞZINA GETİRENLER, KOMÜNİST ÜLKELERDEKİ USULLERİ DE YAVAŞ YAVAŞ YERLEŞTİRMEYE UĞRAŞIYOR.

«Anarşinin kaynağını bulduk. Anarşinin kaynağında MHP'liler var, ülkücüler var, bu fesist katillerin kökünü kurutacağız...»

Bunları söyleyenler komünist katillerin istediklerini gibi cinayet işlemelerine ses çıkartmıyorlar. Bu katillerin kökünü kurutmuyorlar. CHP İktidara geldiği günden bu yana işlenen cinayetlerin hepsinde maktuller MHP'li ülkücü veya milliyetçi yurtaşlar. Katiller ise, Türk Milletini bölmek, Türk Devletini parçalamak isteyen komünistler...

Bingöl İlimizin MHP'li Belediye Başkanını ikinci saldırılarında annesi ve kardeşi ile birlikte şehit edenler de komünist militanlar. Daha önce vurularak komaya sokulan merhum Hikmet Tekin'i koruyamayan siyasi iktidar, onun aziz naşını benzeri ancak komünist ülkelerde görüldüğü gibi sabaha karşı toprağa verdiriyor.

Üstelik cenaze defnedilirken Bingöl İlinde sokağa çıkma yasağı hüküm sürüyor. İslâmiyet'te bir cenazenin güneş doğmadan önce ve güneş batıktan sonra defnedilmesi caiz değildir. Müslüman Türk evladı merhum Hikmet Tekin'in cenaze naşına uygulanan bu işleme iktidar kuşkusuz: «Ne yapalım o-ay çıkması ihtimaline karı bunu yaptık» kılıfını geçirmeye çalışacaktır ama Milletimiz vicdanında bütün telâşına rağmen aklamayacaktır.

Hiçbir dini merasim yapılmadan ebedi istirahatgâhına tevdi edilen merhum Hikmet Tekin ile annesi merhume Hamdiye Tekin ve kardeşi merhum

(Devamı Sa: 7, Sü: 4'te)

Türkeş, Tekin'in mezarını ziyaret etti

"Ecevit'in şefliğinde oykırım başlatıldı,,

YORUM

Hâlâ demokra·iden söz ediyorlar!..

BİNGÖL Belediye Başkanı merhum Hikmet Tekin ile annesi ve kardesi, komünist katiller tarafından şehit edilmişlerdir.

Şimdi lütfen MHP Genel Başkanı Sayın Türkeş'in sözlerine kulak verelim Milleti Türkeş diyor ki:

— Türk ve dünya kamuoyuna ilân ediyorum : Katili Ecevit'tir.

Türkiye'de düzeni değiştireceğini söyleyen Bülent Ecevit dediğini yapmaya başlamış, demokrasi düzenini totaliter düzen biçimine sokmuştur. Ancak, komünist ve fasist ülkelerde kısacası diktatörlük rejimlerinde görülen, bir cenazeyi gizlice gömmek işlemi şimdi Ecevit Türkiyesi'nde uygulanmaya başlamıştır.

Sadece yaşarken değil, ölümü halinde de bazı hakları sahip olan yurttaşlarımızın cenazelerinin kaldırılması yasalara göre hiçbir sebep ve suretle engellenemez! Onların cenaze törenlerini yapma hakları geride bırakıkları yakınlarına aittir. Demokrasi anlayışı ve kuralları böyle söyler.

Yurttaşların yurt dışına çıkışlarını kısıtlayan, mülkiyet hakkını sınırlayan, taşınır taşınmaz mallarını kullanırken engelleyen ve benzeri uygulamaları yaparken hâlâ demokrasiden söz eden siyasi iktidar, merhum Tekin'lerin

(Devamı Sa: 7, Sü: 5'te)

Appendix L 18.08.1979, “We Buried Tekin, The Fearful Dream of Separatists, The Faith Fortress of the East,” Hergün Newspaper



Bingöl'ün çalışkanlık ve dürüstlük sembolü Belediye Başkanı TEKİN

Tekin bölücü komünist anarşistlerin kalleş kurşunlarına hedef oldu.

Bölücülerin korkulu rüyası Doğu'nun iman kalesi Tekin'i toprağa verdik

Bingöl'de yürekler bin parça şimdi...

Hikmet Tekin... Tekin ailesinin üçüncü oğlu.. Milliyetçi Hareket'in Millet hizmetindeki en genç ismi...

Parçalanmak istenen aziz vatanımızın, bölünmek istenen Milletimizin birlik ve bütünlüğünün yıkılmaz kalesi..

Ve İlk Meclis'ten son Meclis'e, Tek parti'den çok partili rejime kadar Cumhuriyet döneminin Bingöl'ü, Bingöl'lüyü ve onun istikbâle olan ümidini temsildeki en aziz varlığı, yiğit ve sevgili ülküdaşımız Hikmet Tekin'in maddî varlığı, bundan böyle, canından çok sevdiği kutsal vatan topraklarının bağrında artık... Aynı kanı ve ülküyü paylaştığı muhterem annesi Hamdiye Tekin ve kardeşi Ahmet Tekin'le birlikte yüce şehadet mertebesine ulaşıp Bingöl'lüyü öksüz, hepimizi derin acılar içinde bırakarak..

Hikmet Tekin'in kaybıyla bizler iman ve inanç sembolü yiğit bir ülküdaşımızı Türk Milleti ise kendisine daha nice hizmetler vaadeden büyük bir evladını kaybetti. Mensup olduğu fikir ve hareketin olduğu gibi, Hikmet Tekin'in de esasında temsil ettiği; Türk Vatan, Millet ve Devletinin ebediyen yaşatılması ve yüceltilmesi kutsal inancıydı ve o yüzden bu inanç uğrunda gözünü kırpmadan ölümü göze alabilmesiydi.

Hikmet Tekin, daha ilkokul yıllarından itibaren başlayarak genç ömrünün neredeyse yarısını Ülkücü Hareket'in saflarında, gelecekte kendisini bekleyecek olan bu inanç doğrultusundaki hizmet ve çalışmalara hazırlıkla geçirmiştir. 1977 mahallî seçimleri bu ülkü için bir imtihan imkânı tanıyordu. Neticesi ise kendisi ve mensubu olduğu Milliyetçi Hareket için umduğu kadar Türk devleti için de başarılı ve mutluluk vericiydi. Seçimlerden sonra bir kaç çalışmasında, «Bu devlet, bizim devletimiz.. Biz onun sahip ve hizmetkârlığına talip olduk. Millet bize bu imkânı tarafından seçilmiş olan belediye başkanlarının her ikisinin de şimdi sebebi edilmiş olmaları bir tesadüf müdür acaba? Bilemiyoruz. Bildiğimiz bu illerde seçim kazananların CHP ve yandaşlarınca bir türlü hazmedilemeyişi idi.

Yabancı güçlerin uşağı caniler, Bingöl halkının büyük tevecüh göstermesi gerektiğini gösterdiği Hikmet Tekin'i daha birinci hizmet yılını doldurmadan geçen yıl Ekim ayında bir akşam üzeri makinalı tüfeklerle taradıkları Tekin bu saldırıda ağır yaralanarak kurtarılmaya çalışılırken de Elazığ'a sevkinden da önce bir uçakla Ankara-

Cenazeye şehid edilen H. Tekin'in mezarı başında köylüleri, yakınları ve diğer vatandaşlar son görevlerini ifa edip Allah'tan rahmet diliyorlar.

Appendix M 04.10.1979, "Communists and Police Raid MHP Ağrı Building," Hergün Newspaper



HERGÜN

Saldıranlar APOCU, Özgürlük Yolu ve POL-DER mensupları...

Komünistler ile polis MHP Ağrı binasını bastı

MHP Lideri: Türk Milleti bölünme tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya bulunuyor

Radyo ve TV'de seçim konuşmaları MHP adına Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Gün SAZAK konuşacak Saat: 18.16 - 18.26

Başbakan'la Ulaştırma Bakanı'nın arası açıldı

Köyişleri Bakanı, CHP propagandası için bir filme 5 milyon lira verdi

MISK İstanbul şubesi de polislerin baskınına uğradı

Le Monde Türkiye'de cereyan eden olaylarla ilgili yalan haber yayıyor

Üstündağ «İşçi sınıfına güveniyoruz» deyince TKP'nin emri üzerine DİSK CHP'yi destekleyecek!..

YORUM

Kan ve Demokrasi

Türkeş yarın Erzurum'da konuşacak

Appendix N 27.05.1979, “The East was also Turkish, The East was also ours. But it was as if I was going to a Forbidden Area,” Hergün Newspaper



HERGÜN 4. SAYFA

● TEFRİKA ● BAND ROMAN ● RADYO VE TV ● BULMACA

ESİR TÜRK İLLERİNDE 90 GÜN
2. BÖLÜM
Anıdan R.Ö. Yazan Enver ALTAYLI

● BİR TÜRK BİR BAŞKA TÜRK İÇİN YALNIZCA MİLLETİNE DUYDUĞU SEVGİDEN DOLAYI BİR AYLIK GELİRİNİN TAMAMINI YEMEK PARASI OLARAK VERİ YORDU.

● DEVLETİN İÇİŞLERİ BAKANI DOĞU'YU GÖRDÜKTEN SONRA «DOĞUDA YANGIN VAR» DİYORDU. İŞTE BEN BU YANGININ GERÇEK SAİKLERİNİ VE İNSANIMIZIN BU YANGINA KARŞI TUTUMUNU TESBİT ETTİM.

● ERZURUM'DA KARS'A GİDECEĞİMİ SÖYLEDİĞİM BİR DOSTUM BANA GÜLDÜ VE «BİLİRSİN BEN KARŞILIYIM AMA DOĞDUĞUM KÖYE GİDEMİYORUM SEN NASIL GİDECEKSİN?» DEDİ.

Doğu da Türk Doğu da bizim

● Yolculuk boyunca hep gideceğim yerleri düşündüm. Ama bir plan yapamıyordum. Hatta gazeteciliğimi bile gizlemeye çalıştım. Anlatılanlara göre, planlı hareket herşeyi altüst ederdi. Gazetecilik kimliğinin ise sökmeyeceği gibi bana zararı dokunacağı aşikârdı..

Maksut Türkmenoğlu

Doğu da Türk'tü, Doğu da bizimdi. Ama ben sanki yasak bir bölgeye gidiyordum

— 1 —

● DOĞU

Şimdi Doğu'da, «Kürtle Ermeni kardeştir» manâsına gelen «Kırmanç fille bire hevin» sözü kabul ettirilmek isteniyor.

Millî Mücadele yıllarında da bu böyle olmuş ve «Kürtle Ermeni, Kürtle İngiliz kardeştir» sözleri söylenmişti Doğu insanına.

O zamanlar devletimizin düşmanları olan İngilizler ve Ermeniler kendi insanımızı devletimize karşı kışkırtmışlar ve birçok ocağın sönmesine sebep olmuşlardı.

Doğu'da bugün durum birazdaha değişik. Şimdi Doğu'da Sovyet beslemeleri bu vatana düşman olan her kişi ve kuruluşlarla elbirliği etmiş durumdalar. Bunların hesapları gayet açık: Vatanı parçalamak, devleti yıkmak...

Istılanlar beni oldukça heyecanlandırmıştı. Aslında yola çıkmadan önce nereiere gideceğim ve kimlerle görüşeceğim hakkında bir program yapmam lâzımdı. Ama Doğu bizim gözümüzde o kadar büyütülmüştü ki, ben sanki yasak bir bölgeye gidiyordum ve bu yüzden de plân, program yapmadan yola çıktım. Hatta gazeteci kimliğimi saklıyarak yanıma sigorta kartım ile bir firmanın yetki belgesini aldım. Her ihtimâli hesap ederek kafamda bu gezinin gizli olmasının daha faydalı olacağını hesap ettim.

Harem'de biletimi Erzurum'a kadar almıştım. Ama belki de Erzurum'a kadar gitmez Sivas veya Erzincan'da kalabilirdim. Ben bu düşünceler içindeyken sast bir haberlerinde Doğulu üç milletvekilinin CHP'den istifa ettiğini öğrendim. Bu hadise konumla ilgili ol-

Gerçekten de dışarıda karla karışık yağmur yağıyordu ve Erzurumlular iktidarın gitmesini dört gözle bekliyorlardı.

Ben Erzurum'u iyi bilirim. Öğrencilik yıllarımın bir kısmı burada geçmişti. O zamanlar çok kıymetli arkeolog bir ağabeyimizle Doğu insanının sosyal hayatı ve kültürü ile ilgili çalışmalar yapmış, köylere kadar giderek kendi insanlarımızı daha yakından ta

bası seve - seve savaş meydanlarına gitmedi? Ama bunda şöhret, vatanını sevenler için yaşamak bir...» Ben cevap olarak «Komünist yönetim var. Sen gidemezsin» ama ben gideceğim» dedim. Güldü, «Ne bulacaksın Kars'ta ilerisi mi? Şimdi herkes kimi kimden soracaksın?» Ondan ayrıldığım zaman aklımdan çıkmayan soru: «Kimi kimden soracaksın?» sorusu.

Akşam oteldeyim. Kalabalık otelde Erzurum'un çeşitli köylerinden gelenler de kalıyorlar. Onlara kendi köylerinde bölücülük olup olmadığını sordum. Açıkça kanlı olarak bildiğim Erzurumlular bu sorum karşısında kıvrandılar: «Sen ne diyorsun, bölücülüğü, Erzurum'da öyle şeyler olur mu?» dediler.

Gerçekten de Erzurum'da bir şekilde görülür bölücülük faaliyetine mevcut değildi. Fakat sohbet arasında Çatlı olduğunu söyleyen birisi kendi köylerinde köy öğretmeni tarafından bölücülük yapıldığını, sözlerine ekledi. Çatlı köylünün anlattığına göre Marksist olan bu öğretmen kürtçeyi bilmediği halde öğrencilere «Kürtsünüz, onun için geri kalmışdınız. kendi dilinizi öğrenin» diyormuş. Çat'lı vatandaşımız sözlerine şöyle devam etti: «Bunu söyleyen öğretmenin bir gün çantasının gelldiğini görmedim. Zaten dövülmesi olmasa bunu yapmaz. Bizim çocuklarımızın başına musallat olan lar hep böylesi insanlar.» Ve adam gözlerime bakarak bana «Din bir, vatan bir, bayrak bir değil mi?» diye sordu.

«Öyledir» dedim. O, cevabımı duymadan devam etti: «İster bölücülâl yapsınlar, ister darbe, ister isyan... O zaman görürler gününü. Moskof buralara kadar gelmişti ne oldu?»

Komünist güçler ODTÜ'yü bir üs olarak hazırlıyordu

— 3 —

Bu olayların şaşkınlığı geçtikten sonra ODTÜ'de geniş bir tasfiye hareketi başladı. Sol'a muhalefet eden [illegible] değiştirildi. Personel, Mali [illegible] leri, genel müdürler, kimileri [illegible] derek kimisi tehditlerle istifa [illegible] edildi. Değiştirilemeyenlerin [illegible] tirilmesi sağlandı. Tabiidir [illegible] edilenlerin yerine solcular [illegible] lerden hüküm giymiş kimseler [illegible] yordu. Nisan 1969 ile Ocak [illegible] dönemde üniversite idaresi [illegible] nel ve kilit noktalar solcuların [illegible] yetine geçti. Bu tarihler [illegible] uğrayanlar arasında Hüseyin [illegible] brahim Karal da bulunuyor.

ÖĞRENCİ TEMSİLCİLİĞİ AŞIRI KOMÜNİSTLER

1 Eylül'de öğrenci birliği [illegible] olacaktı. Seçimlere iki [illegible] yordu. Bunlardan biri[illegible] yanlısı aşırı komünist [illegible] ümlü ortanın solcuları [illegible] minlerin başkan adayı [illegible] İdare heyeti içinde [illegible] fo Akgül, Atilla Kay[illegible] ayılmaz ve - aynı zamanda [illegible] alanında da faal[illegible]

Appendix O 21.12.1977, “Six Thousand People Joined MHP in Tunceli,” Hergün Newspaper



nı Sa. 7. Sü. 6'da)

seçimleri-
or. Seçim-
ise 5.069.
dıkları oy-
.566 gibi
nı mahalli
erini tayin
gayret et-
ratik bir
ntidemok
büyük
k çoğun-
yon parti
rakmaya-

illetvekil-
nine hür-
Bir CHP
davranış-
unan AP
arı parti
anda de-
ğurur.

Yardımcısı Alparslan Türkeş bugün saat 8.45 uçağı ile Ankaradan İstanbul'a gelecektir.

Türkeş İstanbul'da kaldığı sürece bazı tetkik ve temaslarda bulunacaktır.

Tunceli'de 6 bin kişi MHP'ye iltihak etti

ANKARA (A.A.) Tunceli dolaylarındaki Kureyşan Aşireti Reisi Haydar Koç, dün Parti Genel Merkezi'nde düzenlenen bir törenle MHP'ye geçmiştir. Koç'un partiye giriş beyannamesini MHP Genel Başkanı Alparslan Türkeş imzalamıştır.

MHP Genel Merkezi'nden yapılan açıklamaya göre, Kureyşan Aşireti Reisi Haydar Koç, önümüzdeki günlerde, 6 bin taraftarının giriş beyannamelerini doldurup bir heyetle

(Devamı Sa. 7. Sü. 6'da)

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