

**TURKISH NATIONALISM DURING THE COLD WAR PERIOD:
AN ANALYSIS OF NATIONALIST POEMS BY ORDINARY PEOPLE**

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SOĞUK SAVAŞ DÖNEMİNDE TÜRK MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİ: SIRADAN KİŞİLER
TARAFINDAN YAZILMIŞ ŞİİRLERİN ANALİZİ

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the nature of Turkish nationalism during the Cold War period regarding poems written by ordinary people in Turkey. It aims to understand how Turkish people saw and generated nationalism in that era. In the context of nationalism, particular common themes have emerged such as nationalist feelings and solidarity by members of the nation. In this sense, anti-communism, militarism, nationalist symbols, the question of Cyprus, hostility against Greek and Russian states/societies, national territories, aggression (the dark side of nationalism in its call for revenge), self-sacrifice, emphasis on national identity/culture, superiority, praising Turkishness, and close relations with Turkic and Muslim communities were found influential in expressing nationalism. A library-based study was effective in the collection of sample poems through Turkish and nationalist journals working on frequency analysis. Thus, "everyday nationalism" is the basis of the study in terms of "the perspective of ordinary people".

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca yayınlanan milliyetçi dergilerde "sıradan" kişiler tarafından yazılmış şiirler üzerinden Türk milliyetçiliğini incelemektedir. Bu dönemde insanların milliyetçiliği nasıl gördükleri ve perspektiflerinde nasıl oluşturdukları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Belirli ortak temalar milliyetçi duyguları ve milletin üyeleri arasında dayanışmayı daha fazla meydana getirmektedir. Bu bağlamda, anti-komünizm, militarizm, milliyetçi semboller, Kıbrıs sorunu, Rum/Yunan ve Rus toplumlarına ve devletlerine karşı düşmanlık, yabancı düşmanlığı, ulusal topraklar, agresiflik (milliyetçiliğin karanlık tarafı olarak ele alınmıştır), kendini feda etme, ulusal kimlik ve kültür vurgusu, üstünlük, Türklüğün dalgalandırılması ve Türk-Müslüman toplumlarla daha yakın ilişkiler/ittifaklar bu dönemdeki milliyetçiliğin ifade edilmesinde önemli bulunan argümanlar arasındadır. Kütüphanelerden toplanan o döneme ait yayınlardaki şiirler örnek olarak seçilip frekans analizi ile dönemin milliyetçi doğası anlaşılmak istenmektedir. Dolayısıyla, "sıradan kişilerin" perspektifi çalışmadaki "gündelik hayattaki" milliyetçiliğin temelini oluşturmaktadır.

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Abbreviations

US - United States of America

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

SU - Soviet Union

DP - Democrat Party

UN - The United Nations

TKP - Communist Party of Turkey

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

TİP - Turkish Labour Party

DİSK - Revolutionary Workers' Union Confederation

MDD - National Democratic Revolution

KMD - Associations of Combat on Communism

Dev-Genç - Federation of Turkish Revolutionary Youth

Maden-İş - Union of Metal Workers

CHP - Republican People's Party

IMF - International Monetary Fund

AP - Justice Party

MGK - National Security Council

ANAP - Motherland Party

SDI - Strategic Defence Initiative

START - Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

MHP - Nationalist Action Party

INF - Intermediate Nuclear Forces

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CHAPTER I

1.1 Introduction

It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round.

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*

The sense of belonging causes a reinforcement of nationalism binding people to various themes, such as language, culture, religion, land, boundaries, customs and different symbols which represent people and their nations. In other words, nationalism is not limited to being produced in our daily lives. The nature of nationalism can make people more loyal and their expressions emerge emphasising their ethnicity, race, superiority of their nation and identity. The dynamics and consequences of nationalism are crucial in serving a range of purposes: bringing a position on the earth; telling who we are, where we come from, what we do and so on (Miller 1995:184). People are tied to their national identities, and therefore thinking to obliterate those commitments is not possible (Özkırımlı 83). In this sense, literature and poetry can be seen as sources for the nature of nationalism through diverse lines composed by poets or authors.

Although poems include a great number of subjects, the poetry presents a testimony for different periods reflecting the communities. In the context of reflection, poetry becomes one of the tools in order to demonstrate the nature of people. According to Millas, nationalism, racism, aggression, prejudice and grudge may be seen as unallowable tendencies nowadays. Negative feelings and implementations which are societal dispositions cannot be examined directly. He argues that no one claims him/herself as racist or biased, because they really believe that they have no fanaticism in a negative sense. However, literature presents drawn "pictures" based on people's perceptions, images, and feelings; not as photographs (2-3).

Personal and societal perspectives can be displayed through verse. Consequently, the motivation for the research is to understand and demonstrate the nature of nationalism during the Cold War period. At this point, the poems of "ordinary people" will be examined in order to focus on "daily life" nationalism in regard to the era. In my readings of Turkish poems produced from 1950 to 1990, those memories play a key role in the understanding which illustrates primary sources comprehending history. So these poems have the data function transferring the nature towards readers. These publications indicate memories and expressions of the impressions. For understanding everyday nationalism, reflections of ordinary people who have written those lines rather than famous poets and authors are significant. This is because, as we will see in the next sections, ordinary poets composed regarding domestic and foreign policies, affairs, concerns, and issues which they experienced at this period. The milieu was engraved on their minds and memories and it seems that they transformed them to the poetry. The historical knowledge of ordinary people is not limited in any time and space framework (Özkırmırlı 168). This is due to everyone seeming like a historian reflecting his/her feelings, and those feelings disclose the past.

In addition, the research does not include a comprehensive examination of nationalist theories, except in a few instances. It examines the content of Turkish nationalism through published poems. The study intends to disclose the nature of nationalism, the feelings and perspectives of ordinary people improving their solidarity in a nationalist sense, which cases or developments have been influential in producing nationalism by people's perspective. It also searches for a change whether different periods involve other topics or not. In other words, the importance of the conjuncture was investigated as well.

Acts, decisions, crises, movements, alliances, policies, and conflicts of international and domestic arenas have induced the shaping of people's nationalism. The point is to understand which particular cases became the milestones for nationalist expressions on the

societal level. Therefore, differentiation and continuity of Turkish nationalism and nationalist discourses in daily life is explained. For the study, particular publications have been chosen to analyse which have various nationalist approaches; thus the thesis does not contain every nationalist journal which belongs to this period. Details of the journals are indicated, but it is required to mention their names due to their great contribution: *Töre*, *Ocak*, *Kuvayi Milliye*, *Bizim Ocak*, *Büyük Türkiye*, *Devrim Gençliği*, *Toprak*, *Milli Şuur*, *Ötüken*, *Bozkurt*, *Türk'e Çağrı*, and *Büyük Ülkü*.

The thesis analyses the Cold War period in relation to the nature of nationalism based upon the reflections of ordinary poets. Therefore, a theoretical framework is presented regarding the general view of poetry as its vehicle, then nationalist poetry in the first chapter. It is significant to see how poetry can be instrumentalised to express nationalist feelings highlighting instruments of nationalism. A historical background is shown in order to reveal a linkage between the content of the poems and the period, which provides an understanding of people's common memory and reason for particular points in their discourse. The second chapter introduces the journals which published those poems; additionally, the number of total poems, the number of total issues for each magazine, the distribution of the magazines by year, and likewise the yearly distribution of poems are presented, explaining the method. Furthermore, the last chapter generates the analysis which is the most crucial one, focusing on results and the content of the poems, expressed in relation to nationalist approaches during the Cold War period.

1.2 Theoretical Framework: General View on Nationalism and the Poetry

Nationalism takes various forms: it may be political as an intervening power, a struggle for independence, a power targeting expansionism, or a counterpart against colonisation. For Gellner, nationalism creates nations; they are products of faith, loyalty, and solidarity. Hobsbawm tries to explain nations and nationalism within the frame of political interests; on the other hand, Anderson defines nations as "imagined communities" (Gellner 77-78; Özkırmılı 146; Anderson 20). Nationalism can be perceived as the most influential, creative, and destructive social movement referring to the most admirable (and otherwise) traits in human nature. According to Goldman, social groups constitute a "collective consciousness" based on common values, tensions, and experiences, and authors/poets are able to embody this consciousness through their ability of expression over collectivity. This understanding reveals that collective national consciousness is a product of common problems and myths which means sharing a national identity (Goldman 582-609). Nationalism secures some ideas with respect to ideals of liberty and justice as good sense. On the other hand, it contributes to the triggering of world war, conflict, marginalisation, and genocide. At this point, its significance among nation states tends to extend its field into literature.

Nationalism has a wide scope for providing the framework and language for almost all political discussions (Yumul and Özkırmılı 22:789), consequently it is worth analysing in different fields and daily life. For many researchers and experts, nationalism is everywhere evident, even though we may not notice clearly its presence. Although nationalism figures in every part in our lives, it is not demonstrated directly all the time. For instance, when people greet their nations' flags with respect or sing their national anthems, vote in elections, watch the news or sporting competitions, absorb repeated iconographies related to history in commercials, they become "national" and increase the sense of nationalism and its understanding in their minds (Eley and Sunny 29). Hence, we can say that nationalism in

daily life is very effective in reproducing itself by practices and interactions. Therefore, according to Löfgren, daily practices (like the poetry examined here) are a mirror of nationalism due to their influence with routines.

Billig introduces a term "banal nationalism" in order to indicate unnoticed, routine/everyday practices, ideological habits, and representations of nations.¹ Citizens have opportunities to remember their national position among the nations of the world with the occasion of unseen flagging (bayraklandırma) (Billig 17-18). Billig advocates that recall is always perpetual and is frequently becoming more familiar, therefore this recalled banal nationalism is not recorded consciously. It means that the image of banal nationalism is not fervent flag-waving, but rather it is a flag flown in front of a public building. There are numerous methods in order to actualise nationalism through instruments. National museums, local dispensaries, police stations, post offices and schools make easier the nationalisation of places within both formal and informal techniques under the authority of nation states. Formal and informal institutions reproduce nation states such as family, school, the media, and the military and so on. These institutions inculcate "nationalist discourse" creating interaction between the institutions and individuals as an impeccable entirety (Appadurai 189; Balibar 351). These unintended entireties make a consciousness for being a nation, highlighting the word "us" (Billig 15). Then it facilitates the expansion towards sharing; at this point influential poems come to the stage as the paper shows. The poetry provides expression and development of nationalist consciousness producing an expression of collective identity. Therefore poetry and nationalism are integrated demonstrating an "us" manifestation with

¹ Michael Billig explains this term in his book, "Banal nationalism". He wants to demonstrate that praising nationalism can be common everywhere, we do not need to see clearly, but it has meaning in the content, or we see nationalism on the billboards while we are walking in the streets. He tends to introduce "banal nationalism" to cover all routine/daily practices, unnoticed, habits, and representations and he aims to determine all of these things are daily reproduction of nations. He talks about these concepts in the whole book and the study benefits from it as we are going to see more.

intense feelings of solidarity and bonds between groups of people creating nationalism as Gellner explains.

It is significant to examine poems and their power/prestige upon readers highlighting whether they are influenced in respect of nationalism. Because "historical experiences" that is, particular "periods" are crucial in order to bring to the surface the content of these poems since they involve reflections by (ordinary) people. Moreover, it has the same meaning that poems can easily fortify nationalist interpretations. In this sense, there may be some questions about how literature/poems can be the focal point for this research, helping to illustrate nationalism and how the nationalism is perceived for these people or how the literature is influenced by the political environment is important. In other words, how poems are influenced by cases and nationalism and how poets reflected their feelings, ideas, values, and beliefs in this way. The research aims only to see "the impact of the Cold War period and experienced nationalism in daily life" within the published poems by ordinary people. In addition, it is important to demonstrate how experiences/conditions (the Cyprus question, communism, the Korean War, international relations and so on) influenced people's involvement in nationalist discourse. The main purpose is to understand the nature of nationalism in different periods as it is felt and expressed in such poetry. This individual level of analysis aims to focus upon the connected relations with the nature of nationalism and ordinary people in Turkey. Additionally, this section does not comprise traditional approaches on theories of nationalism separately (like in other studies) while it is focusing on daily life and ordinary people's feelings, subjects, and approaches related to Turkish nationalism. I examine Turkish nationalism, asking what it was about the nationalist genre that made it such a vital galvanising subject in the rise of nationalist discourse in Turkish poems and their focal points of common themes.

Thus this part indicates the relation/linkage between the poetry and nationalism. In the following sections, I examine Turkish nationalist poems in general, then separate periods with common themes. For this research, the chosen poets are ordinary people; for instance, they may be a teacher in Erzurum or a labourer in Ankara. In other words, those published poems are not written by famous Turkish poets; therefore the research aims to demonstrate how nationalism is felt and expressed by ordinary people. That part tries to understand whether poetry is influential in the expression of nationalism and what it eventually contributes within nationalist poetry in general.

According to a basic interpretation, nations are constituted with the people's "common" directions investigating the "common themes" which are the part or representation of nationalist discourse. The word "our" represents a plural existence in literature which emphasises a commonality. In this sense, the part tries to see how this "togetherness" is reflected in a nationalist manner. The part shows in turn the significance of poetry as a general view, the linkage between nationalism and poetry which contains nationalist poems and then the influence of nationalism upon readers/communities by such poetry.

Although all approaches towards or definitions of nationalism have different meanings to each other, these descriptions point towards common concepts such as solidarity, loyalty, unity and togetherness as shaped common feelings and values culminating in a common shared direction. So it is important to look for its symptoms on the individual level. Poetry is an excellent research avenue for that. At this point, it indicates that poems are written in order to convey those concepts and therefore politics and literature are necessarily converged. After the French Revolution, self-consciousness of national identity became more widespread and it has consequently triggered modern phenomena such as nationalism. And nationalism is represented within poems as driving humankind with ideals of justice, freedom, hatred, grievance, revenge, brotherhood, solidarity and so on. These poems have constructed

nationalism in association with those ideals. Poetry is a highly influential vehicle highlighting national emotions, conflicts, aspirations and obligations in order to reinforce a commitment among members of a nation. Poetry is a powerful form due to its capacity as a vehicle in terms of performance of collective expression and the ritualised remembrance of collective trauma (Ahmed 2). According to Galtung, many things change or reflect the reality of a society: literature, religious or political symbols, stars, crosses and crescents in terms of religious symbols, or flags, anthems and military parades; the pictures of leaders; inflammatory speeches and posters (Galtung 27:291).

The study demonstrates issues/cases of such pervasive forces in Turkish society. Poetry has a crucial role in the spreading of the ideas of nationalism indicating societies' experiences and the time. For instance, according to Kemal Karpat literature provides valuable insights into the nature of the social problems and special features of countries (Karpat 14:37). From this perspective, the nature of nationalism has a tendency to be illustrated in verse. Poetry is the medium whereby an individual or a member of the community can present a case persuasively, albeit individually. Therefore, it is better to follow literature in order to understand the milieu and people regarding ideas/ideologies. Nationalism is constructed due to culture, society, and history; the poetry illuminates those concepts very well, because it is originated by those concepts' content naturally. According to Kymlicka, it should be mentioned that people feel a commitment towards their language and culture, providing a sense of belonging which is comprehensible: a choice of context and identity (Kymlicka 105). Thus we can say that poetry has obvious significance in order to reflect the experiences/realities of the period since poetry contains these concepts and explains why poems are worth analysis within the society.

The author of "American Political Poetry between the World Wars", Michael Thurston states that people are part of a community as viewers, listeners, and readers and that this

unites them with humanity, sharing both senses and values (17). From this point of the view, poetry is a principal way for mass communication playing a role similar to that of radio and television; it is a published version which reaches lots of people. So readers may find the opportunity for particular mirrored sensuous expression and reconciliation with others who feel the same through poems on an individual level. For everyday life, it has a force among people and it resorts to figuration and implementation of almost every public act. The poetry of a people reinforces its existence from the people's discourses or experiences and in turn gives life to it. It generates a representation in the highest point of consciousness (Eliot 11). Poetry is used to link the past with the present and it aims to create an "admirable" future as well. Sharkey points out that poetry can make social change and the poets have opportunities to call for new developments; for instance, the author gives examples from the Middle Eastern countries in which poets include new reforms in their poems about girls' schools or railway travel which have the capacity to transform social practices and lifestyles (Suleiman 8). Turkish nationalist publications include similar purposes in the same light while they are calling for reforms in national culture and practices imposing various responsibilities upon their nation. This dissertation demonstrates what ordinary and nationalistic people questioned. In this study, these callings are not analysed as "reforms or constructions" in the community; they are related to "expressions" and "reflections" by the people in terms of nationalism.

We can see that there is an obvious interaction between literature/poetry and nationalism. This potential derives from "collective consciousness" in the beginning centred on common values, tensions, and experiences. So authors and poets are capable of embodying this consciousness. Members of the group become participants getting involved in an experience and these collective meanings through reading (Goldman 585). In this mutual interaction, poets have a different kind of role like journalists or reporters dealing with politics and the acquisition of political power (Samatar 18). Poetry represents togetherness in a

political and social sense and produces a collective national consciousness focusing on some questions unique to a particular society (Corse 73:1280-1282). In other words, the existence of literature/poetry emerges as a language for politics, culture, and history instrumentalising poems as a source of seeing nature. Because its functions are versatile, it is not concerned only with matters of art but also questions of social and political significance. Additionally, poems are a highly effective vehicle by which to express national energies, conflicts, and aspirations (Muhawi 22), because they are published in journals as a prominent feature of rallies and processions (Ahmed 3).

The decoupling of poetry and nationalism was practiced for a while in the United States, but did not last so long. It happened due to the confluence of national politics, especially the anti-communist inquisition (beginning before World War I and continuing through the activities of Senator McCarthy at the beginning of the Cold War years, the 1940s and 50s). Poetry could not address those aspiring politicians and poets who found that they were prevented from publishing; the readership was low as well (Thurston 7). The same policies were realised in Turkey during the intense political chaos of the Cold War years. In this sense, politics and poetry have always interacted with each other; their interface may be in a positive sense, sometimes enhancing their words, but if tensions in society are raised, their existence can be forbidden in particular times as is indicated in the historical part. That confirms the proximity or connection between nationalism which is a big part of the politics and poetry, as one of their common features is that poetry mirrors politics.

Thus the situation demonstrates that politics (especially nationalistic politics) is integrated in everyday life since poetry is an effective tool in the spread of notions of material progress and social development experienced in – and indicative of – the era. The situation sustains that poets are actively in dialogue with ideas circulating in their group (Armstrong 26). Because poems contribute towards sensation and reflection, this section aims to mention

the significance of poetry in daily life and its association with some ideals like nationalism. The main importance is that poems are evident for history to bring about realities, and nationalism is the most powerful tool for change/progress. In this sense, theories or speeches of leaders alone are not enough to promote understanding in societies. Consequently, as their intermediary proofs of history, Turkish nationalist poems will be analysed in line with Turkish nationalism.

1.2.1 Nationalism in Poetry and Specific Nationalist Poems

"Today, nationality and nationalism appear to be the most universal legitimate values in contemporary political life." (Pavlovic 17:136) Consequently, their existence in poetry is inevitable. Poetry and nationalism has a harmony, because almost all poems are dramatic even when they are not dramatic in form (Armstrong 140). For almost all interpretations, nationalism is based on ideas of solidarity and unity. Nations survive standing on particular requirements; otherwise, mere boundaries in a country would make no sense. However, nations are constructed around certain emotionally charged norms and values, cognitive orientations and symbols that serve as boundary markers praising membership in the collectivity (Itzigsohn and Hau 35:196). This collectivity is provided by poetry while people are sharing their feelings or demands for their nation and glorifying it. A nationalist poem may be seen as a mode of expressing and experiencing intense feeling for a nation which transports the body beyond the remits of historical nation-time (Chakrabarty 18:31). As a result of these practices, a poet may compose to give expression to a private inspiration, emotion, or passion. In addition, his/her essential concern as a bard is to influence the opinions and principles of other people (the readers) (Samatar 72). Their purpose is not just to write a good poem about their nation and people; they have recommendations, demands, and invitations to render their homeland and citizens better. People are in need of sharing their emotions which compounds them more. This soul of the poet exposes their "collectivity" or

"common directions" underlining opinions. At this point, the most successful emotion or inspiration in that kind of togetherness is "nationalism".

National or nationalist poetry is not seen as marginal; rather, it enables an expression of much of what ordinary people feel (Aberbach 9:271). This kind of poetry has the capability to vindicate history as a "midwife" to nationalism. As mentioned above, poetry demonstrates history while becoming identified within national communities as primarily characteristic of nation states (Corse 1997, 24). The functionality of poetry shapes the central resource for the process of the unity, loyalty, and patriotism of national communities. Therefore, this study tries to see in the poetry of the Cold War period how people felt and thought during that era.

According to Aberbach, the poetry of nationalism has its roots in ancient literature, the Hebrew Bible being a particular example. However, it has been mostly a product of nationalism since the French Revolution. It has different strategies in order to protect this field calling for moral regeneration. Authors/poets are able to attribute a meaning to readers because they instigate their people (who are members of the same group/nation) with memories of heroism (real or imagined), and with myths unique to their nation.

Nationalism has given the world a genre of poetry bright with ideals of justice, freedom and brotherhood of man, but also, at times, burning with humiliation and grievance, hatred and lust for revenge, driving human kind. (Aberbach 9:256)

As we see in the next section, nationalist poems include "pride, superiority, heroism" for their own side. Exaggeration of national feelings, national identity, and nationalist political power by the national communities is extremely widespread and this pride over possessed concepts causes voluntary self-abandonment within the communities (Brubaker 283). Furthermore, nationalist poetry tends to produce a kind of imagined country, a creation of a national sublimity to emerge in the form of an "adored nation" in order to mobilise a "collective" movement to bring this adored nation into being (Ahmed 3). Nationalist literature

illustrates a hidden comparison within the meaning. Authors/poets divide sides using terms such as "us and other" in nationalist poems; it can be more explicit if the side has an enemy to revile. For instance, nationalist Turkish poems have chosen "Communist or Muscovite groups" as a clear target. Such poems evoke ideals as a useful tool in nationalist activity (Sharkey 163). The comparison presents positive qualifications for "our nation" (we are brave, civilised, tolerant, just, honest and modest rather than immoral, bad, cowardly and so on) and qualifications of those counted as "other" are much more negative (Millas 3). Poetry extols the heroic qualities of the readers/public opinion with verses and invites them into a zone of signification in imagery. According to Renan, a nation maintains its presence with a collective memory loss (Billig 50). It means that societies do not want to remember their defeats; rather they stress victory to provide continuity for their "heroic" qualifications.

On the other hand, in some comparisons with "others/foreigners", agitation is deeper for their own side (nations). If their nation faces injustice, inequality, oppression, loneliness (isolation) and/or pressure, verses become more remonstrant and tragic. However, these nationalist verses do not include any kind of bad experience or trauma for "foreigners" or other nations, even if they (the members of the nation of the poet in question) are responsible. Nationalist poems do not allow for the existence as slaves: even death is much more preferable to slavery because the nationalist approach always seeks to retain sovereignty for a nation. Moreover, poems underline their nations' or groups' "uniqueness", decreasing the level of "others'/foreigners'" significance as a conscious effort concerning glorification (Tamir 66). Nationalist poetry emphasises the superiority of a nation whilst demanding respect from others. To do this, poets address their readers in terms of unity and solidarity underlining their common values, identity, culture, morality, and so on. They demonstrate a heroic appearance for their country which is worth every loss embodying death and casualty. At the same time they can try to revive their superiority or need to be powerful in terms of defeats. Aberbach

mentions that defeats appear frequently in the poetry of nationalism. Consequently at times, nationalist poems justify violence and terror. At this time, calling for awakening (or revenge) may be seen in poems including their shame, self-criticism, and militancy. As mentioned above, their militaristic tendencies and offensive invitations become apparent. Wars and threats encourage fear, mistrust and anger in a nationalist sense.

The perceptions, feelings and ideas of ordinary people may indicate the political, social, economical and cultural aspects in a country. Their national belonging can be illustrated in different ways and – as already shown – poems have this kind of role containing the political, social, economic and cultural circumstances in those particular periods. Furthermore, although these "ordinary" people have a dangerous side, it seems very easy for them to call for violence or revenge rather than reconciliation with their substantial questions. Their national approaches/feelings lead them with a more aggressive sense instead of a peaceful side which may sometimes rely upon historical trauma and negative experiences. If nationalism is one of the strongest feelings among communities, it has to include a "dark side". Good examples, heroism, pride, superiority, achievements, victories and so on throughout history are the main subjects in these publications. However, the rhetoric of the dark side in nationalist poetry is an indispensable stance. Hence Aberbach advertises that glorification of violence and lust for revenge against oppressors is a usual circumstance in order to convince them of what they have experienced in the past and what they should demand in the future.

Nationalist poetry is written mostly in the shadow of hatred or in exile from their oppressed homeland (Aberbach 9:258). Calling for revenge can be against an old enemy, imperial power, separatist group or conqueror from the past. Violence is generated by a combination of physical and social/psychological elements (Scheff 28). Poets demonstrate an extraordinary intensity of enraged expectations that is an elemental component of human

nature. Scheff indicates the hatred in a different level by determining that it can be formed or hidden by shame. Those poems refer to their triumphs; however their poems comprehend historical defeats as well and their readers (in this case the Turkish people) are sometimes reminded of these defeats. In this sense, they aim to sublimate the Turkish nation, curtailing defeats which cause "shame" from their perspective and in this way create awareness with their readers.

Billig argues that the deixis of "they" and "we" is common in nationalist discourse/publications, presenting the homeland as the home of the "readers". It is not necessarily stressing the division of "us" and "them" clearly; the intonation makes it substantive throughout the content. This division is eligible for every subject in these poems. "National partiality" requires loyalty towards their nation(s) and protects their own interests against foreigners (Özkırımlı 78). In other words, favouring one's own citizens is a necessity against the guarding of foreigners' interests. Consequently, nationalist poems encapsulate righteousness for their nations over any kind of decision, policy and approach as a legitimisation. Nationalism in poems causes the treatment of "others/foreigners" who are not members of their group/nation in a negative light because these poems call for some responsibilities to behave well towards people if they have a common belonging with them and reduces "foreigners" to nothing (Parekh 317). National partiality becomes more "emotional" and "offensive" as a result of this sense of belonging.

Poetry succeeds in different ways. For instance, naming places and localities is a discernable approach to provide a tie for the readers, and it aims to assert claims of ownership over particular places. In nationalist poems, the diatribe seems common as a class of verse; of course they have goals to undo an enemy by disgracing them. This kind of approach in the poetry reduces the status or prestige of the victim in the eyes of society (Samatar 74). Poets look for shortcomings of their art in their "victims", or they criticise their political ideologies,

such as the example of communism during the Cold War. Allegory and irony originate sympathy, and these methods may be used to denigrate their "enemies" or political views which are, in their view "wrong". Furthermore, the goal in using these methods may be related to the possibility of repair in terms of national failure.

Nationalist poems engender a perception while people are writing their "nationalist" reflections, they see themselves as soldiers waging a desperate or hopeful battle against a power (it may be an old story or imaginary) bringing their ethnic identity to the fore (Galand 54:218). This type of literature signifies that a poet endeavours to explain the behaviour of his/her leaders and/or the policies of their state towards others through the use of verse. In these poems, if leaders or decision-makers have not enough "nationalist" direction, they are not defended in verse. As Samatar points out, poems contain a particular message which the reader/listener seeks to find (72-73). Hence, nationalism comes out for this objective whereas verses are full of nice words regarding homeland and encouragement for the nation. Nationalist poetry makes efforts to ensure the national culture of a country/nation. As Robert Young has observed, "the popular struggle and national culture are synonymous, the culture is the struggle" (paragraph 16).² It is obvious that poetry has been a natural vehicle of nationalist expression whereas both things contain the "feelings" of people and a vital element of protective approaches for nations throughout history.

1.3 Turkey in the Cold War Period

This part aims to briefly indicate the milieu of Turkey regarding her domestic and foreign situation during the Cold War. It is significant to add this part to the research, because publications include nationalist poems on domestic and foreign policies in this period and common themes will be figured out in parallel with the era. In my study, this crucial period

² Here are the details in the article: <http://www.nakedpunch.com/articles/38>.

provides motivation because, not just politicians, but ordinary people were also affected and they expressed their views or feelings by poetry. In every period, it may be seen that there are significant cases which reflect the people (and states). Accordingly, it seems that people have chosen their enemies and supporters. During the Cold War, Turkey was also influenced in its domestic politics and foreign relations due to the tension between the United States (US) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

The Cold War era dominated international relations for nearly fifty years. It is certain that it influenced all different aspects of developments both within and among states (Hopkins 913). Both the US and USSR affected every part of the globe either directly or indirectly. The international arena obtained a bipolar nature around the United States and the Soviet Union. So the Cold War represents an era when these two superpowers influenced smaller states clustered around them. Conflict and disagreement among them were rife, while they nonetheless avoided the direct use of weapons towards each other.

- International Situation

Both blocks maintained their politics depending on the geostrategic situation. According to William Hale, Turkey came close to the West based upon threats from the Soviet Union, not the commitment to democracy which subsequently emerged (110). In the West, there were concerns about Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe which depended upon security by ideological expansion (Scott 2008:61-2). Krasner argues that US decision-makers were more concerned in relation to the structure of the international system and the domestic politics of other countries (15). Similarly, US officials needed Turkey as a bulwark against Soviet threats in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In this sense, between 1945 and 1952, relations between Turkey and US were driven by realpolitik. In 1945, the USSR declared the renewal of the Treaty of Friendship signed with Turkey in 1925 including the

Straits. Turkey had concerns because of feasible demands or threats from the Soviet Union. For instance, Foreign Affairs Minister Necmettin Sadak expressed his feelings in an article in 1949: "The Soviet Union would demand a Communist Government at Ankara after a Çanakkale (Dardanelles) occupation" (Sadak, paragraphs 36-7). This indicates that the potential of the Soviet Union and its contingent impact upon Turkey generated a perception of fear and enmity. Sander demonstrates Molotov's points which would have been resolved for the Turkish side: (i) changing of Turkish-Soviet borders, (ii) giving a base to the Soviets for a possible attack in order to provide common defense, (iii) an agreement on the reconsideration of the Montreux Convention by the two governments (252-3). On the other hand, these demands were leading towards pressurisation for Turkey, ultimately pushing it to the American side (Sander 253; Kayaoğlu 9:324).

Feroz Ahmad remarks that Turkey became an important regional power resulting from the Cold War crisis between Washington and Moscow, having an impact upon Greece, Turkey and Iran. This milieu seriously accelerated the affairs between Turkey and Washington. Both sides knew that Turkey needed economic growth and foreign investment, and if Turkey preferred to join the West and served US-led interests in the Middle East, the economic assistance could be real and beneficial (129). At this point, the Truman Doctrine became a milestone for Turkey's security and the interests of the West, providing \$100,000,000 in aid. The Truman Doctrine was presented to the Congress in 1947. It was a strategic plan to subsidise anti-communist movements in Greece while the country was struggling with civil war, and for its neighbour Turkey (Best, Hanhimaki, Maiolo, and Schulze 218-220). In total, \$400 million in aid was provided for Greece and Turkey. It was seen as the start of the American commitment to the defence of anti-communist regimes throughout the world (Zürcher 209). Truman addressed that "it must be the policy of the US to support the free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures"

(Zürcher 209). The famous "domino theory" stimulated the decision: if Greece, Turkey, and Iran fell under Soviet power, they (the Americans) would become vulnerable. It was related to position and power for both countries; access to the Persian Gulf and the Eastern Mediterranean would provide a strengthened USSR and a weaker US. So Turkey was the primary defense line for the US in the face of any aggressive move by the USSR. The Truman administration used its rhetoric on democracy in order to realise its goals/intentions, but the main intention was obviously related to Turkey's location for national and security interests. (Kayaoğlu 326-327).

President Truman was decisive in his anti-Soviet policies to be pursued due to the atom bomb tests by the Soviets in 1949, and the Korean War which was to break out in the following year (Criss 12-13). Furthermore, the US launched enhanced efforts to secure Western European countries through the Marshall Plan. Sander states that preparations for the plan started in Paris under the name of the European Recovery Project, and applicable to sixteen states. During the conference, all needs of those countries were reported and sent by the US for the economic rebuilding of Western Europe (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 61; Sander 260). The plan was in progress for four years to make those countries more prosperous, including Turkey. It may be understood as an investment. In other words, the US was supporting and financing smaller countries in order to acquire supremacy in the Cold War.

The DP Government demonstrated its loyalty to the US-led Western camp through the participation of 4,500 Turkish soldiers in the UN forces in Korea in order to assist Western security. The strong association was found favourable by Turkish authorities, instead of a psychology of isolation which was seen during the Second World War, as perpetual and relevant by Turkey. There were some reasons to send troops to Korea in the political, economic, and strategic sense, solely proving efforts after the military assistance by the United States that could be involved as another justification (Güvenç 85). Participation in the Korean

War garnered criticism in Turkey and Bulgaria as well. As is evident in the poems, some groups (leftists) opposed sending troops in contrast to nationalists (rightists). According to Karpat, there was opposition to the Korean War in Turkey in sporadic publications (Karpat 1:177). Criss specifies that 100,000 Bulgarian Turks were deported from Bulgaria as a protest against Turkish troops (25). We may say that the Korean War had two particular significances in terms of security: being a supporter of the alliance with the US, and the burden of proof in relation to its capacity highlighting a commitment to international security and loyalty as well.

"Fear of communism" was chosen as an American strategy in order to convince the American people in the 1950s, and Senator McCarthy increased this excitement with an official statement locating two hundred and fifty communists on duty at the Foreign Ministry (Oran, 484-492). Since the early 1950s, "McCarthyism" targeted suspected people as communists and they were under pressure. The impacts of these practices had repercussions upon Turkey as well, like the 1951 mass-arrests of leftists. Meanwhile, Baskin Oran remarks that publishers were under pressure if they were selling leftist books and "Tan Newspaper" was attacked (literally) by a crowd. Parliament called for a prevention of left-wing currents in universities; in 1946, two leftist political parties and two labour organisations were shut down. For instance, leftist political parties were declared illegal and their members imprisoned or expelled. In this sense, that fear caused an increase in internal support for the Turkish left; therefore only the USSR became an external supporter.

Eastern European countries were involved in dual alliance agreements and entered the sphere of Soviet influence. Likewise, policy-makers in the US decided to make agreements for Western European countries. Sander emphasizes that the Treaty of Brussels came to the agenda with this insight organizing Western European states among themselves. As a result of the desire of signatory states to receive American support, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) appeared and was joined by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France,

Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the US in 1949 (263-265). In principle, NATO was established in order to enhance collective defense output in the form of peace, protection, and security which was its burden and responsibility (Adler 205; Hartley and Sandler 36:668). In May 1950, Turkey's membership request was rejected; however, a year later, the US Government deduced that Turkey was of key importance in terms of the security of the free world (Tuğtan 59-60).

As mentioned above, the Soviet threat led Turkey closer to the Western alliance and she became a NATO member in 1952. Hale asserts that the membership of both Greece and Turkey was facilitated by Acheson in Ottawa due to it being the safest way to empower the alliance. Sander argues that access to NATO did not just consist of defense against the Soviet threat in terms of security; according to the perspective of the Turkish government, it would ensure an advancement of economic, political, and military developments (266-7). Additionally, Oran notes that it is not meaningful to investigate whether Stalin's threats were real or not in order to move against Turkey, because international relations are formed by perceptions, and Turkey perceived a threat at that time. As Alexander Wendt argues, "anarchy is what states make of it" (Wendt 46:391-425); in other words, if states perceive either threat or anarchy, it means that one does exist. Moreover, Turkish statesmen had been evaluating membership of NATO as a requirement of pursued Western-based foreign policy since the establishment of the republic.

In the meantime, the Soviets' installation of medium range missiles in Cuba generated another significant problem. American intelligence units ascertained Soviet missiles around Cuba by U-2 spy aircraft in 1962 (Oran 681; Best, Hanhimaki, and Schulze 261). Khrushchev suggested the placement of nuclear missiles and Castro confirmed the offer – the most dangerous crisis of the Cold War era. Although the US had previously installed missiles in Turkey (1959) with a collusive agreement, both the US and USSR had the capacity in order to

destroy each other (Best 261; Göktepe 408). Thus the psychological impact and secrecy of missile deployment in Cuba convinced Kennedy to take action. The situation caused mutual deterrence method in third parties. For third parties, it was inevitable, having as they did different opinions in public and internal level. As a result of discussions, the Kennedy administration decided to blockade Cuba with naval forces demanding the removal of the missiles. There were preparations to move for both sides; however, Khrushchev demanded assurance from the US to not to invade the island adding missiles in Turkey as well if they would withdraw the missiles eventually. In October 26, Khrushchev announced the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba (261-262).

Hale states that Turkey was in the process of planning a military operation against Cyprus in terms of human rights based on the the fourth article of the Treaty of Guarantee. However, The US President did not allow the use of the weapons which were provided by the US. In a letter by Johnson to İnönü of June 1964 he would argue that

[Turkey's] NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet Union if Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies (Akgul 62).

Consequently, Hale states that many Turks were thinking that the US was supporting Greece, and it also prevented military superiority for Turkey ensuing a feeling of frustration. As regards the Cyprus issue, the period between 1963 and 1974 was one of intercommunal violence and ethnic strife. Adversarial attitudes were developed between both parties, therefore the Cypriot Government immediately cracked down on political activism, for instance with the banning of the teaching of Greek and Turkish history in the schools, and the prohibition of any display of national photographs and symbols (Camp 95:43). Furthermore, twelve thousand ethnic Greeks who were of Turkish citizenship were deported from Turkey in 1964. They are allowed to take twenty US dollars and twenty kilogrammes of possessions

with them. Because of developments in Cyprus involving attacks against Turkish villages, Turkey terminated the "Residence, Trade and Sea Transportation Agreement" signed in 1930 which allowed Greek citizens to live in Istanbul (Şimşek 5:238-260).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the opium crisis had a vital role concerning affairs between the US and Turkey. This also created dissidence in Turkish domestic politics. For this reason, a brief examination of this term is essential. After World War II, growth in drug use increased in the US, particularly from the 1960s onwards. This increase led the administration to take action. For instance, the Drug Enforcement Agency was established. President Nixon forged a strategy in order to prevent the import of illicit drugs (Erhan701-703). Opium-producing countries were targeted, especially India, Yugoslavia, and Turkey. The UN allowed opium production in ten countries for medical and scientific purposes (701). To find the real source of the drug, the Nixon administration launched a campaign against Turkey without any kind of research. After much pressure, the US demanded an end to the production (Kaya 4:7; Erhan 703), threatening to suspend aid; therefore this approach resulted in the restriction of not only opium, but also hashish production in Turkey. Hashish and opium production was completely prohibited in return for \$30,000,000. In 1974, legal opium production was revoked by the coalition government under Ecevit's leadership. Turkey's position was thus coupled to tough decisions from the American side in order to cease providing loans and suspend economic and military aid. Immediately after these decisions, the placing of an embargo on Turkey came to the agenda (Erhan 703). Furthermore, a general amnesty was passed providing for the release of hundreds of political detainees from jail (Adamson 116:288; Ahmad 173).

In addition to all this, Turkish foreign policy focused on the Cyprus question in 1974. In this year, there were many complicated issues on the island, in particular the Greek junta-engineered coup against Cypriot President Makarios and the subsequent intervention of

Turkey. The conflict of 1974 is associated with many problems including many casualties, death and displacement in Cyprus. In its aftermath, between 150,000 and 200,000 Greek Cypriots fled the North of the island and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots the South. The Green Line separation the divided island was strengthened following the July 1974 invasion by Turkey. The enthusiasm for the acts of the Turkish military in Cyprus induced many to send donations of aid to the army, funded by national newspapers (Adamson 116:290). After these incidents, many efforts were launched by third-party countries or the United Nations (Demetriou 1:5). Hale asserts that neither the USSR nor the US directly prevented Turkey's involvement. For instance, neither the US nor the United Kingdom exerted any effort in order to prevent the operation; nor did the USSR object to the Turkish intervention/operation if it would protect the independence of Cyprus (163). A resolution (No.353) was adopted during the meeting of the UN Security Council; on 22 July a ceasefire was established creating a corridor between Kyrenia/Girne and Nicosia/Lefkoşa (Akgün, Gürel, Hatay and Tiryaki 36). At the end of the second operation/invasion, thirty-six per cent of Cypriot territory came under Turkish military control (Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis 37:344). Many agreements, negotiations, and settlement efforts continue in Cyprus up to the present.

Such crises were not just applied to Turkey: between 1977 and 1980 the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union galvanized disorder inclining towards escalation. In addition, the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran illustrated Turkey's strategic importance once more. *The Guardian* purported that Turkey was not just the southern flank of NATO; it was strategically vital for the whole of the Western alliance (Ahmad 179). The Afghan army toppled President Davud using Soviet-built tanks and aircraft in 1978. In other words, the Soviet armed forces intervened to support their revolutionary allies (Scott 64). The pro-Soviet rulers, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan who came to power, established the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The USSR then started to send economic and

military aid when Taraki became the head of state (Sander 563-567). According to Sander, Soviet influence was strong with agreements in terms of friendship, neighbourhood and cooperation. However, this kind of influence engendered an international reaction from some countries, such as the United States, Iran and the People's Republic of China. As a response to the invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter threatened that the US would use military force if required to defend its national interests in the Persian Gulf. That reaction should not be seen as unexpected between two powers. There were 85,000 Soviet troops settled in strategic points. From the Soviet perspective, a radical Islamist regime would be a threat. In this sense, the Soviets were about to favour Afghanistan while Muslim guerrillas waged a holy war against the Afghan government which had communist practices (Sander 565; Best, Hanhimaki, Maiolo, and Schulze 275). Turkey condemned the military intervention, supporting Afghan mujahids and providing direct asylum for Afghans of (Kyrgyz) Turkish origin (Hale 173). The occupation continued for ten years; at the end of 1988 the USSR completed its withdrawal, leaving 15,000 dead.

McCarthy had a method to target (or blame) "communist" groups, convincing people that communism creates disorder with discourse. Similarly, political speeches may be influential and their definitions about "others or third parties" can change the perceptions of the public or alliances. On March 8, 1983, Ronald Reagan delivered his famous "Evil Empire Speech" in Florida. He used the phrase "evil" for the Soviets in order to convince his audience of the righteousness of his nuclear policy (Nobrega 4:166-181). "Evil Empire" created an impact on people's minds distinguishing the evil from the non-evil – the US. It caused a feeling of moral superiority over communism in its adherents (Bell 67). The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), dubbed "Star Wars" was a research programme designed to explore the feasibility of space-based defences against ballistic missiles. This research programme produced various consequences for arms control and the US's affairs with its allies and

adversaries (Scott 65). SDI was seriously related to the perceptions of the Soviets, because they understood that Reagan's goal was to regain the nuclear monopoly. Scott determines that the tension and confrontation between the superpowers has been called the "Second Cold War".

Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (*de facto* president of the USSR) in 1985, and this change caused "new thinking" in foreign policy to transform relations with the US and Western Europe. He travelled to the US in order to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty which banned intermediate range nuclear missiles. Negotiations over START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) were completed by US President Bush in 1990 (Scott 66, Sander 467). The Cold War divided the whole world for nearly fifty years, threatened humanity with instant destruction and at least twenty-five million people lost their lives, most of these occurring in the Third World (Cox 72-73).

- Domestic Situation

The division between groups was clear in Turkey as well. On 4 December 1945, a gathering of nationalist students sacked the offices of the leftist press (Zürcher 213). In other words, the Turkish public was becoming closer to the anti-communist process. As every crisis illustrates, each side criticises the other if it has an alliance or agreement with a third party. The relationship between the US and Turkey created similar critics by articles in the USSR using terms, such as "American occupation of Turkey" (Örs 91-95). This happened during periods of discord between the leftist groups and the state as well. The US battleship "Missouri" came to the Bosphorus returning the body of Ambassador Ertegün, but the real reason was perceived that the US aimed to indicate its power towards the Soviets. This elicited relations and a change of policies between the US and Turkey. President İnönü was satisfied with American ships in Turkey for reasons of security (Erol 351).

Since 1949, relations with communist countries continued, albeit distantly from Turkey's perspective. On 14 May 1950, the Democrat Party (DP) won the elections with 420 out of 480 seats in the Assembly. The State Department of the Truman Administration stated the consequence as a "victory for democracy" because it was seen as a transformation from single-party rule to a multi-party system under the wing of a benevolent dictatorship (Ahmad 125; Baylis, Smith, and Owens 61-2).

The impact of the Cold War was in the forefront in shaping anti-communist approaches or policies in Turkey. In 1951, many arrests occurred while the DP was in government. Known at the time as "Komünist Tevkifatı", many were arrested due to their membership of the committee of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), such as Vedat Türkali, Behice Boran, Ruhi Su and Mihri Belli. We should specify that the TKP was one of the most important underground "leftist" political parties in the Cold War years. Under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi, its İstanbul, Anatolia, and foreign sections were united theoretically in 1920 (Babalık 43). The TKP had different characteristics in different periods; however the party had a "Kemalist" vision earlier (which was dropped in the 1930s) related to the perspective of the world revolution and nation state evolutions in the beginning and also later. It had concerns related to the domination of the imperialist capitalist states, thus the party was defending state financiers against free competition. The famous "Komünist Tevkifatı" case caused great harm in restraining the traditional left in Turkey. Dr. Sevim Tani was the bureau secretary of the TKP, taken into custody with notes regarding her political party; then a series of arrests was carried out. This period began to be mentioned as "a Marxist witch-hunt" (Karsan 39-51). According to Zarakolu, the left-wing regained its influence in the middle of 1960s, barely emphasising capital punishment aggravating the Articles 141-2.³

³ You can see the details regarding to Ragıp Zarakolu's letter : <https://t24.com.tr/haber/biz-bu-filmi-gormustuk/188277>

Ahmad presents some examples concerning the poet Nazım Hikmet, and we will see what was written by nationalist journals in their poems as well. Nazım Hikmet escaped to the Soviet Union and the leftist author Sabahattin Ali was murdered due to his political stance. Almost every leftist person was labelled "traitor" and "internal enemy" by the right-wing or nationalist groups. For Turkish nationalism and nationalist ideology, "Moskof" enmity was adopted under the Cold War conditions. This has a geopolitical historical base, especially the Ottoman-Russian wars as historical heritage. Since the sixteenth century, Russia had expansionist policies towards Siberia, İdil-Ural, Caucasia, Turkistan and so on (Özdağ 176). Historical "traumas", victimization and constructed "enemy image" created a similarity between Czarist Russia and Soviet Russia; consequently, Turkey perceived the USSR as the primary threat. Anti-communism played a key role during the Cold War and caused subordination of a US-centred prevention strategy for a national security state (Bora and Altınay 120). Furthermore, communism was *a priori* demonised in nationalist terms. As Moscow pressed for some rights and territorial demands, it accelerated Turkey's drive towards the American side.

Although Cyprus became an issue that year, the events/attacks were initiated against the Greeks of Turkey in September 1955. According to the publication *Helsinki Watch*, in Istanbul "more than four thousand Greek shops were vandalized and robbed and fifty-two Greek schools were stripped of their furniture, books and equipment." The Turkish Prime Minister Menderes did not accept responsibility and "he dissociated the Government and the nation from the riots" (Mills 239).

Turks had ruled Cyprus from 1571 until it came under British rule, and Britain's imperial control lasted until the Zurich and London Accords of 1959-60, which established the Republic of Cyprus (Camp 42-43). Cyprus became a presidential republic with the president a Greek Cypriot and the vice-president a Turkish Cypriot with veto rights. The 1960

Constitution contained a power-sharing organization with a national legislature and two communal chambers, a cabinet, public service, police force, and army in which Turkish Cypriots engaged in representation at a higher level (30% to 40%) than their proportion (18%) in the overall population (Fisher 310). Accords reached a compromise for Cyprus on a basis of bi-national independence and political equality including an administrative partnership of both communities. The Treaty of Guarantee was signed by Greece, Turkey, the Republic of Cyprus and the United Kingdom. It provided the responsibility for Greece and Turkey to be guarantor states.

After elections in 1957, tension in domestic politics was high, with the opposition becoming more visible; however Menderes aimed to strengthen his authority founding a national front in order to confront the coalition of the opposition, and his "Fatherland Front" was established (Karpas 75:1673; Ahmad 140). At this time, student movements were widespread and martial law was declared, albeit for only a few days. In addition, Menderes was planning an immediate election; nevertheless, officers alienated by the DP had plans to end its government (Ahmad 140-142). After a brutal crackdown by the police on university students, the army's reluctance to open fire upon or arrest the demonstrators fatally undermined the government's authority. Karpas asserts that the coup was carried out in a period of just three hours in Istanbul and Ankara on May 27, 1960.

The Turkish Labour Party (Türkiye İşçi Partisi or TİP) was established in 1961 and the following years can be expressed as the first legal years for socialism (Kaya 4:4). Çaylak and Baran have expressed the party's situation with Sadun Aren's words: "TİP gained its socialist qualification along with Mehmet Ali Aybar's chairmanship in the party" (443). In these years, some concepts became a focal point of leftist groups, such as "democracy, independence, and socialism". Promoting economic production and generalizing participation of the people's economic and political existence, an emphasis on labour and social justice were attained

constitutionally. They were then involved in aiming to consolidate throughout the political and social structure (Çaylak and Baran 442-445; Karpaz 2007, 247). Workers and "Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu" (DİSK) aimed to benefit from the rights and liberties that the 1961 constitution provided, especially the right to organise strike action (Oran 669).

Karpaz states that the TİP acquired a chance to participate in local elections utilising radio and meetings (254). It provided an opportunity for the party to better present itself to the masses. In addition to this, the TİP was reaching out to the workers and oppressed masses. As a response to this some physical attacks were launched by right-wing groups. In the 1963 local elections, the TİP received around thirty-four thousand votes (Çaylak and Baran 443). Since 1964, the anti-American or anti-imperialist left improved its support base and demonstrations began with the US action to stop Turkish intervention to Cyprus. Additionally, anti-Americanism developed within the frame of nationalism (Kaya 4:3-4).

As a result of the 1965 elections, the TİP had an unexpected success, gaining fourteen seats in the Parliament. On the other hand, the DP was still able to gain a parliamentary majority (Turan 10:23). Besides, some publications of journals and newspapers played a significant role in the expansion of socialist and anti-imperialist notions in Turkey after 1961. As we see, the 1960s may be considered a period of emerging anti-imperialist struggles for the Third World; in particular, the resistance of Vietnam against the US, inspired by the earlier revolutions in China and Cuba (Kaya 4). So it is clear that international relations have always influenced domestic policies, dynamics, and decisions. The leftist side considered the US as the leader of the capitalist world upon which Turkey was dependent. In this sense, TİP had the slogan expressing "socialist Turkey" in order to counter this dependence; also, the "Milli Demokratik Devrim (MDD) – the National Democratic Revolution" movement's slogan "Independent Turkey" (Ahmad 161; Kaya 4:4). The division between the US and USSR had already become noticeable in Turkey. According to Baskın Oran, this hostility

became a more visible focal point at the beginning of 1965 during the TİP's conference after the attack by rightist students (669). Ahmad stresses that other political parties (excluding the TİP) acknowledged the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, joining NATO and the Baghdad Pact (161). On the other hand, the right-wing evaluated its ideas as communist propaganda. It indicates that the existing block in the international environment was fomenting to trigger internal conflicts and quarrels. Currents in globalisation shaped many states.

Internal circumstances were chaotic in Turkey. Students' organizations were mounting campaigns in order to nationalise, and to protest the country's hoped-for accession to the European Economic Community. Moreover, there were direct leftist campaigns against the US expressing "No to NATO" or the 6th fleet which visited the Bosphorus (Kaya 4:5). The tension between right- and left-wing became more extreme after 1969. Leftist groups began occupations in universities and burned the car of the US Ambassador at ODTÜ (Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi – Middle East Technical University). Oran highlights that meeting between the Idealists (Ülkücüler) in "Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri (KMD)" created intractable anarchy in the country (669-670). Both wings enhanced their activities heading towards violent rather than malleable movements. "Kanlı Pazar (Bloody Sunday)" is one case in point, because it raised the differentiation between the sides. The police permitted the followers of the KMD entry to Taksim square while leftists were protesting the presence of the American Sixth Fleet; the KMD and others attacked and killed two demonstrators (Oran 670).

To provide order the state started to crush the left-wing. Ahmad mentions that groups like the TİP were blamed for being supporters of Kurdish separatists and causing propaganda after the declaration of the memorandum in 1971 and the TİP, Dev-Genç (and other organizations based on Dev-Genç) were closed down. Leftist associations, the Turkish Teachers' Union and DİSK were under pressure from the police. In the meantime, the "Grey

Wolves" (Ülkü Ocakları) circulated the rhetoric by helping security forces against communists (165-167).

On May 1, 1977, the violence was close to its peak in Turkey: half a million people gathered in Istanbul's Taksim square aiming to celebrate Labour Day. Workers and participants delivered various statements expressing concern at "the rise of fascism" during the demonstration. Other left-wing groups attempted to join after being officially excluded. Shots from the surrounding rooftops were fired into the crowd and the people stampeded (Gunter 71). The ensuing chaos was the result of the sound of gunfire, and thirty-four people lost their lives (Ahmad 176). The day has been called "The Bloody 1 May", identified by Tanıl Bora as a massacre in his article "Taksim, 1 Mayıs ve Yüzleşme". The media began to determine a Maoist group as responsible; however investigations disclosed that "snipers had opened fire from the roofs of surrounding buildings, including the Justice and National Salvation Parties' headquarters" (Benhabib 77:17). On May 30, 1977, eighty thousand members of Maden-İş (the union of metal workers) launched a strike for eight economic-related demands in a showdown with the employers' federation (Margulies and Yildizoglu 121:18). The strike is known as "Büyük Grev – the Great Strike" which started in twenty-three different factories conducting a collective-labour bargaining process (Safak, pars. 1-3).

Between 1977 and 1980, polarization in political life accelerated and political violence continued. Ahmad argues that Ecevit was not successful in instituting reforms or imposing order. Furthermore, thirty political killings were carried out in 1978. The chaos did not stop: "Grey Wolves" targeted the heterodox Alevi community and leftist groups, their point being that the Alevis supported the CHP, and they were attacked in Malatya and Bingöl. In Kahramanmaraş, Alevis were murdered in an organized massacre and the right-wing groups refused to allow funeral ceremonies to be conducted with dignity, shouting slogans at the

funerals of two leftist teachers (Ahmad 177-178). The nationalist reaction and its discourse were intensive, dividing people in the societal and political level.

More than 800 people died and thousands of people were wounded. The number of victims increased in the following years, reaching to 20 deaths per day during the weeks that preceded the military intervention. (Düzgıt and Gürsoy 87:9)

Meanwhile, Turkey put the IMF programme into practice on January 24, 1980 under Demirel's governance, consulting Turgut Özal who was an economic advisor at this time (Ahmad 181).

During this period, focusing on terrorism became another issue because state institutions and police forces were not impartial. The main political parties – Adalet Partisi, AP (Justice Party) and Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP (Republican People's Party) both had difficulties in dealing with power and commanders, economic policy and so on. According to Capezza, Turkey remained unstable; high inflation, cuts in public expenditure, and labour questions caused many protests and strikes. Within this milieu of unrest and untenable political chaos the military decided "to invoke the power granted to them by the Internal Service Code to protect the Republic of Turkey" (Hale 246).

In Turkey, the military is the most prestigious institution at both state and societal level. Therefore military intervention into politics and social life is extensive. During the Cold War period, there were three *coups d'état* the last one being in 1980. The virtual war between leftist pro-Communist groups and right-wing nationalists led to a popular acceptance and "more positive" understanding for a military takeover in order to restore order in 1980 (Aydinli 63:585). According to Jenkins, the 1980 coup was largely welcomed by the Turkish public, while the military was ending political violence and restoring order (83:342).

The National Security Council explained a proclamation on behalf of General Evren, the leader of the coup. In this speech he highlighted that there was systemically-produced "perverted" ideologies which were harmful and venomous from elementary school to the universities. He added that these ideologies had led to partition/separation and warfare within the educational institutions, administrative system, judicial bodies, internal security agency, labour institutions, political parties, and indeed every part of the nation (Birand 288). Meanwhile, curfews were imposed including forbidden public/societal activities or movements. There was pressure on every member of society: a wide range of magazines, newspapers, books, and films were banned, and all professional associations and trade unions suspended (Jenkins 83:542). 138,000 people were arrested through the use of restrictive laws which clamped down on political demonstrations and strikes; in addition, a year after the intervention, there were 282 political killings and until 1983, the military arrested 43,000 people suspected of being terrorists and impounded 734,000 weapons (Capezza 16:13-23; Düzgit and Gürsoy 12).

The National Security Council (MGK) appointed a consultative committee in order to prepare a new constitution. The Higher Education Law aimed to create a more "nationalist and conservative" higher education sector, dismissing the more liberal professors from the universities. The "Kurdish Question" came to the agenda as a focal point, and therefore there was an increase in violence, pressure, torture, and internment (Ahmad 186-201). Speaking in a language different to Turkish was prohibited. It was not possible until 2003 for Kurds to officially get the right to use Kurdish names, broadcast in their mother tongue or offer private language courses (Verkuyten and Yildiz 27:542). The official approach to the Kurdish question has been an ongoing conflict between the state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) involving abuses and pressure (Yildiz 4:152). In other words, Turkey was not experiencing her "best" days.

Özal won the 1983 elections with his "Motherland Party" (ANAP) receiving 45.14% of the votes cast (Ahmad 190-191). Hale emphasises a common standpoint for Reagan, Thatcher, and Özal: they all focused on a liberal economy. Özal aimed to provide economic growth, clear foreign debts and enhance ideological relations with Western leaders (171). Ahmad states that Özal had the objective to create a new system from the "Reagan Revolution".

CHAPTER II

2.1 Method

This research is intended to understand and explain the nature of nationalism during the Cold War years (1950-1990). First of all, library-based work has been adopted for the research in order to gather Turkish nationalist poems through journals during this period. In other words, the study has preferred to focus on primary sources to analyse the nature of nationalism (and everyday nationalism) as a result of ordinary people's reflections. Primary sources refer to materials which were written or collected by individuals/institutions which actually witnessed the events described. Examples of primary sources include letters, manuscripts, journals, diaries, newspaper and magazine articles (poems in the research), speeches, interviews, memoirs, documents, records, photographs, maps, postcards, posters, research data, and objects or artefacts (Halperin and Heath 328-329). So the poems of ordinary people (poets) are preferred rather than the famous poets because the goal is to understand "daily life nationalism".

In addition, content and frequency analyses have been applied based on those journals which are counted as cultural documents. The paper seeks to analyse expressions of the ordinary poets indicating their attitudes, and which were collected from libraries. The paper exposes meanings, motives, and purposes embedded within such nationalist poetry. Content

analysis comprehends poems collecting journals and the frequency analysis is one technique in this study. It is a useful technique in order to discover the focus of Turkish people and their social attention regarding nationalism. The most common opinion in this research is that a content-analysis simply means doing a word-frequency count (Stemler 7:138). At this point, frequency-analysis looks for a number of particular words and how many times they are repeated in the poems. To understand the nature of nationalism and how ordinary people dealt with it, these repeated words are demonstrated.

2.2 Sample Journals for Analysis of Turkish Nationalism in the Cold War Period

It is difficult to find information in terms of the journals' past; however, there are some basic introductions below relying upon their own introductions and preferred slogans by authors/publishers, and websites of the libraries were beneficial too, such as, "Atatürk Kitaplığı" and "Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi".

- ***Ötüken***

Hüseyin Nihal Atsız was the founder and owner of the magazine. It has been published as a "Turkist" edition since 1964. Its publication by 143rd volume continued until death of Atsız; since then it has continued publication every fifteen days. *Ötüken* has a slogan: "All Turks Are an Army", which emphasises the power and capability of the Turkish people.

- ***Toprak***

İlhan Egemen Darendelioğlu was the owner of the journal which was published between 1954 and 1979, when Darendelioğlu was assassinated. Its cover page changed with various caricatures, pictures, and photographs reflecting each period. So it is possible to see a different picture or comic in every issue. In general, the issues had admonitory titles. It focused largely on the beauties of the homeland.

- ***Kuvay-i Milliye***

Lütfi Oğuzcan assumed its possession and 160 issues were published from 1960 to 1973. The journal defined itself as a monthly nationalist magazine. Mandate managers were Besim Fuat Akbaş and M. Suphi Altıntaşlı in Mersin. Its introduction had an access on the cover page: "Ülküsü Açık, Görüşü Aydın, Yolu Belli" (Clear Ideal, Luminary View, Apparent Manner).

- ***Büyük Türkiye***

This magazine is a collective work presenting itself as science research journal.

- ***Devrim Gençliği***

The Turkish National Student Federation founded *Devrim Gençliği* in Ankara in 1953. Its ideals are mostly Kemalist. "Idea and Art Magazine" was written on its cover.

- ***Töre***

Halide Nusret Zorlutuna who was mentioned as "the mother of women authors" founded this journal. It began publication in June 1971. It is identified as "a nationalist, spiritual, ideal and literature journal". *Töre* has no specific slogan or particular message on the cover page.

- ***Bozkurt***

It was intended to be a voice for the "Idealist" (Ülkücü) youth, being a publication between 1972 and 1977. Sadi Somuncuoğlu was its founder, and it had the slogan, "Everything for the Turk, According to the Turk, By the Turk". It is mostly idealist, striving to call the young generation for service among the "Grey Wolves" to protect their national values and customs.

- ***Büyük Ülkü***

Its publication began in 1974 by Hüseyin Cömert. *Büyük Ülkü* had three years break after the twelfth volume, but it recommenced publication in 1977 and shut down in 1978.

- *Ocak*

Ocak was founded by Yusuf Ziya Gürsel in 1968, followed by Mehmet Aktas, with Süleyman Kürkçü becoming the last owner in 1972.

- *Bizim Ocak*

It began publication after 1980. It was the publication organ of the Youth, Culture and Art Society, being renamed several times 1992. The owner was Şefik Yazgı and the responsible editors were M. Ayhan Acar, A. Kamil Yılmaz, and Kemal Akıl.

- *Milli Şuur*

It was published in 1976 and its publisher was M. Ziya Tütüncü.

- *Türk'e Çağrı*

It is known as a Turkist political and cultural magazine. Feridun Azeri is the publisher in İstanbul and it began publication in 1979.

Table I: The Distribution of Journals By Years (in this study)				
Years	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1990
Journals	<i>Devrim Gençliği</i>	<i>Kuvayi Milliye</i>	<i>Büyük Türkiye</i>	<i>Töre</i>
	<i>Toprak</i>	<i>Milli Yol</i>	<i>Töre</i>	<i>Milli Şuur</i>
		<i>Toprak</i>	<i>Bozkurt</i>	<i>Bizim Ocak</i>
		<i>Ötüken</i>	<i>Türk'e Çağrı</i>	
			<i>Büyük Ülkü</i>	

Table II: Distribution of the Number of Poems By Ordinary People in Each Year				
Number of Poems	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
	100	134	102	109

Table III: The Amount of Poems By Ordinary People in Each Journal for This Study		
Journals	Total Poems	Total
<i>Töre</i>	114	445
<i>Toprak</i>	122	
<i>Ötüken</i>	32	
<i>Milli Şuur</i>	25	
<i>Milli Yol</i>	2	
<i>Kuvayi Milliye</i>	42	
<i>Devrim Gençliği</i>	12	
<i>Büyük Türkiye</i>	16	
<i>Ocak</i>	24	
<i>Bizim Ocak</i>	12	
<i>Bozkurt</i>	20	
<i>Büyük Ülkü</i>	13	
<i>Türk'e Çağrı</i>	11	

Table IV: The Number of Volumes For Each Journal in This Study	
<i>Kuvayi Milliye</i>	46
<i>Milli Yol</i>	15
<i>Töre</i>	75
<i>Büyük Türkiye</i>	11
<i>Devrim Gençliği</i>	3
<i>Toprak</i>	44
<i>Milli Şuur</i>	32
<i>Ötüken</i>	10
<i>Bozkurt</i>	6
<i>Büyük Ülkü</i>	3
<i>Ocak</i>	3
<i>Bizim Ocak</i>	6
<i>Türk'e Çağrı</i>	6
<i>Büyük Ülkü</i>	4

CHAPTER III

3.1 An Analysis of the Poems in these Magazines

To see everyday nationalism in Turkey during the Cold War, particular words have been investigated in order to see how many times they are mentioned within the poems. These words represent prominence for nationalist discourse and feeling such as homeland (vatan), country (yurt), nation (millet), Turk, martyr, triumph, Grey Wolves (Bozkurt), ideal (ülkü), Cyprus, Rum/Greek, Russian/Russia, soldier, history, Moscow (Moskof), communist, valiant (yiğit), flag, betrayer, enemy, army, red (kıızıl), Turan, Atatürk, socialism/socialist, and land (toprak).

If poets have not used these words directly, they have preferred various synonyms or symbols which merge into the same meaning. For instance, there is the star and crescent on the Turkish flag; thus, in some poems, poets prefer to express "the star and crescent" rather than the word "flag" directly. Additionally, we can see similar example for the word "martyr", because people have used "self-immolation" in their poems. Words like "death", "sacrifice" and "pain for the homeland or nation" similarly seek to evoke such ideas. Especially for leftist/communist groups, the poems display much connotative invective, complaints, and criticisms. To write about leftist groups, these ordinary people have various methods and expressions choosing to target special names regarding communism/leftism and communist countries. In this sense, it should be mentioned that the number of repeated words which are chosen to indicate nationalist expression is significant and determinant; however, these poems as a whole have significance in reflecting the nationalist manner generally, even if they do not implicate those vocables. In other words, their nationalist approach was not provided with only those words as we will see in the following paragraphs.

3.2 Results

Table V: Distribution of Words in Each Period				
Words	1950's	1960's	1970's	1980's
Cluster 1	146	177	124	115
Cluster 2	43	91	42	17
Cluster 3	28	28	7	4
Cluster 4	122	206	154	87
Cluster 5	21	54	20	26
Martyr (Şehit)	11	18	15	15
Triumph (Zafer)	9	14	7	19
Grey Wolves (Bozkurt)	10	12	42	7
Ideal (Ülkü)	12	18	30	13
Flag (Bayrak)	43	53	36	37
Betrayer (Hain)	3	-	-	4
Enemy (Düşman)	18	47	28	16
Turan (Turan)	10	11	25	-
Atatürk	7	46	3	58
History (Tarih)	15	38	14	18
Valiant (Yiğit)	13	27	12	10

In Tables V through VIII, several words with similar meanings have been clustered as below:

Cluster 1: Homeland (Vatan), Country (Yurt), Land (Toprak)

Cluster 2: Socialism/t (Sosyalizm), Red (Kızıl), Communism/t (Komünizm), Moscow (Moksova/Moskof), Russian

Cluster 3: Rum/Greek (Rum/Yunan), Cyprus (Kıbrıs)

Cluster 4: Nation (Millet), Turk (Türk)

Cluster 5: Army (Ordu), Soldier (Asker)

Table VI: The Number of the Repeated Words Within the Ordinary Poems					
Words	<i>Töre</i>	<i>Toprak</i>	<i>Ötüken</i>	<i>Milli Şuur</i>	<i>Milli Yol</i>
Cluster 1	91	95	18	-	55
Cluster 2	26	96	12	2	3
Cluster 3	14	18	9	-	-
Cluster 4	76	145	38	2	62
Cluster 5	12	26	7	-	30
Martyr (Şehit)	12	17	2	-	8
Triumph (Zafer)	5	17	6	-	21
Grey Wolves (Bozkurt)	14	15	3	-	2
Ideal (Ülkü)	23	19	5	-	2
Flag (Bayrak)	24	47	5	-	20
Betrayer (Hain)	6	2	-	-	-
Enemy (Düşman)	9	23	14	-	9
Turan (Turan)	7	12	6	-	-
Atatürk	2	6	-	-	32
History (Tarih)	8	21	2	-	7
Valiant (Yiğit)	17	11	3	-	4

Table VII: The Number of the Repeated Words Within the Ordinary Poems

Words	<i>Kuvayi Milliye</i>	<i>Devrim Gençliği</i>	<i>Büyük Türkiye</i>	<i>Ocak</i>	<i>Bozkurt</i>
Cluster 1	83	10	6	28	28
Cluster 2	4	3	1	10	11
Cluster 3	14	5	-	1	4
Cluster 4	80	8	16	24	88
Cluster 5	28	3	4	6	6
Martyr (Şehit)	9	2	-	-	8
Triumph (Zafer)	7	-	2	1	5
Grey Wolves (Bozkurt)	-	-	1	1	36
Ideal (Ülkü)	9	-	-	-	10
Flag (Byrak)	19	7	4	4	18
Betrayer (Hain)	-	-	1	1	-
Enemy (Düşman)	28	1	7	6	13
Turan (Turan)	4	-	-	-	23
Atatürk	25	2	-	2	1
History (Tarih)	18	1	3	-	6
Valiant (Yiğit)	16	-	1	3	2

Table VIII: The Number of the Repeated Words Within the Poems			
Words	<i>Bizim Ocak</i>	<i>Türk'e Çağrı</i>	<i>Büyük Ülkü</i>
Cluster 1	8	16	7
Cluster 2	1	4	11
Cluster 3	1	-	2
Cluster 4	12	17	10
Cluster 5	1	2	3
Martyr (Şehit)	-	1	1
Triumph (Zafer)	2	-	-
Grey Wolves (Bozkurt)	-	-	9
Ideal (Ülkü)	4	2	7
Flag (Bayrak)	3	13	2
Betrayer (Hain)	3	-	2
Enemy (Düşman)	-	-	2
Turan Turan)	-	-	-
Atatürk	-	-	1
History (Tarih)	2	1	-
Valiant (Yiğit)	4	1	1

The poems do not frequently include "Armenian" or "Jewish", but in some journals, they have been emphasised directly. Compared to publications in general, *Bizim Ocak*, *Töre* and *Büyük Türkiye* used "Armenian and Jewish" once, whereas *Kuvayi Milliye* invoked the "Armenian" word twice. Nevertheless, the words "enemy and Moscow" were used within one poem in some issues of the journals.

<i>Ötüken</i>	3
<i>Töre</i>	1
<i>Toprak</i>	7
<i>Kuvayi Milliye</i>	1
<i>Bozkurt</i>	3

3.3 The General View on the Common Themes and Results of the Poems in the Journals

As a nation state, Turkey has experienced various political dynamics as a consequence of influential dimensions. Wars, conflicts, treaties, alliances, the existence of different ethnic or religious groups, various ideologies, political factions, official and unofficial violence (international and domestic), traumas, scarcities, crises and disasters are all different kinds of impact which inflame the people's beliefs, values, perceptions and judgements. Therefore those people express their bonds and feelings such as solidarity towards their own group. Through this, nationalism may emerge and develop depending upon these feelings. Every individual as a part of an ordinary group plays a key role, feeling nationalism inside them and implementing this sense of nationalism.

Nationalism refers to an attachment to one's state or country and its institutions (Connor 16:374). Therefore, expressing this attachment is encountered by ordinary people. The definition and explanation of nationalism has been a matter of debate being evaluated through a wide spectrum for many years. That sense causes moderate or radical discourses to generate different understandings of nationalism. It has engendered differing tones in different historical periods. Thus it is possible to see that Turkish nationalism has contained various points as well: race and the superiority of ethnic origin have been important, and sometimes the emphasis on land, citizenship, and loyalty has been of greater significance. The linkage

between nationalism and literature becomes significant since nationalist discourse depends on its internalisation at the level of the individual (Shalan 139). For ordinary people, commitment to nationalism and embracing it is extremely powerful, as the poems demonstrate. Even chosen titles by ordinary poets touch on common nationalist themes. It seems that these Turkish poems had credentials for serving the cause of nationalism dignifying a force for social commitment. In theories of nationalism, literature shares communicative performance with semiologies of signification including rituals and objects of symbolic representations (parades, marches, flags, monuments and so on). In fact, literature has greater semiotic reflection because it contains language about these rituals and objects of representation (Suleiman 208).

These nationalist poems are obviously full of support for Turkish unity as a political ideal that is achieved by the ties of religion, culture and history between Turkish-speakers. The preference of ordinary poets has been thought of as significant since it enables a vision of to what extent nationalism and Turkishness is praised in daily life. In this part, the goal is to indicate what has fed this understanding; in other words, how much of the nature of nationalism was reflected. Periods will then be distinguished in order to see whether there is any difference between differently-evaluated periods and subjects of nationalistic feeling /emphasis or not. The study includes an analysis instead of quotations from the poems except for a few instances. Their repertoires may contain social and political critiques, Turkishness, Turkish culture and traditions, and basic significance and symbols.

As a whole, all these poems focus on national identity: being Turkish marks their most salient characteristic. The most common expression for the explanation of identity responds to the questions: "Who are you, and where do you belong?" asked by individuals, groups, society, and communities (Bozkurt, Güvenç 3). Poets prefer to emphasise the possessing of Turkishness and their "magnificent" history to recite their national identity. Furthermore,

these poems demonstrate who they are and their presence in history by means of knowledge about their rivals/enemies. Their nationalist verses do not encourage diversity or heterogeneity. Any kind of defamation or humiliation against their national identity is not acceptable if they do not see a critique for their own identities. People tend to reinforce the supremacy of their own identity, its source perhaps deriving from a degraded state of mind within this identity (Akçam 54-56). These "ordinary people" have different backgrounds, meaning that their economic conditions, cultural perspectives, occupations, gender, and education levels are variable; however, they all feel their identity robustly and proudly as being Turkish. Hence, mostly they have similar expectations in terms of their "national identity". Consequently, some expressions like "hardworking Turk", "hero", "honest" have been evolved since people see themselves and their whole nation in this way.

The division between "us" and "them" is visible, highlighting "the national identity" which becomes more apparent. "Others" or "enemies" in a division seems dominant to sublime and protect the Turkish (national) identity; so the existence of "non-Turkish" people strengthens the national identity. In this sense, their poetry seems instrumental in casting an identity for their country. Turkish identity was not seen as competitive with those of others, because every nationalist perceives his/her nation *in extremis* believing that the ascendancy has been proved with various abilities in battle and subsequent conciliation.

People have no chance to choose their national identity: it is given them by others' decisions. Children are raised with an imposed commitment and sense of affinity. For this attitude between members, institutions have been constructed which provide unity for members of a nation by the development of ceremonies and signs. To improve the attachment and their identity, communities glorify their histories and achievements until they define their superiority. They expect support from every member of the nation and can apply sanctions if someone denies or violates those norms and values related to their nation (Nathanson 181;

Özkırımlı 65). These people's nationalism defines a sense of national loyalty, particular beliefs about the country's superiority, and a crucial ingredient in the development of ties. The sense of superiority reflects nationalism better than patriotism (Huddy and Khatib 51:63). As one of the common themes among published poems, "superiority" for Turkey and Turkish identity marks a deeply-felt attachment to the nation. Uniqueness has to be underlined in this kind of work: it is done against outsiders whereas it is an intentional effort in order to decrease objective differences in their national group (Özkırımlı 17).

According to Kymlicka, the sense of commitment to a people's own nation, language and culture are essential (98). Consequently, he advocates that we cannot expect any objectivity in the whole discussions by national groups. It is clear in those poems as well that their wars or violence were perceived as legitimacy, and the poets strove to justify their offensive approaches in terms of independence, justice, rights, and liberties. For those concepts, Turkey's acts have been legitimised even they have caused casualties. To overlap, poems have preferred to aggrandise their community/nation mirroring the nation. Praising Turkishness has come to the forefront with these verses of superiority. According to the poems, being Turkish deserves more respect than others; their complaints concerning the international arena and non-believers who do not support this "supremacy". In their understanding, their history is full of glory, triumph and good reputation. Therefore, verses have been fulfilled by enthusiastic historical samples: "Our reputation has reached nameless worlds" (*Toprak 1956a*, 25:14).⁴ To be honourable, a nation and its people should be powerful and invincible: that is how being Turkish is described in the journals. Further examples are:

⁴ "Bizim namımız meçhul dünyalara ulaşır".

"The power of the enemy cannot intimidate the Turks"⁵ (*Ötüken* 1966a, 34:13), and "If you are one hundred percent Turkish, the universe is yours"⁶ (*Töre* 1973a, 23:34).

Another interesting point is that some poems assert glorification on behalf of their country and people. On the other hand, some poems regard using the word "patriotism" as a necessity rather than nationalism. Normally, almost all of these poems proclaim their nationalist ideals and ways of directly sharing them with their readers. From this aspect, it may be seen as a defence mechanism in relation to the content of those poems, while attempting to justify their nation's or the state's policies, which is crucial for them. It reminds one of Connor's words, "even extreme nationalists would claim that they are patriotic" (Connor 16:374). Billig links this with a defence of national loyalty. To make the defence possible, a rhetorical differentiation can be required because nationalism would be understood as "dangerous, extraordinary, extreme, and strange". On the contrary, their nationalism appears as patriotism: beneficial and essential (Billig 68-69). It is not true to generalise for all poems which are the object of this research; however, there is no lack of titles such as "This is Patriotism". Poems mention the necessity of a powerful state and an order within the community. In this sense, they believe that any kind of policy or act should be seen as "necessary" in order to protect their nation against internal and external enemies. From their perspective, this creation of "patriotism" is the only possible way to ensure stability and order in Turkey.

The fear of disintegration is a trigger towards poems in association with national identity. Akçam argues this linking with "Şark Sorunu" (the Eastern Question) which referred to the fear of fragmentation for the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century (56). The Ottoman Empire started to lose its authority and a power-vacuum emerged in some regions,

⁵ "Düşmanın gücü Türk'ün gözünü korkutamaz".

⁶ "Eğer yüzde yüz Türksen, Tüm evren senindir".

galvanising fear. Turkey exists in a geography which had experienced the tensions of the Second World War and the Cold War, this situation arising from a lack of confidence in both the Turkish political elites and the wider community (Alpkaya 159). It can be understood that they felt exhilarated beyond fear due to a possible impending attack upon Turkey's vulnerable "strategic" location. The US installed missiles on Turkish territory against Soviet movements in 1959. It is supposed that this experience raised concerns in the minds of Turks for the security of their own lands. These methods made Turkey greatly afraid if either superpower used its defensive weapons to counter any attack by the other. Poets made efforts to lay stress upon the national identity whilst enjoining readers to fulfill their responsibilities towards their country. This fear caused concern in territories adopting the national lands. Verses reminded the readers to stake out a claim that Turkish lands should be guarded and risks should not be taken. Especially young people (Idealists, Grey Wolves) had to carry out these requirements and achieve the goals in order to make better the country, preserving lands against "bad intentions".

During this period, poets tried to remind their readers of the significance of their borders of a free and independent nation. In addition, naming places and localities is a primary feature of the national semantics of nationalist poetry (Suleiman 8). We will see which places were mentioned in different periods, but in general it can be said that it is common to determine important areas for them. The "homeland" in the poems is not an ordinary place; it is special, being extraordinarily and naturally beautiful. According to Billig's argument, employing a deixis of "here" and "we" presents "the national homeland as the home of the readers" (11). He explains the deixis regarding the media. However, poems demonstrate the same thing in presenting place. If some places were "occupied" or "lost" during a war in the past, these regions or towns have been declared as their own lands forever. Still, they insist that those lands belong to "them". Poems lead the readers towards active

aggression in taking back the lost lands. Although they are settled there, people still call for revenge to win a new victory for their history. Writing verses about places is a record of the spatio-temporal production of locality (Appadurai 189). Mentioning this helps to bind the readers and aims to assert their claims of ownership over it. For a nation state, borders should be secured and lands belonging to their nation unseparated for those people. Another purpose is to teach or illustrate to their nation what they have had, aiming for its protection.

Kaiser determines that if nationalist people want to promote awareness about the land, they use assorted techniques. He gives examples such as map to realise their purposes (Kaiser 324). According to Edensor, those particular lands may have been representative of a victorious past, and national discourse chooses to mention them as a substantial era in their nation's history (Özkırmılı 165). Some places/lands have symbolic importance, and therefore nationalists mark these areas using nationalistic language and rhetoric. This rhetoric provides impetus in order to determine their historic homeland frontiers and geographical extent. Those borders can be illustrated with nationalistic poems, stamps, flags, posters, school books and so on (Özkırmılı 163-164). According to Kaiser and Özkırmılı, the main logic is that nationalist people pay attention to their lands (regardless of whether or not they possess them) which are representations of "symbolic space". At this point, their lands throughout history mean a lot for the nation, because they are all "national lands/places" in their understanding. Even as their slogans in some issues, they use expressions such as, "Those Lands are ours". They never give up on their expansionist perspective of nationalising various lands. In the context of territories, nationalist and ordinary Turkish poems embrace the past tied with the future of their people. Consequently, altered places may be named by the poets making them more Turkish (national) or emphasising possessed localities.

For their lands, nation, country and people, members of the nation can be sacrificed. This expectation is the most apprehensible approach among the poets. Especially men should

die or fight for the country and their people. Men are co-locutors for the call by the state to be responsible for using weapons. In other words, men are responsible for waging war, managing the process and killing their enemies on behalf of the nation (Billig 112). Furthermore, "the sacrifice must be willing" (Marvin and Ingle 64:775), therefore the poems include proud expressions such as "soldiers gave their lives for the country" or "thousands of martyrs died for the homeland". National unity stems from self-sacrifice. According to the poems, every sacrifice enhances loyalty among the people and they inflate the prestige of their previous heroes who lost their lives and struggled for their country. These poems have a capacity to encourage men to die in the defence of their country. Poetry has treated the readers to the qualities of heroism and bravery. Poets indicate "soldiers or men" of the country who are guardians in the service for their nation, resolute riflemen, men of honour and fierceness. For this situation, people producing nationalist poems who are in this situation can be identified as "men of chivalry" (Yaquub 23).

Nationalism includes forms of consideration as natural for monopolisation of violence and widespread discourse of common sense. This illustrates that "our" world holds our own official armies, police forces, and enforcement agencies. In addition, "our" world is a place to expect to protect national borders; therefore citizens, especially men, may die for the sake of the protection of our boundaries and they may be called upon to be killed (Billig 30).

Actually, fighting or being ready for death is not a surprising expectation within these poems. These journals' verses present that Turkey has participated in many wars and crises, and sent its soldiers to other countries in the national interest because all these demands and acts represent solidarity between Turkish people. They all had reasons to take a concrete step to go further. From this perspective, the statement of Ernest Renan "a nation is a wide-scale solidarity that is formed by sense of self-sacrifice which includes acts in the past and future" describes it well. The endurance of a nation depends at least partly on the willingness of its

citizens/members to sacrifice themselves for the continuing life of the country (Marvin and Ingle 64:771).

Self-sacrifice tends to be provided with paid taxes and blood as Taylor argues. If citizens have a strong sense of commitment to their nation, they make the required contributions with money or war (Özkırmılı 71; Taylor 214). Therefore, we see the word "valiant" in the tables 5, 6, and 7 because people have been declared valiant – heroes ready to die. Additionally, if they have joined the army or fought in a national resistance, it seems enough to be declared thus. In the view of the poems, self-immolation is worthwhile in order to preserve the honour and reputation of martyrs. Their understanding is that if these people could perish for their homeland and community, the next generation should have a capability to do same for the rest of the nation. For this reason, it is necessary to establish front lines, overcome all difficult roads, posture against enemies, and compete with foreigners. Moreover, participants need to be "Turkish", feeling it deeply and relying on their willingness. Poets have not forgotten to add praising Turkishness.

Some poems are written in memory of the pashas, soldiers, heroes and leaders who participated in wars. The goal of a war is to defeat the enemy. But a national group sticks together and feels unified by the sacrifice of themselves one way or the other. As is seen in these poems, they give a huge space for national loyalty. Additionally, they have the capacity for fidelity towards those who have sacrificed themselves for the people and the country throughout history. It has been presented through counting names along with lines. It frames collective mourning to experience in remembrance of the victims which is a reminder of injustice and treachery (Nazneen Ahmed 8-9). It can be argued as a link between the importance of lands/places and self-abandonment, Billig adds that some lands belong to the people of a nation and they envisage a fight for the sake of possessed places because

nationalists believe that there is no possibility to be "us" without "them" (91). He determines that the reason leading young men to war is not aggression, but self-sacrifice (Billig 143).

Aberbach points out that nationalist expression inspires members of a nation with a proud identity; however these poets also write about self-criticism and shame, hatred and militancy (9:256). Journals have focused upon preservation in relation to memories of heroic struggle in their poetry that can strengthen the people's sense of unity, resolve and distinctness. Those Turkish verses seem to show that poets want to repeat and share their struggles with everyone, and not to forget. Sharing their defeats may be related with survival in that a weak nation remembers its defeats and survives better. Most poems include expressions of humiliation, grievance and rage against "enemies" and non-nationalist masses. Humiliation against leftist writers/poems and political groups may also be found. The purpose is to show their shortcomings, to tease and to underestimate their ideology, policies, statements, and so on. It has brought xenophobia and racism, especially for Greeks and Russians.

As Aberbach argues, that dark side of the poetry is present in those twelve journals and their poems as well. The glorification of violence and calling for revenge is strict. Poets call the readers (the rest of the Turkish citizens) to be engaged with the needs of the society, and help the people of the nation in becoming militarised and appropriately masculine. Many poems have been written to express "hostility" against Greeks, communists, Russians and internal enemies (minority and leftist groups). As mentioned above, their nationalist tone is oriented to justify generated violence and terror by their national group (Turkish citizens). They tend to explicitly and implicitly call for violence and terror. To gain honour, independence and position among others, violence has been understood as noble. They call volunteers to arms not only against Greece or Russia but against the imperialists and non-

believers for their status in the political/international arena whose attraction menaces their own existence and power.

Writing in the shadow of hatred is indispensable: injustice, corruption, instability, enemies, wars, communism, apathy, betrayal of the nation, lack of dedication to liberty and loyalty has to be overcome through struggle and bloody revenge. The sense of revenge drives words through the poems requiring the keeping of the people together. According to their verses, for young people or volunteers, it is not bad to die for the national cause. In addition, poets also have focused on necessities rather than what is good or bad.

Need to crush the Greeks' heads

My sole sorrow is to take revenge

A thousand Greek heads make one grudge

If a Greek word remains in the dictionary this antagonism does not leave me⁷

(Ötüken 1966b, 25:11)

For their own nation, these poets have penned mostly aggressive verses. According to Aberbach, this orientation is supposed to be universal writing in the shadow of a hated oppressor, or in exile (269). For the poems, it is seen that those people have anger towards their historical enemies which comprehends "other sides" in a war or crisis internally and externally. From their perspective, there is a desire to share their expression as opposed to the "occupants" who want to divide the country. Besides, their "dark" and "violent" poems are not just written for "occupants" in their territories; they also drive vicious meanings for adversaries who have been seen as guilty through endangering their national values, culture, identity, and politics both internally and externally. For "dividers" and "betrayers", these ordinary poets keep their political manner at a distance. In the context of calling for violent revenge, the main understanding of these poems is to set out the perspective that the past

⁷ "Yunanın başını ezmek gerek, ölç almaktır ondan yegane tasam, bin yunan kellesi bir kin ödemez, 'Yunan' sözü lügatımda durdukça bu kin benden vallah billah gidemez".

successes of the Turks would be regained only by achieving the desired and willing unity between the Turkish people.

As another common theme, the Turkish flag plays a key role in order to represent their identity and nationalistic values. As components of national symbolism, flags provide the strongest statement of national identity, according to Durkheim. In essence, they may serve as modern totems (Cerulo 244). In general, flags have significant representation for members of nations. They are determined as symbols of group solidarity that are strengthened through ritual processes (Shanafelt 27:13-27). A nationalist approach tends to increase the flag's power in order to consolidate national solidarity. Furthermore, the flag does not only represent the whole community, the death of martyrs leads to united flag-waving (Shanafelt 27:15). The colours of the Turkish flag have been underlined as corresponding to the colour of blood. It symbolizes the blood ("heroes" or "sacrificers") of the martyrs.

The Turkish flag has been presented as an intangible element, against which disrespect is not tolerated. Meanwhile many people have lost their lives to flag-waving. For Billig, flags are part of the daily routines reinforcing a reminder among the people (50-52). Therefore, people have an opportunity to express their feelings everywhere. In other words, as a representation of Turkish people, it functions for praising Turkishness everywhere. Poems illustrate that all Turkish people have to do to appreciate the value of their flag is to fly it everywhere. Additionally, those ordinary people remark upon the visibility of their nation's flag against enemies. Lines of Turkish poetry illustrate the sanctity of the Turkish flag which achieves respect by loyal citizens. To fly the flag on "national" days is a kind of an obligation in the country. If there is no direct expression, writing "flag" into the poems, its colours (red and white) have been highly articulated, or the star and crescent mentioned in its description.

Its sanctity and the respect it engenders are obvious to these ordinary people in their daily lives. From their perspective, their flag determines their borders as well; therefore they have no toleration for others' flags and colours. It means that it praises Turkishness as one nation including language, history, and culture. For example, as I will show in the next chapter, this nationalist side aspires to see the domination and communal sharing of the Turkish flag in Cyprus rather than the Greek flag or its colours. It was seen as a defence or weapon against the enemies of the Turkish nation, especially for minorities and their communities, the Greeks and the Russians.

Throughout history, the existence of the Turkish flag in various territories has been included as another subject of verse. It would appear that the flag performs a duty in an expansionist understanding as well. They think that planting or flying the Turkish flag is necessary where they stand or live. According to these poems, the sublimation of the Turkish nation is realised by waving the flag, because it is a reminder of solidarity as the most important social bonding. The word, "flag" has been repeated 169 times among 445 poems. Flags protect their status for people representing their authority and position in the international arena, because they are witnesses of the past; especially for wars and historical events that are reminders of their dioritic qualifications, struggles for existence, and composition of ethnicity or religious background. Consequently, it can be seen that poems include the word "flag" very often, and the general idea is that "the Turkish flag entails subordination". That is what they demand to achieve in a nationalist manner.

A male-dominant viewpoint was produced in this era. Nazmeen Ahmed states that "gender has been a constitutive element of national consciousness and also of its poetry"; thus nationalist poems become instruments in the reproduction of conventional patriarchal nationalist imagery calling upon "their men" to defend the motherland; women are always "mothers" who have to raise the children of the nation as housewives (9). It should be added

that the patriarchal understanding was much more dominant in the early years of humanity. The figure of women symbolises the homeland becoming a metaphor for political structure; consequently women were specified as pure and respectful. Any kind of attack upon their bodies was interpreted as an attack against their own nation (Özkırımlı 55-57). So gender roles were clearly designated in those journals. The main expressions in relation to women were related to being mothers, such as: "The mother of Grey Wolves", "the mothers of Turks", "the mothers of soldiers", "the mothers of the valiant" and so on. Additionally, women have the responsibility of raising children to serve the nation, instilling national values.

To be patriotic for the homeland,
You present your child as a gift⁸ (Milli Şuur 1985a, 76:9)

The emphasis on women's roles in giving birth on behalf of the nation and race is very clear. In addition to this, "purity" and "morality" create pressure on the duty of women. Poems emerge with those "responsibilities" in a positive light though, not in the least humiliating.

As I mentioned above, men are devoted and they accept death on behalf of their nation. However, as an institution, the army has exhaustless prominence for Turks. Altınay and Bora argue that nationalism and militarism have complemented each other because of two axes: wars and mandatory military service. In this sense, wars and battlefields are signs of nation states. This institution remains crucial in order to shape and reproduce Turkish nationalism (Bora 163). In general, the military and nationalism were discussed in the same way, with the Turkish military following a "nationalist" approach. Therefore ordinary people's views on the military and their linkage with nationalism via the military are not surprising. For instance, "the Handbook of the Soldier" presented a list in 1934 stating, "The

⁸ "Vatanseverlik olsun diye, candan can koparıp edersiniz hediye".

Turk is born in a noble and courageous nation [...] Turkey is the nation of the best soldiers and warriors." (Şen 99, Toktaş 250)

The army in Turkey has been feted as the protector of the homeland and regime since the time of Atatürk (Altınay and Bora 140). Turkish history in the poems was linked with militarism and soldiering. The victories and struggles and power of the Turkish military are major subjects; in other words, for the poetry of this period, the military is in the limelight. For those nationalist people, the status and power of authority is not distinct without the strength of the military. A strong military with a capability to attack/defend defines the Turkish nation. Weak moments of the Turkish military also have been addressed, including the "bad/violent sides" or the "unfair" approaches of their historical enemies. However, verses always endeavour to legitimise the Turkish military if it loses its power, reputation or prestige. So it shows that ordinary people trust their soldiers and army all the time, because they constantly aver that it is the most trustworthy institution in the protection of the nation and its values.

The poets display varying degrees of excitement and emotion in respect to their military. The paper shows what in different periods these people have focused upon more. The Turkish military becomes much more the centre of attention if it is actually engaged in a war or has sent its troops to other countries in the process of war/conflict. Combat is an exalted qualification in Turkish culture; therefore the expression "All Turks are born as soldiers" sustains its presence in every period (Altınay and Bora 141). Most poems associate the military with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who was seen as the best commander, warrior, and the creator of their homeland. For martial strategies and achievements, Atatürk, especially his military prowess, was considered responsible.

You held our hand, took a sea-voyage,

We saved the homeland, nation my father (Atam)⁹ (Kuvayi Milliye 1960a, 20:17)

The capacity of the Turkish military has been considered as a guardian of Turkish territory and people. Poets commend their possessions and lands to Turkish soldiers without any suspicion, and that brings an important element of trust between civilians and military. Furthermore, they have always paid attention to military rank, those senior personnel who won vital battles and trained the rest of the military. It may show that the Turkish military is constituted by its loyalty. Poems demonstrate that there is an objective in joining the army which has been considered sacred and heroic in their (civilians') daily lives. The military has been considered the ultimate guardian of the country because it serves as an assurance *vis-a-vis* those internal and external threats and concern about rising to challenges and taking a stance in the preservation of the nation (Sarigil 35:712). The poems demonstrate that Turkishness is inseparable from the military virtue which triggers national pride.

Anti-communism as a theme central to the poems should also be addressed because the poems deduced that the most important enmity derives from communist/leftist/socialist approaches during the Cold War period. The primary motive of these nationalist poems was to underscore and condemn the rise of communism. The paper has already demonstrated the conflict between the superpowers and Turkey's major threat, that of communism. Those poems always emphasise that they (the nationalists) were all against socialist/communist understanding and policies and this contradiction is widespread in right-wing nationalism. Anti-communism has played a key role in national defence considerations, which was a manifestation of US-based threat-measure strategies during the Cold War (Altınay and Bora 152).

⁹ "Tuttun elimizden çıktık sefere, kurtardık vatani, milleti Atam!"

Because of their hostility, it is obvious that those ordinary poets have tried to blame these ideologies and people who were supporting them within Turkey. Moreover, slander is a common reason to avoid close relations with them. For instance, these Turkist societies made efforts to introduce their endless genealogies in a negative light. There are lots of claims on leftists testifying to their non-Turkish or non-muslim origins. Thus it is possible to read unconcerned verses within the journals. They have seen and identified communist groups as alcoholics, non-masculine, traitors, immoral, non-believers, unreliable, illiterate, liars, cheats and so on. To overcome their imagined threats, they have targeted particular names, listing them in the publications. Sometimes they have used their names in the midst of lines, or their demands, actions, demonstrations or events have been symbolised in order to describe them as communists. For instance, Nazım Hikmet was described as an inferior poet because of his tendency towards socialism. Additionally, they claimed that "socialist poets do not understand the real questions of Turkey and Turkish people". In other words, leftist poems have not been seen as a part of real Turkish poetry. They are not seen as patriotic; that is why they have been roundly criticized. In this sense, Billig argues that if there is a criticism against unpatriotic groups, it is an intense appeal towards patriotism (182-3). In addition, their (the leftists) only problem has been determined through their non-nationalist approaches. Nationalist publications had this weapon declaring communist people *qua* non-nationalist who reject the idea of their national identity and interests. Endless accusations relentlessly implied "wrongness", rather than the content of their approaches. For this reason, journals (poems) portrayed them as more violent and aggressive, presenting their only "bad sides"; according to this understanding, communists were in charge of the entire country.

Some words have been used to describe communists/leftists, such as Muscovite, socialist, communist, leftist, red (kıızıl), Russian and domestic enemy, adding adjectives as well. They can be mentioned through famous communist leaders and intellectuals: for

example, Castro, Che Guevara, Mao, Marx, Stalin, Lenin and so on, who are universal. There were also Turkish representatives who were implicated in the development of the left-wing of Turkey. An offensive tone evolved in a violent approach calling out to the masses to deal with communism which was considered a threat. The purpose of these poets was to indicate the deficiency of these groups to justify their own thoughts in political, social and cultural fields. We can see that Turkish poets believed that the left-wing did not implement what they asserted in their arguments. Hence, it appears that right-wing politicians and decision-makers were much more notable in terms of nationalism and conservatism compared to "communist" groups.

Do not look for enemies outside the country,

While "the red" exists in my country¹⁰ (*Toprak* 1966c, 49:13)

Some poems present "activities" of leftist groups with criticism or exaggeration. The primary way is writing about the "evil side" apart from "mutual acts". *Büyük Türkiye* has a poem in its twelfth issue regarding the "Muscovites" entitled "Satire (Taşlama)". It has attempted to purvey some messages discrediting leftist groups in Turkey. "They are busting faculties, / Bags are full of Molotov cocktails, / Students beat teachers / because they have become completely Red" (1971:12). The situation is not just interested in leftist political parties or organisations in Turkey; in this period, geographical issues with the USSR were creating various questions like the Straits. Thus it seems, they have perceived the whole communist-leaning groups/countries as dangerous and expansionist. In Turkey or another country, they determine in their poems that if these "communists" can "revolutionise" their communities easily, they have the potential for separatism. Therefore, these groups were targeted as hazardous by nationalists. Although authors of verses disagreed with the "leftist

¹⁰ "Dışta düşman arama, Yurdumda kızıl varken".

masses in Turkey", they found the Turkish flag as a force and remedy towards them. In other words, they did not assume that they had a right to be Turkish since they supported communist statements. So during the Cold War, ordinary and nationalist Turks perceived communist/leftist formations as opponents in their daily lives while they were finding them "different" in relation to Turkish customs and morality. In the context of change, those ordinary poets did not have the tolerance to face "change" if it harmed Turkishness.

These poems have a feature using allegory in order to humiliate or criticise others who are not like them, are not nationalist or do not feel nationalism equally. The name of poet Nazım Hikmet has been included many times in such criticism; there are criticisms over the techniques of his poetry; but the main purpose to demonstrate his antipathetic "ideology" for them. Generally, leftists, political parties, intellectuals and elites are the targets, and they have been seen as "useless" and "incapable". Their diatribe and allegory procedures derive from a desire to undo their adversaries by denigrating their works, thoughts, and beliefs. To attack in poetry, poetic diatribe is also an instrument to compose a poetic answer. Where the diatribe and allegory seek to discredit, to humiliate and to destroy honour, the provocation incites a person or members of a group by appealing to their honour (Samatar 2009:74). These ordinary poets have a belief that their political opinions and values are effective in reflecting their national feelings and praising Turkishness much more. The rest of the poems or opinions are not seen with the same importance and quality as theirs. To improve the status of national values, this individual-based approach causes a reduction in the status of the victim or hazardous groups in the eyes of the society. They employed their poetry to inform, to attack, to persuade, to exhort, to curse and to enhance their position and righteousness.

Not only in specific periods but generally, the poems in the publications focus on the bilateral affinity with Azerbaijan and the Azeri people, claiming they have ethnic and religious similarities. It is possible to read poems in Azeri as well; some of them have been

sent from Baku, others have been chosen from different cities inside Turkey. Sending their compliments towards Azeris was very common during the Cold War era. As this paper shows journals' tone of national partiality among Turks, likewise Turks protected the interests of Azeris due to their kinship. The difficulties or pains of Azerbaijan and the Azeris are seen as valuable to Turkish society. In other words, both communities, especially their Turkic ethnicity have the sense of belonging to each other. The unity between both communities has been felt deeply in virtue of partiality proceeding from the two countries' geographical proximity and the preservation on their race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture. Therefore the situation demonstrates that commonality and similarities may lead to amicably bilateral relations, and Azerbaijan was the prime example in the Cold War era.

The nationalist poems took most of their subject-matter from Anatolia and republican history (Karpat 37). This argument cannot be disproved because with the establishment of the republic emerged a change for the Turkish community, and in poems this is manifested as pride. Consequently, on October 29, Republic Day, the journals reserved a special space in order to publish poems related to this occasion. People expressed their gratitude towards particular names who had contributed to the foundation of the republic, and who had consolidated its reforms. This was also the case for every type of special day; for instance, Victory Day occasioned the expression of feelings related to battles, victories, and fame generally. Due to its crucial history of Anatolia which represents the past of the Turkish nation, people ceaselessly referred to it. Anatolian music, folklore, tradition, and attitudes were sublimated. The past of the Turks has been associated with Anatolian life, and thus its gravity was felt in the poems.

Islamic symbolism clearly serves as a message within the journals. Some poems determine the majority of people as Muslim; afterwards, verses are full of the customs, morals and traditions which are instrumental in the building of "a great nation". There are different

religious groups in Turkey; however these poems did not articulate anything in terms of an encounter with non-Muslim communities in the context of Turkish citizens. As a whole, Turkishness has been emphasized for different subjects at every juncture. For instance, if the poets wrote their verses related to the tragedy of humanity, the "Turkish tragedy" becomes much more apparent. Adding the adjective "Turkish" is very usual, such as Turkish lands, Turkish economy, Turkish people, Turkish crisis, Turkish women/men, Turkish teacher, and Turkish student and so on. So we can see that Turkish society tended to focus on praising Turkishness in their daily lives.

In general, advice to Turkish society is indispensable. However, teachers who can impose or teach national traditions, beliefs, and solidarity to the homeland are crucial in terms of these responsibilities. These people believe that nationalism is sustained if people do the necessary. For example, Turkish history should be committed to memories; otherwise, efforts to build the "great" and "superior" do not succeed. We already know that culture has a significant impact on people and these ordinary poets explain how much Turkish culture is felt and practised. Nationalists evoke a sense of cultural distinctiveness and unity (Yumul and Özkırmılı 796). An awareness of cultural distinctiveness presents a division between "Turkish people" and "outsiders" in the journals. Turkish (folk) music, traditional Turkish dances and national musical instruments should be protected in order to better flourish. People made efforts to promote their national culture, because they believed that culture was a specific way to express their own language, religion and customs. In some poems, they regret other nations' culture being seen as "superior" over Turkish music or dance. An Anatolian folk dance is characteristic of Turkish culture, and they claim that if something needs to be universal at a cultural level, it ought to be Turkish. At this point, some poems stress the significance of the "self" reinforcing their identity and compare themselves with others by differentiating between "us" and "them". And this division makes "national partiality" stronger. The Arab

statement, "I against my brother, my brothers and I against my cousins, then my cousins against strangers" seems suitable for Turkish nationalism as well.

The chief message in the poems is that the Turkish race is capable of mind-boggling achievement when it unites every member in the preservation of its culture. Nationalist discourse has a linkage to be worthy of the past within the poems. In other words, ordinary poets express their concerns about Turks' future; if they lose their Turkish soul, their lives will be shameful without their "valuable Turkish selves". So politics or nature can cause variation; however, nationalist discourse largely preserves its self-praise.

3.4 Is There Any Difference in the Nature of Nationalism in Different Periods?

From the beginning of the Cold War, Turkish nationalism was shaped by different dynamics and the "Soviet threat" led to various alliances. In this new phase of variant forms, tenets of Turkish nationalism included Turkey-based Turanism, racism, promotion of an ethnically pure state, militarism and anti-communism (Bora and Canefe 132). In addition, this paper demonstrates that the nature of Turkish nationalism is shaped by different "enemies" in different times.

This section aims to demonstrate whether there is any difference regarding the nature of nationalism in different decades or not. The part is undertaken to state the nature of the periods in Turkey and its influence on the people in a nationalist context. As the paper mentioned above, the division relies on cases, policies, decisions and movements. As is evident, these people expressed their feelings over domestic and foreign policies in their daily lives. The goal is to understand how people saw nationalism and what kind of circumstances affected their perspective in the context of nationalism.

While persons are abreacting their nationalistic pronouncements, existing political acts have been preferred in order to produce self-approbation by favour of their national values

and traditions. So these individuals' verses comprehend the assessment of periodical politics emphasising nationalism on Turkish identity and nation. The poems in the journals reflect the era providing a history which includes particular cases and circumstances; therefore an examination of those years – the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s is necessary.

The 1950s

The lands and territorial verses seem much more significant in 1950s. Turkey's perceived threat from the Soviet Union created various reflections based on fear and the possibility of disintegration in accordance with foreign and domestic politics. Their "national lands/places" and lost territories were not forgotten. The battles for the sake of their lands and associated martyrdom remain the most sensitive area in the eyes of the people. National values and religion (Islam) occur many times; for instance, the transformation of Hagia Sophia from a church to a mosque is a purported necessary in order to consolidate Turkish and Muslim traditions in the country.

Soviet principles were becoming more widespread through communism, the social state, pacifism, internationalism and national independence. The Soviet Union started to implement those concepts in its foreign policy (Oran 519). Therefore, its tensions were affecting other states in the Cold War. Third parties like Turkey were concerned because of the "domino theory", and therefore poems adopted the "evil side" of communism as a result of anti-communist discourses and practices in the international arena. Compared to the 1960s, anti-communist expressions are fewer; however poems contained more examples than in the 1970s and 1980s. Table 5 demonstrates that the word "Red (Kızıl)" was used more than in other years. The tension between both superpowers and their threat towards Turkey increased stereotyped images in the Turkish press as well; narrow but potent terms like "reds", "red hazard" and "communist threat" were expressing these (Criss 226). Furthermore, the

criticisms against the Soviets involved the Straits and the sovereignty of Turks; other periods do not mention the Straits to the same degree. Turkey had no intention of making compromises in terms of bloc policy; the Soviets were uncomfortable because of Turkey's membership of NATO and established bases within this context (Tellal 514). Poems illustrate this as well, referring to the necessity of avoiding the Soviets while they were afraid for their home territory as a result of their "possible" attack in the early years of the Cold War.

On the other hand, some published verses supported the Western alliance trying to keep their national independence. External financing by the US may be relevant in that it protected the somewhat weaker position of Turkey and enhanced its capability of protecting national security and interests as well. In the 1950s, it may be seen that poets who were ordinary citizens were calling for societal awareness to avoid any dependence upon foreign sources. However, they stated the "rational" reasons to make close affairs with the Western alliance rather than the "evil" communists. Accordingly, certain common themes appeared more frequently, composing verses in terms of "superiority" and "crestfallenness". In other words, people did not intend to lose the legitimacy of Turkey and the power of Turks. Moreover, this sorrow proceeded from the isolation of Turkey in the international environment, because they composed verses in relation to this "isolation of Turkey" and required "mutual interests" with alignments against the Soviets.

Cyprus is another main subject which triggers nationalism in Turkey. The frequency of the word "Greek" in 1950s is relatively low, but it becomes frequent in the following decades. However, xenophobia against Greeks was not developed as much as in the years ahead. Besides this, the passion for establishing sovereignty on the island was rampant. It is possible to encounter the argument in the poetry holding opinions that Cyprus belongs to Turkey. At this point, they defined Cyprus as "Baby Homeland (*Yavru Vatan*)", asserting the

ownership of the island to Turkey. There are poems of exhortation to annex the island to Turkey.

We come, my child, we come

Cyprus is our essential homeland¹¹ (*Toprak* 1956b, 14:12)

According to ordinary individuals in the journals, Cyprus is Turkish, and they highlight the difficulties of the Turks on the island; therefore the Turkish community deserves the best conditions, implying the right of Turkish hegemony over the whole of Cyprus. People present their argument why they believe the island is Turkish; however limited the opportunity for sentences, only particular statements illustrate clear messages. The willingness of violent and aggressive acts was referred to in the context of Cyprus, the main approach being the achieving of domination. As Billig and Özkırımlı state that nationalist individuals prefer the use of "our", "us" and "we" without consideration of others, it means that they want to determine their community, nation, and country, not that of the others/foreigners. Concerning the Cyprus question, the same words have been used to reinforce their argument to embrace the whole island. Compared to the following years, the 1950s emphasised the amount of poetry in connection with Cyprus.

This period brought martyrdom and soldiers to the agenda in light of the Korean War. Although the Korean War was not Turkey's issue directly, national interests were taken into account. Self-sacrifice maintained its importance in sending Turkish troops thereby compounding Turks' prestige and instrumentalising the capability of the military. Sending Turkish troops created internal tensions, due to a clash of ideas in respect to the decision. In this sense, these non-celebrity poets penned nationalist lines defending the decision to send the troops. Therefore, we can say that the Western alliance was more significant due to the

¹¹ Geliriz balam geliriz, Kıbrız bizim öz yurdumuz".

expansion of communism, and the Korean War was seen as representative for the "existence" of Turkey in its effort to be more visible on the international stage. The survival of Turkish soldiers was supported through nationalist poetry. Thus measuring their former victories or contemporary achievements of the "Turkish military" was required, and this shaped readers' views towards "their" own soldiers at the societal level.

Leftist groups evaluated the decision to participate in the Korean War in a negative sense, the Peace Committee distributing leaflets condemning the sending of the troops (Oran 549). Contrary to this, right-wing nationalists (in the poems) underscored its requirement bringing forth the "Turkish race" and associated heroic expressions. In 1955, the Journal *Toprak* published a poem entitled "Hit", comprising verses regarding the Korean War and Turkish troops in relation to "Turkism (Türkçülük)" (10-11). This illustrates that those people provided a linkage in the 1950s between the military action and their race's superiority. A correlation can be seen poetically between the troops sent to the Korean War and the sublimation of the capabilities of the Turkish military. In other words, supportive statements can be found in these poems. In addition to this, the Korean War and the involvement of Turkish troops therein have been evaluated in their regard to Turkishness and their capability overstressed.

For individuals, the Korean War was an alliance against the communist threat. In addition, it was perceived as opposition to the Soviets' irreligious morals as well, as communism is related to a non-religious approach to life. When there was support for anti-Soviet statements in the poetry related to the Korean War, an expression stressed the sentiment: "show your power to these godless Reds". The understanding and expressions concerning "the power of Turks" in the Korean War demonstrates a desire for revenge against Muscovites, while their ideology is a source for hazardous tension and disintegration, so it has also been perceived as personal since the opposite party became a common enemy, seeing as

they did communism as a possible disruptive factor and finding feasibility in the confrontation. In this sense, Korea became a part of Turkish nationalism within the poetry of this era.

Particular wars were repeated which Turkey experienced in the past (Malazgirt, Sakarya, the War of Independence and so on). Different aspects from Turkish history still remained special in the 1950s. Highlighting victories or history always preserves dominance; however this period makes more frequent references. Not only is the interpretation and demands to sublime Turkish history essential, but also the ability of customs and national values and their articulation in a coherent whole is equally important. The history of battles against "enemies" has been well-covered, and would become redundant if these nationalist poems could not include the most important moments from their history. Especially, the War of Independence for Turkey seems a major event in the history of increasing nationalist feelings.

The 1960s

Since the 1960s, Turkey's political climate can be mentioned in terms of a polarization between nationalist movements and leftist ideologies. In the 1960s, table 5 supports that emphasis on being Turkish has increased; actually, it had the greatest emphasis during the Cold War years. Indeed, praising Turkishness seems extensive in this era. Another crucial and significant point helps to correlate the nature of nationalism on ordinary Turkish citizens who wrote the poetry in those journals. As a word "Greek/Rum" is also much more dominant during this decade. In addition, when we look at the poems, it is possible to face both words, as "Greek" and "Turks/Turkish" have been included in one poem. That means that both nations were involved under relevant subjects. So some poems contain a kind of competition between both countries and their members *qua* citizens. It seems that the main reason for the

conflict with Greeks was based upon the Cyprus question; therefore, verses generalise the issue over the whole of the Greeks in an offensive tone. They determined the Greeks as enemies apart from communists. The poetry comprises much opposition and hostility in the 1960s. So the period expands the xenophobia underlining both Greek and Russian nations. That approach is a reminder of Gergen's argument about division between one group and a negatory sense for the rest. The argument explains that the self enhances the sense of commitment for this in-group; however when the "self" sees others as "different or foreign" who are not members of the same group, then a virulent refusal emerges (Billig 159). In a conflict or clash of ideologies, any difference among groups may be felt more. In this case, the existence of "Greeks as other" causes a feeling of "the self (Turks)" more. Moreover, when individuals write a critique or hostile poem about Greeks, they prefer to praise their Turkishness to take precedence over their enemies.

The Cyprus issue is one of the greatest political traumas in this period. Nationalist discourse was conducted over President (Archbishop) Makarios. As a result of Turkish poems, we can say that readers were reminded of the elevated status of Turkey, Cyprus being its possession with a historical significance as the land of battles and martyrdom. In the context of Cyprus, the intervention of the United States in Cyprus reinforced the nationalist view and discourse against other countries. This milieu and approach of third-party countries in the Cyprus question led to a feeling of isolation, exemplified in the poetry. In this sense, publications represent the sense of solitude for Turks; consequently, some poems connote proximity with particular countries rather than others, leading to a feeling of tension and abandonment. Poems have been written influenced by this kind of feeling; they believe that only Turks intend to consider their mutual interests or difficulties. Especially Muslim-majority or Turkic-speaking countries appear more valuable in the view of the poets; at least they feel an affinity that prevents anxiety for their political acts, because they do not think

these countries as antagonistic towards themselves if they have similarities. The fortune of Turkey was seen in a dark light, because it represented "bad" or "negative" experiences. Apart from the sense of loneliness, various complaints emerged because Turkey was surrounded by enemies.

My nation has endless trouble

Ill-starred nation [...]

Do not suppose that there is no intention:

My nation has no friend aside from the Turk¹² (*Ötüken* 1966d, 27:15)

As usual, communist and socialist vocabulary is common; however the word "socialism" has been used more than others. Poems have content regarding socialist and student movements and industrial strikes. Increased socialist/leftist movements promoted the counterpart. Consequently, the presence of Idealists (Ülkücüler) and the Ideal (Ülkü) have been considered crucial for their "national struggle" through discursive aggregation. Poems recall the responsibilities of the Idealists fighting against separatist "servants of Moscow". Up to this time the external enemy was depicted; the focus changed its extent embodying an internal enemy. In other words, understanding of the "domestic/internal" enemy was developed.

It would appear that xenophobic approaches started to change as a result of conjuncture: combating communism became a national duty to replace the xenophobia against minorities. However, it did not stop. "Combating communism" became the impetus for a state of emergency. Leftist groups with varying interpretations of Marxism triggered the expansion of political parties – the Labour Party being set up in 1961 (Landou 588). The most formidable thing would be the existence of an internal enemy, because they may have easily

¹² Ne tükenmez derdi varmış bahtı kara milletimin, Zannetme ki kastı olmaz, Türk'ten gayrı dostu olmaz".

abandoned the national heritage and left "us" in shame (Billig 120). At this point, poems mention "internal enemies", expressing such lines as "in the heavenly gardens of the Turkish lands, we should silence the owls" (Ötügen 1966, 34:13). As an "internal and external enemy", communist groups had the perceived tendency to annihilate the Turks in their original homeland; therefore, those ordinary poets showed real discomfort. Because of these "enemies" both within and without, the poets believed that Turkish people needed to embrace more strongly their national identity and aim to minimise the impact of external threats thus overcoming their issues with their enemies by isolating themselves both nationally and ideologically.

According to their understanding, leftist ideologies had the potential to endanger their national unity. In this period, poems frequently manifested names or groups of their enemies if those people criticised Turkey and did not take notice of national prestige in the accepted manner or agree upon sensitive issues (for example, Cyprus), or were unable to place the national interests over their personal ones. They were declared as deviants and their acts/statements disapproved, thereby being delegitimised with various words and definitions such as unpatriotic and irresponsible. For this reason, the emergent "Idealism" concept expected participation in order to defend the country. Compared to the previous decade, the call for revenge and participation among Idealist groups greatly increased. Since the 1960s, nationalist movements were increasingly frequently launched.

Some poetry generates considerable complaints and grievances. Pressures or prohibitions on their nationalist movement are a feature of the banning or burning of nationalist journals, and the subsequent imprisonment of some nationalists cause a development in opinions concerning injustice. These complaints about injustice perpetrated by the respective countries were featured in these nationalist poems. In addition, revenge for injustice towards the people of Crimea engendered nationalism against the Muscovites in the

1960s. While they were composing lines in relation to Crimean issues, they stressed the superiority of the Turkish nation. They tended to sublime their status and authority against the adversary on the basis of Crimea as they did in the Korean War. "Brave support of Turks" towards the Crimean community has been quoted below, and it explains the increase in the frequency of the word "valiant (yiğit)":

For Crimean people

I will take my revenge upon Moscow

Don't you understand I'm a Turk due to my valiant arrival¹³ (*Toprak 1967a, 57:12*)

This period indicates that Turkey wanted to strengthen its bilateral relations with particular regions and countries such as Crimea and Pakistan in terms of solidarity against the impact of the Soviet Union. Such poems tend to proclaim their support for these countries highlighting their "great" capabilities to defend and reciprocate. Pakistan has been evaluated as a foul-weather friend; hence they are ready to bear up. Their bilateral affairs have been always based on common security policies in the international arena (Çolakoğlu 27). In this period, publications show ancestral heritage as a reason to defend Pakistan. So we can see that people care for their commitment based on affiliation with their ancestors. The point is that those ordinary poets express their loyalty in the 1960s over their support for third-party countries even if they have no direct connection with them. Thus state-based affiliations arising out of their ancestors seem worthy to promote this spirit.

As a word, "homeland" is another of the most-repeated during the 1960s. The general content of the poems reflect their "loyalty" and "love" towards their homeland; most of the descriptive poems with reference to Anatolia, mountains and natural beauties belong to this period. With the bombing of Cyprus, the probability of internal division began to be

¹³ "Kırım halkı için, Moskof'tan intikamımı alacağım. Anlamadınız mı Türk olduğumu, Yiğit gelişimden".

suggested. In this era, the flagging of Turkishness and a willingness to protect Turkishness in terms of its culture, tradition, borders, and capabilities were presented with symbols in regard to the Turkish flag. Thence the vitality of "Turkish symbols" was introduced as the responsibility of the people. Additionally, it seems that when a direct conflict came onto Turkey's agenda, specific words or subjects became more apparent, such as the flag, homeland, country, history and so on. These words' common characteristic stems from their representative force. They have the ability to represent Turkey and designate limitations for others. Displaying the power of a nation requires justification, and a nation's own people (ordinary poets in this study) provide this reflection expressing what they experience, see and feel on an individual level. Obviously, Turkey's foreign policy and both superpowers' decisions on their foreign policies were influencing parts of Turkey's daily policies, because poems are mostly related with foreign policy alongside domestic politics.

The 1970s

Grey Wolves (Bozkurtlar) and Ideal (Ülkü) of Turkish nationalism including the Idealist movement (ülkücü hareket) emerged with great strength during the 1970s while leftist movements and organizations were increasing. Both formations in the popular language are political and social movements which adopted and improved a distinct understanding of Turkish nationalism. Actually, Turkish nationalism in its political landscape cannot be evaluated without them. Turkish nationalist elements in the dominant official ideology of the state have been produced and developed by the Idealist movement in their most extreme and crudest forms (Saraçoğlu 4).

Following the 1960s, the political spectrum began to be defined in terms of a left-right axis, and nationalism was one of the most important components for the Turkish right-wing. Nevertheless, the Idealist Movement was an ideological foundation through Turkish

nationalism (Can 263-4). Since the 1960s, combating the left-wing was becoming a high priority, the point being that corruption of national culture was seen as a consequence of leftists and their activities. Anti-communism was the common ground for Turkey's right-wing and reactions were undertaken by the nationalist formation's initiative that included the political party, the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and movements by groups of individuals (Idealists/Grey Wolves) (Taşkın 633). The Grey Wolves movement had a tendency towards paramilitary insurgency, organised political violence, and state-centric totalitarian political scenarios (Bora and Canefe 129). During the 1970s, these nationalist movements flourished in youth branches, particularly through the Idealist Associations.

Those nationalist formations were defending the dignity of their nation and race. If we remember the journal *Bozkurt's* slogan, "Everything for the Turk, According to the Turk, By the Turk", we can understand that they have lots of references for stressing Turkishness. Their mission was a determination to protect the state and the nation, and that is identified by the poems. Therefore, their acts and policies were totally anti-leftist-oriented, seeking to defend the state for "the benefit of the Turkish people", and they were acting in the name of the state. At this point, these groups have been evaluated as "the guardians of Turkey" by ordinary poets.

The Idealist is coming, saying 'Allahuekber'.

Only we can rescue the prisoner Turk¹⁴ (Töre 1979a, 102:44)

Nationalist acts and struggles were intensified in the societal and political fields: poets reflected their purposes and entrusted to nationalist movements (Grey Wolves, political leaders, parties, and intellectuals) to control the country with its "pan-national" values in order not to lose them. Also, Landou's article, "The Nationalist Action Party in Turkey" has used

¹⁴ "Allah tekbirleri ile geliyor ülkücü, Ancak bizler kurtarırsız esir Türk'ü".

the Official Newspaper's (*Resmi Gazete*) publication from the State Institute of Statistics related to voting results in National Assembly elections between 1965 and 1977, and it presents a clear rise in popularity after 1970:

Table X: Support For the Nationalist Action Party		
Date of the Election	Number of Votes	Percentage of the Total Votes
10 October 1965	208,696	2.2
12 October 1969	275,091	3.0
14 October 1973	362,208	3.4
5 June 1977	951,544	6.4

this period, Pan-turanism (Turancılık) reached its highest level compared to other years. Actually, the idea of Turan was strengthened in the poems during the 1950s; however, we see more in this era. In these poems, Turks look for new "siblings" and it is varied in different times, because their political affinity demonstrates a change with other nations. The ideology of "Turanism" developed as an expansionist and irredentist rhetoric/understanding in Turkey (Arman 137). Turanism harboured typical motives of primordialistic nationalism which sought to unite all Turks and saw Turkey as the sole land (Arman 137-8). The poems do not reveal any national frontiers in the ideal of Turan. In a general sense, Turan is defined as the integration of conquered lands with the homeland. Thus there is not one sole definition; it simply shows an alteration from one poet to another. The ideal of Turan delineates an extrinsic movement in the nationalist poems. For this idea, the Idealist movement was chosen to promote whichever movement could realise its perspective.

My child, lay out your rug

This place is the homeland of the Turk.¹⁵ (*Töre* 1974a, 35:19)

Our way is Turan and our guide is the Kur'an.¹⁶ (*Töre* 1979b:38)

¹⁵ "Evladım, kilimini yere ser, Bu yer Türk'ün vatani".

In principle, Turanism determined a tendency which aspires to compound all of the Turks who live in Ottoman territories and outside of this geography and also who have common race-blood, culture and history (Özdoğan 2008:388). Obviously, Turanism seeks to unify the Turkic world under one political entity and this political project became one of the most important inspirations for the mobilisation of the Idealist movement. It has a racist approach based on Turkism (Türkçülük). This understanding considers nation equal as race which breeds a thesis that advocates that "political elites should come from the Turkish race!" trying to attract supporters (Özdoğan 400-401).

At the beginning of the 1970s, journals published poems related to *The Nine Lights Doctrine* (Dokuz Işık Doktrini) of Alparslan Türkeş presenting nine principles that formed the core of the basic nationalist ideology in Turkey: nationalism, idealism, societalism, scientism, independentism, ruralism, progressivism, populism, industrialism, and technologism¹⁷. Actually, the text of Türkeş's has become the doctrine of the party since the Extraordinary Party Congress that was held in Ankara on 8-9 February 1969 (Kömürcü and Demir 5:552). In poems, "the right way" was linked with the Nine Lights Doctrine; they did not count specific characteristics of the doctrine, but the main meaning was reflected. The Nine Lights Doctrine has been defined as the way of virtue and truth; it is the way of people who love their country, the way of the Great Turkey, and it is the steady way of the Chief (Başbuğ).

The 1980s

The last period also engaged in domestic and international issues which were expressed by the poems. We can see that Turkish people are not just interested in the people inside Turkey: Turkish people who live in other countries are another focal point if they

¹⁶ "Yolumuz Turan, rehberimiz Kuran".

¹⁷ The article by Kemal Can and Hilmi Hacaloğlu, "What Does the Future Hold for Turkey's Nationalists?" <http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2010/12/04/what-does-the-future-hold-for-turkeys-nationalists/> accessed on 3 May 2014.

experience negative practices. As an element of nationalism, loyalty and solidarity are comprehended by every member of a nation. In this sense, their concerns should be expected. Complaints in poems have focused on all "Turks" in the whole world. According to their perspective, Turkish people deserve the best conditions and respect in dignifying their status in return from other nations. Therefore, poets preferred to remark upon the conditions of Turks who are minorities in other countries or have moved abroad for employment. In the 1980s, Turks experienced various issues and that is why Turkish poets composed more lines about their conditions during this period.

Both Bulgaria and Germany housed Turks within their borders; hence, nationalist poems have given voice to those Turks' suffering, devoid of their rights and liberties, or were demanding a guarantee of survival without any kind of casualty. The communist leader of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov launched a campaign against the Turkish community to increase his own political popularity (Hale 175). According to Hale, although there was some immigration to Turkey, there was still a 90,000 strong Turkish minority living in Bulgaria during the 1980s. In 1984, Bulgarian officials launched a programme of assimilation on the Turks, preventing them being assigned Turkish names. Until 1989, imprisonments and exiles continued, and then Zhivkov was deposed (Hale 176). Poets reflected the situation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. According to Gunter, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria had both supplied weapons to different Turkish factions which were threatening groups against the Turkish state (70). Some poems demonstrated the loneliness of the Turkish people in the presence of such "oppression" against their nation. In the Bulgarian case, the desperate status of Turkish people due to repressive decisions was claimed. In other words, other countries were blamed if those countries did not make an effort to implement their conditions or assist in the solution to the problem in lieu of Turkey.

We are going to a province from another one,

We will come back one day.¹⁸ (*Bizim Ocak* 1986a, 16:16)

The poem is directed towards Bulgaria on behalf of those Turks migrating from Bulgaria. Their concerns rely on the difficulties or negative circumstances of their "nation"; they reveal their nationalist feelings in their explanation and what should be done to tackle the "fight" against their nation. It can be seen that they consider Turkish people who live outside the country to be members of their own families. In addition, disrespect or humiliation causes them to be more worried in their perspective, because when they see any kind of "humiliation" against one person from their "race", it has been perceived as directed towards the entire nation. This implies that the prestige of the Turkish nation should not be damaged because a Turk is inexpugable in the nationalist sense of other Turks. In the 1980s, political chaos was greatly heightened in Turkey. The government was also blaming certain "foreign states which for years had exploited every opportunity to realise their designs against this country" for this spate of chaos (Gunter 70).

Furthermore, some people were concerned, and complained about Germany and the attitudes of Germans against those Turkish people who had moved to Germany as migrant labour. The migration began in the 1960s with the number of Turkish economic migrants being almost 2,700. This number increased to 469,200 during the 1970s and continued to rise until the 1980s when the rate of increase declined to about 4-5% since the 1990s (Şahin 55:109). Descriptions of "foreign infelicity" were considered in the publications evaluating Germany in relation to the Turkish population there. For instance a poet says, "It is more difficult to be loved than loving" to explain the circumstances of those Turkish people in Germany (*Töre* 1982:75). Here, the poem highlights that non-Turkish nations do not strive as much as Turks regarding attempts to serve mutual interests and peace. The expectation to

¹⁸ "Gidiyoruz ilden ile, Bir gün geri geleceğiz".

identify Turkey with superiority is intense. Consequently, poets have no tolerance in the face of lower standards while they are realising their requirements in their own opinions.

According to table 5, the name of Atatürk was invoked mostly from the 1960s to the 1980s – the years of the Turkish military coups. The contents of the Atatürk poems are generally pertinent to the army and military recruitment, paying attention to his accomplishments and military leadership. Also, his "principles" and "patriotism" have been associated with the future of Turkey, even if a military coup would be necessary in order to rebuild a togetherness relying on his principles and ideals. For most Turkish people, Atatürk is commonly understood as a symbol for the state ideology of Kemalism; especially republican and secularist principles make him key among those people (Dressler and Alif 23:109). He died on November 10, 1938; therefore, every November 10, journals allocated pages for poems related to Atatürk: "The Founder of the Republic", "The Father of the Turks", "Superhuman", "The Great Commander", "The Unchangeable Commander" recalling his presence.

If we think in Turkish today,

It is his power:

The great teacher of the Turk.¹⁹ (*Milli Şuur* 1985a, 73:6)

You created everything out of nothing,

You are the spirit of the whole nation,

You mean the homeland: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.²⁰ (*Milli Şuur* 1989a, 116:20)

Most of the poems about Atatürk state that the Turkish people and the whole nation desire a new hope like him. People believe that his existence presents new opportunities to

¹⁹ "Türkçe düşünüyorsak bugün, Her içimizde onun gücü, Büyük öğretmeni Tük'ün".

²⁰ "Sen yoktan var eden adam, Sen bütün bir milletin ruhu, Sen vatan demeksin M.K. Atatürk".

rebuild the nation, banishing "evil" enemies from the country. Therefore, verses were composed to desire "a new hope" which can represent something as good as Atatürk in a nationalist manner. In their understanding, Mustafa Kemal provided Turks with standards, human rights, liberties with his reforms and saved the country from its enemies, gaining independence for the country. Consequently, when poems notify their concerns with respect to "internal" and "external" enemies, they mention his name and morality too. In 1981, the centenary of Atatürk's birth inspired a launch of campaigns related to Atatürk to reinforce and impose Turkish nationalism (Belge 189). The main purpose of the campaigns was to expel the state's enemies, and to impose Kemalism, which is a mission of republican nationalism (Belge 189). In this conjuncture, it is not surprising if ordinary Turkish people begin to praise the heroic deeds of Atatürk. In short, Mustafa Kemal appeared at a time when there seemed to be no hope for a peaceful and united nation. His adherents admire him as a result of his incredible feats in uniting Turks and "expelling imperial forces".

After the coup of September 12, poems sublimed the Turkish military again, because they had a vision about the "wave of terror" caused by disruptive factions (Gunter 70). From their perspective, only the military and young nationalist groups or organisations could transform the political chaos to serenity. We can say that Atatürk and the military were the most reiterated subjects in the 1980s. Moreover, the Turkish language is one of the priorities that the poets highlight in their publications. The significance of the Turkic language, "unique language, unique homeland" rhetorics were repeated during the 1980s. Language (of a majority group) can be counted as another instrument to increase the national bond, therefore minority languages and efforts to remove the language of a minority group was not limited with early nationalist acts (Billig 38). According to Billig, these policies existed to harden the hegemony of the state power. Article twenty-six illustrates the prohibition of languages other than Turkish in the 1982 constitution; additionally, political parties were prevented from

developing, spreading, and defending non-Turkish languages and culture according to the constitution. (Billig 44; Gönenç 1:103). Therefore, the presence of Kurds and the Kurdish language were ignored by the Turkish government and identified for a while as "mountain Turks who have forgotten their native tongue" (Billig 44; Entessar 93). In the context of language, the "beautiful tones, sounds and grammar of Turkish" were emphasised.

During the 1980s, nationalist poems had the language of mass-resistance and salvation from the dominance of the United States and the Soviet Union and their threatened incursions. Some criticised the dependency upon either side or the degradation of Turkish traditions and values in a societal level. Therefore, they often preferred to express them as "imperialists" and "Ivans (Ivan the Terrible)" against the superpowers and their policies. It seems that ordinary people got exhausted as a result of both superpowers' demands and actions if these things affected them. Other powerful states were also seen as "imperialist". Dependency upon the superpowers was also expressed and lines are full of complaints rather than reliance. At this juncture, poems were reminders of the capabilities of Turkey and "required" the willingness of Turks to handle them with perceived severity. So their nationalistic aim can be seen in terms of the concerns of the Turkish people and an independent Turkey. Since the 1980s, poems have paid attention to an "independent Turkey", understanding much more than in previous years. There has always been a demand to consolidate the power and independency of Turkey, but poems illustrated that willingness more after the 1970s. They had a strong influence of nationalism while they were writing the poems and drawing on Turkey's wide store of history, heroic victories, and myth to support independence in policies and decisions.

Poems were written in the year of Afghanistan's occupation by the Soviet Union; thus, nationalist and solidarity expressions came to the agenda. It demonstrates that the identity of Turkish nationalism has been shaped by "different enemies" in different times by ordinary

citizens in Turkey. Poems underscored the enmity of Muscovites versus resistant Afghan "mujahids".

Be a martyr, do not be a slave.

All Muslims should join the line.

Afghanistan becomes a grave for Moscow.²¹ (*Töre* 1980a, 106:47)

A common enemy was targeted (the Soviet Union) and the poem expressed their similarities and common points in combating their enemy. In another poem, the poet remarks upon their contentment if Afghan people came to their own territories calling them "gardaşlarım" (brothers) (*Töre* 1982:17). The unity between Turks and Afghans was stressed, adding the Turkmens and Uzbeks in their discourse. Some recommendations have been presented by Turkish poets to tackle "repressive communists". Similar expressions were seen for Crimeans and soldiers who were sent to the Korean War. A common enemy, mutual interest, and similarities based upon affiliations, ethnicity, language, religion and culture signify solidarity as an instrument of nationalism.

²¹ "Şehit düşün köle olmayın sakın! Bütün müslümanlar katılmalı saf'a, Afganistan mezar olsun Moskof'a".

CHAPTER IV

4. Conclusion

In this study, everyday nationalism in Turkey is demonstrated, based on published poems in the nationalist journals which were written by "ordinary" people. An examination of ordinary people provided an understanding of the nature of Turkish nationalism in the Cold War era. Looking at the ordinary expressions was also beneficial to the clarification of how Turkish people shaped and formalised their nationalist senses, what subjects or events became dominant in their nationalist feelings and whether they were influenced by the history of the Cold War.

Nations are praised constantly. Billig states that people may not notice but those references are not hidden. If references do not come to our attention, the reason derives from their being familiar (199). Basically, praised and marked nationalism rests in our social routines, which means that it is a process within our deep identities in the daily life. So social routines are not hidden, but they were seen as valuable in terms of indirect nationalist discourse. Therefore, the thesis has aimed to indicate this nature by ordinary people's expressions through their lines of poetry.

As we have seen, ordinary nationalistic people have reflected history through their poems expressing such nationalist feelings as belonging, solidarity and togetherness. Their nationalist senses led them to express and reflect particular circumstances. The commitment to Turkish nationalism was characterized by various common themes as the study has demonstrated. We can see that nationalist poems are full of support for Turkish unity, and this became the political ideal among "ordinary" Turkish people. Those people were defending their commitment by animated bonds of language, religion, culture, and history. Poets responded to or evaluated multiple historical events that surrounded them and their aesthetic

poetic production became more attractive for the readers. They memorialised historical events which may be a war, crisis or trauma; or individuals such as leaders, soldiers, and significant nationalist intellectuals criticised socio-political institutions and attitudes in society. Nationalist poems expressed much of what those ordinary people felt, calling for revenge and including renewal, both political and spiritual.

As Aberbach argues, nationalist poets inspire others (readers) with a proud identity leading towards national superiority and at times self-criticism and shame, hatred and militancy also emerge (2). This is because this is a way to develop their supremacy and dignity in their prevention of humiliation. In this period, poems stressed the sublimity of Turkishness based on historical references. Also, some Turks who could not be considered Turkish enough were mentioned, receiving a share of condemnation. Those Turkish people have a desire to combine ethnic, social, and cultural requirements accentuating the attainment of a high level of Turkishness. In this way, they have determined the conditions necessary to being a Turk. Turkishness was praised by the conjuncture and some duties were chosen in terms of necessity (self-immolation, protection of national values and so on). In these publications, the dominant tone is mostly related to anti-communism, Turanism, ascendancy and aggression. These poems display common themes apart from specific subjects, such as xenophobia, militarism, the significance of cultural values and self-sacrifice. These aggressive and hostile verses amount to racist statements.

The paper has already mentioned the nature and content (reflections) of the journals through the poems concerning the general view. To sum up, the Cyprus question was mostly expressed in the 1950s and 1960s. There has been a decline regarding Cyprus-themed verses since the 1980s. Moreover, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the military were emphasised more while the country was experiencing military coups (from the 1960s to the 1980s). Nationalist youth branches and organizations were always on the agenda, but there is an augmentation,

especially in the 1970s. Their "(national) Turkish struggle" against communists/leftist groups, the perceived Greek threat/domination, divisiveness, fear of territorial loss, "traitor" factions, assumed corruption over Turkish culture and traditions were the most pressing issues on the Turkish political agenda for ordinary citizens, and these shaped the nature of their nationalism. The anti-communist rhetoric is prevalent during the era, but anti-communist verse increased in frequency in the publications through ordinary poets mostly after 1960. For this nationalist poetry, the communist mentality was considered repugnant, and therefore the poems were always mocked and warned about their "brutality". Furthermore, various close relations and tendencies in support of different nations can be seen in particular periods. It demonstrates that their nationalism was strengthened with severe hostilities in different periods determining reasons and their alliances, too. Nationalism is not the object at issue: it seems natural and sincere; and therefore those poems exist through the same ideology which is Turkish nationalism.

Some representative symbols/signs for praising Turkishness are valuable and necessary in their lives within the poems. It demonstrates that the sense of nationalism was driven by preserved symbols at a high level, such as the Turkish flag. In addition, religious statements and terms such as the Qur'an, Islam, Muslim, God, and adherence to faith were placed in nationalist frameworks which identified their "national" identity claiming to be the majority view. Their main purpose was to regain or protect unity by waging a struggle within society. The verses tended to encourage more awareness, because they were calling to their people and to the rest of the nation for solidarity. In other words, nationalist journals focused on national survival, national values, and national interests within the poems. They have a fear of losing territory and separatism, and they have expectations of improving the dignity of Turks throughout world. Hence, they call upon nationalist youth and organisations to embrace their nation as in the past. A poem can be included in different issues. Moreover, these

nationalist people seem aware of other ordinary poets who have similar political ideologies to themselves because they dedicated some poems to their "fellows" supporting their political approaches.

In conclusion, the Cold War era comprises a significant reflection by the people of Turkey. The perspective of the people and the poetry demonstrated that nationalism united the people of society in terms of common territory, language, history, and culture. In a nationalist way, the past, present and future concerns are the most significant dimension in their daily lives. They all expressed unique nationalist values and imagination with passion. Those poets underlined their individual roles in society in order to link people together and enhance unity through willingness. Some determined national roles as a man, teacher, mother, youth and "Turk" appeared within the verses demanding the protection of national territory and traditions in the nationalist sphere. The most prominent point is associated with the reawakening of the national spirit to sustain the nation. Moreover, it became clearer that poetry is a crucial vehicle of expression as a part of the feelings of the people. Thus, the study has focused on these feelings in order to understand the nature of nationalism. Such nationalism is inevitable while the all spheres comprise rituals and symbols. However, acts and policies depend on people, since they have opportunities and preferences and they can always lead the masses, whether or not events will happen in a positive or negative sense.

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"Cenk." *Ocak* (1956):3. Print.

"Ey Trk Irkı." *Ocak* (1956):5. Print.

"Ben DaĐları." *Ocak* (1956):7. Print.

"Ben Trkm." *Ocak* (March 1956):12. Print.

"Ezmelidir Heyy!" *Ocak* (March 1956). Print.

"Efem." *Ocak* (March 1956). Print.

"Ardından." *Ocak* (March 1956). Print.

"Őanlı Hilal." *Ocak* (March 1956). Print.

"Kemalleri Anarken." Ocak (March 1956). Print.

1960s

"Anla." *Toprak* (February 1966):4. Print.

"Bırakın." *Toprak* 48 (April 1966):13. Print.

"Toplumsal Soyтары İle Bir Konuşma." *Toprak* 48 (April 1966):14. Print.

"Pakistan'a Demetler." *Toprak* 48 (April 1966):15. Print.

"Kahreden Ses." *Toprak* 49 (May 1966):6. Print.

"Büyük Vatan." *Toprak* 49 (May 1966):6. Print.

"Küçüklük." *Toprak* 49 (May 1966):14. Print.

"Celadet." *Toprak* 49 (May 1966):14. Print.

"Ağlayan Ayasofya." *Toprak* 50 (June 1966):4. Print.

"Uslan Bre Kaptanım." *Toprak* 50 (June 1966):5. Print.

"Türkiye Horyatları." *Toprak* 49 (June 1966c):6. Print.

"Teselli." *Toprak* 51 (July 1966):3. Print.

"Benim Irkım." *Toprak* 51 (July 1966):15. Print.

"Uzaktaki Sevgili." *Toprak* 52 (August 1966):16. Print.

"Ben." *Toprak* 52 (August 1966):16. Print.

"Yakutiye." *Toprak* 52 (October 1966):3. Print.

"Aslım Toprak." *Toprak* 52 (November 1966):6. Print.

"İleri Sosyalistlere." *Toprak* 52 (November 1966):7. Print.

"Türkün Sesi." *Toprak* 52 (November 1966):13. Print.

"Ayasofyada." *Toprak* 52 (November 1966):13. Print.

"Tanrı Türk'ü Korusun." *Toprak* 52 (November 1966):13. Print.

"Bizler." *Toprak* 53 (December 1966). Print.

"Anadolu." *Toprak* 53 (December 1966). Print.

"Allaha Sarıl." *Toprak* 53 (December 1966). Print.

"Moskova." *Toprak* 53 (December 1966). Print.

"Kızıl Düşman." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Duramam." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Kara Buluttan." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Ben." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Ben." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Bir Sevgi Arıyorum." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Sen Bilmezsin." *Toprak* 55 (March-April 1967). Print.

"Bayraksız." *Toprak* 56 (May 1967):7. Print.

"Kırım Yolcuyusum." *Toprak* 57 (July 1967). Print.

"Canım Vatanım." *Toprak* 57 (July 1967):17. Print.

"Zaman Gizledi." *Toprak* 57 (July 1967). Print.

"Bre Hey." *Toprak* 58 (August 1967):9. Print.

"Uyansana Türk Milleti." *Toprak* 58 (August 1967). Print.

"Kırım Yolcusuyum 2." *Toprak* 58 (August 1967a). Print.

"Albayrağın Gölgesinde." *Toprak* 64 (1967). Print.

"Ve Yok Oldu Guevera." *Toprak* 64 (1967). Print.

"Kast Brücke." *Toprak* 37 (1964):6. Print.

"İspanyol Frenk Yunanlı." *Toprak* 38 (1964):7. Print.

"Koşma." *Toprak* 39 (1964):18. Print.

"Sorasım Gelir." *Toprak* 39 (1964):10. Print.

"Solun Buket." *Toprak* 39 (1964):14. Print.

"Bayrağımız Var." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Mazim." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Meçhul Asker." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Toprak Çocuğunun Türküsü." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Kıbrıs Türktür." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Türk." *Toprak* 39 (1964):19. Print.

"Rum Ateşi." *Toprak* 41 (1964):15. Print.

"Türkiyem Benim." *Toprak* 42 (1964):15. Print.

"Kin." *Toprak* 42 (1964):15. Print.

"Bir Gece Yarısı." *Toprak* 45 (November 1964). Print.

"Seninle Damla Damla Dolsam Türkiyem." *Toprak* 45 (November 1964). Print.

"Yürü." *Toprak* 46 (December 1964). Print.

"Ödemiş." *Kuvayi Milliye* 56 (July 1965):17. Print.

"Uyuyor." *Kuvayi Milliye* 53 (January 1965):17. Print.

"Atatürk İçin." *Kuvayi Milliye* 20 (1960a):17. Print.

"Bir Yolcuya." *Kuvayi Milliye* 53 (January 1965):18. Print.

"O Baş." *Kuvayi Milliye* 52 (December 1964):10. Print.

"Oğluma." *Kuvayi Milliye* 52 (December 1964):11. Print.

"Mehmet." *Kuvayi Milliye* 52 (December 1964):18. Print.

"Millet." *Kuvayi Milliye* 51 (November 1964):8. Print.

"Vatan." *Kuvayi Milliye* 51 (November 1964):8. Print.

"Kıbrıs." *Kuvayi Milliye* 51 (November 1964):9. Print.

"Meşrutiyet." *Kuvayi Milliye* 51 (November 1964):9. Print.

"Asker Türküsü." *Kuvayi Milliye* 47 (July 1964):15. Print.

"İstiklal Ordusu Şehitlerine." *Kuvayi Milliye* 46 (June 1964):11. Print.

"Vatan Aşkı." *Kuvayi Milliye* 46 (June 1964):11. Print.

"Bir Yolcuya." *Kuvayi Milliye* 46 (June 1964):11. Print.

"Yayla." *Kuvayi Milliye* 46 (June 1964):17. Print.

"Kozanlı Mustafa Nail İçin." *Kuvayi Milliye* 42 (January 1962):14. Print.

"Çukurova Marşı." *Kuvayi Milliye* 42 (January 1962):16. Print.

"Ocak." *Kuvayi Milliye* 42 (January 1962):17. Print.

"27 Mayıs 1960." *Kuvayi Milliye* 40 (July 1961):16. Print.

"Kilis." *Kuvayi Milliye* 33 (December 1960):9. Print.

"Bülbülüm." *Kuvayi Milliye* 83 (July 1967):28. Print.

"Harap Mabet." *Kuvayi Milliye* 83 (July 1967):28. Print.

"Ulubatlı Hasan." *Kuvayi Milliye* 80 (April 1967):22. Print.

"Öyle Bir Günde." *Kuvayi Milliye* 80 (April 1967):23. Print.

"Halktan Yana." *Kuvayi Milliye* 75 (November 1966):9. Print.

"Hatay'ın Manzum Tarihçesi." *Kuvayi Milliye* 71 (July 1966):20-22. Print.

"Asker Koşması." *Kuvayi Milliye* 66 (February 1966):20. Print.

"İçel." *Kuvayi Milliye* 65 (February 1966):16. Print.

"Bir Kış Gecesi Anısı." *Kuvayi Milliye* 65 (February 1966): 16. Print.

"Büyük Ataya." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965):18. Print.

"Marş." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63(November 1965):18. Print.

"Kahramanın Ölümü." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1963):18. Print.

"Atama Değişler." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965): 19. Print.

"Kasım Rüzgarı." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965):20. Print.

"Atam İçin." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965): 20. Print.

"Nerdesin". *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965):21. Print.

"Atama Ağıt." *Kuvayi Milliye* 63 (November 1965):21. Print.

"Dumlupınar Yolunda." *Kuvayi Milliye* 62 (October 1965):21. Print.

"Bu Vatan Kimin." *Kuvayi Milliye* 62 (October 1965):21. Print.

"Uyuyor." *Kuvayi Milliye*." *Kuvayi Milliye* 62 (October 1965):21. Print.

"Kahraman Bir Atlıya." *Kuvayi Milliye* 61 (September 1965):16. Print.

"İstiklal Ordusu Şehitlerine." *Kuvayi Milliye* 61 (September 1965):16. Print.

"Zafer." *Kuvayi Milliye* 61 (September 1965):17. Print.

"Bizim Kuklalar." *Milli Yol* 23 (July 1962):6. Print.

"Sanane." *Milli Yol* 30 (August 1962):13. Print.

"Kin." *Ötüken* 25 (January 1966b):11. Print.

"Horyatlar." *Ötüken* 25 (January 1966):12. Print.

"Bahtı Kara." *Ötüken* 27 (March 1966d):15. Print.

"Ümidim Doğan Günde." *Ötüken* (April 1966). Print.

"Özleyiş." *Ötüken* 29 (May 1966):12. Print.

"Haykırıyorum." *Ötüken* 29 (May 1966):17. Print.

"Koşma." *Ötüken* 29 (May 1966):18. Print.

"Birliğe Çağrı." *Ötüken* 30 (June 1966):6. Print.

"Eceli Bir Tutarsam." *Ötüken* 30 (June 1966):5. Print.

"Özleyiş." *Ötüken* 31 (July 1966):12. Print.

"Anayurdun Sesi." *Ötüken* 33 (September 1966):51. Print.

"O Gün." *Ötüken* 33 (September 1966):12. Print.

"Büyük Ülkü." *Ötüken* 33 (September 1966):15. Print.

"Horyatlar." *Ötüken* 33 (September 1966). Print.

"Susturmalıyız." *Ötüken* 34 (October 1966a). Print.

"Türkiye Horyatları." *Ötüken* 35 (November 1966):13. Print.

"Şehitlik." *Ötüken* 36 (December 1966):15. Print.

1970s

"Sefiller." *Büyük Türkiye* 1 (April 1970):45. Print.

"Sensizlik Vurur Yüreğimde." *Büyük Türkiye* 3 (June 1970):27. Print.

"Bugünün İnsanı." *Büyük Türkiye* 3 (June 1970):27. Print.

"Şayet." *Büyük Türkiye* 3 (June 1970):30. Print.

"Dilek." *Büyük Türkiye* 4 (July 1970):32. Print.

"Sebep." *Büyük Türkiye* 4 (July 1970):33. Print.

"Çıplaklar." *Büyük Türkiye* 4 (July 1970):33. Print.

"Büyük Türkiye." *Büyük Türkiye* 11 (February 1971):11. Print.

"Taşlama." *Büyük Türkiye* 12 (March 1971): 13. Print.

"Yine Selamlanıyor." *Büyük Türkiye* 12 (March 1971):42. Print.

"Alparslan Geliyor." *Büyük Türkiye* 15 (July 1971):5. Print.

"Elham." *Büyük Türkiye* 15 (July 1971):10. Print.

"Türkistan ve Azerbaycanlı." *Büyük Türkiye* 16 (August 1971):9. Print.

"Aras Boyu." *Büyük Türkiye* 13 (April 1972):18-19. Print.

"Maraş." *Büyük Türkiye* 13 (April 1972): 20. Print.

"Yönelirim." *Büyük Türkiye* 13 (April 1972): 24. Print.

"Orkun Yazıtlarının Işığı Altında." *Türk'e Çağrı* 1 (May 1979):4. Print.

"Mukaddes İhtilal." *Türk'e Çağrı* 1 (May 1979). Print.

"Al Haber." *Türk'e Çağrı* 2 (June 1979):8. Print.

"Selçukoğlu'nun Bizans'a Yürüyüşü." *Türk'e Çağrı* 2 (June 1979). Print.

"Çağrı." *Türk'e Çağrı* 2 (June 1979). Print.

"HacıBekdaş Ocağından." *Türk'e Çağrı* 3 (June 1980):13. Print.

"Topkapı Sarayı." *Türk'e Çağrı* 3 (June 1980). Print.

"Horyatlar." *Türk'e Çağrı* (1980):7. Print.

"Kutalmış." *Töre* 33 (March 1974):52. Print.

"Yıldırım Niyazi." *Töre* 31 (December 1973):39. Print.

"Duyuşlar." *Töre* 35 (April 1974a):19. Print.

"Azerbaycandaki Şiir." *Töre* 20 (January 1973):9. Print.

"Dokuz Işık." *Töre* 21 (February 1973):22. Print.

"Bozgun." *Töre* 21 (February 1973): 49. Print.

"Meydana Gel Yetik Ozan." *Töre* 22 (April 1973):27. Print.

"Dokuz." *Töre* 23 (April 1973a):34. Print.

"Değişik Sesler." *Töre* 24 (May 1973):68. Print.

"Kırık Çiçekler (Rodop Kurbanlarına)." *Töre* 24 (May 1973):10. Print.

"Kara Düşman." *Töre* 74 (July 1974):16. Print.

"Küçük İnsanlar." *Töre* 75 (August 1977):6. Print.

"Feryat." *Töre* 75 (August 1977):21. Print.

"Türkiye." *Töre* 44 (January 1975):15. Print.

"Düğün." *Töre* 44 (January 1975):55. Print.

"Şiir." *Töre* 46 (March 1975):7. Print.

"Ercişliyim." *Töre* (April 1975):6. Print.

"Bozkurt Anaya Ağıt." *Töre* 49 (June 1975):3. Print.

"Savaşın Soluğu." *Töre* 49 (June 1975):11. Print.

"Gökalp-Ata." *Töre* 55 (December 1975):33. Print.

"Azerbaycan." *Töre* 43 (December 1974):40. Print.

"Gençlere Öğütlerim." *Töre* 16 (October 1972):34. Print.

"Olurmuş." *Töre* 16 (October 1972):11. Print.

"Törelen de Gel." *Töre* 13 (June 1972):11. Print.

"Merhaba." *Töre* 11 (May 1972):39. Print.

"Orkun Kıyısından Üç Taş." *Töre* 10 (March 1972):35. Print.

"Seyre Gelür." *Töre* 10 (March 1972):30. Print.

"Vatan Mübarek." *Töre* 10 (March 1972):23. Print.

"Akçabardaklara." *Töre* 103 (December 1979):44-45. Print.

1980s

"Korku." *Töre* 110 (July 1980):47. Print.

"Yolda." *Töre* 110 (July 1980):16. Print.

"Koca Çınar." *Töre* 108 (May 1980):8-12. Print.

"Asena." *Töre* 105 (February 1980):43. Print.

"Mithat Cemal." *Töre* 111 (August 1980):6. Print.

"Şimdi O şarkıyı Söylüyor Rüzgar." *Töre* 114 (November 1980):26. Print.

"Sançı." *Töre* 112 (September 1980):33. Print.

"Kırılmış Kanatlarla." *Töre* 112 (September 1980):21. Print.

"Vurun Afganlılar." *Töre* 106 (March 1980a):47. Print.

"Taş Medrese Çilekeşlerine." *Töre* 106 (March 1980):35. Print.

"Ufkun Daveti." *Töre* 106 (March 1980):30. Print.

"Bu Bahar." *Töre* 109 (June 1980):41. Print.

"Ülkücünün Ölümü." *Töre* 109 (June 1980):26. Print.

"Gönül Tellerim." *Töre* 93 (February 1979):44. Print.

"Yüce Çağrı." *Töre* 93 (February 1979):20. Print.

"Yolcu Yolun Esiri." *Töre* 93 (February 1979):8. Print.

"Harput'a Hasret." *Töre* 93 (February 1979):5. Print.

"Türkiye." *Töre* 88 (September 1978). Print.

"Bir Yaz Gecesi." *Töre* 88 (September 1978). Print.

"Eteğimdedir." *Töre* 88 (September 1978). Print.

"Bir Sazla." *Töre* 86 (July 1978). Print.

"Kırabilmez." *Töre* 86 (July 1978). Print.

"A Gardaş." *Töre* 101 (October 1979):38. Print.

"Anadolium." *Töre* 102 (November 1979):44. Print.

"Ülküm." *Töre* 102 (November 1979):43. Print.

"Vur Be Gardaş." *Töre* 102 (November 1979a):43. Print.

"Türkiyem." *Töre* 102 (November 1979):16. Print.

"Var Desem De." *Töre* 100 (September 1979):27. Print.

"Horyat." *Töre* 100 (September 1979):27. Print.

"Kırım Sürgünü." *Töre* 98 (July 1979):48. Print.

"Şimdi Bir Ney Ahengi." *Töre* 98 (July 1979):48. Print.

"Zafere Doğru." *Töre* 95 (April 1979):29. Print.

"Anlatamadığım Buhran." *Töre* 94 (March 1979):38. Print.

"Çaresizlik." *Töre* 94 (March 1979):39. Print.

"Güneşler Temmuz." *Töre* 94 (March 1979):37. Print.

"İman Sevgisi." *Töre* 97 (June 1979):42. Print.

"Esir Türkler." *Töre* 86 (July 1978):2. Print.

"Kesişler Tekkesinde Püsküllü Hacivat." *Töre* 86 (July 1978):4. Print.

"Bir Sazla." *Töre* 86 (July 1978):13. Print.

"Kırabilmez." *Töre* 86 (July 1978):37. Print.

"Türkiye 78." *Töre* 88 (September 1978):8-9. Print.

"Bir Yaz Gecesi." *Töre* 88 (September 1978):11. Print.

"Eteğimdedir." *Töre* 88 (September 1978):14. Print.

"Çile." *Töre* 88 (September 1978):21. Print.

"Nerde." *Töre* 88 (September 1978):34. Print.

"Millet." *Töre* 89 (October 1978):7. Print.

"Teşbih Şöleni." *Töre* 89 (October 1978):13. Print.

"Uyan." *Töre* 97 (June 1979):42. Print.

"Dert, Emel, Yol." *Bozkurt* 2 (November 1972):13. Print.

"Kerküklü Kızlar." *Bozkurt* 3 (December 1972):10. Print.

"Gel." *Bozkurt* 3 (December 1972):10. Print.

"Bulak." *Bozkurt* 3 (December 1972):13. Print.

"Bozkurt." *Bozkurt* (April 1973):9. Print.

"Turana Davet." *Bozkurt* (April 1973):13. Print.

"Yakındır." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):7. Print.

"Akıncı Sesleri." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):9. Print.

"Yakarış." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):9. Print.

"Türk Kızıyım." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):9. Print.

"Başbuğum." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):13. Print.

"Bizimdir." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):8. Print.

"Soylu Millet." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):8. Print.

"Dokuzlama III." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):8. Print.

"Cenk Öncesi." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):13. Print.

"Bebek." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):2. Print.

"Son Akın." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):5. Print.

"Anadolium." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):5. Print.

"Bozkurtların Sesi." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):12. Print.

"Bozkurtlar Diriliyor." *Bozkurt* 18 (March 1974):10. Print.

"Tutsakça." *Bozkurt* 18 (March 1974):10. Print.

"Cemil Dođan Sagusu." *Bozkurt* 18 (March 1974):10. Print.

"Türkan'a." *Bozkurt* 18 (March 1974):13. Print.

"Bizimdir." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974). Print.

"Soylu Millet." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):7. Print.

"Dokuzlama III." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):8. Print.

"Cenk Öncesi." *Bozkurt* 16 (January 1974):8. Print.

"Bebek." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):12. Print.

"Son Akin." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973). Print.

"Anadolium." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973). Print.

"Vahabzadeye." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):11. Print.

"Bozkurtların Sesi." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973):12. Print.

"Yalınkılıç." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973). Print.

"Diriliş." *Bozkurt* 6 (March 1973). Print.

"Tutsakça." *Bozkurt* 18 (March 1974). Print.

"Yakındır." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974). Print.

"Yakarış." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974). Print.

"Türk Kızıyım." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):7. Print.

"Akıncı Sesleri." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):9. Print.

"Başbuğum." *Bozkurt* 19 (April 1974):9. Print.

"Böyle Kalmaz." *Bozkurt* 4 (January 1973):4. Print.

"Bilmediğin." *Bozkurt* 4 (January 1973):13. Print.

"Türk'üm Türkü Çağırırım." *Bozkurt* 4 (January 1973):12. Print.

"Yarının Babasına." *Bozkurt* 4 (January 1973):22. Print.

"Türk Deyince." *Bozkurt* 5 (February 1973):9. Print.

"Bayraktın Eller Üstünde." *Bozkurt* 5 (February 1973). Print.

"Ozanlar Geçidi." *Büyük Ülkü* 1 (September 1976):25. Print.

"Gel Arkadaş." *Büyük Ülkü* 1 (September 1976):26. Print.

"Doğum Kontrolü." *Büyük Ülkü* 1 (September 1976):27. Print.

"Ramazan." *Büyük Ülkü* 1 (September 1976). Print.

"Horyatlar." *Büyük Ülkü* 2 (November 1976). Print.

"Vurdumduymazlar." *Büyük Ülkü* 2 (November 1976). Print.

"İsyanlı Sükut." *Büyük Ülkü* 2 (November 1976). Print.

"Büyük Önder." *Büyük Ülkü* 2 (November 1976). Print.

"Hele Sabret." *Büyük Ülkü* 2 (November 1976). Print.

"Ozanlara Sesleniş." *Büyük Ülkü* 3 (December 1976). Print.

"Korkmaz." *Büyük Ülkü* 3 (December 1976). Print.

"Uyan." *Büyük Ülkü* 3 (December 1976). Print.

"Horyatlar." *Büyük Ülkü* 3 (December 1976). Print.

"Ölmeyeceğim." *Büyük Ülkü* 3 (December 1976). Print.

"Hasret Türküsü." *Töre* 118 (March 1981):42. Print.

"Tebriz'e Selam." *Töre* 120 (May 1981):4. Print.

"Yerin Bakalım." *Töre* 121 (June 1981):32. Print.

"Haykırış." *Töre* 122 (July 1981):33. Print.

"Malazgirt Marşı." *Töre* 123 (August 1981):14. Print.

"Ağlama Güzel Ağlama." *Töre* 123 (August 1981):22. Print.

"Mersiye." *Töre* 125 (October 1981):32. Print.

"Gururlanma." *Töre* 125 (October 1981):43. Print.

"Sıla." *Töre* 126 (November 1981):18. Print.

"Eğridir Boynu Çiçeklerin." *Töre* 126 (November 1981):28. Print.

"Tatlı Sızı." *Töre* 127 (December 1981):6. Print.

"Türk Harputta Düğün." *Töre* 127 (December 1981):34. Print.

"Her Gece." *Töre* 140 (January 1983):13. Print.

"Selam Uçurur." *Töre* 140 (January 1983):47. Print.

"Karanlığın Koynunda." *Töre* 142 (March 1983):75. Print.

"Yunus'u Tahmis." *Töre* 142 (March 1983):72. Print.

"Gaye." *Töre* 142 (March 1983): 69. Print.

"Anam ve Ben." *Töre* 143 (April 1983):56-57. Print.

"İki Yalnız." *Töre* 143 (April 1983):62. Print.

"Ağlamasın." *Töre* 143 (April 1983):64. Print.

"Geleceğini Biliyorum." *Töre* 143 (April 1983):65. Print.

"Ağaç." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):42. Print.

"Alkış." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):54. Print.

"Ölüm Damlaları." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):57. Print.

"Hür Değil." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):58. Print.

"Sessiz Duvar." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):59. Print.

"Dağlara." *Töre* 144 (May 1983):60. Print.

"Vatanım." *Töre* 145 (June 1983):51. Print.

"Şenlik Şiiri." *Töre* 145 (June 1983):57. Print.

"Hayat." *Töre* 145 (June 1983):55. Print.

"Türkçe." *Töre* 145 (June 1983):55. Print.

"Halide Nusret Zorlutunaya." *Töre* 145 (June 1983):42. Print.

"Estir Kasırganı." *Töre* 148 (September 1983):74. Print.

"Öpsem Elini." *Töre* 148 (September 1983):40. Print.

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Appendix: A Sample of Poems

Alkış

Alkış vatan yolunda ölen merd oğullara!
Alkış bizim o geçtiğimiz şanlı yollara!
Yollar azablı, gavgalı, iller ağır çetin.
Yollarda kaldı gözleri ersiz gelinlerin.
Yollar vatanda başladı, gurtardı cephede
Göksüm vatan yolunda demir yardı cephede

Bahtiyar Vahapzade (Töre 1983, 143:54)

Vur Be Gardaş

Vur be gardaş küfrün kalesine
İman dolu göğsünle set çek önüne
Vursana bre dinimize karşı gelenlere
Senin iradenle kurtulacaktır Türkiye
Ülküler yeni akınlar gerektirir
Deli gönül ise durmaz seğirtir
Vatanı için can verenler şehittir
Vur bre gardaş, bu bayrak senindir
Sen Türk oğlu Türksün
Bu davanın ülkücü neferisin
At ki naranı, yer gök inlesin
Vur ki kafire, imana gelsin
Mefkuremiz nizam-ı alem ülküsü
Dilleredir Bozkurt türküsü
Allah tekbirleri ile geliyor ülkücü

Ancak bizler kurtarırsınız esir Türk'ü

Celal Hastan (Tartım Ceza Evi/Niğde) (Töre1972, 102:43).

Canım Vatanım

Ecdat yadigarı canım Vatanım,

Şehit kanlı Ay Yıldızlı Bayrağım,

Irmaklarım, derelerim, çaylarım

Çağlayınız çağlanacak zamandır.

Milli Devrim Ordusu başkaldırır

Orak, çekiçli kalemler saldırır;

Koç yiğitim şahlanacak zamandır.

Milliyetçi gazeteler yakılır,

Mebuz yazarlara tokat atılır;

Fahişeler sokaklarda satılır,

Ey Türk oğlu savaşıacak zamandır.

Nurettin Eren Özalp (Toprak 1967, 57:13).

Kırım Yolcusuyum II

Ben Kırım yolcusuyum dalgalar.

Bilin ki sırtınızda

Tuna'dan İdil'den kopup gelme,

Atlarımın nal izi var.

Bakın elimdeki Tanrı buyruğudur

Kesmeyin yolumu

Kararım karardır

Akmeşçide Akyüzümle varacağım
Kırım'lığın hesabını
Kör Moskof'tan soracağım.
Gerekirse sırtınıza dün gibi
Destanlar yazacağım.
Kırım'lığın, Kazan'lığın
Çilemiz doldu artık, bahtımız gülecektir.
Başı börtü hanlar kalkmış ayağa
Bir yanda Kürşad, bir yanda Çora batır
Naramızda arz titreyip çökecektir.
Bu Tanrı buyruğudur dalgalar
Bu kin yüklü koşumuz
Moskova'da bitecektir..

(Toprak 1967, 57:19).

Kızıl Düşman
Hey vatandaş iyi tanı!
Dostlarını, düşmanını.
Şu Hikmet'in kuyrukları
Komünisttir, hep komünist.
Acı günde ak giyenler,
Camiye hiç gitmeyenler,
Ecdadını sevmeyenler;
Komünisttir, hep komünist.
Camileri yıktıranlar, kitapları yaktıranlar,

Ŗu milleti aldatanlar;
Komünisttir, hep komünist.
Moskovayı arzulayan, vatan aşkı bulamayan,
Hakkın yolundan kayan;
Komünisttir, hep komünist.
Helalini ele satan,
Yalnız Stalin'e tapan, ortalıęa fesat sokan;
Komünisttir, hep komünist.

Orhan Kır (Toprak 1967, 55:17).

Ezmelidir Hey!
Vatansız Kızılın hain başını,
Her zaman, her yerde ezmelidir hey!
Kutlayıp gençlięin yurt savaşını,
Başımız göklerde gezmelidir hey!
Gönüller mukaddes aşkla yandıkça
Sıklaşıp safımız yurdu andıkça,
Al bayrak şerefle dalgalandıkça,
Komünist canından bezmelidir hey!
Bu soysuz mahlukun tatlı sözünden,
Ümitle parlayan kızıl gözünden,
Maskeli, riyakar yüzünden,
Hain maksadını sezmelidir hey!
Kızım Nazım Hikmet paçavrasını,
Yırtarken sildik biz gönül pasını,
Yurtsever, yurdun haritasını,
Mübarek kanyla çizmelidir hey!
Bir alay satılmış, yaban döllerini,

Kurutmak istiyor gonca gülleri,
Aşmadan namertler kızgın çölleri,
Topyekun kurşuna dizmelidir hey!
Milli vasiyeti budur ATAnın,
Budur tek arzusu aziz vatanın,
Türklüğün aşına zehir katanın,
Mezarını hemen kazmalıdır hey!
Ne Kızıl gerçektir, ne sarı bize
Gelmeyiz Moskofun önünde dize,
Dökerek hepsini birden denize,
ÖCAL'ım bir destan yazmalıdır hey!

(Ocak 1956:21).

Anneler

Bu vatana fazlaca hayrı dokunsun diye
Candan bir can koparıp edersiniz hediye
Vefa, sefa kaynağı açılan kucağınız,
Evlada hizmet ile geçergençlik çağınız.
Ömrünüzün en güzel zamanlarını çalar,
O uykusuz geceler, üzüntülü dakikalar,
Kutsal ödevleriniz cilalar özünüzü.
Yavrunun tebessümü güldürür yüzünüzü
Ne muhteşem bir tablo, ne mukaddes bir sanat
Anneler çocuklara germişler zırhtan kanat.
Okul bir meslek derdi çocuğun zaman zaman,
Sizi öyle hizmet bekler ki hepsi yaman,
Yaşlarla, dualarla askere yollarsınız,
Onların kalbi sizde, onlarda siz varsınız.

Ey mukaddes varlıklar sizlere baki yurdum,
İçten gelen şükranlar, saygılar hepinize.
Bak bir birlik geçiyor, marşta yükselir sesi,
İftiharla seyretsin şerefli Türk annesi.

(Milli Şuur 1985, 77:13).

Atatürk

Atatürk, ne heykelde, ne taşta, ne tunçtadır.
Sevgi dolu gönülde, uygar olan baştadır.
Yüz yaşına girse de ölmezliğe erişmiş,
Atatürk barış için açılan savaştadır,
Atatürk, yolundaki gençlerle, bir yaştadır.

Sabahattin Çankaya (Milli Şuur 1985, 73:10).

Bayrağım

Al rengi vatan için dökülen ecdat kanını taşır
Cennet vatanda gururla dalgalanan bayrağım
Senden olan, seni seven cisminde ahlak ve fazilet taşır
Sen dalgalandıkça coşarım ben şanlı bayrağım.
Sana karşı kızıl bayrak taşıyanlara üzülme sakın
Sen asilsin o kirli ellere layik değilsin bayrağım
Sen hilali, yıldızı gökten, rengi vatan için şehit olandan aldın
Gururla dalgalan gözleri kör edecek güç senden yana
Bayrağım.

Nazmi Ceylandağ (Milli Şuur 1985, 79:10).

Kıbrıs

Kıbrıs Kıbrıs, canım Kıbrıs,

Damarımda kanım Kıbrıs,

Şerefim, şanımları Kıbrıs,

Canım Kıbrıs, canım Kıbrıs...

(Kuvayi Milliye 1964, 50:9).

Türk... Hasret...

Adımımı attığım yer Türk olmalıdır,

Uzanıp yattığım yer Türk olmalıdır,

Türk'ü olmayan cihanı neyleyeyim,

Tarihte baktığım yer Türk olmalıdır.

(Bizim Ocak 1986a, 23:7).

Bahtı Kara

Ne tükenmez derdi varmış

Bahtı kara milletimin!

Dertler çevresini sarmış

Bahtı kara milletimin.

Her zamanda, dört bir yanda

Türk'ün gözü yalnız şanda

Yadlar işe karışanda

Artar derdi milletimin

Türk'ün işi Türk'e gerek

Böyle söyler yüce dilek

Işık olsun yüce erek:

Güler yüzü milletimin.

Zannetme ki kastı olmaz

Yabancıdan üstü olmaz

Türk'ten gayrı dostu olmaz

Bahtı kara milletimin.

Murat Çetin (Ötüken 1966, 27:15).

Kin

Kahbe Yunan bu dünyada durdukça

Bu kin vallah billah benden gidemez.

Durup durup itler gibi ürdükçe

Bu kin vallah billah benden gidemez

Bin Yunan kellesi bir kin ödemez...

Öç almaktır ondan yegane tasam;

Sıram gelse, Harp yerine uğrasam

Günde bin Yunan kellesi doğrasam

Bu kin vallah billah benden gidemez.

Yüz bininin leşini çaya döksem

Otuz bininin taşla ezsem başını

On binini kırsam, söksem dişini

Bin Yunan kellesi bir kin ödemez.

Bütün dünya bilir benim farkımı,

Yıkarım başına Rumun çarkını

Yerle bir ederim evini barkını,

Bu kin vallah billah benden gidemez.

Bin Yunan kellesi bir kin ödemez.

Damarımı bu intikam sardıkça,

Göğsüm Türklük için güm güm vurdukça

Yunan sözü lügatımda durdukça

Bu kin vallah billah benden gidemez

Bin Yunan kellesi bir kin ödemez.

Kıbrıs'lı Türk (Ötüken 1966, 25:11).

Gelsin

Vatan için serden geçen,

Bardak bardak kırmızı kımız için

Savaş diye bağıran

Bize bizden olan gelsin...

Eşinsin kişmesin kır at

Dağları delmişti Ferhat

Tuna boylarından serhat

Bize bizden olan gelsin...

Okunmalı bunca ferman

Kalmasın dizlerde derman

Oluk oluk akmalı kan

Bize bizden olan gelsin...

Bayrak için, Vatan için

Canı cana katan için

Bu toprakta yatan için

Bize bizden olan gelsin...

Er meydanı karışmalı

Kelle bacak yarışmalı

Kızan cepheyi aşmalı

Bize bizden olan gelsin...

Halil Bikes Ulusoy (Toprak 1955, 2:16).

Kahramanın Ölümü

Kara haberler ulaşır

Vahşi kuşların kanadında;

Anneler, çocuklar ağlaşır

Acı ıđlıklar uar dađ dađ...
Ceylan atlar, kişner durmadan,
Yeleyi bıraktı kahraman
Karşiki dađlar duman duman,
Turnalar hıkırır ardından.
Ko yiđitler ki ađlayamaz,
Ve gelinler al bađfayamaz,
Sular iinde ađlayamaz,
Ölen kahramanın yurdunda...

Coşkun Ertepinar (Kuvayi Milliye 1965, 63:12).

Sana Ne
Koltukta oturup idarecilik kolay,
Verirsin ilanı basarlar kolay,
Sen boşver, etse de milletle alay!
Gayen koltukta gününü doldurmak...
Unut milletini, sen yaşamana bak!
Seni üzer mi, memur, işi, ırgat;
Neye uydurursa uydursun ayak,
Unuttun milleti, sen yaşamana bak!

Arkan Suver (Milli Yol 1962, 30:4).

Her Cuma Günü
Allahın gördüğünü
Edemem kullarımdan inkar
Hummalı bir hisle
Tutuşan gözlerimde
Yıldız yıldız sevin var
Her cuma günü..

Önce Lala Mustafa Paşa
Heybetle görünür
Bulutlat dağlır ufuklara,
Hakikate bürünür
Hatıralar
İçimde yaşa... Yaşa...
Her Cuma günü
Şehitler kalkar yerinden,
Bayrak bayrak dalgalanır hasret.
Sükutla gurur
Okunur yüzlerinden
Bakışlar gerçeğe resmeder gördüğünü..
Müezzinler tutar elini Bayraktarın
Her cuma günü.
Ve bayraktar yükseliyorken minarelere
Yeniden fethederim Kıbrıs'ı
Diner içimde o sızı,
Seninle yaşıyorum yarın.

Engin Gönül (Devrim Gençliği 1953, 14).

Türk Deyince
Türk deyince, dünya gelmeli aklına çocuğum
Dünya deyince Türk.
Alparslan'dan, Oğuz'dan kalma
Üç kıta gelmeli...
Ve Türk deyince dünya
Dünya deyince Türk.
Türk deyince bir büyük tarih gelmeli aklına

Yavuz'larıyla, Kanuni'leriyle hür.
Fatih'lerle İstanbul gelmeli
Ve savaş meydanlarında adsız şehitler
Türk deyince dünya
Dünya deyince Türk...
Türk deyince Bayrak gelmeli aklına
Bayrak deyince gökleşen Türk.
Ak ve kan rengi kardeşliği
Ay yıldızlı gökler gelmeli.
Mehtaplı gecelerde koşuşan atlar
Ve dünya deyince Türk
Türk deyince dünya.
Ben bu vatanın çocuğuyum,
Ve Ergenekon hasretliği,
Toprak kokusu, kan kokusu taşıyorum
Öpülesi bir yurdum var toprak toprak
Damar damar ırmağım, taşıyorum.
Dal budak salmışım bütün kıtalara haykırıyorum
Dünler benimle başladı, yarınla benimle bitecek.
Türk deyince dünya gelmeli aklına çocuğum
Dünya deyince Türk...

Yılmaz S. Güney (Bozkurt 1975, 5:9).

Türk'üm, Türk'ü Çağırırım
İmanım var dinim vardır.
Uşaklara kinim vardır
Dört kıtada ünüm vardır.
Tür'üm, Türk'ü çağırırım

Kürşadları Çin'de gördüm
Malazgirt'te Van'da gördüm
Mohaç'ta en önde gördüm
Türk'üm Türk'ü çağırırım
Sırasında coştum taşım
Uralları nasıl aştım
Tuna boylarında koştum
Türk'üm Türk'ü çağırırım.
Kürşadım kopuz elimde
Dualar vardır dilimde
Ölürüm Türklük yolunda
Türk'üm Türk'ü çağırırım.

Ahmet Uğut (Bozkurt 1974, 4:12).

Gel Arkadaş
Altıbin yıl hüküm sürdün
Gel arkadaş dön kendine
Dünyaya meydan okurdun
Gel arkadaş dön kendine
Ne büyüktü senin soyun
Şimdi nankör oldu huyun
Sahtekarlık hile yolun
Gel arkadaş dön kendine
Yemeği sol elle yersin
Dine kitaba söversin
Sosyalist değildir neslin
Gel arkadaş dön kendine.
Sosyalistse eğer soyun

Moskova, Çin buyur yolun
Türk'tür benim ulu soyum
Gel arkadaş dön kendine
Atatürk'e önder derdin
Töresine balta vurdun
Komünist değildir yurdun
Gel arkadaş dön kendine.

(Büyük Ülkü 1976, 1:26).

Hoyratlar
Yaradan
Ölünmez bu yaradan
Bizleri bu davada
Muzaffer kıl yaradan
Sakın dosta vurdurma
Moskof kapına gelmiş
Al silahı vur durma
Görmeni
Çok isterdim görmeni.
Başka yerde uysalım...
Gelde harbde gör meni,
Bu dala
Bülbül konar bu dala
Bu davayı hor gören
Ya hain, ya budala...

(Büyük Ülkü 1976, 2:9).

İhtar
Çukura düşer gibi düşüyor aldatılan

Vicdansız, merhametsiz, ülküsüz, ruhsuzlara.

Ne ana, ne baba, ne kardeş, ne akraba

Kör doğuşüdür gider ne hak ne hukuk.

Her şahıs bir köledir ne evi yuvası

Ne bir avuç toprağı...

Ya amele ya memur karın tokluğunadır

Baş kaldıranların başı fırınlarda eriyor.

Kızıl demir perdenin sırrı daha çok derin.

Aç gözünü arkadaş

Dilin kemiğı mi var?

Aldanmanta ölmektir!

Barsak kurtları gibi asalak kızılılara...

Masum kardeşlerimin kanına girme Moskof

Dar dünyanı başına yıkacağıım.

Ben sussam kanım söyler

Kanım kurusa

Toprağıım.

Susmayacağıım.

(Toprak 1955:13).