

Ataturk, The Forerunner of the European Union

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Abstract: The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey commemorate the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Ataturk as ‘immortal leader and the unrivalled hero’, and his reforms and principles. It is quite uncommon that a Constitution mentions a single person, and his thoughts as a source of national constitutionality. It has to be a unique person, who deserved to be mentioned in his or her homeland’s Constitution. The hypothesis of my essay is that Ataturk has deserved this extraordinary role because he has launched Turkey on the way of the modernization and the Western values.

The heritage of Ataturk’s affects also nowadays, since Turkey makes significant efforts to join to the European Union for many years. Although no final results have been achieved over the years, accession negotiations are still ongoing.

I found it important to recall Ataturk, his thoughts and achievements, which can be a great example nowadays as well. In this paper, I would like to make ‘time travel’ to Turkish history until the birth of the Ataturk. I would like to recall who was Ataturk in such a way, that I would like to present not only the recorded historical facts, but I would like ‘making Ataturk himself to speak’, quoting from him, because in order to understand why he means so much to the Turkish nation, we have to hear his own thoughts from himself.

In this paper, I recalls Ataturk’s early life, his role in the Independence War, and his crucial reforms related to structure of state, legal system, clothing, writing and to the situation and legal status of women. In connection with it, I quote several speeches and articles by him on elimination of old traditions and necessary reforms. I also present Ataturk’s foreign policy line, which were especially important in the 20th-century history of Turkey, and also nowadays. He was committed to peace, his slogan was ‘Peace at Home, Peace in the World’, which resulted that Turkey operates as a stabilizing factor in the bellicose Near East until recently.

Ataturk deliberately built his own cult to cast shadow to the shine of the Ottoman dynasty. He tried to cut off Turkish society from the Ottoman past and propagated a new idea of the Nation. In this nationalistic vision, accession to Europe has played an important role.

I strongly believe that Turkey getting closer and closer to the EU standards, however there are some concerns had left. An EU, which includes Turkey would be more efficient in tackling global political and economic issues, ranging from the threat of terrorism to illegal immigration and drug trafficking.

At the end of my essay I would like to highlight why Ataturk deserved to be part of the Constitution.

Keywords: *Ataturk, European integration, Constitution, foreign policy, migration, Turkey, Westernisation*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey begins as followead: ‘Affirming the eternal existence of the Turkish Motherland and Nation and the indivisible unity

of the Sublime Turkish State, this Constitution, in line with the concept of nationalism introduced by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Ataturk, the immortal leader and the unrivalled hero, and his reforms and principles...’¹ Who could have been the unique personality whose name became a part of the Constitution of a country?

The hypothesis of my study is that Ataturk was the person in the life of Turkey who had a decisive role in starting the country to join Europe and then to the European Union.

Today, Turkey is followed by an outstanding international attention. In connection with the refugee crisis, Turkey has become a key player for Europe, moreover for the whole world. We could read some news about Turkey and the EU every day, especially now, when the constitutional changes in Turkey and actual processes taken place in its judiciary take the international community’s attention minute by minute.

Turkey has become to the focus of international observers and politicians of the EU due to three different facts. First, after an attempted military coup in July 2016, a very harsh anti-terrorism act has been adopted, which is said to be against democracy and fundamental values of Europe. Second, Turkey has been involved in the civil war in Syria with its many consequences. Third, a new constitution was voted by a referendum in April 2017 that can and will fundamentally change the political structure in Turkey. The European Union has to deal with all the three aspects. In field of judiciary, the amendments of the Constitution solved a longstanding problem of the Turkish judiciary, namely the role of judiciary, and made the Turkish system more similar to its European (French) model.²

Even at April 2017, when the Constitution has changed in Turkey, but the Preamble of the Constitution which consists of the referring to Ataturk, has not changed. It is also show us, how important part of Ataturk for the country. The attempted coup of 15 July 2016 has made a number of changes in Turkey, the processes that the Turkish government carried out in the judiciary after the coup, were found to be anxious by the EU. Regarding to the attempted coup the Turkish government had felt that it was delayed by the EU’s reaction and support, despite of the fact that a lot of civilian and government forces lost their lives.³

The constitutional amendment in Article 9 of the Constitution made impartiality, in addition to independence, a fundamental feature of the judiciary.

In order to understand Turkey we need to know more about who was Ataturk. Why did the Turkish people owe so much to him? We can read a lot of articles about it, but I think we need to know more about Turkey’s past, because Turkey plays an important role in Europe and the European Union too. Ataturk has launched Turkey on the way of the modernization and the Western values, which affects also nowadays, since Turkey makes significant efforts to join to the European Union for many years. Although no final results have been achieved over the years, accession negotiations are still ongoing.

Turkey is also in the forefront of interest in connection with migration and the Syrian conflict. In this super-eventful situation, we cannot forget about the extraordinary man whose framed image is still on the wall of the Turkish institutions, embassies, streets, shopping centers, schools and working rooms of millions: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the secular Republic of Turkey. In 1934, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey donated the surname Ataturk to him, since then he has been called the 'father of the Turks'.

I find it important to recall Ataturk, his thoughts and achievements. I would therefore like to omit actual news on Turkey in the media, and to make 'time travel' to Turkish history until the birth of the Ataturk. In this paper, I would like to recall who was Ataturk in such a way, that I would like to present not only the recorded historical facts, but I would like 'making Ataturk himself to speak', quoting from him, because in order to understand why he means so much to the Turkish nation, we have to hear his own thoughts from himself.

II. REFORMS OF ATATURK

The motifs of the Turkish flag were formed during the Ottoman Empire, but in some respects the finalized, present-day form was related to Ataturk. During the Turkish War of Independence, Ataturk, standing near a puddle of blood, saw the half-moon and a star mirrored in it.⁴

Ataturk was born in Thessaloniki (today in Greece) on March 12, 1881 and had been a soldier since childhood. He carried out such crucial reforms in Turkey, which left such deep traces in the soul of the Turkish people that, when we walk through the streets of Turkey, we can still see his photographs everywhere.

Ataturk once said, 'There are two Mustafa Kemals. One is me, the mortal Mustafa Kemal; the other is the idea of Mustafa Kemals living for eternity in the soul of the nation. I represent him. I have appeared at the time of the danger, but did not a Turkish mother give birth also me? Will not Turkish mothers give birth new Mustafa Kemals?' Ataturk's rhetorical talent certainly contributed to its popularity, and so his words penetrated into the heart of people, the momentum of which could be felt also today.

In the hopeless situation of Turkish defeat after World War I, Mustafa Kemal did not give up the fight, and in the independence war regained for the Turkish people those Turkish territories, which are disannexed in the Sèvres Peace Treaty dismembering Turkey.

In 1910, Ataturk, during his military studies in France, he acquired such knowledge by studying European lifestyles, traditions, customs as well as European political thinking and attitudes, which has crucial role in the development of his later reforms.⁵

Ataturk, by his rhetorical talent, also touched the hearts of Turkish youth, and his courage appeared as an example to all Turkish youth. There were few people alike him, who had such a deep influence on the multitude of young people. After the victory of the Turkish War of Independence, which began following the First World War in 1919, Ataturk said: 'The Turks have won the War of Independence. It is now at stake the victory in a much heavier, more important battle: on the battlefields of science also must triumph!'⁶

Mustafa Kemal was already honoured in the Balkan wars. At the beginning of World War I played a significant role in defending the Dardanelles, later fought on the Caucasus and

the Syrian front. After World War I, he did not accept the policy of the imperial court, which agreed to sign the Sevres peace treaty breaking up Turkey. He called on the Turks to defend national independence. The members of the Turkish National Movement were formed in Anatolia the Grand National Assembly, which was led by General Mustafa Kemal and ordered military operations against the Greeks, Armenians, English and French troops, forcing Western troops to leave Turkey. As a result of the war, Western Allies had to override the Sèvres Peace Treaty and accept the Peace Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923.

During the War of Independence there was also a civil war between the national forces and the Sultan's troops in Turkey. National forces began to build parallel state organizations under the pressure of the Sultanate under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. By Law No. 4, adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 7 June 1920, the Temporary Appeals Council (*Muvakkat Temyiz Heyeti*) was established in Sivas, which was the first form of the Yargıtay Başkanlığı in the history of the Republic. A Temporary Constitution was adopted by Law No. 85. on 20 January 1921. All the powers of the state were practiced by the National Assembly because the War of Independence was still underway during this period. Act No. 237. of 1922 established the Military Court of Appeal. In 1922, the new government in Ankara declared the government of Istanbul illegitimate and abolished all of its institutions.

On October 29, 1923, the Republic was proclaimed, and Mustafa Kemal was elected as President of the Republic and Pasha İmet was elected as prime minister.⁷ The Appellate Council of Sivas was transferred to Eskişehir by Law No. 371 of 14 November 1923 and named the Court of Appeal.

Subsequently, the government declared Ankara as capital. In April 1924, a law was adopted that the caliphate was abolished and the members of the Ottoman Imperial House were expelled. Another law abolished the ministry of religious affairs. Caliph Abdulmejid was expelled through the Bulgarian border.⁸ In connection with the abolition of the caliphate, before the law was published, Ataturk summed up his thoughts in his speech in Dumlupınar: 'The domination of the people is a flood of light that causes to melt the chains and to burn thrones. Institutions based on slavery of nations will sooner or later disappear.'⁹

The 1924 Constitution referred justice to the jurisdiction of the independent judiciary as it considered that the law should not be applied without independent judicial proceedings; all other public affairs were referred to the jurisdiction of the Grand National Assembly.¹⁰ The State Council was provided for in Article 51 of the Constitution in the section on executive power.¹¹ In the early years of the Republic, there were not enough talented judges, but they did not want cases to accumulate, and they also found it important to improve the justice system in terms of convergence with Western jurisdictions.¹² By virtue of Article 12 of Law No 469 of 8 April 1924 on the unification of the provisions of the Convention on the Abolition of Religious Courts and the Organization of Courts, the religious courts and the former Court of Appeal were abolished and significant changes were also made in the organizational structure of the Ministry of Justice.¹³

In 1925, the fez was banned by Ataturk as a symbol of Eastern backwardness. The fez was worn by the Turkish men, but Ataturk achieved that they wear hat instead of it, following

Western model. Ataturk visited many cities and villages, wearing a hat, as an example for the Turkish people. People initially questioned what he was wearing. They wondered, and Ataturk explained to them how practical the hat is, and from then on everyone should wear it.¹⁴ In regard to wearing a fez, Ataturk said, 'Look, I see a man in the mass wearing a fez, a green turban on the fez, a collarless shirt and a jacket like me. To see what's left down, I cannot see it from here. What kind of dress is this? In the eyes of an educated man, is this confusion not ridiculous?' - But yes! - could be heard from several places in the mass.¹⁵ The Ataturk also spoke against the wearing of a women's headscarf, remarking that it was extremely uncomfortable in high heat, and therefore asked women to 'let them to show their faces to the world'.

The State Council was re-established in 1925 by Law No 669, originally affiliated to the Prime Minister's Office, and since 1927 it was an independent court.¹⁶ In addition to the Council of State, the provincial administrative councils were also involved in the annulment of the administrative decision on the basis of Article 63 of the Prefectural Administration Code; Article 66 of that law provided the possibility to make an objection against the District Administrative Boards' decisions to the Regional Administrative Boards and against the first and second instance decisions of the Regional Administrative Boards to the State Council, but only questions of law, not questions of fact could be examined.¹⁷

However, keeping the administration of justice outside of the National Assembly, as enshrined in the 1924 Constitution, was not enough to ensure judicial independence. Act No. 766 of 1926 on Judges, which was formulated in the constitutional objective of judicial independence, contained significant measures for the appointment, transfer and promotion of judges. They admitted the system in which specific cases were dealt with by councils formed with the participation of senior judges.¹⁸ The judge had to be an ex-serviceman Turkish citizen of the minimum age of 20, who had to verify that he had no infectious or other illness preventing his work and that he had a university degree in law. He was obliged to act as a scorer for six months after his appointment as judge, in order to obtain good practice. Although the 1924 Constitution did not include judicial committees to ensure the independence and impartiality of the judicial organization, the law created the so-called "Elected Council" (*Intihap encümeni*), whose chairman was the Minister of Justice, to lay down detailed rules on the activities of judges.¹⁹

Act 1631 of the Military Litigation Procedure, adopted in 1930, abolished the Military Tribunal (*Divanı Harp*) and established military courts instead.²⁰

The reforms of Ataturk brought enormous changes in the lives of women. From the analysis of the contemporary sources, we can see that, following the reforms of Ataturk, women have come to the fore in the world of work, and we can witness a vigorous progress. Before the Republic, women were unable to realize themselves, they had limited opportunities. However, the period of democratic Republic provided women with equal opportunities. The first female judge in Turkey was Suat Berk (1901-2002), who began his career at age of 21. When she became a judge, she said: 'I thought people came to court to handle their affairs, but it turned out they actually came here to see a female judge.' These thoughts also reflect the fact that it was a completely unique and unprecedented, awkward phenomenon in Turkey at that time, that a woman is a judge. However, thanks to the reforms of Ataturk, we can

count on many such positive examples. Later, in 1934, women were given the right to vote.²¹

Ataturk's name also means making the Latin alphabet compulsory. Ataturk abolished Arabic writing. In Turkey, it was compulsory for everyone to learn the new writing, Ataturk, as well as in case of the removal of the fez, visited personally the country, not just cities but small villages, with a board and chalk, in order to teach to people the new alphabet, and to explain the importance of this new writing system. Firstly on 9 August 1928, spoke Ataturk in Sarayburnu in Istanbul, about the alphabet to the people around him. He was convinced that every revolutionary step would have to be discussed first with the people. Then he said to the Turkish people: 'I want you to learn it for two weeks. With the new Turkish letters, we will really show up in our rich and reputable language. You need to understand the need to get rid of the incomprehensible signs that lock our tongues for centuries.'²²

It was also an important achievement that in 1934 the previously used ranks and titles such as 'Pasha', 'Bey' were abolished, and Surname Act was adopted with universal effect, according to which every Turkish citizen had to choose a surname. Previously, surnames were not used in Turkey. Men and women have been granted equal rights in the family, eliminating the divorce from the husband's sole will. During the time of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Supreme Court was transferred from Sivas to Eskişehir on 14 November 1923. In the Republic of Turkey, religious affairs and state affairs were separated, and sharia courts were abolished on April 8, 1924. On March 1, 1926, the Turkish Criminal Code following Italian model (*Codice criminale*) was adopted on 1 March 1926, and the Turkish Civil Code following Swiss model (ZGB) was adopted in the same year. The Criminal Procedure Act followed a German model (StrPO), which entered into force on 20 August 1929. The Maritime Trade Act was also drafted on a German model, and entered into force on 13 May 1929.²³ We can see that the reforms of Ataturk have extended to everything, including legal regulation and the judiciary.

Ataturk developed the Republican People's Party Program, which summed up the Party's key objectives. In sum, these principles were called Kemalism also in 1931. These principles included the homeland, the nation, the constitution of the state and the rights of citizens. The document declared that the party did not distinguish between rights and obligations of male and female. In this document, the 'six arrows' of Kemalism have been first declared, which, to this day, are recognized as the fundamental principles of Ataturk.²⁴ These six principles summarizing the essence of Kemalism, namely republicanism, secularism, nationalism, popularism, etatism and revolutionism (or reformism), depicted as six arrows in the emblem of the Party, had been incorporated in the Constitution in 1937.²⁵

III. ATATURK'S INFLUENCE ON YOUTH

In October 20, 1927, Ataturk addressed the Turkish youth in a famous speech. His short, but more inspiring speech should be read to all of us: 'Oh, Turkish youth! Your first business is to save and protect Turkish freedom and the Turkish Republic forever. This is the basis for your existence and future. This fund is your most valuable asset. They may want to deprive you of this wealth in the future, and you will have your inner and outer enemy. One day, when you have to take part in the rescue of freedom and the Republic, do not think about opportunities or conditions provided by

circumstances. Because it is possible that these opportunities and conditions will not be met in a favourable way. It is possible that the enemies targeting freedom and the Republic would be messengers of a victory not yet seen in the world. These enemies may get into all our castles with violence and scam, occupy all our ships, all of our military teams are subjugated, and even our country is actually invaded. But it is worse if the powers within the country commit betrayal by their negligence, misguidance and let-down. Indeed, even it would be happen, that ruling members of nation put their own selfish interests above the nation. The nation may be tired and ruined. Oh, child of Turkish freedom! In these circumstances, you have only one job: defending Turkish freedom and the Republic of Turkey! The power you need is there in your noble blood!²⁶

IV. ATATURK'S FOREIGN POLICY: "PEACE AT HOME, PEACE IN THE WORLD"

Ataturk has built a strong army in his country, and this Turkish army winning the war of independence (1919-1923) deserved that the whole country might be proud of it. Following Ataturk, it is a generally accepted Turkish view that every Turkish is born to be a soldier.²⁷

The most prevalent feature of Turkish foreign policy has been caution since 1923 in order to preserve the status quo and its victory achieved in the War of Independence. This foreign policy is presented by the famous aphorism of Mustafa Kemal: 'Peace at Home, Peace in the World!'

In 1935, Turkey signed a ten-year friendship agreement with Afghanistan. Relations with Iraq and Iran have also been well. Several foreign heads of state visited Ankara: King Amanullah of Afghanistan in 1928, King Faisal of Iraq in 1931, and Shah Reza Pahlavi of Persia in 1934. These visits were so successful that Turkey entered into a five-year term non-aggression treaty with these three countries in 1937. It was also Ataturk's merit that Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania signed the Balkan Pact in 1934.²⁸

The role of Ataturk in the cold relations with the Nazi Germany was also unprecedented. He has not supported advancing European dictatorships in the 1930s, and he refused the Nazi Germany's attempts of approach. Moreover, after the death of Ataturk, President İnönü continued to pursue the foreign policy developed by Ataturk, keeping his eye on the neutrality of the country, and also refusing to accept the Nazi diplomacy's attempt to involve Turkey into the World War II.

One of the famous Hungarian scholars of Roman law, Andrew Bertalan Schwarz, who was born in 1886, was forced to flee from Germany in the summer of 1933 as a result of the Nazi takeover and anti-Semitic laws. In 1934, Schwarz emigrated to Turkey with his wife, where he received the leadership of two departments (Roman law and private law) at Istanbul University. After the war, Schwarz did not return to Hungary but remained in Istanbul.²⁹

V. ATATURK'S DEATH

Gazi Mustafa Kemal Ataturk died at 9 a. m. on November 10, 1938 in the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul. The whole country has fallen in deep mourning. The famous Turkish poet Yunus Emre's famous lines also reflect this:

'In this world for one thing

Burns my inside, hurts my heart,

For the dead died as young hero,

*For pre-harvest harvesting.'*³⁰

Ataturk's death also had a significant international echo. In the Yugoslav press, such lines were read: 'The name of this statesman was written in the book of history with indelible letters. Ataturk was the man of people. He confronted with the fate by unbreakable will, sharp reason and power, and created the new Turkey.' A Bulgarian newspaper published such thoughts: 'Ataturk, the father of his nation, was the man of sword, thought, heart, and will. He is a great son of his people, but the outstanding figure of the 20th century.' Even Chinese newspapers mentioned Ataturk as a tragic event: 'Ataturk was the father of the whole continent of Asia.'³¹ In Turkey, on the day of his death, people remember with great respect to Ataturk until now. On the 10th of November (anniversary of the death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk) in each year, everything stops, everybody put end to his duties at 9:05 a. m., and the whole country remembers to Ataturk.³² Ataturk were loved and respected by many. Of course, there were critics as well, but there is still great respect for his memory.

VI. ATATURK AND EUROPE

Ataturk has analysed the relationship between Turkey and Europe both in his speeches and many articles in newspapers. The First President of the Republic of Turkey has highlighted a great deal of correlations in his time, which are all contemplative also today. He has always stood up with Western-European-style modernization in Turkey. Ataturk said: 'The ideologies, which have liberated some countries of the world from bondage and helped them to sovereignty, are enemies for those, who hope in old obsolete institutions and insist to outdated administrative practices.'

In his speech on 6 March 1922, he sent message to Europe: 'You all know that the most important states of Europe have been established such a way that by their ascension, Turkey suffered a damage. Today, all that affects the world, the most powerful development in our people's lives and in our country, was created by the fact that Turkey has suffered losses at the same time. If Turkey has always been strong then its present-day policy could not have been established. If Turkey did not lose first against Vienna, then against Budapest and Belgrade, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would never have been established. Thanks to these, France, Italy and Germany developed and strengthened. So things that have caused damage during history will partially consume the strength of the injured party.'

He argued for Turkey belonging to Europe in a peculiar way. He believed that the Turk could be integrated into peoples of Europe only as a coequal partner. Westernization is not enough, rather Turkey needs to eliminate the political, military, economic and cultural dependence of the preceding two hundred years of Ottoman history. As Ataturk put it, 'actually, while Europe has reached a higher level and has developed, Turkey has just plummeted and plummeted. As a result, many minds, emotions and thoughts focused on destroying Turkey, and following this, generations of subsequent centuries could further devastate Turkey. This devastation was aimed at bringing Turkey into a more civilized state, but it was only used as a pretence for Europeans to infiltrate in the internal affairs of Turkey. There was a need for advice from Europe. Every case had to be addressed for European purposes and lessons from Europe has to be taken. But what is the independence that has evolved by advices and

plans of foreigners? History has not seen this yet'.³³

In 1923, in connection with Westernisation, he said, 'We do not take over Western civilization to mimic them. What we find good in it, because it meets our specifics, we are going to interiorize in world-class. Countries are different, but there is only one civilization, and we must inevitably join it for national ascension. The decadence of the Ottoman Empire began even when, in its overwhelming victories over Europe, it cut off the fibres that bind to the European peoples. This was a mistake, and we will not fall into this mistake again ... The Turkish people are friends of all educated nations'.

On 29 October 1923, he said: 'We want to make the country more civilized and more cultured. Which is the country that has not turned to the West in order to develop civilization?' This argumentation should not influence the Turkish attitude to turn to the resistance to the world. Ataturk himself published an article in *Vakit Gazetesi* on 11 February 1924, where he wrote as followed: 'The Turkish [people] is a friend of cultured peoples. The peoples are different, but the culture and the civilization are single. The Republic of Turkey, in order to develop, must cooperate with the civilization'. These words seem to justify that the first step for Turkey's full membership in the European Union is creating a customs union.

In his speech held in March 1933, we can discover ideas that are almost prophetic: 'Colonization politics and imperialism will disappear from the Earth, and an Era of co-operation will begin, where colour, religion, and nationality will no longer be decisive'. He said that the Republic of Turkey must cooperate with Europe in order to achieve significant progress in the economy, science and technology. In one article, he predicted the state of contemporary Europe as well: 'As it was yesterday, tomorrow will be the fate of Europe. The fate of Europe will depend on Germany. Germany has a tremendous dynamism, it is extremely diligent and precise, and if the 70 million people are caught in the 'political blast', then a lot might happen' [1932, *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*].³⁴ Ataturk's role was also decisive towards Nazi Germany. He did not sympathise with European dictatorships advancing in the 1930s and refused the Nazi Germany's attempts of approach. Moreover, after the death of Ataturk, President İnönü continued to pursue the foreign policy developed by Ataturk, keeping his eye on the neutrality of the country, and also refusing to accept the Nazi diplomacy's attempt to involve Turkey into the World War II.

For Ataturk, the implementation of secularization was an extremely important element, which is also an important criterion for its accession to the European Union. He said, 'I am happy to see that we all agree with the thought of the secularized Republic. This has always been the basis of my policy, and it remains to be'. He also explained as followed on this subject: 'As they have been for centuries, there are still, here and abroad, who take advantage of the ignorance and fanaticism of the peoples and want to use us as a tool by guiding them from a variety of political and personal interests. I cannot but say something about this topic. As long as mankind does not armour himself with the scientific knowledge pointing to the essence of religions, he will not be relieved of superstitions, and he will not grow up by achievements of true science and technology, there will always be people who play with religion'.³⁵

Ataturk's purpose was to join the West, more specifically to join Europe. In our view, the target system of the modernizing state of Ataturk could be describe by the concept of populism.

The concept of people of populism is based on the concept of a unitary, homogeneous Nation, that is, an idea that does not exist in itself. Nation is created by that power with institutional and symbolic means, which refer to it. He was aware that the loyalty of the majority of the Turkish people towards the Republic is still fragile, and they did not identify himself with the vision of merging into the community of peoples of Europe. In this situation, the personal cult of the leader of the War of Independence was the element that could help Turkish society to accept the accession to the European community.

Ataturk deliberately built his own cult to cast shadow to the shine of the Ottoman dynasty.³⁶ He tried to cut off Turkish society from the Ottoman past and propagated a new idea of the Nation. In this nationalistic vision, accession to Europe has played an important role. The Republic of Turkey's policy was built on the fact that the Turkish nation is European and had much more to do with the French, Germans and Italians than, under the Islamic *umma* concept, with the underdeveloped Arab world. But a large part of the Turkish people in Ataturk's life were still loyal to Islam, the values and institutions of the Republic were barely infiltrates to the lower layers of society. Ataturk exploited trust in a charismatic leader and tried to prove affiliation to Europe with his own example: he wore a hat and a European suit in public places, and went to the country to teach the people a new writing system, etc. He would have had less success in his efforts if he were not a war hero, who achieved the Turkish independence. But he based his policy's success on his own person so much that he did not take care of the effective protection of the results of the Europeanization program. At the time of İsmet's presidency, the conservative trend came to power and criticism of the Westernisation appeared.

According to Berna Türkdöğán, in the 21st century there is a special duality between globalization and integration. In the earlier stages of history, the unions have been created for the purpose of preventing war and building peace. But nowadays, the main goals are placing economic communities on a stable basis and keeping financial problems in one hand.

CONCLUSIONS

At the entrance of Haydarpaşa Station in Istanbul, a famous saying of Ataturk is carved on the wall: 'Ne mutlu Türküm diyene' – 'So happy, who could say himself being a Turk'.³⁷ We can see that Ataturk's idea is still present today, we can feel it everywhere.

The memory of Ataturk is also important for us, for Hungarians, as Ataturk knew well the Hungarian culture, and the historical development of the Hungarian language. According to him, the Hungarian culture and language is that culture and that language that is best resembling the ancient Turkish culture and language. He regarded the Hungarian language neology programs as a model. It was Ataturk's personal wish to create the Hungarian institute at the first university of the Republic of Turkey, in the Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi (Faculty of Humanities in Ankara).³⁸ In light of these, we, Hungarians, all feel a little closer to us Ataturk's merits.

Near Ataturk's tomb, which is located in Anıtkabir, has founded a library, in which we can still find foreign language works of many Hungarian scientists, reflecting well the attitude of Ataturk towards Hungarian language and culture.³⁹ This library contains works of Hungarian historians, litterateurs, linguists, Turkologists, Orientalists. Furthermore,

as a result of Ataturk's efforts, the Institute of Hungarian Studies of the University of Ankara was established, one of the main aims of which is to cultivate Turkish-Hungarian scientific and cultural relations.⁴⁰

Ataturk also supported the emergence of the Turkish institutes in Hungary and launched a process that has resulted in a large number of institutions, where we can study Turkish studies, and Turkish language courses can be also offered in many places. For example, the Yunus Emre Foundation (a public foundation) is an excellent example of this, which aims to introduce us to Turkey, its language, history, culture and art.

Ataturk said after an assassination attempt against him in 1926: 'My mortal body will naturally become earth once a day, but the Republic of Turkey will stay forever!'⁴¹

Nowadays, the relation between Turkey and the EU becomes more and more intensive. Turkey first submitted its application for accession to the European Economic Community in 1959, but full membership is still uncertain, because EU is concerned about processes launched in the judiciary after the attempted coup. In the light of these, I think so that the fate of Turkey has linked to the future of Europe today, and I hope that they will succeed jointly shaping the common future and promoting positive changes, as Ataturk has also made efforts for this.

In 1923, Ataturk said in connection with Westernisation: 'We do not take over Western civilization to imitate them. What we find good in it, because it meets our specifics, we are going to interiorize on world-class. Countries are different, but there is only one civilization and, in the interests of national ascension, we must inevitably join to it. The stalemate of the Ottoman Empire began also when, in its impetuosity from victories over Europe, he cut off the fibres that bound him to European peoples. This was a mistake, and we will not fall into this mistake again ... The Turkish nation is friend of all educated nations.'⁴²

I strongly believed that Turkey getting closer and closer to the EU standards, however there are some concerns had left. An EU, which includes Turkey would be more efficient in tackling global political and economic issues, ranging from the threat of terrorism to illegal immigration and drug trafficking. Turkey's accession should also enhance the EU's position in regions close to its immediate neighbourhood. As Ataturk wished, getting closer to Europe, it can be a great vision to Turkey and the EU as well.⁴³

According to the Hungarian Professor Dr. Gabor Hamza, who is a full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and with whom I completely agree: "Turkey's legal system is at the same level as the legal systems of EU Member States".⁴⁴

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